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# A Global Panel Database of Pandemic Policies (Oxford COVID-19 Government Response Tracker)

## Authors

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21 **Abstract**

22  
23 **COVID-19 has prompted unprecedented government action around the world.**  
24 **We introduce the Oxford COVID-19 Government Response Tracker (OxCGRT),**  
25 **a dataset that addresses the need for continuously updated, readily usable, and**  
26 **comparable information on policy measures. From 1 January 2020, the data**  
27 **capture government policies related to closure and containment, health, and**  
28 **economic policy for more than 180 countries, plus several countries’ subnational**  
29 **jurisdictions. Policy responses are recorded on ordinal or continuous scales for**  
30 **19 policy areas, capturing variation in degree of response. We present two**  
31 **motivating applications of the data, highlighting patterns in the timing of policy**  
32 **adoption and subsequent policy easing and re-imposition, and illustrating how**  
33 **the data can be combined with behavioural and epidemiological indicators. This**  
34 **database enables researchers and policymakers to explore the empirical effects of**  
35 **policy responses on the spread of COVID-19 cases and deaths, as well as on**  
36 **economic and social welfare.**

37  
38 **Main text**

39  
40 The rapid spread of COVID-19 globally has been met with an extraordinary range of  
41 government responses. These measures include school closings, travel restrictions,  
42 bans on public gatherings, emergency investments in healthcare facilities, new forms  
43 of social welfare provision, contact tracing and other interventions to contain the  
44 spread of the virus, augment health systems, and manage the economic consequences  
45 of these actions. The Oxford COVID-19 Government Response Tracker (OxCGRT)  
46 provides a systematic set of cross-national, longitudinal measures of government  
47 responses from 1 January 2020. The project tracks national and, for some countries,  
48 subnational governments’ policies and interventions across a standardized series of  
49 indicators. It further creates a suite of composite indices to measure the extent of these  
50 responses. By providing open-access, near-real time data in an easily accessible, time-  
51 series format, the project offers a critical resource for policymakers and researchers to  
52 understand the effect of policies on disease spread, on socioeconomic welfare, and  
53 other outcomes of interest. Consequently, the data offer an objective grounding for  
54 debate as policymakers and publics deliberate over approaches to COVID-19.

55  
56 While OxCGRT is continuously expanding, it at present includes 19 policy indicators  
57 covering closure and containment, health, and economic policies (Table 1). These data  
58 cover over 180 countries as well as subnational jurisdictions of the United States,  
59 Brazil, United Kingdom and Canada, with subnational units of more countries being  
60 added over time (Extended Data Figure 1). A team of more than four hundred  
61 volunteers around the world, affiliated with Oxford University and partners, have been  
62 working to collect and code the data in real time. Members of this large and diverse  
63 team use their contextual knowledge and expertise in 88 languages to parse reporting  
64 and government announcements. Coder training, testing, and weekly meetings that  
65 generate rules of thumb for edge-case policies ensure coding consistency, and every  
66 data point is reviewed by a second coder.

67

68 OxCGRT’s design emphasizes comparability, legibility, and transparency. The data  
69 are published in multiple time-series formats for ease of use by non-experts and  
70 researchers alike, with legacy data available for continuity as we add new indicators.  
71 Several features underpin our approach. First, observations for most indicators are  
72 reported on monotonic ordinal scales, with others coded on continuous scales,  
73 allowing for quantitative analysis of the degree of government response. Second, the  
74 indicators are aggregated in different combinations into four composite indices (Table  
75 2) that provide a snapshot of the number and degree of policies in place in a given  
76 area. Third, geographic scope is recorded for appropriate indicators. Fourth, source  
77 notes and archived links to original sources are included to support detailed  
78 interpretation of specific policies.

79  
80 OxCGRT has been widely used (see examples below) in the first months of the  
81 pandemic, revealing that the global coverage, granularity of policy detail, and  
82 systematic structure of the data have been able to inform diverse literatures<sup>1</sup>. For  
83 instance, the data has been used by health policy experts and data scientists to  
84 calculate the levels of health care resources that are associated with different levels of  
85 transmission<sup>2</sup>, to estimate the impact of combinations of physical distancing measures  
86 on disease incidence<sup>3,4</sup> and on the time-varying reproduction number ( $R_t$ )<sup>5</sup>.  
87 Environmental scientists have drawn upon the data to examine whether COVID-19  
88 response policies affect air pollution levels<sup>6,7</sup>. Political scientists have considered  
89 whether policies vary by regime type<sup>8,9</sup>, and assessed whether upcoming elections  
90 reduce the strength of responses<sup>10</sup>. Economists have used the data to explore how  
91 working from home has shifted countries’ sectoral structures<sup>11</sup>, to link stay-at-home  
92 policies to increasing food prices<sup>12</sup>, and to identify knock-on effects of large  
93 countries’ response policies on the GDP growth of smaller trade partners<sup>13</sup>.

