

A Review of Important Factors for Public Acceptability and Compliance of Single-Use Plastic Bag Pollution Regulation

Introduction to the topic

Plastic bag pollution is a global problem increasingly regulated by governments (OECD 2022), as the environmental impacts are difficult to measure. The majority of countries on earth have now implemented some form of legislation to reduce the usage of Single Use Plastic Bags (SUPB) (Adeyanju et al. 2021) with varying degrees of success. This literature review seeks to define successful strategies in the adoption of sustainable consumer behaviour and identify policy approaches that lead to less public resistance. Public acceptability of any legislation is a key factor that is often understudied, and often leads to repeals of sustainability-oriented legislation for SUP pollution reduction (Rivers et al. 2017) with most governments only using metrics of behaviour shifts as measures of success without considering how public acceptability plays a role in desired outcomes.

General background

Plastic bag pollution is becoming an increasingly large problem globally (OECD 2022) and the majority of countries are now regulating the problem through legislation, primarily through the means of a ban or fee/tax (Adeyanju et al. 2021), to varying degrees of success. As policy implementation approaches vary drastically, there exists little literature for a global layout of success factors in regulating the usage of, and minimization of single-use plastic bag (SUPB)

pollution. Many factors identified in this literature review are consistent across different cultures for predicting successful outcomes.

While approaches vary drastically across countries, there are generally two approaches, bans and market-based approaches (fees or taxes). Bans are more favoured by developing countries and market based approaches by developed countries. There is another clear divide between the Global North and Global South, most likely due to the Global South receiving the bulk of plastic pollution diversion from the Global North (Wagner 2017). This results in the Global South preferring bans as a regulation measure.

Methodology

Study Selection

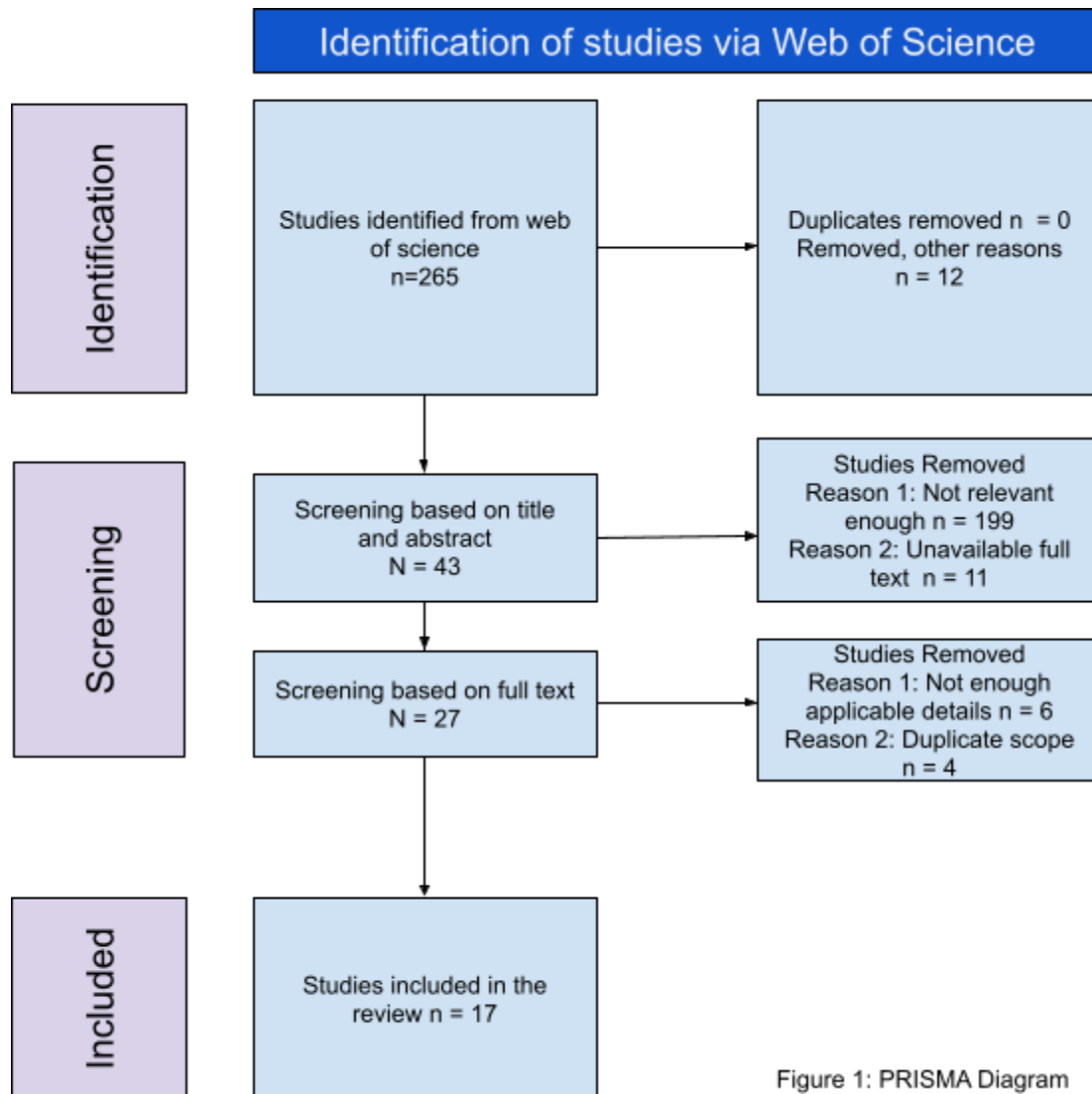
Studies were selected through a PRISMA process. This study had two main criteria for inclusion, being the topics of: Public acceptability of implemented/proposed regulation, and Behavioural shifts of SUPB usage and resulting pollution.

