

Are policies implemented where they are most needed? Exploring the evolution of equity in school-based smoking prevention in 2013 and 2016 in 6 European cities

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ABSTRACT

Background. Health policies are key social determinants of health, but may cause inequalities if their implementation does not match local needs, and if resources are misallocated. This study tests the inverse prevention law on school tobacco policies, assessing inequity in their implementation and identifying contributing factors.

Methods. A student survey and a staff survey were conducted in 38 schools across six European cities in 2013 and 2016. We assessed tobacco policy and calculated policy-need ratios to measure how well schools implemented a policy in line with adolescent smoking. Gini coefficients of policy-need ratios were used as inequity measure. We ran a penalised Lorenz regression to identify factors contributing to inequity and used the Shapley decomposition technique to decompose explained Gini coefficients.

Results. Gini coefficients were 8.8% in 2013 and 8.9% in 2016, indicating moderately inequitable implementation of school tobacco policies and limited change over time. Socio-economic characteristics, and family/home environment contributed the most to these inequities.

Conclusions. In line with the inverse prevention law, stronger tobacco policies are not implemented in schools that most need them, and this persisted between 2013 and 2016. Policy-makers should prioritize equity in health policy implementation and devote more resources to contexts with greater need.

Keywords: Health inequities; Smoking Prevention; School Health Promotion; Smoke-free Policy; Adolescent

INTRODUCTION

Smoking initiation often occurs during adolescence, with 83% of smokers starting between ages 14 and 25, and 19% beginning by age 15 ¹. Notably, smoking contributes to health inequalities, particularly affecting adolescents from lower socio-economic backgrounds ²⁻⁴. Given this, preventing smoking initiation among adolescents is crucial, making schools a key target for interventions due to their wide socio-economic reach ⁵. School tobacco policies ensure that this public place is not exposed to smoking. Yet, their implementation has been shown to greatly vary from one school to another within a geographical area ^{6,7}. This variability may contribute to social inequalities resulting from resources not aligning with local needs, a claim made by the "inverse care law" ⁸.

The "inverse care law" is a theory that states that "the availability of good medical care tends to vary inversely with the need of the population served" ^{8, p. 412}. The term, originally used to describe medical care, has been applied to a wide range of health interventions, including preventive and population-based strategies ⁹⁻¹¹. Previous studies, such as Moore, Littlecott, Fletcher, Hewitt and Murphy ¹², questioned this law's validity, emphasizing the need for further research on the differential implementation of preventive interventions. In the case of school tobacco policies, do schools with higher smoking prevalence, more vulnerable populations, and higher susceptibility to smoking, benefit from stronger school tobacco policies?

School tobacco policies, often vaguely defined, vary in comprehensiveness (to whom, where and when they apply), enforcement, and communication ¹³⁻¹⁵. While most studies on these policies focus on their effectiveness in preventing and reducing adolescent smoking, there is a gap in understanding their potential role in perpetuating social inequalities ¹⁶. The social gradient in smoking persists, highlighting the need for early intervention, particularly in schools, where smoking often starts ¹⁷.

In the context of smoking denormalization, it is crucial to assess whether school tobacco policies protect all adolescents, an expectation questioned by the inverse prevention law . This paper aims to examine the equity of school tobacco policy implementation, and assess how this equity may have changed over time. Utilizing a new methodological approach, the study also seeks to decompose these inequities into its contributing factors. Importantly, the focus of this paper is on "inequities," referring to avoidable and unfair differences in health, with a commitment to vertical equity - treating individuals with greater needs more favourably ^{18,19}. This perspective distinguishes between inequities and inequalities in health, emphasizing the value judgment associated with the former.

METHODS

Design and study population

This study is based on data from the SILNE and SILNE-R surveys ²⁰. Data were collected in six European cities in six countries (Namur in Belgium, Tampere in Finland, Hanover in Germany, Latina in Italy, Amersfoort in the Netherlands, and Coimbra in Portugal) with different national tobacco regulations ^{21,22} and different school tobacco policies ⁶. The cities selected were representative of their countries in terms of average income. Lorant, Soto, Alves, Federico, Kinnunen, Kuipers, Moor, Perelman, Richter and Rimpelä ²⁰ provide more information on the selection of cities and schools. Ethical approval was obtained in each city and updated for the second data collection ²⁰ (see Supplementary materials).