94  
95 Many of those using the data have benefited from the specific features listed above. The  
96 ordinal indicator scales permit separate assessment of policy recommendations, as well as  
97 permissive and strict regulations<sup>14</sup>. While significant attention has focused on the closure  
98 and containment measures captured in the Stringency Index, some studies have used all  
99 four<sup>15</sup>, or selected from among the Containment and Health Index (CHI), the more holistic  
100 Government Response Index (GRI)<sup>16</sup>, and the Economic Support Index (ESI)<sup>17</sup>, which provides  
101 an overall measure of financial assistance to households. Moreover, the coding of policies’  
102 geographic scope has enabled the analysis of strictly national policies<sup>18</sup>, and comparison  
103 between national and localized approaches. These examples illustrate the value of OxCGRT  
104 data, and related datasets<sup>19</sup>, in helping researchers—in addition to decisionmakers and  
105 publics—make sense of the effects of governments’ responses to COVID-19 across different  
106 populations and contexts, as well as what leads governments to adopt different policies.

107  
108 In the following sections, we describe patterns of global COVID-19 government responses  
109 with the OxCGRT data in order to demonstrate what kinds of questions the data can help  
110 researchers tackle. We describe cross-national patterns in the timing of containment and  
111 health policies, followed by a more detailed presentation of policy sequencing. We then  
112 combine the data with mobile-phone mobility data to relate policies to human behaviour<sup>20</sup>  
113 and review the potential for bringing together OxCGRT data with additional data sources in  
114 the Discussion. In the Methods section, we describe the individual indicators in more detail,  
115 along with the data collection process, data coverage and how we calculate the indices. We  
116 also briefly compare OxCGRT to related projects to highlight their complementarities.

117

118 **Results**

119

120 To motivate applications of the data, we present general trends and patterns in  
121 government responses in the first months of the pandemic. We focus here on cross-  
122 national patterns, though OxCGRT contains more granular data on subnational  
123 jurisdictions as well. First, we document a surprising degree of commonality across  
124 countries in the early months of the pandemic followed by growing divergence. We  
125 also note patterns in policy re-imposition and geographical scope, topics that have to-  
126 date been relatively underexplored in the literature, yet that have important  
127 implications for how countries manage each wave of the pandemic. Second, we  
128 consider associations between the OxCGRT indices and a key outcome of interest,  
129 individual mobility, to illustrate the potential for the data to be combined with other  
130 indicators to investigate economic, social, and epidemiological questions of interest.

131

132 What government responses do we observe?

133

134 The data reveal a striking degree of commonality in government responses to COVID-  
135 19 in the first months of the pandemic. We group the 19 indicators into themes of  
136 closure and containment, health, and economic support (Table 1), normalized to vary  
137 from 0 to 100 (for a full description, see Tables 3a and 3b). The Containment and  
138 Health Index (CHI) measures the number and intensity of closure and containment  
139 policies (e.g. school closings, stay-at-home measures) and policies toward disease  
140 surveillance (e.g. testing and contact tracing). Only a handful of countries had adopted  
141 strong containment (often referred to as “lockdown”) and health policies in early  
142 March, as Figure 1 shows, yet within a month the world had changed, and intensive  
143 policy responses had become a global phenomenon. In subsequent months, however,  
144 countries have lifted policy restrictions, and then, in some cases, reimposed policies in  
145 a policy “see-saw” as the epidemic waxes and wanes.

146

147 During the initial, global rise in policy responses, the data reveal a number of  
148 intriguing patterns. Most governments moved to a high level of response within a two-  
149 week period around the middle of March, showing remarkable clustering. Figure 2  
150 displays this initial policy convergence across 183 countries, which is not observed in  
151 later policy decisions (such as rolling back measures). This initial clustering pattern in  
152 mid-March contrasts with what would be expected if countries reacted according to  
153 the local epidemiological progression of the pandemic. For instance, in most countries  
154 the sudden ramping up of response policies happened before they had experienced  
155 their tenth COVID-19 related death, while many other countries’ responses preceded  
156 even their tenth recorded case. Countries may have observed their neighbors, or the  
157 global response, and reacted in concert. This clustering then seems to dissipate in later  
158 months as countries’ responses diverge. This pattern has significant implications for  
159 the coordination of responses to global infectious diseases considering that the World  
160 Health Organization’s policy guidance to governments is tailored to the local  
161 progression of an infectious disease rather than potential “herd behaviour.”

