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Underestimation of homeless clients' interest in quitting smoking: a case for routine tobacco assessment

Abridged title: Underestimation of homeless clients' interest in quitting smoking

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1 **Abstract**

2 **Issue addressed**

3 Smoking is the main cause of excess mortality among the homeless, however little is known
4 about smoking amongst homeless Australians. This study examined smoking behaviour,
5 including high-risk smoking practices, and interest in quitting among clients of the Royal
6 District Nursing Service Homeless Persons' Program (RDNS-HPP), in Melbourne, Australia.
7 Nurse practices and attitudes towards providing cessation assistance to clients and RDNS'
8 organisation-wide tobacco-related policy and practices were investigated.

9 **Methods**

10 Twenty-six nurses completed an anonymous survey at a team meeting. Subsequently, nurses
11 administered a survey to 104 clients. RDNS' organisation-wide tobacco-related policy and
12 practices were audited.

13 **Results**

14 Most clients (82%) smoked, half of these (52%) reported wanting to quit and half (48%) had
15 tried to quit or reduce smoking in the previous three months. Nurses accurately estimated
16 clients' high smoking prevalence, but underestimated interest in quitting by 19%. Most
17 smokers (65%) reported polytobacco use. High-risk smoking practices included tobacco
18 mixed with another drug (41%), smoking discarded tobacco butts (34%) and illicit 'chop
19 chop' tobacco (25%). Among nurses 92% agreed that cessation support should be part of
20 normal client care. RDNS-HPP's client assessment form contained fields for 'respiratory
21 issues' and 'drug issues', but not a specific field for smoking status. RDNS' smoking policy
22 focussed on provision of a smoke-free work environment.

23 **Conclusions**

24 Many smokers using homeless services want to quit.

25 **So what?**

26 Homeless services should develop, and include in their smoking policy and intake processes,
27 a practice of routinely assessing tobacco use, offering brief interventions and referral to
28 appropriately tailored services.

29

30 **Key words**

31 tobacco, cigarettes, chop chop, cannabis, high-risk smoking, polytobacco, nurse, attitudes,
32 practice,

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43 **Introduction**

44 On any given night in Australia 1 in 200 people are homeless, defined as living in an
45 inadequate dwelling or having no or insecure tenure.¹ In high-income countries, tobacco
46 smoking amongst people experiencing homelessness is extremely prevalent,²⁻⁴ and has been
47 identified as the main cause of excess mortality.⁵ However, very little is known about
48 smoking behaviour amongst homeless Australians. Reported smoking prevalence rates of
49 77%⁶ in 1995-6 and 83%⁷ in 2011 contrast sharply with the rapid decline in the Australian
50 general population smoking rate from 24% to 13% over the last 15 years.⁸ Homeless
51 Australians are now over six times more likely to smoke than the general population,
52 widening the associated health and economic disparity between these groups.

53 The two Australian studies reporting smoking prevalence were broad studies of health or
54 social, economic and personal factors relating to homelessness. As such, they provide little
55 information about smoking beyond prevalence. Overseas research has found that concurrent
56 use of two or more tobacco products (polytobacco use) was prevalent (51%) among homeless
57 smokers at a shelter in Dallas, Texas.⁹ While, another U.S. study observed high rates of high-
58 risk smoking practices amongst 59 homeless smokers in Los Angeles, including remaking
59 cigarettes from discarded butts (71%) and smoking discarded butts (63%).¹⁰ Such practices
60 pose a risk of exposure to toxins trapped in filters and tobacco remains and increase
61 infectious disease transmission. No Australian studies have reported on types of tobacco
62 smoked among the homeless, including use of illicit tobacco (known as ‘chop chop’) which is
63 considerably cheaper than legally purchased tobacco. Chop chop may be grown and
64 processed using techniques and bulking agents that elevate concentrations of heavy metals
65 and other toxins.¹¹⁻¹⁴ Such information is needed to inform strategies to reduce smoking rates
66 and harm.

