

## SUPPLEMENTARY FILE

**Table 1:** Original PDM – Discursive strategies (examples are drawn from the literature and interview data)

Discursive strategy	Domain	Argument	Examples
<b>EXPANDED/CREATED</b>			
Unexpected costs to the economy and society	The economy	The policy will lead to lost sales/jobs.	For example, "Restaurants will lose business if they implement smoke-free policies", "Individual retailers will lose customers if plain packaging or point-of-sale display bans are introduced", "Sellers will lose jobs."
		The policy will lead to lost /unreliable tax revenues.	For example, "The policy will negatively affect the budget", "(Potential) public revenues will be lost".
	Law enforcement	The policy will increase illicit trade.	For example, "The policy will increase tobacco smuggling."
		The policy will criminalise the public.	For example, "The policy will increase illicit purchases and tobacco theft", "The policy will criminalise small businesses."
	The law	The policy breaks intellectual property laws.	For examples, "The policy violates the intellectual property rights of the tobacco company "
		The policy breaches a trade agreement.	For example, "The policy is inconsistent with international trade agreements."
		A public body is acting beyond the jurisdiction.	For example, "The policy is unconstitutional", "The Minister does not have the competence to issue this regulation."
	Politics/Governance	The government is anti-free enterprise.	For example, "The policy will curtail innovation", "The policy restricts freedom of companies."
		Nanny state/slippery slope	For example, "What product next – plain packaging for soft drinks or alcohol?", "Will cigarettes soon be banned altogether?"
		The government is unreasonable/unaccountable.	For example, "Government is acting irrationally."
	Social Justice	The policy is unfair for smokers.	For example, "The tax burden is unfair on smokers", "The policy will lead to unfair dismissal of smokers for smoking at work."
The policy is regressive.		For example, "Policy will have a greater adverse effect on low-income populations."	
Unintended benefits for undeserving groups	Smugglers will profit from the policy.	For example, "Criminals will benefit from higher tobacco taxes, leading to increased illicit sales."	
	Big business will profit from the policy.	For example, "Taxes will result in undeserved extra income for already wealthy doctors, hospitals, and insurance companies" (US context)	
Unintended costs to public health	The policy will be counterproductive.	For example, "The policy will increase smoking", "Plain packaging and increased illicit trade will force companies to compete on price, pushing prices down."	
<b>CONTAINED/DENIED</b>			
Intended public health benefits	There is not enough evidence.		For example, "There is no evidence from our country that supports the policy."
	The policy will not work.		For example, "The policy will not work in LMICs", "The policy will not work as there is limited state capacity". "The policy cannot be enforced as there are no resources", "The policy is unimplementable in the country."
	The policy is not needed.		For example, "The tobacco industry fulfils corresponding requirements through voluntary codes", "We just need better compliance with existing law."
	The policy will lead to reduced sales/jobs		<i>The industry does not make this argument.</i>

Expected industry costs	Cost of compliance will be high.	<i>The industry does not make this argument.</i>
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**Table 2:** Original PDM – Instrumental strategies (examples are drawn from the literature and interview data)