162

163 Next, we examine specific policies, both during the initial process of policy adoption  
164 and in the months that followed as measures were either rolled back or maintained.  
165 The left panel of Figure 3 captures the ramping up of policies, showing the proportion  
166 of countries adopting a particular policy, with day zero representing the first day of

167 COVID-19 policy response in each country. The very limited crossing of the lines in  
168 this figure suggests that policies adopted by the median country (in terms of the speed  
169 of policy responses) occurred in approximately the same order as those adopted by  
170 countries in the first and third quartiles. In other words, the sequence of policy  
171 adoption is largely similar across countries. Specifically, there is more than a 50%  
172 chance that a randomly drawn country will have introduced public information  
173 campaigns, international travel controls, and testing policies within 20 days of the first  
174 government response of any policy type; there is a 40% chance of this within 10 days,  
175 and more than a 90% chance within two months. Economic support policies have  
176 tended to be established later than closure or containment and health policies, facial  
177 coverings aside.

178  
179 A common pattern also characterizes policy reversal. The right panel of Figure 3  
180 indicates the proportion of countries maintaining the highest point they reach on the  
181 ordinal scale for each policy area. The global rate of policy reduction is indicated by  
182 the slope of the lines. There is crossing over among policies, but little among those  
183 lines representing closure and containment policies, which have roughly similar rates  
184 of rollback. During the initial two months of policy easing, while closure and  
185 containment policies have been loosened, economic support policies and health  
186 policies have been maintained at countries' individual maximum strengths.

187  
188 While we see similarities in what policies were adopted and relaxed, when, there is  
189 interesting variation across policies strength, geographic coverage, and the extent to  
190 which they were later reimposed. Figure 4 shows how frequently countries imposed  
191 the strongest possible policies, what portion of observed policies applied nationally  
192 versus sub-nationally, and which policies have been reduced and subsequently  
193 reimposed. Most closure policies were adopted nationally at some point, and in  
194 approximately 20% of countries, stronger closure and containment policies were re-  
195 imposed by the end of December 2020. In the case of workplace policies,  
196 approximately 80% of countries had reduced their restrictions by that point in the  
197 year, but 40% of all countries later reversed course.

198  
199 The clustering of policy responses during the process of adoption has a critical  
200 implication for researchers. Analysis of individual policies is difficult because there is  
201 limited variation across and within countries, resulting in collinear relationships. This  
202 has meant that most analysis of government responses to date have had to focus on  
203 aggregate indices. However, in later periods we document substantially more  
204 variation. This variation enables more credible quasi-experimental analysis of  
205 individual policies, such as school re-opening, testing campaigns, and income support.  
206 Understanding the role of individual policies, in addition to aggregate government  
207 response levels, is of central importance for further research and policy action, which  
208 this database can enable.

209  
210 Motivating applications of the data: how do government responses relate to  
211 behaviour?

212  
213 A key application of the OxCGRT data is to understand how policies relate to human  
214 behaviour. A number of studies have used OxCGRT and similar data to try to estimate  
215 the effect of policies on behaviour and the spread of the disease. Here we do not aim

216 to establish new estimates of causal effects, but rather seek only to demonstrate  
217 potential use cases to motivate further research. Figure 5 summarizes the results of  
218 linear panel regression models, comparing the strength of associations between the  
219 Containment and Health Index (CHI), Government Response Index (GRI) and the  
220 Stringency Index (SI) with changes in citizen mobility over time, as recorded by  
221 mobile phone applications (the full results are presented in the Supplementary Tables  
222 1 and 2). These models use standard techniques in the literature. We include country  
223 and date fixed effects in order to isolate within-country associations over time,  
224 accounting for seasonal and other calendar effects. In the supplementary information  
225 we include models that which also control for new daily deaths to identify the  
226 association between policies and mobility unconfounded by the relationship between  
227 the severity of the epidemic and mobility.

228  
229 The coefficients and confidence intervals in Figure 5 show strong associations  
230 between OxCGRT indices and measures of behaviour. These associations are stronger  
231 the greater the number of policy indicators included in an index. All three indices  
232 shown contain eight indicators of closure and containment policies, plus at least one  
233 additional indicator. Increases in the GRI—our broadest index of government  
234 responses—are most strongly associated with increases in the percentage of time spent  
235 in residences, as well as with decreases in the frequency visits to groceries and  
236 pharmacies, workplaces, transit stations, places for retail and recreation, and parks.  
237 The CHI, which adds to closure and containment indicators all of our health-policy  
238 indicators—shows only slightly weaker associations. The SI, which brings together  
239 the containment and health indicators with just one additional indicator, public  
240 information campaigns, shows still less pronounced relationships in the same  
241 directions.