Data collections took place in 38 schools between January and November 2013, and between September 2016 and October 2017. In total, 18,502 students in grades corresponding to ages 14–16 participated: 9,305 students in 2013 (response rate: 85%) and 9,197 in 2016 (response rate: 81%). Adolescents were asked about their tobacco use, family, and school environment. Each school also had a school representative who filled in a worksheet gathering information

on the school, e.g. number of students and number of teachers, socio-economic status of the neighbourhood and of the students. See Lorant, Soto, Alves, Federico, Kinnunen, Kuipers, Moor, Perelman, Richter and Rimpelä ²⁰ for more information on the survey methods.

Measurements

School tobacco policy score

The school tobacco policy score evaluates the policy that a school has put in place to regulate smoking. We used a score that is detailed elsewhere ⁶. It is a 10-point score, calculated at the school level, that is multidimensional (comprehensiveness, enforcement, and communication of the policy), and considers the perceptions of both students and staff. It provided a suitable measure, therefore, for evaluating the policy in each school in our sample. Schools with a higher score have a policy in place which is more comprehensive (applied to students, staff, and visitors at all times and everywhere on the school premises), better enforced (there are sanctions in case of rule infringement that are well thought-out), and better communicated (students, staff, and visitors are fully aware of the policy and it is formally communicated).

Measure of inequities

To assess whether school tobacco policies are implemented where they are most needed, we proceeded in two steps. The first step consisted in fitting a Lorenz curve and computing a Gini coefficient of the policy-need ratios. The Lorenz curve and the Gini coefficient are often used by economists to measure the degree of income-related inequalities. Such measures have been more widely used in other research domains to answer research questions on topics as diverse as public transport provision ²³ and the distribution of obesity across socio-economic status ²⁴. The Lorenz curve offers a visual representation of inequality by representing the cumulative distribution function of wealth across the population, with the diagonal representing a perfectly equal income distribution (see Figure 1) ²⁵. Figure 2 is similar to Figure 1 but shows the distance

to the diagonal. The Gini coefficient quantifies inequality. It is a ratio of the area between the line of equality and the Lorenz curve divided by the total area under the line of equality ^{26,27}. The smaller the surface between the Lorenz curve and the line of equality, the more equal the income distribution is. Our interest, however, is not in whether school tobacco policies are implemented equally in all schools, but whether they are implemented equitably according to need. To determine this, we computed a policy-need ratio, defined below, that quantifies the extent to which a school's policy corresponds to its level of need. Computing the Gini coefficient of the policy-need ratio thus captures the inequities, and not the inequalities, in the distribution of school tobacco policies.

