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*impact on visibility of tobacco and compliance of retailers*

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# Bans on tobacco display, advertising and vending machines in the Netherlands: impact on visibility of tobacco and compliance of retailers

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## ABSTRACT

**Introduction** Visibility of tobacco products at retail tobacco outlets is associated with smoking initiation. To address this, across 2020–2022 the Netherlands banned tobacco product displays, advertisements and vending machines in the retail environment. Tobacco/vape specialist shops were exempted. This study assessed the impact of these policies on tobacco visibility in the retail environment and retailer compliance.

**Methods** We conducted observational audits of all tobacco outlets in four Dutch cities (Amsterdam, Haarlem, Eindhoven and Zwolle) between 2019 and 2022 (before and after policy implementation), assessing visibility of tobacco products and advertisements, compliance and remaining sources of tobacco visibility (after implementation). We described results by location and outlet type.

**Results** The number of tobacco outlets with any tobacco advertising or product visibility declined from 530 to 267 (–50%). Among outlets not exempt from the ban, the number with visibility declined from 449 to 172 (–62%), with lower postban visibility in petrol stations (12%) and supermarkets (6%) than small shops (47%). Visibility among tobacco/vape shops increased by 17%. Tobacco product displays remained the main source of visibility. 93% of tobacco vending machines were removed. Maps showed that non-compliance is concentrated in Amsterdam's city centre and more evenly distributed in other cities.

**Conclusion** The bans on tobacco display and tobacco advertising halved the visibility of tobacco in the retail environment, and the vending machine ban practically eradicated vending machines. To further reduce tobacco visibility, violations in small shops should be addressed and tobacco visibility should be regulated in currently exempt tobacco specialist shops.

## INTRODUCTION

Eliminating tobacco visibility in the retail environment is crucial in tobacco control, as exposure to retail tobacco displays and marketing have been associated with greater smoking susceptibility and initiation.<sup>1–4</sup> Tobacco visibility and marketing at the point of sale (POS) can encourage smoking by making smoking more attractive as well as acting as cues for cravings in existing users.<sup>5,6</sup> Beyond triggering cravings in existing users or curiosity in non-users, tobacco retail visibility plays an important role in normalising tobacco purchase and use as its wide availability and visibility may indicate

### WHAT IS ALREADY KNOWN ON THE TOPIC

- ⇒ Reducing retail tobacco visibility denormalises tobacco use.
- ⇒ Existing visibility regulations yield mixed results.

### WHAT THIS STUDY ADDS

- ⇒ We present a longitudinal audit of Dutch tobacco retailers during implementation of tobacco visibility regulations.
- ⇒ Analysis is provided by visibility type, retailer, location and changes over time.

### HOW THIS STUDY MIGHT AFFECT RESEARCH, PRACTICE, OR POLICY

- ⇒ The regulation was highly effective, potentially acting as a model for regulations elsewhere.
- ⇒ Regulatory gaps and next policy steps are identified.

that using tobacco is a common and acceptable behaviour.<sup>6</sup>

Policies that ban retail tobacco visibility may address the adverse impact of the tobacco retail environment on smoking. These policies include bans on tobacco product displays, advertising and vending machines. Evidence on compliance with existing bans has been mixed: a year after the implementation of a POS marketing ban in Ontario in Canada, POS marketing had been virtually eliminated,<sup>7</sup> while compliance with a retail tobacco visibility ban in Scotland was nearly universal only a few weeks after regulations were implemented in 2013 and 2015.<sup>8</sup> In contrast, in New Zealand over 60% of retail establishments were non-compliant even 3 years after a ban entered into effect in 2003.<sup>9</sup> In Poland, compliance with a 2016 POS marketing ban was low, and e-cigarettes became more visible despite being subject to the restriction.<sup>10</sup>