As this literature is a global review, at least one study was required from each continent to control for any potential cultural factors identified within the study selection. The focus on outcomes rather than implementation did not restrict studies based on the legislative level of the study (i.e. municipal regulation, statewide, national, etc.).

Preference was given to foundational studies (highly cited) or recently published studies (2015-2023) as the policy landscape is rapidly changing (OECD 2022) and largely implemented within the past 15 years.

Search Results

Preliminary methodology includes searching for the terms “plastic bag tax” OR “Plastic bag fees” OR “Plastic bag ban” on Web of Science in the topic. This produced over 265 results. See Diagram for more information.



Exclusion in the second round of screening was primarily data driven. The ‘Recurring Factors’ of [Table] 1 were created during the second phase of screening. Given the narrow scope of this review and recency of action, information between studies overlaps or falls outside of the goals of the review, removing the need for their inclusion. Any study that did not have a focus on 3 or more of the ‘Recurring Factors’ was excluded for not enough applicable details.

Table 1 - Recurring Factors Identified

Stakeholder Engagement	Any form of engagement including education, marketing, surveys, focus groups, etc.
Plastic Bag Fee	Any regulation that levied a fee on single use plastic bags during a point of sale, excluding lining bags such as for meat and vegetables offered for free
Paper Bag Fee	Any regulation that levied a fee on paper bags during a point of sale, excluding loose items
Partial Plastic Bag Ban	Bans that encompass certain characteristics of the bag in the regulation
Blanket Plastic Bag Ban	Bans that encompass all forms of single use plastic bags for consumers when making a purchase
Enforcement	Any non-legislative followup such as inspections, fines, or other interventions for compliance
Barriers to Convenience	Any unavoidable physical regulatory actions that remove physical access of convenience to individuals such as removing all checkout bags from a checkout area
Legislative Follow-up	Any actions taken by a government to positively adjust their legislation post implementation based on outcomes
Robust Policy	Any Policy that deeply engages in all of the above factors
Substitution Effect	The effect of single use plastic bags being substituted for another kind of bag in any sector, any leakage
Environmental Impact Awareness	The level of public knowledge about the issue of plastic bag pollution or regulation (implementation or proposals)
Environmental Impact Consciousness	The extent to which the public acts towards achieving positive outcomes based on their personal awareness of the issue

Sentiments on successful outcomes were determined by each individual paper, as the varying study methods create nuance beyond the scope of a literature review. There was no common universal metric utilized across authors within the screening for both public acceptability and behavioural shifts.

Literature summary

Literature is summarized by the scope and region of each paper with the highlight of the policy mechanism implemented in each analysis. This was done to isolate any possible cultural factors highlighted in the studies. Many studies demonstrated a mix of policy measures being considered pre implementation or post implementation, making an overall trend difficult to summarize given the variety.