Instrumental strategy	Technique	Examples/Description	
Coalition management	Constituency recruitment (Building a coalition with other tobacco companies or tobacco industry associations and other existing organisations)	The tobacco industry coalition can involve different tobacco companies, sometimes working through/with national, regional or international tobacco industry associations. The tobacco industry also seeks to recruit a broad range of other organisations as supporters. Examples include trade unions, trade associations (retail, tobacco growers), civil society organisation such as women's associations or individual business owners.	
	Constituency fabrication (Working through front groups, including pre-existing and newly created ones)	The industry uses front groups, which appear as organisations with an agenda but in fact, serve the interest of the industry. The industry tried to hide its sponsorship. By this, it seeks to remove its fingerprints from arguments. Front groups include astroturf which industry-sponsored campaigns set up to appear as grassroots movements.	
	Constituency fragmentation (Fragmenting and weakening the public health coalition)	The industry attempts to fragment the public health coalition. It might co-opt other organisations. The industry or its coalition members can also support other policies diverting and dissipating efforts and resources of the public health coalition.	
Information management	Production	Producing a skewed evidence base underpinning projected policy failure	The industry provides evidence support its arguments about the proposed policy by itself or facilitates the evidence production by hiring individual researchers, think tanks, market research companies or professional service providers. Third parties or front groups can also produce the evidence.
		Intelligence gathering	The industry collects intelligence, for example, surveys on public attitudes, information on policy makers, public health activists and (other) opinion leaders and monitors tobacco control activities and policies.
	Amplification	Wide dissemination of industry-sponsored information/evidence	The industry seeks to spread the information and evidence it sponsored widely. Industry actors can do it themselves or use third parties or front groups. They also employ multiple channels, including traditional media (newspapers, magazines, radio) and new media (social media)
		Disseminating misleading/confounding information	The industry seeks to confuse by sharing misleading or confounding information. Industry actors or front groups can share such information, often using multiple channels.
	Suppression	Contesting public health information/evidence	The industry challenges public health information/evidence, for example, by questioning the relevance and applicability of international information/evidence and methodologies and rigour of local studies.
		Suppressing dissemination of public health information/ evidence	The industry tries to prevent the spread of public health information/evidence. Industry actors might, for example, pay media editor and buy articles out of being published.
	Credibility	Fronting: Concealing industry links with information/evidence	The industry sponsors research, but these links are unmentioned in published reports or related articles. This category also includes cases where items from the industry are released as news articles or similar without mentioning the source.
	Reputation management	Rehabilitating industry reputation	The industry hires, for example, professional PR firms to rehabilitate their image or strengthen their reputation Image campaigns, which can be run with the help of a PR firm but also by the company's PR department, are a common technique.
Discrediting public health advocates		This industry seeks to tarnish the image of their opponents with public statements (written or oral) discrediting them, for example, questioning their motives and practice.	
Direct involvement and influence in policy	Access (to policy makers)	The industry seeks informal connections with policy makers which is less visible than the formal engagement. The aim is that the policy makers support or push for what is in the industry's interest. These include establishing (longer-term) networks, and the revolving door is a facilitating mechanism.	

	(Use of) incentives and pressures (to influence policy makers)	The industry offers incentives in return for support. They often offer financial incentives, but can also provide in-kind benefits. They can target key policy makers, but also use it as a longer-term strategy, for example, when financing electoral campaigns or political parties. The industry puts policy makers under pressure. They can, for example, threaten the government to leave the country if the policy is adopted, or intimidate the members of Parliament, especially those in critical positions.
	(Getting involved as an) actor in the legislative process	Examples of the industry directly engaging in the legislative process include speaking on its behalf in public hearings in Parliament or submitting consultation responses (if these are part of the legislative process). The industry can also get involved indirectly when others are influencing the process on the industry's behalf. Others can be front groups or other coalition members but also a firm hired to lobby parliamentarians.
	(Getting involved as an) actor in government decision-making	Examples of the industry directly engaging in government decision-making include seeking involvement in government committees or working groups but also writing letters to decision-makers. This industry can also get involved indirectly when front groups or other coalition members influence the process on the industry's behalf.
Litigation	Engaging in legal action to contest/obstruct legislation/regulation	The basis for the legal claim that a (proposed) policy or its adoption process violates legal provisions (can be the Constitution, other national or international law, trade agreements, investor agreements, etc.). Industry actors and its coalition members may file lawsuits at different levels. The industry can engage simultaneously in lawsuits at different levels of the judiciary (local, national, international)-
Illicit trade	Facilitating/conducting smuggling	The industry engages in illicit tobacco trade to maximise its profits; the majority of illicit products comes from transnational tobacco companies. Historical examples show that the industry oversupplied products in the knowledge that many of these will end up on the illegal market.