242  
243 These analyses highlight the potential of OxCGRT data, combined with other datasets,  
244 to capture important changes in behaviour in response to historic government action.  
245 While the associations presented here are merely suggestive, researchers are already  
246 using the data for more in depth analyses<sup>2,3,5</sup>. Identifying causal effects of government  
247 policies is not straightforward due to many confounding factors and potential sources  
248 of endogeneity. Given these challenges, the rich nature of this database with day-by-  
249 day policy changes across a global distribution of countries and sub-national  
250 jurisdictions enables rigorous quasi-experimental analysis. This illustrative application  
251 is designed to motivate further in-depth research and demonstrate the potential for  
252 policymakers and researchers to answer important public policy and epidemiological  
253 questions using OxCGRT data.

## 254 **Discussion**

255  
256  
257 Alongside epidemiological and behavioural data, measures of government response  
258 help researchers and decision-makers explore how best to address COVID-19.  
259 However, measuring government policies in a consistent and comparable way across  
260 jurisdictions and across time raises a number of methodological considerations, which  
261 can present difficult choices. In this section we review these trade-offs and outline  
262 strategies for addressing them.

263  
264 First, while the OxCGRT ordinal scales distinguish, for example, a ban on gatherings  
265 of over 10 people from a ban on gatherings of over 100 people, the limitation of an  
266 ordinal approach is that it groups heterogenous observations into pre-established  
267 categories. For instance, both the UK and France had broadly similar stay-at-home  
268 orders during spring 2020, and both were categorized as the second-highest ordinal  
269 point on that indicator. However, French residents had to submit a form to authorities  
270 to leave their house, while UK residents did not. To mitigate the inevitable  
271 simplification that comes with codification, OxCGRT includes detailed notes and  
272 archived links to source materials for all observations in the dataset, helping  
273 researchers draw upon OxCGRT data in a more detailed way should it be required.

274  
275 Second, the coding scheme loses granularity when applied to large jurisdictions with  
276 many heterogenous subunits. As described in the Methods section, OxCGRT data  
277 include three types of observations: those that describe all policies that apply to a  
278 given jurisdiction, those that describe policies put in place by a given level and lower  
279 levels of government, and those that describe only those instigated at a given level of  
280 government. Policies that apply only to a subunit of the given jurisdiction (e.g. a  
281 single state of a country being coded) are flagged as “targeted” while policies that  
282 apply to the whole jurisdiction are flagged as “general”. When both general and  
283 targeted policies exist simultaneously, OxCGRT always records the stricter policy.  
284 This choice may make the data more useful for evaluating the effect of policies on the  
285 spread of disease (since it records the stronger targeted measures that likely exist  
286 where there is a local outbreak) while reducing their ability to describe the overall  
287 state of policy across the country. For example, if a jurisdiction with many subunits  
288 has weak general policies and strong policies targeted at a single subunit, its overall  
289 coding will be high. In cases where this is frequently an issue, such as Brazil and the  
290 United States, OxCGRT has also comprehensively coded subunit jurisdictions (see  
291 Supplementary Figure 2). We encourage users to consider this granularity issue  
292 carefully when making cross-national comparisons, and to considering using  
293 subnational information for large, heterogenous jurisdictions where available.

294  
295 Third, OxCGRT records policy interventions as a time series (the unit of observation  
296 is a “jurisdiction-day”) recording the intensity and scope of policy in place for a given  
297 indicator at that place and time. An alternative approach that has been pursued by  
298 comparable data projects is to record the start and end dates of individual policies (see  
299 more detailed comparison in methods section). While both options have merit, the  
300 time-series structure allows researchers to more easily match policy indicators to other  
301 time-series data, such as to case or death rates, mobile phone mobility data, and panel  
302 surveys. It also helps OxCGRT data collectors to capture government responses that  
303 do not take the form of discrete, formal policy interventions, but more ad hoc  
304 announcements, such as temporary limitations to internal movement during public  
305 holidays or religious events.

306  
307 Fourth, the data are published continuously. Data-collection occurs weekly, which  
308 enables OxCGRT to provide up-to-date information on government responses. Given  
309 that SARS-Cov-2 can spread extremely quickly, this speed is essential for effective  
310 use of the data. However, our volunteers are not necessarily able to update every  
311 jurisdiction in every cycle, and consequently some data can be up to seven days out-  
312 of-date. To minimize recent gaps, we therefore publish our data in real-time so that it

313 can be utilized as soon as it has been contributed. The trade-off to this speed is that the  
314 most recent data are published in advance of their final validation check (see the  
315 Methods section for further details), and may therefore be corrected in the review  
316 process or through external feedback (although in practice large revisions are rare; see  
317 methods section).