Besides the overall level of visibility of tobacco in the retail environment and compliance with policies, it is important to understand what characterises shops that are non-compliant and in which ways tobacco is still visible. This may inform future policies and enforcement activities. Previous studies suggest that certain types of product marketing, such as counter or change mats, were more likely to remain present after the implementation of tobacco visibility regulations compared with tobacco products.<sup>10</sup> Compliance can also significantly vary by region and store type: in Canada, convenience



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stores and other small outlets were found to display tobacco products much more commonly than other outlet types.<sup>7</sup>

The Netherlands has recently enacted a tobacco display ban, implemented in supermarkets in July 2020 and expanded to all other points of sale (eg, gas stations, drug stores, kiosks, bars) at the start of 2021, with the exception of tobacco specialty shops.<sup>11</sup> This display ban included a ban on tobacco advertising in shops such as newsagents and convenience stores. A ban on tobacco vending machines came into effect at the start of 2022.<sup>11</sup> In July 2022 (after the data collection for this paper), the ban was extended to tobacco products and advertising visible from the outside of specialty shops, such that tobacco products and marketing are no longer allowed to be visible through a door or window. Dutch law treats e-cigarettes and heated tobacco devices as tobacco products; they are hence subject to the same ban on retail display.

As of 2022, Dutch tobacco retail visibility restrictions are among the strictest in the world; within the EU, only Ireland, Croatia and Finland have comparable bans.<sup>212</sup> Although tobacco vending machines are banned in some Eastern European countries, many countries still allow tobacco sales through unattended machines. Prior to the ban on tobacco vending machines in the Netherlands, vending machines made up only 3% of tobacco sales, but were estimated to comprise over a third of tobacco outlets.<sup>13</sup> Tobacco products are often plainly visible in or on tobacco vending machines, significantly increasing visibility of tobacco products to the public.

There has been little research on the impact of tobacco retail visibility restrictions on the visibility of tobacco products and advertising in the retail environment. Moreover, it is important for optimisation of these policies to gain a better understanding of whether any remaining visibility is due to lack of retailer compliance, or due to exemption present in the ban. Evaluating the effects of this regulation is important not just for Dutch tobacco control policy, but can also inform and guide future tobacco control policies in other nations.

This study assessed (1) The impact of bans on product displays, advertisements, and vending machines on tobacco products and advertising visibility at retail outlets and (2) Retail compliance with these policies. We used data from a multiyear observational audit of over 800 tobacco retail outlets to compare predisplay ban and postdisplay ban visibility of tobacco products and advertising. We assessed these changes by type of outlet, as well as by city. We also assessed changes in vending machine presence before and after the vending machine ban, overall and by city. Within the postban data, we assessed compliance rates with the display ban (ie, per cent non-exempt outlets without tobacco visibility) and vending machine ban (ie, per cent vending machines removed), overall and by outlet type and city. Postban we also assessed which types of tobacco visibility and advertising were still present after the display ban, overall and by outlet type.

## METHODS

### Design and setting

We executed data collection in three waves. Wave 1 (September 2019 to June 2020) assessed visibility before the implementation of the tobacco display ban and vending machine ban, and served as a baseline. Wave 2 a (July–September 2021) took place 6–9 months after the display ban fully went into effect, while Wave 2b (April–May 2022) occurred 4–5 months after the vending machine ban went into effect.

The study area was composed of the municipalities of Amsterdam, Eindhoven, Haarlem and Zwolle. We selected

these cities as they represent a variation of Dutch urban areas, with Amsterdam representing large urban areas and Haarlem, Eindhoven and Zwolle representing mid-sized cities in the west, north-east and south of the country, respectively.

### Audit procedure

In Wave one all tobacco outlets in the study area were identified by walking or cycling through each street of the four cities. In Wave 2 a we visited all previously identified tobacco outlets that were still open, and also identified any new outlets. In Wave 2b we revisited only locations with tobacco vending machines identified in previous waves. Vape shops were included in the inventory in Wave 1; however, we supplemented this during Wave 2b with an online search for vape shops in all four cities to account for newly opened outlets. We deemed this extra search necessary because e-cigarettes had grown in popularity. For numbers of identified outlets, see next section.