67 Emerging evidence from the U.S. indicates that homeless smokers are as interested in
68 receiving help to quit as non-homeless smokers,¹⁴⁻¹⁸ with self-efficacy to quit significantly
69 higher if assistance (pharmacotherapy and counselling) is available.¹⁶ While no Australian
70 studies have investigated interest in quitting specifically among homeless populations, there
71 is some evidence from clients of social and community service organisations (SCOSs) in
72 NSW, which would include homeless individuals amongst other people seeking welfare
73 support.¹⁹ Among 383 clients 61% smoked and 53% wanted help from SCOS staff to quit.¹⁹
74 While SCOS staff identified smoking cessation assistance as a good fit with other services
75 provided,¹⁹ very few offered cessation assistance. Barriers identified in a qualitative
76 investigation included staff assumptions that clients would not be interested in quitting, or
77 were unable to quit, as they needed tobacco to cope with stress. In addition, staff felt
78 insufficiently resourced to address smoking in regards to time, funding for pharmacotherapy
79 or training.²⁰ Similar barriers were identified in a U.S. study of health professional attitudes
80 toward smoking specifically among the homeless. An online survey completed by 231 (30%)
81 of 762 members of the Health Care for the Homeless Clinicians' Network indicated that
82 frequently cited barriers to addressing patient tobacco use included competing medical,
83 psychiatric or social issues (78%), lack of time (47%) and having inadequate local resources
84 or access to cessation therapies (38%).²¹

85 The above findings suggest a mismatch between client interest in stopping smoking and staff
86 willingness to raise and address the issue. The current study sought to examine smoking in
87 an Australian homeless service from the client, staff and organisational perspectives, to
88 inform changes to reduce the harm caused by client tobacco use. In addition, this
89 investigation aimed to add to the very limited Australian data on smoking amongst the
90 homeless, including for the first time interest in quitting and the prevalence of high-risk
91 smoking practices.

92 **Methods**

93 Setting

94 The Royal District Nursing Service Homeless Persons' Program (RDNS-HPP), in
95 Melbourne, Australia, comprises a team of community health nurses who provide holistic
96 primary health care to individuals experiencing (or at risk of) homelessness. Clients included
97 those serviced by an outreach model (e.g. street homeless, supported residential services) and
98 via nurse clinics (e.g. specialist homeless services, community health settings). In 2010
99 RDNS-HPP prioritised smoking cessation support for clients and sought assistance from Quit
100 Victoria.

101 Ethical approval

102 The Royal District Nursing Service Human Research Ethics Committee approved this
103 research.

104 Nurse survey

105 In June 2011, all nurses at a routine staff meeting (26 from a staff of 34, 76%) completed an
106 anonymous, 28-question, survey. Questions investigated nurses' attitudes toward providing
107 smoking cessation assistance to clients, their current practices and their perceptions of
108 barriers to providing assistance. Nurses also estimated the smoking rate and interest in
109 quitting of their case-load, and disclosed their own smoking status.

110 Client survey

111 In April 2012, all nurses at a routine staff meeting (25 from a staff of 34, 74%), were asked to
112 administer an eight-question survey with the first five clients, aged ≥ 18 , they saw from 27th of
113 April 2012. Data was collected over a two week period. Participation was voluntary and a

114 plain language statement and consent form was completed with all clients. If a client declined
115 to participate, nurses were instructed to ask the next client they saw (i.e. 6th client) and so on
116 in order to conduct the survey systematically.

117 Demographic measures were age, gender and homelessness category which was stratified
118 into three levels²². Primary homeless describes those without conventional shelter, such as
119 'rough sleepers', 'squatters' or those living in improvised dwellings such as cars. Secondary
120 homeless applies to people residing in unsecured and temporary accommodation, such as
121 crisis accommodation, and is operationally defined as lasting for ≤ 12 weeks. Tertiary
122 homeless describes those accommodated for ≥ 13 weeks, without security of tenure, such as in
123 boarding houses. Participants' demographic information was compared to that of all RDNS-
124 HPP clients in 2011-2012, which was obtained from the organisation's client management
125 database.

126 Smoking measures included smoking status, types of tobacco smoked, tobacco consumption,
127 attempts to quit or reduce smoking in the previous three months and current interest in
128 quitting. Tobacco consumption was reported as the number of cigarettes smoked daily and/or
129 how many grams of pouch tobacco were smoked daily. Total tobacco consumption was
130 computed by converting grams of pouch tobacco to number of cigarettes ($0.8\text{gm} = 1$
131 cigarette). Tobacco companies in Australia are taxed at a higher rate for sticks of tobacco
132 exceeding 0.8gm of tobacco; therefore most manufactured cigarettes contain 0.8gm of
133 tobacco.