The format for each paper summary is as follows

Region - Citation

- Methodology of the paper
 - Regulation measure
- Summary of key findings

Global

Global - Adeyanju et al. 2021

- Literature review

Takeaways on public perception and behavioural outcomes

Increasing saliency on the issue of plastic bag pollution has pushed the majority of countries worldwide to take legislative action on regulating plastic bags. Regulation of the specifications of plastic bags proved least effective, and national tax strategies the most effective by far. Targeting bags is ineffective as people often switch to other plastic bag alternatives, or enforcement is low whereas taxes are unavoidable. There exists a literature gap for the Americas as regulation is a majority state-level and city affair, which is difficult to draw national conclusions from.

Global (with implications for USA focus) - Wagner 2017

- Literature review

Takeaways on public perception and behavioural outcomes

Bans are the regulation of choice for the majority of countries and prove to be highly effective at changing consumer behaviour, even with low public acceptability prior to implementation, and higher acceptability post implementation. People largely act on convenience, and therefore policy makers must consider how to make it as inconvenient as possible for single use plastic bags. People have positive environmental views towards sustainable alternatives but do not shift behaviour without negative reinforcement with taxes/fees, even for those of high environmental consciousness because of moral licensure. Providing a choice through a 'soft-ban' results in substituting single use plastic bags with other single use bags with the presence of paper bags for example. Education post implementation has low impact and acceptability, in contrast to the high impact and high acceptability pre-implementation of regulation, suggesting stakeholder engagement is essential for the success of public acceptability.

North America

Canada (Toronto) - Rivers et al. 2017

- Descriptive Study
- Fee

Takeaways on public perception and behavioural outcomes

Toronto had a fee implemented, repealed, and implemented once again. The fee was found to be negligible at \$0.05 and thus with high acceptability, behavioural changes were low. Over the course of the levy behaviour was reverting to pre-fee levels. This period led to a 3.4 point change in promoting reusable plastic bags. This fee primarily reinforced existing pro-environmental behaviour rather than new behavioural shifts.

United States of America (Logan, Utah) - Dunn et al. 2014

- Survey
- Fee

Takeaways on public perception and behavioural outcomes

Analysis between the Willingness to Pay (WTP) and Willingness to Accept (WTA) plastic bag fees versus bans. The study found the nominal amount that consumers were willing to accept was less with a fee rather than with a ban on plastic bags and an associated subsidy for the adoption of reusable bags. Many cities are now implementing bans in tandem with fees for paper bags, proving even more effective for the adoption of reusable bags. WTA is higher than WTP as it is perceived as a personal choice, with a fee giving individuals a sense of agency compared to a ban/subsidy and thus greater public acceptance through a fee based system.

United States of America (Chicago) - Homonoff et al. 2022

- Policy analysis
- Fee

Takeaways on public perception and behavioural outcomes

Bans are often not holistic enough when aimed at the characteristics of disposable bags, such as the thickness of plastic disposable bags. Leakages are likely to occur with bans compared to a fee. Fees are much more effective at curbing the behaviour of using disposable bags than outright bans, as bans often just lead to loopholes being found. People were far more likely to change behaviour with a fee for any kind of single use bag opposed to bans only encompassing certain bag characteristics as bans require enforcement. Enforcement measures are insufficient in practice due to their high costs that the governments chose to forego.

United States of America - Muralidharan and Sheehan 2016

- Pre Implementation Survey
- Tax
- Fee

Takeaways on public perception and behavioural outcomes

The framing of the issue of plastic bag ‘fees’ versus ‘taxes’ is instrumental in determining the individual adoption of the measure. Using the theory of planned behaviour, a survey was conducted asking the motivational drivers behind one’s behaviour of plastic bag usage and willingness to accept a plastic bag ‘fee’ versus ‘ban’. The differences of these factors were

significant depending on the framing. Because of loss aversion, this study recommends the framing as a tax compared to a fee, as taxes are viewed as mandatory penalties and fees are interpreted as voluntary. Social norms are less important for compliance with fees versus a tax. Fees are more difficult to modify with public acceptance opposed to taxes. Taxes induce desired outcomes even through unwilling attitudes as penalties carry more psychological weight. Positive reinforcement alongside the tax is the most accepted method.