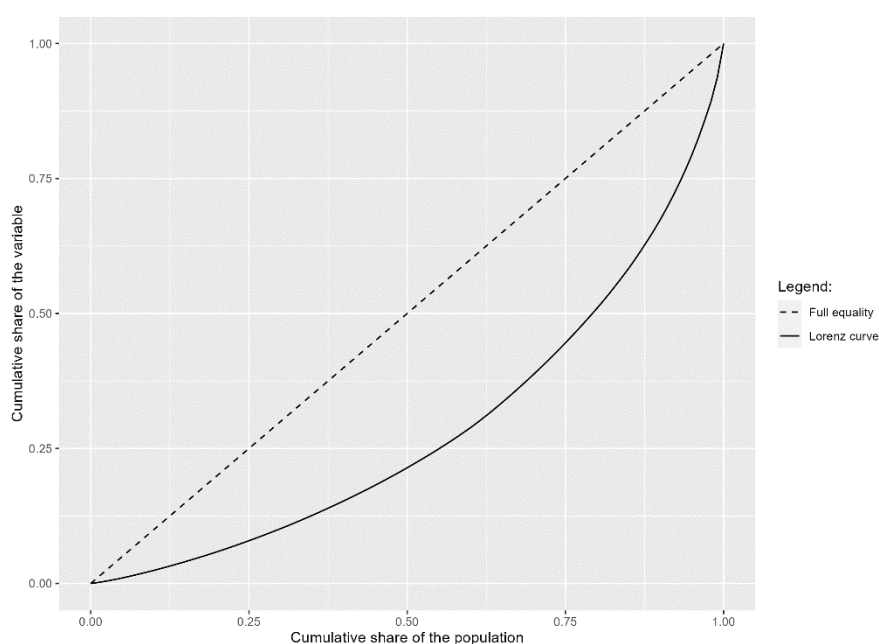


Figure 1. Lorenz curve

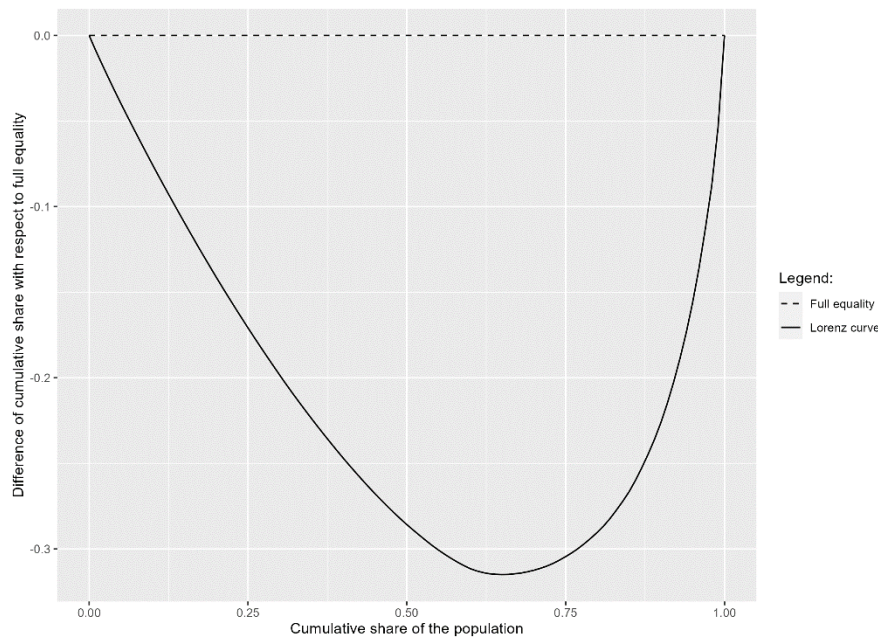


Figure 2. Lorenz curve – Distance to full equality

Definition of the policy-need ratio

Need definition

We defined the schools' need for a policy according to the prevalence of adolescent smoking²⁸. The measure of the prevalence of adolescent smoking was the proportion of adolescents who reported that they smoked at least one cigarette per week.

Expected score of school tobacco policies

Within each country, we attributed an expected score of school tobacco policies to schools based on implementation being fully equitable, i.e. corresponding to their need. If school A has the lowest level of need in its country, i.e. the lowest prevalence of adolescent smoking, its expected score is the lowest school tobacco policy score in the country. On the contrary, if school B has the highest level of need, i.e. the highest prevalence of adolescent smoking, its expected score is the highest school tobacco policy score in the country. Considering each country separately was necessary, as the national context and the overall denormalisation of

tobacco might be reflected in the implementation of school tobacco policies. In some countries, improving the implementation of tobacco control policies is seen as a minor policy issue ²⁹.

Policy-need ratio

For each school, we computed the policy-need ratio as the ratio between the actual school tobacco policy score and the expected school tobacco policy score. The value of the policy-need ratio was 1 if the school policy was exactly what was expected according to its need, lower than 1 if the school policy was less than what it needed, and higher than 1 if the school policy was more than it needed.