318  
319 Fifth, OxCGRT relies on human judgement and contextual expertise, rather than  
320 automated data collection or coding, to provide the best possible degree of accuracy  
321 and consistency. The ordinal scales require individual contributors to carefully  
322 interpret various policies within each domain, in order to assign a code that best fits  
323 each indicator. For example, many countries have taken similar action to close  
324 workplaces, yet the types of workplaces that are required to close often differ from  
325 country to country. This means that each data contributor needs to assess the policy  
326 announcements in a country alongside detailed guidance material and apply judgment.  
327 Volunteers go through a training process to instill a high level of consistency and  
328 attend weekly meetings to discuss coding queries and standardize interpretations.  
329 Many of our contributors are specialists in the countries that they code, and  
330 understand the countries' culture, language and legal system in such a way that allows  
331 them to code with context and have access to local information to verify policies.  
332 While this "shoe leather science" approach is very human resource intensive, we have  
333 not found it possible to achieve comparable results with purely automated methods.  
334 Going forward, it may be fruitful to explore how different technological approaches  
335 can be combined with human coders.

336  
337 Finally, and critically, the OxCGRT dataset records only the number and degree of  
338 government policies. It does not have a way to measure how well policies are  
339 implemented or enforced, nor does it measure the degree of compliance with official  
340 policies. OxCGRT data should therefore be considered one among several key  
341 elements in the broader puzzle of understanding governments policy adoption and the  
342 links between government interventions, human behavior, and the spread of COVID-  
343 19.

## 344 345 **Methods**

346  
347 This section describes OxCGRT's design and structure, and the processes through  
348 which data are collected and confirmed. Because the project is continually evolving,  
349 adding further indicators and jurisdictions over time, users should always check the  
350 project website for the most current information. All OxCGRT data is available on  
351 GitHub and via an API and licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution CC BY  
352 standard.

353  
354 We hope the methods outlined below will be of use not only to data users (the primary  
355 audience) but also to researchers who may be contemplating developing  
356 complementary measures or data collection projects for response to COVID-19 or  
357 other issues. In line with OxCGRT's "open source" ethos, we invite the scientific  
358 community to use and build on not just the data we collect but the methods and system  
359 described below.

## 360 361 Indicators

362

363 OxCGRT reports publicly available information on 19 indicators (see Table 1) of  
364 government response, as well as recording miscellaneous policies. The indicators  
365 capture all government measures related to a specific domain, including formally  
366 adopted laws, policies promulgated by executive or regulatory authorities, or softer  
367 guidance or advice. OxCGRT has added new indicators and refined old indicators as  
368 the pandemic has evolved. Future iterations may include further indicators or more  
369 nuanced versions of existing indicators. The indicators are of three types:

- 371 • **Ordinal:** These indicators measure policies on a simple scale of severity or  
372 intensity, allowing us to describe the degree or strength of government response in  
373 each category. For these indicators, the rank order of the different levels is  
374 significant, but we make no claims regarding the scale of the intervals. Instead,  
375 each level has a specific meaning, which allows the different values to also be  
376 used as categorical variables. These indicators are reported for each day a policy is  
377 in place (not the day it is announced).
  - 378 ○ Many have a further flag to note if they are “targeted”, applying only to a  
379 sub-region of a jurisdiction, or a specific sector; or “general”, applying  
380 throughout that jurisdiction or across the economy. For the newly added  
381 H7 (vaccination policy), the flag indicates whether the vaccine is being  
382 funded by the government or at cost to individuals.
- 383 • **Numeric:** These indicators measure a specific number, reporting fiscal values in  
384 USD. These indicators are only reported once, on the day they are announced.
- 385 • **Text:** This is a “free response” indicator that records other information of interest.  
386 All observations also have a “notes” cell that reports sources and comments to justify  
387 and substantiate the designation.

#### 388 Data collection and reliability

390  
391 The initial set of data collectors in March 2020 were recruited largely from the  
392 postgraduate student body of the Blavatnik School of Government at the University of  
393 Oxford. Since then, additional contributors have been recruited through Oxford  
394 University departmental mailing lists, student societies and alumni email lists, as well  
395 as referrals from existing contributors. Subnational coders are mostly students or  
396 recent graduates from partner institutions in the countries we are collecting  
397 subnational data (for example the University of São Paulo, Fundação Getulio Vargas,  
398 and the State University of Pará in the case of Brazil). To date approximately 400 data  
399 collectors have contributed to OxCGRT.

400  
401 New members of the data collection team undergo a series of training steps. First, they  
402 complete a self-directed tutorial of training slides and videos that explain how to  
403 search for data, interpret policies, and submit contributions through the online  
404 interface. New contributors are then given a short test for comprehension and  
405 understanding of the coding schema and collection process. After that, new data  
406 collectors are expected to attend a weekly all-contributor meeting, at which point they  
407 will start being included in the regular task allocation.