United States of America (Vermont) - Wang et al. 2025

- Post Implementation Survey
- Ban
- Fee

Takeaways on public perception and behavioural outcomes

Vermont implemented a ban on single use plastic bags and implemented a fee on the usage of paper bags. This led to a 91.47% reduction in plastic bags and only 6.37% increase in paper bags, self reported results from the survey. The substitution effect to paper bags is minimal as the fee for paper bags dissuaded that behaviour in almost all behavioural groups. There was strong acceptance and understanding of the ban as well as fee, with the notable opinion that paper bags should not additionally be banned. The attributed robustness of the policy is statistically significant for its success in reducing all types of single use bags for all groups.

South America

Chile - Amenábar Cristi et al. 2020

- Post Implementation Survey
- Ban

Takeaways on public perception and behavioural outcomes

Chilean municipalities started to ban single use plastic bags in 2013, however these ordinances were repealed following lobbying pressure from producers pointing to legal gaps. A nationwide ban was implemented in 2018 with over 95% approval from the public. This support was attributed to the high levels of bottom up engagement tactics. The results from the study in the survey demonstrate a high level of both environmental awareness and personal responsibility.

Africa

South Africa - O'Brien and Thondhlana 2019

- Post Implementation Survey
- Fee

Takeaways on public perception and behavioural outcomes

Public acceptability of plastic bag fees is high however behaviour often differs from opinion. This study measured 4 factors, the public perception of the plastic pollution problem, motivations for using plastic bags, willingness to pay, and perceptions on possible future interventions. Most people use plastic bags for convenience, reusability, or availability. Even single use bags are reused in other ways. 89% of respondents would not continue using plastic bags if the fee quadrupled. 68% of people would be happy to see free environmentally friendly bags offered as an intervention. Income and education had little bearing on actual pro environmental behaviour despite higher environmental awareness. This paper suggests fees and reducing the convenience of plastic bags are very effective at curbing single use plastic bag consumption.

Europe

Ireland - Convery et al. 2007

- Observational Study
- Pre & Post implementation public survey
- Fee

Takeaways on public perception and behavioural outcomes

Performing a survey was key for determining the most effective fee through a willingness to pay threshold for plastic bags was 6 times higher than average WTP. The high visibility of plastic bag pollution in Ireland's windy environment added to public perception of the issue with regard to consumption. Stakeholder engagement and political will were the strongest associated factors in implementing the policy. Delivered over 90% reduction in plastic bag pollution and annual revenue 1000% of implementation cost. Price signals can significantly influence consumer behaviour, and alongside stakeholder engagement delivers immense success through public perception.

Portugal - Luís and Spínola 2010

- Observational Study
- Fee
- No Fee

Takeaways on public perception and behavioural outcomes

The Portuguese government had planned to implement a mandatory fee on plastic bags but decided not to. A single supermarket chain still implemented a fee of €0.02 despite competitors not having a fee for bags. This fee, even though quite small, still had an estimated 27% reduction in single use plastic bags and much higher reutilization rate of bags. The public acceptability for the tax was greater than that of a ban. There was no measured decrease in customers at the supermarket associated with the optional bag fee.

Portugal - Luís et al. 2020

- Survey
- Fee

Takeaways on public perception and behavioural outcomes

Once the fee was made mandatory across the country, behavioural changes were more significant compared to the fee being voluntary. People's perception of the plastic bag ban was weak as stakeholder engagement was poor. Post implementation perceptions were overall positive based on the survey on all fronts except with spillover effects, such as increasing waste sorting rates. Public salience of other environmental issues related to plastic increased, with the authors suggesting a small majority of people are more open to holistic policy or outright bans based on the acceptance of the fee.

Asia

Nepal - Bharadwaj et al. 2020

- Complete Bans & Partial Bans
- Observational study

Takeaways on public perception and behavioural outcomes

Businesses were more likely to adapt to any form of ban than consumers. This behavioural change was driven by fear of the sanctions. However when enforcement was lax particularly at the start of the ban, so was the adoption of eliminating single use plastic bags. When enforcement at the start of a ban was high, adoption quickly followed. Outright bans are statistically significant and more effective in inducing compliant behaviour when accompanied by individual and retail-based sanctions. The nature of informal markets in Nepal could be a key reason explaining why partial bans are less effective. A survey revealed public perception and concluded stakeholder engagement is key in creating successful policy outcomes and messaging after implementation was underdeveloped, but would reduce the need for active enforcement measures such as sanctions, particularly for less developed regions. Compliance falls as public perception of being sanctioned reduces when enforcement reduces without any policy updates.