The data collection was carried out by 27 auditors. Prior to data collection, the observers received training in using the data collection tools. Observations were entered into Esri's ArcGIS Collector mobile app (V.19.0.2.16) while being in or just outside the outlet. For each outlet, we entered the location using the GPS of the mobile phone on which the app was installed. In the app we populated a visibility checklist, tracking four types of internal tobacco visibility, eight types of external tobacco visibility (see Variables section), the presence of tobacco vending machines and a photograph of each outlet's exterior. The checklist is based on that originally used by Nuyts *et al*,<sup>14</sup> as adapted by van Deelen *et al*.<sup>15</sup> Random reliability checks were carried out in 11% of all administrative ward areas. In 1.7% of outlets minor differences in observations were found, but not to the extent that visibility of tobacco products/advertising differed.

In Wave 2 a, the same checklist was used as during Wave one to identify any changes since then. For Wave 2b, we only noted whether the tobacco vending machines were removed or, if not removed, were out of order or still operational.

### Tobacco retail outlet population

A total of 704 outlets were assessed before the ban, and 743 after the ban. To measure changes in visibility with implementation of the display ban, we included all outlets to which the ban applied (n=616 preban and n=645 postban). Additionally, change in visibility is presented for tobacco/vape shops which were exempt from the display ban (n=88 preban and n=98 postban). To measure the changes with the implementation of the vending machine ban we included all outlets with a vending machine in Wave 1 (n=134). We did not include Dutch coffee shops (ie, cannabis shops) in this paper: while tobacco is sometimes available in these outlets, it is almost exclusively sold for blending with cannabis rather than as a tobacco product.

### Variables

We defined an outlet as having any internal visibility if it had at least one of the four forms of internal visibility we tracked. These four forms were product visibility, posters, small billboards and other tobacco ads. Likewise, an outlet was considered to have any external visibility if it had at least one of the eight forms of external visibility we tracked. These eight forms were product visibility, signboards perpendicular to the façade (ie, facing the sidewalk), signboards against the façade, signs on the pavement, posters in store windows, visibility of internal posters from the outside, other tobacco ads and a tobacco-related word in the

outlet name. An outlet was considered to have any visibility if it had any internal or any external visibility.

After display ban implementation, outlets to which the ban applied (ie, non-exempt) were considered compliant if they had no internal or external visibility. Tobacco and vape specialty shops were not subject to the display ban and therefore could not be considered compliant or non-compliant.

After the vending machine ban implementation, outlets with a vending machine preban were considered compliant postban if the vending machine was removed. They were not considered compliant if the vending machine was still in place (whether or not operational).

We classified all tobacco outlets as chain supermarkets, small outlets, petrol stations, tobacco/vape specialty shops or vending machines. We distinguish chain supermarkets as a separate category because the display ban initially applied only to them, and was only later expanded to other outlets. Small outlets include local non-chain groceries, convenience stores, newsagents, night shops, tourist shops and other miscellaneous shops.

### Analysis

We calculated changes in visibility with the implementation of the display ban, in both absolute numbers and in proportion, overall, by outlet type and by city. We also calculate changes in tobacco vending machine presence by city with the implementation of their ban. We used postban data to assess overall compliance with the display ban, by outlet type and city, as well as the types of tobacco visibility and marketing still present in non-compliant outlets. Finally, we assess overall compliance with the vending machine ban overall and by city. We created a map of each city to present the geographical distribution of compliance to the display ban and vending machine ban.