Independent variables

Independent variables that are known to affect the social context of smoking were used to decompose the measured inequity. They can be grouped into: (a) socio-demographic characteristics, (b) socio-economic characteristics, (c) family and home environment, (d) school environment, (e) history of smoking, and (f) peer network. A broad range of variables was included in order to best capture these factors. See Supplementary material for detailed descriptions of each variable.

Analysis

Ecological analyses were performed at the school level using the R software, version 4.1.2 ³⁰ and more precisely, the LorenzRegression package.

Gini coefficients

We calculated a Gini coefficient on the policy-need ratios. As mentioned before, in our case, the Gini coefficient captures inequities as it measures the inequality in the distribution of the policy-need ratios. A value of 0 signifies perfect equity: all policy-need ratios are equal to 1,

meaning that all schools have the policy score they ideally should have according to their need. The further it is from 0, the more inequitable the distribution is.

Explained Gini coefficients

We decomposed inequities using Lorenz regressions on the school samples of 2013 and 2016, with the policy-need ratio as the dependent variable and the independent variables mentioned above ³¹. This procedure estimates the explained Gini coefficient, which represents the inequality in the dependent variable that is attributable to the independent variables. Given the high number of independent variables compared to the sample sizes, we first ran a penalized Lorenz regression ³². The penalization is useful as it automatically selects the relevant variables and avoids overestimation of the explained Gini coefficient. It is, however, important to notice that given the small sample sizes, the precise sets of selected variables may be unstable. To enhance the comparability of the results, we added a further step. We retrieved the set of variables which were selected in at least one of the two years and ran non-penalized Lorenz regressions for each year using this common set of independent variables. The ratio between the explained Gini coefficient and the Gini coefficient is called the Lorenz- R^2 , which represents the share of inequity that the selected independent variables help reproduce.

Decomposition

We used the Shapley decomposition technique used by Jacquemain, Heuchenne and Van Kerm ³³ to decompose the explained Gini coefficient into the contributions of each of the selected independent variables.

RESULTS

Table 1 shows individual-level and school-level descriptive statistics. The school tobacco policy score did not vary much from 2013 to 2016, with a mean score of 6.00 and 6.48 respectively. The prevalence of smoking among adolescents significantly decreased from 19%

to 14%. Smoking was more prevalent in schools that had a lower policy score than they needed, but it decreased slightly more in those schools. The rest of the table summarises the factors used in the decomposition of inequities.

Table 2Figure 3 displays a series of Lorenz curves. It plots the cumulative proportion of the population (here, the schools), ranked by policy-need ratio from the schools with the lowest policy-need ratios to those with the highest (x-axis), against the difference of cumulative proportion of policy-need ratios with respect to full equity, from lowest to highest (y-axis). The “Observed inequity” curve is the Lorenz curve of the policy-need ratios, computed by the procedure described in the “Policy-need ratio” subsection of the “analysis” section above. It is nested between two extreme scenarios, based on hypothetical policy-need ratios. If there is full equity, all schools receive a school tobacco policy score that corresponds to their need, and the policy-need ratios are all equal to one. The Lorenz curve thus obtained is labelled “Full equity”. At the other extreme, the “Full inequity” curve corresponds to a situation in which, in each country, schools receive a school tobacco policy score that is inversely proportional to their need. The school with the lowest need thus receives the highest score, the school with the second lowest need receives the second-lowest score, etc. Finally, the “Explained inequity” curve is the concentration curve of the policy-need ratios fitted by the selected independent variables. The higher the Lorenz- R^2 , the closer the explained inequity curve is to the observed inequity curve.

Table 2 provides the Gini coefficients of the policy-need ratios, which is our measure of inequity in the distribution of school tobacco policies according to the schools’ level of need. Gini coefficients were similar over time, with a value of 8.8% in 2013 and 8.9% in 2016. To help interpret these coefficients, we can compare them to the hypothetical situation of “Full inequity” (Figure 3), in which the Gini coefficients would be 13.7% in 2013 and 12.7% in 2016.