Iran - Taghipour et al. 2023

- Predictive survey
- Tax
- Ban

Takeaways on public perception and behavioural outcomes

Most people act on what is most convenient to them. Information may increase environmental awareness but not environmental consciousness and behavioural decisions. Public acceptability of providing alternatives to plastic bags is high. Adoption would be high with fees or taxes. Public behaviour is largely driven by personal convenience and public opinion is that intervention is needed to drive change, and is welcomed as a whole when information gaps are addressed simultaneously. Enforcement must be strict to remove the factor of convenience in stagnant behavioural changes in all sectors.

China - Wang and Li 2021

- Observational Study
- Ban
- Fee

Takeaways on public perception and behavioural outcomes

Compliance was fairly high among individuals following the ban, however the leakage of single use liner bags for vegetables and meats caused an overall increase of plastic bag pollution. The decrease followed a ‘boomerang effect’ where low enforcement and public acceptability of the ban led to a bounceback in single use plastic bag usage. Different demographics had significantly different behaviours, with seniors far more likely to reuse bags compared to young people once fees were implemented, demonstrating younger generations' higher willingness to pay.

Oceania

Australia - Macintosh et al. 2020

- Post Implementation Survey
- Partial Ban

Takeaways on public perception and behavioural outcomes

The goal of Australia's ban to reduce plastic pollution was relatively ineffective as the ban was mostly offset by the usage of reusable bags. Only an estimated 275 ton reduction in plastic waste, but a higher reduction in single use plastic bags in the share of the litter stream. This can be attributed to the legislation banning only a certain kind of bag. Positive public perception of the ban improved over time with the majority supporting increased government intervention, despite the ineffectiveness of the ban. Public knowledge of the ineffectiveness of the policy seems low and the paper advocates for a mandatory disclosure regime for improving both research accessibility and addressing knowledge gaps.

Discussion

Most literature has a positive overall outlook on all forms of legislation that reduce the usage of SUPB. The environmental benefits from these regulations being outweighed by negatives is the exception. The varying degrees of success can be attributed to implementation and follow-up as the political concessions of legislation are present from the result of lobbying, and poor public reception of the policy. The following tables [Table 2, 3] identify the importance of each previously defined factor based on their highlighted presence by the authors of the papers within the review.

A particular set of local or national cultural norms were not attributed to any particular success or failure without intervention, as hypothesized. In the case of Chile, many cities that were associated with higher sustainable outcomes prior to legislation merely continued to improve their standing alongside other cities (Amenábar Cristi et al. 2020), and similarly in Ireland (Convery et al. 2007) no pre-existing cultural component was highlighted for their extremely successful 94% reduction compared to simply a substantially higher fee for SUPBs and robust policy follow-up. This suggests that many of these strategies are applicable globally rather than relying on cultural norms to do the heavy lifting of motivating change in public behaviour.

The substitution effect was present across all studies to varying degrees. This suggests that re-use of SUPB is a cross cultural phenomenon. Bans were far more likely to have higher associated substitution effects, occasionally leading to an overall increase in SUPB pollution (Wang and Li 2021), whereas fee based measures provided an option to the public to continue with sustainable related behaviours (such as re-use for garbage bin liners) at a lower social cost with greater public acceptability (Amenábar Cristi et al. 2020).

Equity gaps are generally present when the legislation is not robust (Rivers et al. 2017) suggesting that low fees or bans can be negligible in promoting behavioural shifts across all demographics. Consumer behaviour eventually reverts to higher SUPB usage without follow up action once the public acceptability of the tax/levy has been internalized within the marginal

willingness to pay after the novelty of the fee subsidies (Convery et al. 2007; Rivers et al. 2017), which exacerbates environmental equity gaps.