134 Reasons for nurses not administering the client survey ($n=9$) included being on leave, other
135 work commitments or working with clients < 18 years old. Staff reported that no clients
136 refused to participate, however not all staff completed five surveys.

137 Audit of RDNS's tobacco policy and practice

138 RDNS-HPP reference group members (Client Services Manager, Team Coordinator and a
139 nurse) provided a copy of RDNS' smoking policy for content analysis. Further discussions
140 ascertained whether client smoking status and treatment were fields on client assessment
141 forms and on the RDNS client management database, whether any cessation training had
142 been provided to staff and what forms of cessation assistance were currently offered.

143 **Results**

144 Nurse survey

145 *Nurses' smoking*

146 Only two (8%) nurses were current smokers, nine (35%) were former smokers and 15 (58%)
147 had never smoked.

148 *Attitudes and current practices*

149 Almost all nurses (92%, n=24) 'agreed' or 'strongly agreed' that assistance for clients to quit
150 or reduce smoking should be part of the normal care that RDNS-HPP provides. A similar
151 number (96%, n=25) responded 'yes' that their service is an appropriate setting to provide
152 cessation treatment. Open-ended optional reasons for this included existing rapport with
153 clients, capacity to deliver flexible, intensive and long-term care, and recognition of client
154 need given high rates of smoking and poor health. However, Table 1 indicates high variation
155 in nurses' cessation practice. Of note, under half of nurses (42%, n=11) consistently recorded
156 new clients' smoking status in case notes, and 15% (n=4) consistently asked if clients were
157 interested in reducing or quitting.

158 [Table 1 here]

159 *Estimates of client smoking and interest in quitting*

160 Nurses estimated (prior to the conduct of the client survey) that an average of 88% of their
161 case-load were current smokers (range:75-100%). They estimated that on average 33%
162 (range:0-80%) of their smoking clients ‘would be interested in quitting or reducing’.

163 *Barriers to smoking cessation*

164 Barriers identified as ‘significant’ by nurses in offering cessation assistance included ‘client
165 cognitive impairment’ (62%, n=16 nurses agreed), ‘clients’ other welfare needs taking
166 priority’ (62%, n=16) and ‘difficulty locating clients’ (50%, n=13). A less salient barrier was
167 ‘questionable benefits of quitting for some clients’ (19%, n=5). No one selected ‘not
168 comfortable raising smoking with clients’ as a barrier.

169 Over half of the nurses (58%, n=15) ‘agreed’ or ‘strongly agreed’ with the statement ‘quitting
170 smoking increases the possibility of exacerbating clients’ mental health issues’. Eight (31%)
171 were neutral and three (12%) ‘disagreed’ or ‘strongly disagreed’. When asked ‘Do you think
172 smoking provides any benefits to your clients?’ 16 (62%) nurses selected ‘smoking reduces
173 stress’ and the same number selected ‘smoking reduces boredom’.

174 Table 2 outlines barriers identified by nurses that in their opinion would present significant
175 barriers for clients’ participation in smoking cessation assistance.

176 [Table 2 here]

177 Client survey

178 *Client characteristics*

179 Characteristics of the 104 clients that participated are presented in Table 3. Participants were
180 representative of the wider population of 1,432 RDNS-HPP clients in 2011-2012 in regards to
181 gender and age, however the survey sample included less primary, hence more secondary and
182 tertiary, homeless clients (36% tertiary, 28% secondary, 23% primary,12% not specified).

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[Table 3 here]

Client smoking behaviour

In all, 82% of clients were smokers with 65% using more than one type of tobacco (Table 3). Table 4 reports the types used and shows relatively low ‘chop chop’ use, but high use of tobacco mixed with another drug. Smoking and tobacco consumption were not related to age, gender or homelessness category.