Through the explained Gini coefficients, the Lorenz regression estimates the level of inequity that we were able to explain with the independent variables selected by the procedure, i.e. those with an estimated coefficient different from zero in either 2013 or 2016, which are detailed in Table 3. Explained Gini coefficients were similar over time, with a value of 6.4% in 2013 and 6.3% in 2016. Looking at the Lorenz- R^2 , the selected independent variables contributed to inequities to a slightly lower extent in 2016 (70.5%) than in 2013 (73.2%).

Table 4 shows the decomposition of the explained Gini coefficients into the contributions of the selected independent variables. Socio-economic factors, and family and home environment, contribute the most to the decomposition of inequities. In 2013, the adolescents' family and home environment accounted for 46.9% of the explained Gini coefficient, factors related to adolescents' socio-economic characteristics for 44.3%, the school environment for 4.7% and peer network for 4.1%. In 2016, the family and home environment accounted for 39.6% of the explained Gini coefficient, socio-economic characteristics for 28.9%, the school environment for 20.9% and peer network for 10.6%. In 2013, schools were more likely to have a higher policy score than needed when adolescents' (step)sisters smoked or when they performed better at school. On the contrary, schools were more likely to have a lower policy score than needed when adolescents who had never smoked were more central in the school network, when their (step)fathers smoked, when some of their friends smoked, when their (step)mothers had a medium-level education, or when they performed less at school. In 2016, schools were more likely to have a lower policy score than needed when adolescents who had never smoked were more central in the school network, when adolescents' (step)sisters or (step)fathers smoked, when they performed better or lesser at school, when some of their friends smoked, or when their (step)mothers had a medium-level education.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics. SILNE and SILNE-R, 2013-2016.