Many governments look to and reference each other's legislation when implementing their own regulation (Adeyanju et al. 2021) yet this review finds that the factors limiting successful replication are because of compromising on policy for political or *perceived* social reasons. There was not a single study in this review that found public acceptability to be negative when the policy's goal was framed as reducing pollution. Environmental awareness campaigns always had a minimum 'High' share of public acceptability [Table 3]. This finding suggests the outcomes of regulation are equally capable of achieving high levels of public acceptability post implementation with robust data.

However, many studies were only done before regulation or post implementation. SUPB pollution policies being piecemeal was a large predictor of failure for measured outcomes, suggesting that holistic and robust policy is essential. Public acceptability of robust policy was also higher on average than piecemeal regulation (such as partial bans), implying the effectiveness and public acceptability are dependent on one another as a policy package.

Most bans sought to regulate the specifications of free or levied SUPB, rather than an outright ban of all SUPB. The factors leading to the low success rate can be attributed mostly to lax enforcement and insufficient policy measures. All forms of bans had lower public acceptability as public perception was always removal of a choice. This was compounded by legislation that equally aimed (or proposed) to ban single use paper bags.

There is a significant gap in longitudinal studies following all stages of legislation from conception to post implementation, making it difficult to assign statistical weights for identified common factors. With that in mind the following tables [Table 2, 3] highlight commonalities between papers within the literature review.

Table 2 - Criteria for the Table 3 rating of each Recurring Factor observed in studies

<i>Observed Positive Behavioural Shift</i>	<i>Public Acceptability Rating</i>	<i>Impactful Implement Stages</i>
Very High - Percentage change $x \geq 60\%$	Very High - Positive Public Opinion share $x > 80\%$	<i>Pre</i> - Pre Implementation of the regulation, was this marked as a statistically significant factor for the outcome in the study
High - Percentage change $60\% \leq x \leq 30\%$	High - Positive Public Opinion share $80\% \leq x \leq 60\%$	
Medium - Percentage change $30\% \leq x \leq 10\%$	Medium - Positive Public Opinion share $60\% \leq x \leq 40\%$	<i>Post</i> - Post Implementation of the regulation, was this marked as a statistically significant factor for the outcome in the study
Low - Percentage change $10\% \leq x \leq 5\%$	Low - Positive Public Opinion share $40\% \leq x \leq 20\%$	
Very Low - Percentage change $5\% \leq x$	Very Low - Positive Public Opinion share $x < 20\%$	

Table 3 - Success rating of each recurring factor across observed impactful phases in included studies

Factor	Observed Positive Behavioural Shift	Public Acceptability Rating	Impactful Implement Stages	N Studies observed
Stakeholder Engagement	High	Very High	Pre & Post	11
Plastic Bag Fee	Very High	Medium	Post	11
Paper Bag Fee	Very High	Low †	Post	4
Partial Plastic Bag Ban	Low	Medium	Post	9
Blanket Plastic Bag Ban	High	Medium	Post	8
Enforcement	Medium	High	Pre & Post	9
Barriers to Convenience	Very High	Low	Pre & Post	8
Legislative Follow-up	Medium	High	Post	11
Robust Policy	Very High	High	Pre & Post	8
Substitution Effect	High	Very High*	Post	16
Environmental Impact Awareness	Low	Very High*	Pre	17
Environmental Impact Consciousness	Low	Very Low**	Post	3

*The change of public acceptability of this factor's effect outcome

**Public acceptability of improving personal consciousness through the lens personal behavioural accountability was very low and simultaneously requires higher sampling

† Most studies within the review did not have fees associated with paper bags and the metric of public acceptability was always measured pre implementation

The literature also highlights that the effectiveness of reducing SUPBs for environmental goals may be limited overall of reducing SUPBs may be ineffective overall as policy as the environmental cost of alternatives such as paper or cloth bags can carry higher environmental cost (Lewis et al. 2010) although this observation can be both region and behavioural-dependent. Reducing consumption of all single use bag types should bring the greatest environmental benefits.

Moral licensure is a periodically discussed factor that was repeated across studies. While it was not a broader important predictor of successful policy, it should be accounted for in stakeholder engagement. Reducing SUPB pollution may not be the most impactful policy intervention for addressing climate change at large but every amount counts. Given the broad acceptability of the goal of reducing SUPB pollution, this policy intervention may help mobilize general climate action through acting as a stepping stone for strengthening environmental awareness.