408  
409 OxCGRT collects national data on a weekly schedule, during which new task  
410 allocations are sent to the data collection team. This allocation is based on a regular  
411 review of database coverage – prioritizing those countries that have not been updated  
412 within the last week. Most contributors are assigned to a list of 4-6 jurisdictions and  
413 will cycle through that list each allocation round, building up expertise in a small set

414 of jurisdictions. The data is published in real-time as contributors enter it into the  
415 system.

416  
417 After data is entered, it is marked ‘provisional’, which flags it for the review process.  
418 First, after each allocation round, a small team will do quick spot checks to ensure that  
419 data has been entered and there are no gross errors (for example, accidental deletion of  
420 a whole column can be noticed and fixed during this quick review). The provisional  
421 data is then queued for attention by a more thorough review team. This review team  
422 will examine the data entry and the original source, and either confirm its veracity or  
423 flag the data entry for escalation. The reviews process suggests a high degree of  
424 accurate in the initial data collection. As of 31 December 2020, 84.79 percent of all  
425 datapoints have never been changed, and, since 1 June 2020, 87.45 percent of data  
426 points have not required revision. Note these revisions include both post-hoc  
427 alterations to the coding scheme and factual errors. Meanwhile, just 0.41 percent of  
428 observations have been escalated by reviewers for adjudication, 0.25 percent since 1  
429 June 2020. Of the 1.2 million data points captured between 1 June 2020 and 31  
430 December 2020, 319,840 were reviewed or changed; of these 51 percent were  
431 confirmed without edits.

432  
433 Data is collected from publicly available sources such as government press releases  
434 and briefings, international organizations reports, and trusted news articles. OxCGRT  
435 records the original source material using archived links so that coding can be checked  
436 and substantiated.

437  
438 Coding different levels of government responses  
439

440 OxCGRT includes data at country-level for nearly all countries in the world. It also  
441 includes subnational-level data for selected countries, currently Brazil (all states, the  
442 Federal District, state capitals and the next largest city that is not geographically  
443 connected to the state capital), the United States (all states plus Washington, DC and a  
444 number of territories), the United Kingdom (the four devolved nations), and Canada  
445 (all states and territories).

446  
447 OxCGRT data are typically used in three ways. First, and primarily, to describe all  
448 government responses relevant to a given jurisdiction. Second, less commonly, to  
449 describe policies put in place by a given level and lower levels of government. And  
450 third, they are used to compare government responses across different levels of  
451 government.

452  
453 To distinguish between these uses, different published versions of OxCGRT data are  
454 tagged in the database. The “TOTAL” label implies that all government responses  
455 relevant to the people in a given jurisdiction are included in the coding, regardless of  
456 whether those policies are set by national or subnational governments (these may also  
457 be presented without any jurisdiction label in some of our data products). The  
458 jurisdiction label “WIDE” refers to put in place by a given level and lower levels of  
459 government (eg. STATE-WIDE). “WIDE” observations therefore do not incorporate  
460 general policies from higher levels of government that may supersede local policies.  
461 For example, if a country has an international travel restriction that applies country-  
462 wide, this would not be registered in a STATE\_WIDE record. The jurisdiction label  
463 GOV, indicates that observations include only policies instigated by a particular level  
464 of government; higher- or lower-level jurisdictions do not inform this coding.

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In the main OxCGRT dataset, we show the total set of policies that apply to a given jurisdiction (the TOTAL policies described above). Specifically, in the main dataset, this means that we replace subnational-level responses with relevant national government (NAT\_GOV) indicators when the following two conditions are met:

- The corresponding NAT\_GOV indicator is general, not targeted, and therefore is applied across the whole country
- The corresponding NAT\_GOV indicator is equal to or greater than the STATE\_WIDE or STATE\_GOV indicator on the ordinal scale for that indicator

In this way, national and subnational measures in the core dataset are comparable, in that they show the totality of policies in effect within a given jurisdiction.

Note that STATE\_WIDE observations at the subnational level that code the totality of policies also capture policies that the national government may specifically target at a subnational jurisdiction. This is the case, for example, if a national government orders events to close in a particular city experiencing an outbreak. These kinds of policies are not inferred from NAT\_GOV.

On our GitHub repositories, these different types data are available in three groups, summarized in Extended Data Figure 1:

1. The main repository: NAT\_TOTAL for all countries, and STATE\_TOTAL for Brazil, US, UK, and Canada
2. USA repository: NAT\_GOV and STATE\_WIDE
3. Brazil repository: NAT\_TOTAL, NAT\_GOV, STATE\_WIDE, STATE\_GOV, CITY\_TOTAL, and CITY\_WIDE

For large, heterogenous jurisdictions, users may wish to use a weighted average of subnational jurisdictions observations (e.g. STATE\_WIDE) instead of national observations, NAT\_TOTAL. See Supplementary Figure 2 for a comparison.