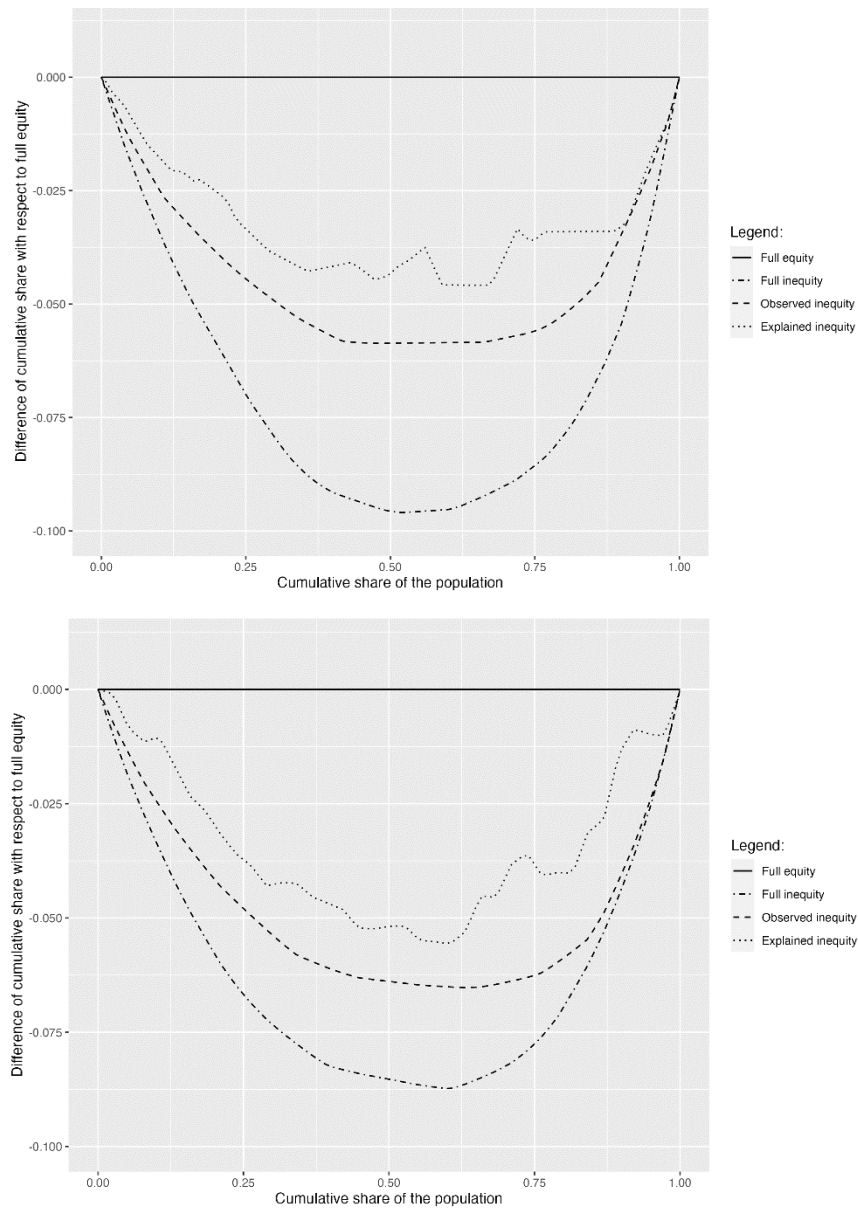
	2013 (<i>n</i> = 9305) %	2016 (<i>n</i> = 9197) %	p-value^a
Cities – Countries			<.0001
Namur – Belgium	20.9	21.1	
Tampere – Finland	16.1	16.6	
Hanover – Germany	8.3	5.7	
Latina – Italy	21.4	21.6	
Amersfoort – the Netherlands	12.9	14.9	
Coimbra – Portugal	20.4	20.3	
School tobacco policy (0-10) ^{b, c}	6.00 (1.33)	6.48 (1.11)	
Adolescent smoking in a school with ...a lower policy score than needed ^d	23.78	17.83	<.0001
...a policy score equal or higher than needed ^e	15.07	12.10	<.0001
Socio-demographic factors			
Age ^b	15.28 (1.05)	15.10 (1.04)	<.0001
Gender male	47.28	49.99	0.0002
Socio-economic factors			
Socio-economic status (0-10) ^b	6.71 (1.51)	6.67 (1.60)	0.0378
School performance (0-2) ^b	1.26 (0.73)	1.20 (0.76)	<.0001
Low	16.86	21.20	<.0001
Middle	40.12	37.64	
High	43.02	52.15	
Mother's education (0-2) ^b	1.15 (0.74)	1.22 (0.74)	<.0001
Low	21.14	19.24	<.0001
Middle	42.54	39.98	
High	36.61	40.78	
Father's education (0-2) ^b	1.06 (0.77)	1.13 (0.78)	<.0001
Low	26.83	24.58	<.0001
Middle	39.84	38.33	
High	33.32	37.10	
Wealth of school's neighbourhood (0-4) ^{b, c}	1.89 (1.07)	1.92 (0.77)	
Wealth of school's families (0-6) ^{b, c}	2.74 (1.22)	2.97 (0.97)	
Family and home environment			
Parental smoking (0-2) ^b	0.57 (0.74)	0.53 (0.73)	0.0005
No (step-)parent smoking	58.07	61.03	0.0003
One (step-)parent smoking	26.95	24.90	
Two and + (step-)parents smoking	14.98	14.07	
Sister(s) smoking	15.29	13.97	0.0635
Brother(s) smoking	19.90	18.22	0.0296