Convenience plays the largest factor for the public (Luís and Spínola 2010), and disrupting the access to factors sustaining this pattern of negative SUPB behaviour was most effective for inducing behaviour shifts, even if perceived public acceptability was low prior to implementation, behaviour adjusts post implementation when convenience is sufficiently disrupted and enforced.

Given the abundance of newer regulations being implemented (OECD 2022), it is important to test the findings of this review as more studies come out. Quickly adjusting regulation was a very high measure of sustained behavioural shift success compared to staggered policy implementation.

Conclusion

SUPB pollution is a clear global problem, with a high level of public salience. With high public acceptability of environmental awareness, robust policy has proven to be the most effective at regulating the problem. Defining success prior to legislation is immensely important as policy can otherwise be ineffective (Rivers et al. 2017) due to low behavioural change or low public acceptability, as they are intertwined. All factors play important roles in the success of policy, but more study is needed throughout all phases of the legislation process.

There is a public disconnect between most factors that prove to be the most effective at shifting SUPB consumption and polluting behaviour, although stakeholder engagement is the most impactful factor at compounding the effects of others.

Policymakers should look to replicate policies from other countries as region specific cultural factors are of low observed influence compared to the implementation of regulation. In order to not fall behind on policy, governments should implement systems that allow for transparent data transmission as there is a significant gap in the tracking of data readily available for further research or for inspiring future policy. Much of the data in identified studies relies on self reported behaviour changes through surveys rather than observed data on behavioural shifts. Longitudinal public acceptability data is also very limited, but when observed (Convery et al. 2007; Wang et al. 2025) produces the highest measured successes, proving that the problem is not static in either policy or public acceptability.

There seems to be no globally applicable framework as many jurisdictions vary in legal feasibility from possible policy frameworks, despite this many of the lessons learned from this review are applicable regardless of locale. Despite over 170 countries having some form of legislation to reduce single use plastic bag consumption (Adeyanju et al. 2021), there is a gap in the academic literature on policy strategy frameworks for the regulation of SUPB when accounting for both public acceptability and behaviour shifts. This literature review can serve as a foundation for successful factors to look for when conducting future research on public acceptability and behavioural changes, or in the creation of policy frameworks.

Bibliography

1. Adeyanju, Gbadebo Collins, Teslin Maria Augustine, Stefan Volkmann, et al. “Effectiveness of Intervention on Behaviour Change against Use of Non-Biodegradable Plastic Bags: A Systematic Review.” *Discover Sustainability* 2, no. 1 (2021): 13. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s43621-021-00015-0>.
 - a. Adeyanju et al. 2021
2. Amenábar Cristi, María, Camila Holzapfel, Medina Nehls, et al. “The Rise and Demise of Plastic Shopping Bags in Chile – Broad and Informal Coalition Supporting Ban as a First Step to Reduce Single-Use Plastics.” *Ocean & Coastal Management* 187 (April 2020): 105079. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ocecoaman.2019.105079>.
 - a. Amenábar Cristi et al. 2020
3. Bharadwaj, Bishal, Jean Marie Baland, and Mani Nepal. “What Makes a Ban on Plastic Bags Effective? The Case of Nepal.” *Environment and Development Economics* 25, no. 2 (2020): 95–114. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1355770X19000329>.
 - a. Bharadwaj et al. 2020
4. Convery, Frank, Simon McDonnell, and Susana Ferreira. “The Most Popular Tax in Europe? Lessons from the Irish Plastic Bags Levy.” *Environmental and Resource Economics* 38, no. 1 (2007): 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10640-006-9059-2>.
 - a. Convery et al. 2007
5. Dunn, Jarod, Arthur J. Caplan, and Ryan Bosworth. “Measuring the Value of Plastic and Reusable Grocery Bags.” *Journal of Environmental Economics and Policy* 3, no. 2 (2014): 125–47. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21606544.2013.870052>.
 - a. Dunn et al. 2014
6. Homonoff, Tatiana, Lee-Sien Kao, Javiera Selman, and Christina Seybolt. “Skipping the Bag: The Intended and Unintended Consequences of Disposable Bag Regulation.” *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 41, no. 1 (2022): 226–51. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pam.22325>.
 - a. Homonoff et al. 2022