[Table 4 here]

Clients’ smoking cessation behaviour

Clients were asked ‘In the last three months have you tried to reduce or quit smoking?’ with affirmative responses choosing between ‘yes, I quit’, ‘yes, I reduced’ or ‘I tried with little success’. Outcomes in Table 3 show that almost half the clients reported either cutting down or making a quit attempt.

Of the nine clients who had made a quit attempt during the previous three months, four had quit for ≥ 7 days and five quit for < 7 days. Reporting a quit attempt was not related to age or gender, but was related to classification of homelessness in the opposite direction to that expected. In all, 22% (2 of 9 cases) of primary homeless clients reported a quit attempt versus 18% (6 of 33 cases) of secondary homeless clients and 2% (1 of 42 cases) of tertiary homeless, $\chi^2(n=84) = 6.93, df=2, p=0.03$.

207 The 31 clients who reported reducing consumption in the previous three months had done so
208 by a mean of 11 cigarettes daily (range: 3-49). Reducing smoking was not related to age,
209 gender or homelessness classification.

210

211 Reducing consumption or making a quit attempt in the three months before the survey was
212 less likely among those with higher consumption, polytobacco use or who smoked discarded
213 butts. Specifically, 31% of those smoking ≥ 25 cigarettes per day reported quitting or cutting
214 down compared to 44% of those smoking 16-24 cigarettes and two thirds (66%) of those
215 smoking ≤ 14 cigarettes per day, $X^2(n=84) = 7.66$, $df=2$, $p=0.02$. Thirty-nine per cent of
216 polytobacco users reported reducing tobacco use or making a quit attempt compared to 63%
217 of those smoking only one form of tobacco, $X^2(n=84) = 4.66$, $df=1$, $p=0.03$. Similarly 32% of
218 those who reported smoking butts reported reducing tobacco use or making a quit attempt
219 compared to 55% of those who reported never smoking discarded cigarette butts, ($X^2(n=84)$
220 $= 4.11$, $df=1$, $p=0.04$). Use of chop chop or smoking tobacco mixed with another drug were
221 not related to making quit attempts or tobacco reduction.

222

223 *Clients' interest in stopping smoking*

224 Just over half of clients reported that they would like to stop smoking (Table 3). This is
225 considerably more than the nurses' estimate of 33%. Amongst those wanting to stop
226 smoking, most (82%, $n=36$) had tried to reduce or quit during the previous three months
227 compared to 44% ($n=18$) of those not interested in stopping, $X^2(n=85)=13.58$, $df=1$, $p<0.001$.
228 Desire to stop smoking was unrelated to classification of homelessness, age, gender or
229 tobacco consumption.

230 RDNS' tobacco policy and practice

231 RDNS' smoking policy sits within an occupational health and safety framework i.e. the
232 provision of a smoke-free work environment and was addressed to service providers,
233 although it suggested that 'clients can help us by assisting us with their home healthcare and
234 safety (e.g. no smoking in room with oxygen equipment)'. RDNS-HPP operates as a client-
235 led service avoiding a directive approach in regard to client smoking or other drug use, as it
236 was felt this may discourage service engagement.

237 RDNS-HPP's client intake assessment did not include smoking status or treatment as specific
238 items, but included the fields 'respiratory issues' and 'drug issues', in which smoking could
239 be recorded. One nurse had attended a Quit Victoria cessation training course in the previous
240 12 months.

241 Provision of cessation assistance was either client initiated and/or at nurses' discretion.
242 Nurses routinely assisted clients with GP visits and medications. Prior to the February 2011
243 government subsidy of NRT patches a number of funding allocations for NRT were sought,
244 however the high cost meant it could not be offered broadly to RDNS-HPP clients.

245 **Discussion**

246 This study is the first in Australia to demonstrate that despite the extraordinary high and
247 persistent smoking rate among Melbourne's homeless (82% in this study; 77% in 1995-6⁶),
248 approximately half are interested in and are actively trying to reduce and quit smoking.

249 Cessation assistance that is tailored to meet the needs of people experiencing homelessness is
250 clearly warranted and likely to be well-received. However, nurses underestimated client
251 interest in quitting because it was not routinely assessed. The client-led nature of many
252 homeless services means that smoking is typically addressed only if clients raise the issue.