**Table 3:** Revised PDM – Discursive strategies and arguments reported by participants

Discursive strategy	Domain	Argument (reported by participants)
<b>EXPANDED/CREATED</b>		
Unanticipated costs to economy and society	<b>The economy and development*</b>	The policy will lead to lost sales/jobs.
		The policy will lead to lost/unreliable tax revenues.
		<b>The policy will damage the country's economy/development.</b>
		<b>The policy will worsen the situation of farmers.</b>
	Law enforcement/tobacco smuggling	The policy will increase illicit trade.
		<i>The policy will criminalise the public.</i>
	The law	<i>The policy breaks intellectual property laws.</i>
		The policy breaches trade agreement(s).
		A public body is acting beyond the jurisdiction.
	Politics and governance	<i>The government is anti-free enterprise.</i>
		<i>Nanny state/slippery slope.</i>
<i>The government is unreasonable/unaccountable.</i>		
Social Justice	<b>The policy is not in the national interest.</b>	
	<i>The policy is unfair for smokers.</i>	
		<i>The policy is regressive.</i>
Unintended benefits for undeserving groups		<i>Smugglers will profit from the policy.</i>
		<i>Big business will profit from the policy.</i>
Unintended costs to public health		<i>The policy will be counterproductive.</i>
Penalisation of a reputable/ legitimate industry		<b>This policy penalises a reputable and legitimate industry that creates jobs, invests in the country, is a crucial taxpayer, helps farmers, etc.</b>
<b>CONTAINED/DENIED</b>		
Intended public health benefits		There is not (good) enough evidence. <b>(LMIC-specific reason: The evidence comes from the Global North.)</b>
		The policy will not work. <b>(LMIC-specific reasons: It might work in a developed but not in a developing country; low state capacity)</b>
		<i>The policy is not needed.</i>
Expected tobacco industry costs ( <i>not mentioned by the industry</i> )		The policy will lead to reduced sales.
		The cost of compliance will be high.

Table 3. New arguments in bold and rarely mentioned (<4 participants)/unmentioned arguments from the PDM in italics. \*In the PDM, this domain was called *the economy*, we added development since this was key in the data.

**Table 4:** Revised PDM – Instrumental strategies and techniques reported by participants

Instrumental strategy		Technique (reported by participants)
Coalition management	Building an industry-supporting coalition*	Constituency recruitment (Building a coalition with other tobacco companies or tobacco industry associations and other existing organisations)
		Constituency fabrication (Working through front groups, including pre-existing and newly created ones)
	Managing public health coalition*	Constituency fragmentation (fragmenting/weakening public health coalition)
		<b>Intimidation of public advocates and organisations</b>
Information management	Production	Producing a skewed evidence base as corroboration for projected policy failure <i>Intelligence gathering</i>
	Amplification	Wide dissemination of industry—sponsored information/evidence
		Disseminating misleading/confounding information
	Contestation	Contesting/suppressing public health evidence
		Silencing public health opponents
	Credibility	<i>Fronting: Concealing industry links with information/evidence</i>
<b>Managing longer-term media relations</b>	<b>Building/maintaining favourable relations with media professionals/outlets</b>	
Direct involvement and influence in policy	Access to policy makers*	Gaining/maintaining access/links to/with policy makers in Parliament and government
	Use of incentives and pressures to influence policy makers*	Offering financial and other incentives to government, individual policy makers and political parties
		Exercising pressure on government and individual policy makers, including threatening them
	Actor in government-decision-making*	Getting involved as an actor in government decision-making
Actor in legislative process*	Getting involved as an actor in the legislative process	
Litigation		Engaging in legal action to contest/obstruct legislation/regulation
Illicit trade		Facilitating/conducting smuggling
Reputation and image management**	Building, maintaining and rehabilitating industry reputation/image*	Working with PR firms/running image campaigns
		<b>CSR activities</b>
	<b>Supporting/ partnering with government in difficult times</b>	
Discrediting public health organisations and advocates*	Publicly discrediting public health organisations and advocates*	

Table 4. New techniques in bold and rarely mentioned (<4 participants)/unmentioned tactics from the PDM in italics. \*We added sub-categories and some detail to clarify the content. These changes did not alter the PDM. \*\*In the original PDM, is a sub-strategy of information management.