### Composite indices

To make it easier to describe government responses in aggregate, OxCGRT calculates simple indices that combine individual indicators to provide an overall measure of the intensity of government response across a family of indicators. These indices are designed to provide a simple snapshot of the number and degree of government responses in a particular domain. Because we have not designed the indices for any specific analytic usage, we aim to make them as simple and transparent as possible. Those using the data to study the effect of government policies on outcomes of interest will therefore likely wish to modify the indices to suit the exact research questions they are seeking to answer (for example, selecting only the variables they believe to be relevant, or weighting those they believe to be of greater importance). In other words, we offer the indices as a convenient “prix fixe menu” option, but we urge users to tailor the data to their specific needs by ordering “a la carte.”

As noted above, we stress that composite indices have strengths and weaknesses as descriptive and analytic tools. Governments’ responses to COVID-19 exhibit significant nuance and heterogeneity. These issues create substantial measurement

516 difficulties when seeking to compare national responses in a systematic way.  
517 Composite measures – which combine different indicators into a general index –  
518 inevitably abstract away from these nuances. Helpfully, cross-national measures allow  
519 for systematic comparisons across countries. By measuring a range of indicators, they  
520 mitigate the possibility that any one indicator may be over- or mis-interpreted.  
521 However, composite measures also leave out much important information, and make  
522 strong assumptions about what kinds of information “counts”. If the information left  
523 out is systematically correlated with the outcomes of interest, or systematically under-  
524 or overvalued compared to other indicators, such composite indices may introduce  
525 measurement bias.

526  
527 Broadly, there are two common ways to create a composite index: a simple additive or  
528 multiplicative index that aggregates the indicators, potentially weighting some; or a  
529 latent variable approach, in which observed indicators are used to predict an  
530 unobserved variable (i.e. the index). While there are several approaches to latent  
531 variable analysis, such as Factor Analysis, or Principal Component Analysis, Item  
532 Response Theory models are particularly suitable in this case due to the ordinal nature  
533 of most indicators. Each approach has advantages and disadvantages for different  
534 research questions.

535  
536 OxCGRT uses simple, additive, unweighted indices because this approach is most  
537 transparent and easiest to interpret. Because the purpose of these indices is to describe  
538 the number and degree of government responses, we weight each indicator and each  
539 interval on the ordinal scale equally (within each indicator). In other words, the  
540 difference between a “1” and a “2” in a given indicator contributes as much to an  
541 index as the difference between a “2” and a “3”. Again, this strong assumption will  
542 not be appropriate for all uses, so we encourage users to carefully consider what  
543 combinations and weightings of policies best capture the dimensions they are seeking  
544 to measure.

545  
546 Despite this caveat, we find significant internal consistency within the indices. We  
547 used a latent variable approach, specifically Item Response Theory, as a robustness  
548 check for the Stringency Index (see Supplementary Table 3). IRT models have been  
549 extensively used in education to estimate the ability of a student (latent variable)  
550 based on the responses to individual test questions (observable indicators). In our case  
551 the individual policy levels (added to the geographic flag) are the observable  
552 indicators and the policy index, the unobservable variable. The scores generated by an  
553 IRT model were highly correlated to our linear index ( $r = 0.98$ ), which reinforces the  
554 validity of our approach.

555  
556 OxCGRT publishes four indices the group different families of indicators:

- 557 • Government response index (all categories)
- 558 • Stringency index (containment and closure policies, sometimes referred to as  
559 “lockdown” policies)
- 560 • Containment and health index (containment and closure and health policies)
- 561 • Economic support index (economic support measures)

562  
563 Each index is composed of a series of individual policy response indicators. For each  
564 indicator, we create a score by taking the ordinal value and subtracting a half a point if  
565 the policy is targeted rather than general, if applicable. We then rescale each of these

566 by their maximum value to create a score between 0 and 100, with a missing value  
567 contributing 0. These scores are then averaged to get the composite indices. This  
568 calculation is described in equation 1 below where  $k$  is the number of component  
569 indicators in an index and  $I_j$  is the sub-index score for an individual indicator.

570  
571 We use a conservative assumption to calculate the indices. Where data for one of the  
572 component indicators are missing, they contribute “0” to the Index. An alternative  
573 assumption would be to not count missing indicators in the score, essentially assuming  
574 they are equal to the mean of the indicators for which we have data for. Our  
575 conservative approach therefore “punishes” countries for which less information is  
576 available, but also avoids the risk of over-generalizing from limited information.