### RESULTS

Table 1 presents changes in tobacco visibility and compliance rates to the display ban, by outlet type. The number of tobacco outlets with any tobacco advertising or product visibility declined from 530 to 267, which translated to a 49.6% decline in the number of outlets with tobacco products or advertising visible. Among non-exempt outlets, 72.9% had tobacco marketing visible preban and 26.7% postban. Tobacco product visibility declined by 61.7%

among non-exempt outlets, with only 172 non-exempt outlets with any visibility after the ban compared with 449 before. The decline was 87.7% among chain supermarkets and petrol stations and 44.2% in small outlets. Overall, compliance among non-exempt outlets was 73.3%. Yet, non-exempt outlets still accounted for 64.4% of the total tobacco retail visibility after the ban, decreasing from 84.7% preban. We found a 17.3% increase in visibility among tobacco/vape shops, which were exempt from the ban. As visibility in tobacco and vape shops increased while visibility in other outlets decreased, tobacco and vape shops went from 15.3% to 35.6% of all tobacco retail visibility after the ban.

Online supplemental table S1 presents changes in tobacco visibility separating out internal and external visibility. For non-exempt outlets, internal visibility declined by 72.2% after the ban, while external visibility declined by 62.3%. After the ban, the number of exempt outlets with internal visibility increased by 4.1% (from 74 to 78), while the number with external visibility increased by 16.7% (from 77 to 91).

Table 2 presents changes in visibility and levels of compliance by city. We identified 452 total non-exempt postban tobacco outlets in Amsterdam compared with 99 in Eindhoven, 60 in Haarlem and 58 in Zwolle. Visibility was more common in Amsterdam, as a proportion of total outlets, than in the other cities: after the ban, 31.9% of non-exempt outlets in Amsterdam had any tobacco visibility, compared with 14.1% in Eindhoven, 15.0% in Haarlem and 8.6% in Zwolle. Hence, compliance stood at 68.1% in Amsterdam, 85.9% in Eindhoven, 85.0% in Haarlem and 91.4% in Zwolle.

Table 3 presents residual retail tobacco visibility after the display ban in non-exempt tobacco outlets. Of 172 non-exempt outlets with tobacco visibility after the ban, 150 were small outlets, compared with 15 chain supermarkets and seven petrol stations. Product visibility was the most common form of violation, with 53.4% of non-compliant outlets internally displaying tobacco products directly and 37.8% having tobacco displays visible from outside the shop. Among the 22 chain supermarkets and petrol stations, we noted four instances of residual tobacco advertisements. Of 150 small outlets with any visibility 21.3% had internal tobacco billboards and 26.7% had external signboards facing the sidewalk. Additionally, 20% of small outlets had a tobacco-related word in their outlet name.

**Table 1** Changes in visibility by retail type after versus before implementation of the tobacco product display ban

	Number of outlets		Number of outlets with any visibility		Per cent change in visibility (%)¶	Per cent of outlet type out of all outlets with visibility (%)§		Per cent with any tobacco visibility (%)		Per cent compliant (%)
	Preban	Postban	Preban	Postban		Preban	Postban	Preban	Postban	
Total (all shop types)	704	743	530	267	-49.6	100	100	75.3	35.9	N/A
All non-exempt outlets*	616	645	449	172	-61.7	84.7	64.4	72.9	26.7	73.3
Chain supermarket†	252	265	122	15	-87.7	23.0	5.6	48.4	5.7	94.3
Small outlets‡	305	321	269	150	-44.2	50.8	56.2	88.2	46.7	53.3
Petrol stations‡	59	59	58	7	-87.9	10.9	2.6	98.3	11.9	88.1
Tobacco/vape shops‡	88	98	81	95	17.3	15.3	35.6	92.0	96.9	N/A

\*Excludes tobacco and vape shops, which were not subject to visibility regulations at the time of data collection.

†Postban data collected 2021.

‡Postban data collected 2022.

§Indicates proportion of all retail outlets with visibility that each row makes up.

¶Calculated as the relative per cent change in absolute count of outlets.