Continued

Table 1 continued

	2013 (<i>n</i> = 9305) %	2016 (<i>n</i> = 9197) %	p-value^a
Rules at home regarding smoking (0-2) ^b	1.51 (0.63)	1.51 (0.63)	0.9117
Smoking allowed nowhere	58.05	57.85	0.9242
Smoking allowed in certain areas	34.70	34.98	
Smoking allowed everywhere	7.26	7.17	
School environment			
Perceived smoking (%) ^b	53.49 (23.53)	40.67 (26.78)	<.0001
School connectedness (0-3) ^b	2.01 (0.54)	2.02 (0.52)	0.5820
Number of students in the school ^{b, c}	727 (435)	710 (517)	
Smoking-related behaviours			
Age of initiation ^b	13.31 (1.72)	13.38 (1.65)	0.0471
Ever tried vaping	-	36.85	
Peer network			
Friends' smoking (0-2) ^b	0.98 (0.73)	0.84 (0.73)	<.0001
None of them	27.32	35.59	<.0001
Some of them	47.18	44.46	
Most/All of them	25.50	19.95	
Friends' disapproval of smoking (0-2) ^b	1.38 (0.71)	1.44 (0.72)	<.0001
(Would) approve	13.52	13.55	<.0001
(Would) not care	35.41	29.31	
(Would) disapprove	51.08	57.24	
Difficulty of access to cigarettes (0-3) ^b	1.25 (1.05)	1.49 (1.06)	<.0001
Very easy	28.32	20.76	<.0001
Fairly easy	35.29	32.87	
Fairly difficult	19.20	23.11	
Very difficult	17.19	23.26	
Indegree centrality ^b			
Never smoked	3.27 (2.03)	3.36 (2.04)	0.0290
Ever smoked	3.48 (2.11)	3.46 (2.14)	0.6729
Regularly smokes	3.40 (2.16)	3.44 (2.22)	0.5792

^a P-values of differences between 2013 and 2016, calculated with Pearson's chi-squared tests and Students' t-tests for each variable separately. ^b Mean and standard deviation provided. ^c School-level. ^d n=18 in 2013, and n=17 in 2016. ^e n=20 in 2013, and n=21 in 2016



*Figure 3. Lorenz curves of the policy-need ratios in 2013 (top) and 2016 (bottom).
Distance to full equity*

Table 2. Gini coefficients of the policy-need ratios. SILNE and SILNE-R, 2013-2016. n=38 schools.

Year	Gini ^a	Explained Gini ^b	Lorenz-R ^{2c}	Gini under full inequity ^d
2013	8.77	6.42	73.19	13.72
2016	8.91	6.28	70.52	12.73

^a Gini coefficient of the policy-need ratio

^b Explained Gini coefficients, as estimated by the final non-penalized Lorenz regressions

^c Ratio between the explained Gini coefficient and the Gini coefficient

^d Situation in which, in each country, schools receive a school tobacco policy score that is inversely proportional to their need

Table 3. Relevant variables selected among the explanatory variables using the penalised Lorenz regression, 2013-2016

2013	2016
Indegree when never smoked	Sister(s) smoking
Father smoking	Low school performance
Having some friends who smoke	
High school performance	
Middle-level mother education	

Table 4. Decomposition of the explained Gini coefficients. SILNE and SILNE-R, 2013-2016. n=38 schools

Year	Contributions of factors (%)					
	Socio-demographic	Socio-economic	Family and home environment	School environment	History of smoking	Peer network
2013	0	44.32 ^a	46.89 ^c	4.67 ^c	0	4.12 ^f
2016	0	28.93 ^b	39.64 ^d	20.85 ^e	0	10.58 ^f

(+): Schools more likely to have a higher policy score than needed

(-): Schools more likely to have a lower policy score than needed

^a High school performance (+), Middle-level mother education (-), Low school performance (-)

^b High school performance (-), Middle-level mother education (-), Low school performance (-)

^c Father smoking (-), Sister(s) smoking (+)

^d Father smoking (-), Sister(s) smoking (-)

^e Indegree when never smoked (-)

^f Having some friends who smoke (-)

DISCUSSION

Effective policies rely on the commitment of resources at the local level, with insufficient or inadequate implementation leading to health inequalities. In this regard, school tobacco policies are an interesting case study, as their effectiveness is highly dependent on coherent and rigorous implementation. This study tests the inverse prevention law, and adds to the knowledge on the role of school tobacco policies in addressing health inequalities.

We used Lorenz curves to describe the extent to which these policies are implemented where they are most needed. The results reveal moderate inequity in the current implementation, indicating that policies often do not align with the prevalence of adolescent smoking in the six European cities. Importantly, the inequity disproportionately benefits adolescents who least need the policies, aligning with the concept of "negative equity impact" ¹⁶. This finding supports the inverse prevention law hypothesis, suggesting that current policies may not effectively reduce health inequalities and could even contribute to maintaining them.