7. Lewis, Helen, Karli Verghese, and Leanne Fitzpatrick. 2010. "Evaluating the Sustainability Impacts of Packaging: The Plastic Carry Bag Dilemma." *Packaging Technology and Science* 23 (3): 145–60. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pts.886>.
8. Luís, Idalina Perestrelo, and Hélder Spínola. "The Influence of a Voluntary Fee in the Consumption of Plastic Bags on Supermarkets from Madeira Island (Portugal)." *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management* 53, no. 7 (2010): 883–89. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09640568.2010.490054>.
 - a. Luís and Spínola 2010
9. Luís, Sílvia, Catarina Roseta-Palma, Marta Matos, Maria Luísa Lima, and Cátia Sousa. "Psychosocial and Economic Impacts of a Charge in Lightweight Plastic Carrier Bags in Portugal: Keep Calm and Carry On?" *Resources, Conservation and Recycling* 161 (October 2020): 104962. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.resconrec.2020.104962>.
 - a. Luís et al. 2020
10. Macintosh, Andrew, Amelia Simpson, Teresa Neeman, and Kirilly Dickson. "Plastic Bag Bans: Lessons from the Australian Capital Territory." *Resources, Conservation and Recycling* 154 (March 2020): 104638. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.resconrec.2019.104638>.
 - a. Macintosh et al. 2020
11. Muralidharan, Sidharth, and Kim Sheehan. "'Tax' and 'Fee' Message Frames as Inhibitors of Plastic Bag Usage Among Shoppers: A Social Marketing Application of the Theory of Planned Behavior." *Social Marketing Quarterly* 22, no. 3 (2016): 200–217. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524500416631522>.
 - a. Muralidharan and Sheehan 2016
12. O'Brien, Joshua, and Gladman Thondhlana. "Plastic Bag Use in South Africa: Perceptions, Practices and Potential Intervention Strategies." *Waste Management* 84 (February 2019): 320–28. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wasman.2018.11.051>.
 - a. O'Brien and Thondhlana 2019
13. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, OECD. "Global Plastics Outlook" (2022), *ECONOMIC DRIVERS, ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS AND POLICY OPTIONS*. https://www.oecd.org/content/dam/oecd/en/publications/reports/2022/02/global-plastics-outlook_a653d1c9/de747aef-en.pdf

14. Rivers, Nicholas, Sarah Shenstone-Harris, and Nathan Young. “Using Nudges to Reduce Waste? The Case of Toronto’s Plastic Bag Levy.” *Journal of Environmental Management* 188 (March 2017): 153–62. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvman.2016.12.009>.
 - a. Rivers et al. 2017
15. Taghipour, Hassan, Asghar Mohammadpoorasl, Mahdihe Tarfiei, and Nasrin Jafari. “Single-Use Plastic Bags: Challenges, Consumer’s Behavior, and Potential Intervention Policies.” *Journal of Material Cycles and Waste Management* 25, no. 6 (2023): 3404–13. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10163-023-01763-z>.
 - a. Taghipour et al. 2023
16. Taylor, Rebecca L., and Sofia B. Villas-Boas. “Bans vs. Fees: Disposable Carryout Bag Policies and Bag Usage.” *Applied Economic Perspectives and Policy* 38, no. 2 (2016): 351–72. <https://doi.org/10.1093/aepp/ppv025>.
 - a. Taylor and Villas-Boas 2016
17. Wagner, Travis P. “Reducing Single-Use Plastic Shopping Bags in the USA.” *Waste Management* 70 (December 2017): 3–12. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wasman.2017.09.003>.
 - a. Wagner 2017
18. Wang, Bairong, and Yong Li. “Plastic Bag Usage and the Policies: A Case Study of China.” *Waste Management* 126 (May 2021): 163–69. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wasman.2021.03.010>.
 - a. Wang and Li 2021
19. Wang, Qingbin, Emily H. Belarmino, and Meredith T. Niles. “Impacts of Plastic and Paper Bag Legislation on Consumer Behavior in the United States: Quantitative Evidence from a Statewide Survey in Vermont.” *Environmental Economics and Policy Studies* 27, no. 3 (2025): 455–69. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10018-025-00440-9>.
 - a. Wang et al. 2025

The little indents (a. b., etc) are just for me to copy paste the intext citation easier :)