**Table 2** Predisplay ban and postdisplay ban tobacco visibility and level of compliance among non-exempt outlets, by city

	Number of non-exempt outlets	Number of non-exempt outlets with visibility		Per cent with any tobacco visibility (%)		Per cent change in visibility (%)*	Per cent compliant (%)
		Preban	Postban	Preban	Postban		
Amsterdam	452	315	144	69.7	31.9	-54.3	68.1
Eindhoven	99	54	14	54.5	14.1	-74.1	85.9
Haarlem	60	44	9	73.3	15.0	-79.5	85.0
Zwolle	36	36	5	62.1	8.6	-86.1	91.4

\*Calculated as the relative per cent change in absolute count of outlets.

The presence of tobacco vending machines and compliance with the ban are presented in [table 4](#). During Wave 1, we identified 135 tobacco vending machines across the research area. Postvending machine ban, we calculated a 92.6% compliance rate with the regulation (corresponding to 10 machines remaining).

## DISCUSSION

### Key results

[Figure 1](#) presents the compliance in the four cities, in which non-compliant outlets are indicated in red and compliant outlets in green. In Amsterdam, non-compliance tended to concentrate in the city centre. In the mid-sized cities non-compliance seems more evenly distributed. Vending machines are also presented in [figure 1](#); of the 10 non-compliant vending machines we identified, 9 were located in Amsterdam and 1 in Zwolle.

Our findings demonstrate that Dutch regulations have reduced retail tobacco visibility by 50% in four cities in the Netherlands. The proportion of non-exempt outlets with any tobacco visibility dropped from 73% to 27%. Thus, compliance among retail outlets to which the display ban applied was 73%. Visibility remained high in small outlets postban: after the ban, a plurality of remaining tobacco visibility came from small outlets, mostly in the form of tobacco product displays. We found that after the ban, 36% of residual visibility came from tobacconists

and vape shops (which were exempt from the ban), whereas before the ban this was 15%. We found high compliance (93%) with the tobacco vending machine ban.

### Strengths and limitations

This is one of the first studies of visibility and compliance after the implementation of POS visibility regulations. We collected longitudinal data from a large group of outlets, allowing us to assess not only post hoc compliance but also changes in visibility over time, both overall and across outlet type and city, and by type of visibility. Furthermore, our audit aimed to account for the entire population of tobacco outlets in four cities, granting a very precise mapping of tobacco retail visibility before and after regulation.

Our study has several limitations. Most outlets were audited by one observer. We were able to correct several entries *post hoc* by referencing the storefront photographs we collected, as well as by referencing public information such as Google Street-view. A second coder also performed several random checks of audit results in Wave 1 to check auditor reliability, and found only occasional discrepancies, with minor corrections made to 1.7% of checked outlets (though with no overall impact on visibility). We did not perform reliability checks in Waves 2A and 2B, as in both cases data were collected by a highly skilled and

**Table 3** Postban visibility of tobacco products and tobacco marketing expressions by retailer type, among outlets with any tobacco visibility after policy implementation

	Shop type									
	All non-exempt outlets*		Chain supermarket		Small outlet		Petrol station		Tobacco or vape shop	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Total with visibility	172	100	15	100	150	100	7	100	95	100
Any internal visibility	118	68.6	10	100	103	68.7	5	71.4	77	81.1
Product visibility	92	53.4	10	66.7	77	51.3	5	71.4	65	68.4
Posters	14	8.1	0	0	14	9.3	0	0	33	34.7
Small billboards	32	18.6	0	0	32	21.3	0	0	30	31.6
Other tobacco ads	20	11.6	0	0	20	13.3	0	0	10	10.5
Any external visibility	121	70.3	8	53.3	106	70.6	7	100	91	95.8
Product visibility	65	37.8	4	26.7	54	36.0	7	100	58	61.1
Signboard perpendicular†	41	23.8	1	6.7	40	26.7	0	0	26	27.4
Signboard against facade‡	15	8.7	2	13.3	13	8.7	0	0	19	20.0
Sign on pavement	1	<1	0	0	1	<1	0	0	2	2.1
Posters in window	4	2.3	0	0	4	2.7	0	0	8	8.4
Internal posters visible§	14	8.1	0	0	14	9.3	0	0	27	28.4
Other tobacco ads	37	21.5	1	6.7	36	24.0	0	0	29	30.5
Tobacco word in name	30	17.4	0	0	30	20.0	0	0	57	60.0

\*Excludes tobacco and vape shops, which were not subject to visibility regulations at the time of data collection.