The degree of inequity remained stable between 2013 and 2016, while at the same time, countries have made significant efforts to increase the regulation of tobacco products ²¹. The persistence of inequities highlights a disconnect between tobacco control policies and their implementation in the areas where they are most needed.

It is important to note that part of the inequity in the implementation of school tobacco policies was explained by factors that are mostly external to the school environment. The family and home environment contributed greatly to explaining inequity. Parents who smoke might be less supportive to school initiatives to enforce tobacco policies ³⁴. Schreuders, Kuipers, Mlinarić, Grard, Linnansaari, Rimpela, Richter, Perelman, Lorant, van den Putte and Kunst ³⁵ found that

school tobacco policies were generally associated with anti-smoking beliefs, but more so among adolescents from smoking prohibitive than from permissive families. Moreover, stricter rules at home regarding smoking might be associated with stricter school tobacco policies because parents who apply a smoke-free home policy might be more inclined to support the implementation of a policy in their children's school. Overall, the school environment and the family and home environments are enmeshed, and both play important roles in the development of adolescents' attitudes to smoking.

Socio-economic characteristics also contributed to explaining the inequity in the distribution of school tobacco policies. The association between poorer school performance and increased smoking has been highlighted previously ^{3,36,37}. One possible explanation is that school staff members at low-performing schools prioritize teaching over health promotion and maintaining their relationships with the adolescents, making implementing a strong school tobacco policy a lesser priority ³⁸.

Regarding the school environment characteristics, school authorities are less likely to take action when adolescents who have never smoked are more popular. This could be due to smoking being less socially visible, although still prevalent.

This study is subject to limitations. First, our study is based on the assumption that the need for policies can be measured using the prevalence of adolescent smoking. The risk of reverse causation is low as smoking prevalence is unlikely to be reduced by school tobacco policies ^{6,39-41}. Second, this study allows comparison between schools across, but not between or within different contexts. A larger sample of schools would have been necessary to conclude on inequalities within each city/country. Finally, more information on school resources would have

helped to understand our findings, such as the ratio between the number of school staff members and the number of adolescents, or the school's financial resources.

Despite the impetus for research on school tobacco policies, few studies have looked at these policies from the perspective of equity. This study is the first to observe that the implementation of school tobacco policies does not correspond to schools' level of need. It also indicates that the inverse prevention law is enmeshed into the complex web of multi-layered contextual factors, including the school, family and home environments. This echoes Thimm-Kaiser, Benzekri and Guilamo-Ramos ⁴²'s suggested framework to better understand how social determinants of health shape health inequities through contextual influences, and the non-deterministic effect of social determinants of health.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this study highlights the inequitable distribution of school tobacco policies across six European cities. The policies often do not align with schools' needs, disproportionately benefiting those with less need. External factors, especially the family and home environment, significantly contribute to this inequity. Policymakers should adopt a vertical equity perspective, providing more resources to schools with greater needs, and fine-tune strategies to consider these external influences. Improved collaboration with school health services is suggested to inform schools about the need for increased efforts. Addressing these issues is crucial for utilizing school tobacco policies as effective tools against adolescent smoking in order to reduce health inequalities.

Further research is needed to better understand how external factors, such as the family and home environment, as well as internal factors, such as governance model, financial and human resources, and school staff members' smoking, can be identified and taken into account in the

design and implementation of school tobacco policies, to ensure that such policies do not perpetuate health inequalities.

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Contributors

Nora Mélard: Conceptualization, Methodology, Formal analysis, Data curation, Writing – Original Draft, Writing – Review & Edition. **Alexandre Jacquemain:** Methodology, Formal analysis, Data curation, Writing – Review & Edition. **Julian Perelman:** Writing – Review & Edition, Project administration, Funding acquisition. **Vincent Lorant:** Conceptualization, Methodology, Resources, Writing – Review & Edition, Supervision, Project administration, Funding acquisition.

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