253 This approach severely reduces access to cessation treatment because clients present with
254 multiple welfare needs and most smokers are reluctant to seek cessation assistance given the

255 strong levels of ambivalence normal for any addictive behaviour, beliefs that quitting is
256 something they should be able to do by themselves, and lack of awareness of the
257 effectiveness of smoking cessation treatment.²³ In contrast, when smokers are proactively
258 offered assistance many take it up.²⁴ Organisational system changes such as including
259 smoking status, interest in quitting and offers and/or referrals for assistance on client in-take
260 forms offer an efficient means to eliminate misperceptions about client interest in quitting.
261 Most organisations working with disadvantaged smokers already have a smokefree policy
262 designed to limit exposure to environmental tobacco smoke. Integrating smoking assessment
263 and cessation support into existing policies (as RDNS has subsequently done) provides a
264 comprehensive policy that dually acts to denormalise smoking and support smokers to reduce
265 or quit.

266 The findings of this study broadly concur with U.S. research among staff and clients of
267 homeless services^{14-18,21} and SCSOs in NSW,^{19,20} i.e. high smoking rates and interest in
268 quitting, with similar barriers to smoking cessation and treatment identified. Outcomes from a
269 small number of U.S. trials²⁵⁻²⁷ suggest that tailored evidence-based smoking cessation
270 assistance including motivational interviewing, cognitive behavioural therapy and NRT,
271 delivered in homeless services helps smokers to quit, with success rates lower than that of the
272 general population, but impressive given the challenges commonly faced by this group.
273 However, the capacity of homeless services to train staff and deliver support varies so
274 training and practice need to be accessible and easy to implement. Tailored online training
275 could assist homeless organisations unable to access face-to-face training. Routine delivery of
276 brief (less than 5 minute) assistance that helps client's access reduced-cost nicotine patches
277 available on prescription, and includes an offer for a call from Quitline, would further reduce
278 the burden on services. RDNS staff have subsequently upskilled Victoria's Quitline in the

279 needs of homeless smokers and the service has been shown to be valued by homeless
280 smokers.²⁸
281
282 Findings from this body of work need to inform both staff training programs and tailored
283 tobacco treatments for people experiencing homelessness. In particular, staff training should
284 address concerns about the impact of smoking reduction or cessation on clients' mental
285 health. A recent meta-analysis concluded that smoking cessation is associated with improved
286 quality of life, and reduced depression, anxiety and stress compared with continued smoking.
287 Effect sizes for these differences were as large in people with mental illness as in the general
288 population and were equal to or larger than those of anti-depressant treatment for mood and
289 anxiety disorders.²⁹ Much of the concern about worsening mental health may stem from the
290 fact that nicotine withdrawal symptoms can be difficult to distinguish from mental health
291 symptoms, however withdrawal is temporary (around 2 weeks) and often not as severe as
292 anticipated. Tools such as structured monitoring of withdrawal symptoms and medication
293 side-effects³⁰ (as smoking can increase the blood levels of some psychotropic medications)³¹
294 can provide objective feedback on symptom changes, including improvements, and the
295 opportunity for early intervention and consultation with the client's doctor in cases where
296 symptoms worsen and persist. This monitoring of client experiences is now routine practice
297 on Victoria's Quitline service for callers with mental health issues.

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299 The two in five clients smoking tobacco mixed with another drug in this study indicates that
300 staff training should provide guidance and reassurance in addressing dual dependencies. It is
301 commonly believed that stopping smoking is too difficult for clients trying to quit alcohol and
302 illicit drugs, however smoking cessation treatment during addictions treatment is actually
303 associated with greater success in quitting other substances.³² Staff training to deliver health

304 information about high-risk smoking practices such as smoking butts or chop chop (reported
305 by 25% of the sample compared to 3.6% among the general population smokers⁸) is also
306 warranted to help clients make informed choices and reduce harm.

307

308 In addition, this study found that heavier smokers, polytobacco users and butt smokers were
309 less likely to have tried to quit or reduce smoking in the three months before the survey,
310 possibly indicating sub-populations with very entrenched smoking in need of extra support.
311 With regard to delivery of cessation assistance, barriers identified by nurses, such as client
312 cognitive impairment and more pressing welfare needs, suggest that assistance needs to be
313 delivered flexibly. Extended treatment duration and more intensive help is likely needed, but
314 support also needs to embrace the chaos in clients' lives, have achievable goals and allow the
315 client's input regarding the level of support.