†Signboard perpendicular to façade, that is, facing pedestrians on the sidewalk.

‡Signboard against the façade, that is, facing the road.

§Interior posters visible from the exterior.

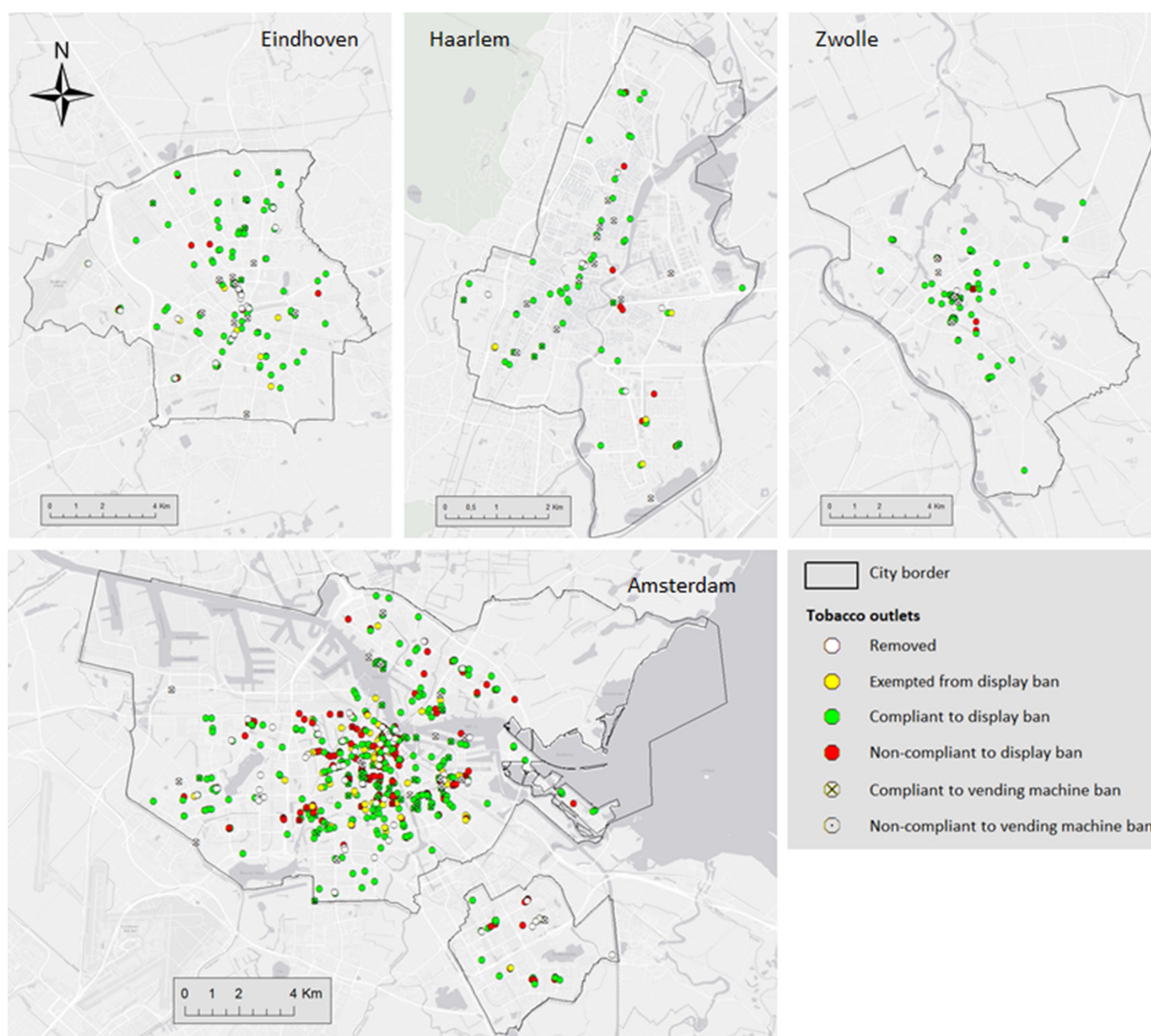
**Table 4** Presence of vending machines pre vending machine ban and post vending machine ban, in total and by city

	Preban		Postban	
	N	%	Compliant: vending machine removed	Non-compliant: still present, but out of order
			Compliant: vending machine removed	Non-compliant: still present, but out of order
				Non-compliant: still present and functioning
Total	135	92.6	1.5	6.0
Amsterdam	85	89.4	2.4	8.2
Eindhoven	18	100	0	0
Haarlem	21	100	0	0
Zwolle	11	90.9	0	9.1

experienced observer, in contrast to the research assistants used for Wave 1. Our data were otherwise very accurate: for example, and across 744 total outlets present in both audits, there were *no* discrepancies in outlet type classification. However, it is possible that a few errors persist in our data.

Second, there was some ambiguity regarding the classification of certain shops as either small outlets or tobacco specialty shops. We observed many cases of outlets advertising themselves as tobacco specialist shops, especially in the name, but primarily selling tourist miscellanea (souvenirs, T-shirts, phone accessories,

snacks, etc). Conversely, there were many shops that advertised themselves as tourist shops, but primarily sold tobacco (as well as cannabis) products and accessories. We attempted to mitigate this by having two researchers decide edge cases together, in which we categorised shops based on their actual product range rather than the shop name. There may be some remaining misclassification of shops: we identified 37 *possible* such cases in the postban data, nearly all in Amsterdam, totaling about 5% of recorded outlets.

**Figure 1** Spatial presentation of audit results.

Third, our results are difficult to extrapolate to the rest of the Netherlands. Compared with the other three cities, Amsterdam has both a uniquely high concentration of tobacco outlets (comprising 70% of our final data set) and a different composition from other study sites, with both small outlets and tobacco specialty shops being over-represented: while Amsterdam contained 70% of all audited outlets, it contained 80% of audited small outlets and 83% of audited tobacconists and vape shops. However, the remaining three cities may be more representative of mid-sized urban areas across the country. This still leaves gaps in coverage: other major cities (like Rotterdam or Utrecht) or rural and exurban areas, are not included in this audit. We therefore cannot assess the complete, national impacts of the display ban.

### Interpretation and comparison of the findings

Overall, we find compliance with the display ban to be quite high, which contributes to protecting people from explicit tobacco marketing. In particular, visibility in supermarkets and petrol stations is almost entirely eliminated. Retail tobacco visibility is one of the largest sources of exposure to tobacco in the daily physical environment;<sup>6</sup> the identified reduction in tobacco visibility should impact norms surrounding tobacco use, and eventually reduce tobacco susceptibility and initiation. However, violations are still relatively common in small outlets, with products remaining visible and explicit marketing often remaining present.