316

317 Limitations of this study include that the opinions and practices collected here represent those
318 of the majority of a team of nurses from one organisation motivated to address smoking, and
319 do not purport to be representative of homeless services more broadly. Similarly, the client
320 sample, being approximately 7% of the total number of clients registered by one organisation,
321 does not purport to reflect the homeless population at large. However, the diversity of clients
322 interviewed (across service settings, age ranges, as well as varying classifications of
323 homelessness), and the breadth of the questions asked in this study, provides valuable new
324 insights into the lived experiences of tobacco use by people experiencing homelessness in
325 Melbourne.

326 **Conclusion**

327 This study highlights the continuing high prevalence of smoking among people experiencing
328 homelessness. This finding, coupled with the high interest in, and activity to, quit or reduce

329 smoking shown by members of this population, underscores the unmet need for tailored and
330 accessible cessation interventions. Integrating staff training that addresses common concerns
331 about stopping smoking with routine smoking assessment and cessation support for clients
332 into existing smokefree policies can help institutionalise support into organisational practice,
333 challenge cultures permissive of smoking, and provide homeless smokers with valuable
334 opportunities to decrease their financial insecurity and improve their physical and mental
335 health.

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Table 1: Nurses' smoking cessation practice

Current practice	Never		Occasionally		Often		All the time	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Record new clients smoking status in case notes (n=25)	5	(19)	7	(27)	2	(8)	11	(42)
Ask if clients are interested in reducing or quitting (n=25)	2	(8)	7	(27)	12	(46)	4	(15)
Incorporating smoking cessation goals into care plans for clients wishing to quit (n=23)	5	(19)	12	(46)	5	(19)	1	(4)
Record attempts to quit or reduce smoking (n=24)	3	(12)	11	(42)	8	(31)	2	(8)
Refer clients interested in quitting to Quitline or GPs for smoking cessation assistance (n=24)	7	(27)	9	(35)	6	(23)	2	(8)
Help build clients' motivation to quit (n=24)	1	(4)	9	(35)	10	(38)	4	(15)
Provide emotional support to quit or reduce smoking (n=24)	1	(4)	8	(31)	13	(50)	2	(8)
Provide smoking clients with written or verbal health information relating to smoking (n=24)	6	(23)	11	(42)	6	(23)	1	(4)

Note: Percentages ≥ 0.5 rounded upwards, therefore rows may not sum to 100%

Table 2: Client-barriers to accessing smoking cessation assistance as identified by nurses as significant (N=26).

Client-barriers	<i>n</i>	%
Strong pro-smoking cultural norms among clients	22	85%
High levels of nicotine dependence	21	81%
Clients have more pressing needs	20	77%
Client cognitive impairment	19	73%
Client anxiety about quitting	17	65%
Clients not seeing any benefits in quitting	10	39%
Access to telephone to use Quitline phone support	6	23%
Health and welfare staff smoking in front of clients	5	19%

Table 3: Client characteristics and smoking behaviour.

Characteristic (all participants N=104)	n or M	% or SD
Age (N=102)	50	13.9
Male (N=103)	72	70%
Homelessness category (N=103)		
Tertiary (accommodated >13 weeks, without secure tenure)	54	52%
Secondary (unsecured, temporary accommodation)	39	38%
Primary (without conventional shelter)	10	10%
Current smoker (N=104)	85	82%
Smoking behaviour (N=85)		
Cigarettes per day*	21	14.7
Light (<15)	33	39%
Medium (15-24)	23	27%
Heavy (25+)	29	34%
Number of types of tobacco smoked		
One	30	35%
Two - three	32	38%
Four+	23	27%
Tried to quit or reduce smoking during the previous 3 months		
Yes, quit attempt (>24 hours)	9	11%
Yes, reduced amount smoked	31	37%
Yes, tried with little success	14	16%
No, didn't try	30	36%
Would you like to stop smoking?		
Yes	44	52%
No	23	27%
Unsure	18	21%

* Where grams of tobacco was reported this was converted to cigarettes, 0.8 grams = 1 cigarette