Similar regulations elsewhere in the world have seen mixed results. For example, a study of a POS advertising ban in Ontario in Canada found 88% compliance after the ban, though this paper only studied conventional POS marketing and did not include product visibility, which was the main source of non-compliance in our study.<sup>7</sup> A study of New Zealand's total visibility ban, which is similar to Dutch law, found a large majority of outlets still non-compliant 3 years after the ban.<sup>8</sup> As in our case, the most common violation was the visibility of actual tobacco products rather than the persistence of tobacco advertising, with 25% of outlets having POS displays visible from outside the store.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, following a visibility ban in the UK, most non-compliance was connected to the design and maintenance of storage cabinets, as well as storage and staff practices.<sup>1</sup> These findings suggested that more comprehensive bans, without exceptions for types of visibility or type of retail outlet, are easier to implement and enforce.<sup>1</sup> Non-compliance may be caused by various factors, including poor enforcement, lack of information or practical difficulties. Further research is needed to identify the precise causes of violations, especially in small shops, to improve future policy implementation.

### Implications

Current Dutch regulations have been relatively successful in rapidly decreasing tobacco product retail visibility. Dutch regulations also close several loopholes that are present in other nations with similar bans. For example, e-cigarettes are exempt from the retail display ban in the UK,<sup>8</sup> whereas Dutch law treats e-cigarettes just like traditional tobacco products for the purpose of the display ban.<sup>11</sup>

Nevertheless, a potential remaining loophole in the Dutch regulation is the exemption of tobacco/vape specialist shops. This appears to create a grey area in regulation, which allows some small shops to skirt the display ban by proclaiming themselves to be tobacco specialty shops. Inclusion of all shop types in the display and advertising ban would prevent this and ease

enforcement across the board. The Netherlands has implemented such a ban for exterior visibility in July 2022;<sup>16</sup> however, exceptions for internal visibility remain. This is a problem, as our data indicates that internal displays are commonly visible from the outside and that a large part of the remaining visibility of tobacco in the retail environment is caused by tobacco/vaping specialist shops. Future regulation should therefore avoid such exceptions.

### Conclusion

The bans on tobacco display and tobacco advertising, as implemented in the Netherlands between 2020 and 2021, have halved the visibility of tobacco in the retail environment. The 2022 vending machine ban practically eradicated vending machines. To further reduce tobacco visibility, remaining visibility in small shops should be addressed and tobacco visibility should be regulated in currently exempt tobacco specialist shops.

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Supplementary Table S1: Internal and External Visibility by Outlet Type

	Number of POS		% with visibility		% change in visibility <sup>3</sup>
	Pre-ban	Post-ban	Pre-ban	Post-ban	
<b>Total (all shop types)</b>	<b>704</b>	<b>743</b>			
Internal visibility	498	195	70.7%	26.2%	-60.8%
External visibility	399	212	56.7%	28.5%	-46.9%
<b>Total (non-exempt only)<sup>4</sup></b>	<b>616</b>	<b>645</b>			
Internal visibility	424	118	68.8%	18.3%	-72.2%
External visibility	321	121	52.1%	18.8%	-62.3%
<b>Chain Supermarket<sup>1</sup></b>	<b>252</b>	<b>265</b>			
Internal visibility	120	10	47.6%	3.8%	-91.7%
External visibility	62	8	24.6%	3.0%	-87.1%
<b>Small Outlets<sup>1</sup></b>	<b>305</b>	<b>321</b>			
Internal visibility	247	103	81.0%	32.1%	-58.3%
External visibility	205	106	67.2%	33.0%	-48.3%
<b>Petrol Stations<sup>1</sup></b>	<b>59</b>	<b>59</b>			
Internal visibility	57	5	96.6%	8.5%	-91.2%
External visibility	54	7	91.5%	11.9%	-87.0%
<b>Tobacco/Vape Shops<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>88</b>	<b>98</b>			
Internal visibility	74	77	84.1%	78.6%	4.1%
External visibility	78	91	88.6%	92.9%	16.7%

<sup>1</sup>Post-ban data collected in 2021.

<sup>2</sup>Post-ban data collected in 2022.

<sup>3</sup>Calculated as the percent change in absolute count of outlets.

<sup>4</sup>Excludes tobacco and vape shops, which were not subject to visibility regulations at the time of data collection.