577

$$578 \quad (1) \quad index = \frac{1}{k} \sum_{j=1}^k I_j$$

579

580 The different indices are comprised as described in Table 2.

581

582 To facilitate usage, two versions of each indicator are present in the database. A  
583 regular version which will return null values if there is not enough data to calculate  
584 the index, and a "display" version which will extrapolate to smooth over the last seven  
585 days of the index based on the most recent complete data.

586

#### 587 **Calculating sub-index scores for each indicator**

588 All of the indices use ordinal indicators where policies are ranked on a simple  
589 numerical scale. The project also records five non-ordinal indicators – E3, E4, H4, H5  
590 and M1 – but these are not used in our index calculations.

591

592 Some indicators – C1-C7, E1,H1, H6 and H7– have an additional binary flag variable  
593 that can be either 0 or 1. For C1-C7, H1 and H6 this corresponds to the geographic  
594 scope of the policy. For E1, this flag variable corresponds to the sectoral scope of  
595 income support. For H7, this flag variable corresponds to whether the vaccine is  
596 government funded or not.

597

598 The codebook has details about each indicator and what the different values represent.  
599 Because different indicators ( $j$ ) have different maximum values ( $N_j$ ) in their ordinal  
600 scales, and only some have flag variables, each sub-index score must be calculated  
601 separately. The different indicators are:

602

603 Each sub-index score ( $I$ ) for any given indicator ( $j$ ) on any given day ( $t$ ), is calculated  
604 by the function described in equation 2 based on the following parameters:

605

- 606 • the maximum value of the indicator ( $N_j$ )
- 607 • whether that indicator has a flag ( $F_j=1$  if the indicator has a flag variable, or 0  
608 if the indicator does not have a flag variable)
- 609 • the recorded policy value on the ordinal scale ( $v_{j,t}$ )
- 610 • the recorded binary flag for that indicator ( $f_{j,t}$ )

611

612 This normalizes the different ordinal scales to produce a sub-index score between 0  
613 and 100 where each full point on the ordinal scale is equally spaced. For indicators  
614 that do have a flag variable, if this flag is recorded as 0 (ie if the policy is

615 geographically *targeted* or for E1 if the support only applies to *informal sector*  
616 *workers*) then this is treated as a half-step between ordinal values.

617  
618 Note that the database only contains flag values if the indicator has a non-zero value.  
619 If a government has no policy for a given indicator (ie the indicator equals zero) then  
620 the corresponding flag is blank/null in the database. For the purposes of calculating  
621 the index, this is equivalent to a sub-index score of zero. In other words,  $I_{j,t}=0$  if  $v_{j,t}=0$ .

622  
623 (2) 
$$I_{j,t} = 100 \frac{v_{j,t} - 0.5(F_j - f_{j,t})}{N_j}$$

624  
625 (if  $v_{j,t}=0$  then the function  $F_j - f_{j,t}$  is also treated as 0, see paragraph above.)

### 626 Data usage

627  
628 The data is published in real time. Unless a country has been updated in the last 24  
629 hours, there will be at least some gaps in coverage for the most recent days. In  
630 addition, if data is exported in the middle of an update, there can occasionally be  
631 missing data points in the time series. The dataset is also published with numbers of  
632 reported COVID-19 cases and deaths, drawn from open datasets at the European  
633 Centre for Disease Control and the John Hopkins University. Occasionally there have  
634 been missing days for some countries in these sources (for example, if a country has  
635 not updated their case data over a long weekend). For this reason, particularly when  
636 using the dataset for descriptive analysis, we usually interpolate to cover any single  
637 missing days, and use a ‘carryforward’ function to extend the latest value of a missing  
638 variable.

639  
640 In addition, we caution users against over interpreting small fluctuations of single-  
641 digit changes in our index values. A small change in index value may not necessarily  
642 represent a substantive change in the country’s policy stance, it could, for example,  
643 just as easily represent a marginally different geographic coverage.

### 644 645 Comparison to related datasets

646  
647 A number of datasets have tracked government response to COVID-19 since the start  
648 of the pandemic<sup>21</sup>. While it is beyond the scope of this article to describe all of them in  
649 detail, here we report similarities and differences with two sister projects, CoronaNet<sup>19</sup>  
650 and the Complexity Science Hub COVID-19 Control Strategies List (CCCSL)<sup>22</sup>.  
651 While these projects overlap with OxCGRT to some extent, allowing for direct  
652 comparisons, the three projects also offer complementary attributes, expanding the  
653 knowledge and options available to the research community.

654  
655 The three projects have constructed datasets with a number of similar features but also  
656 points of difference.

657  
658 **Unit of analysis:** Both CoronaNet and CCCSL record government policies or  
659 measures as the unit of analysis; OxCGRT instead uses the “jurisdiction-day.” While  
660 each approach can be converted into the other, the OxCGRT dataset is purpose-built  
661 as a panel. In contrast, CoronaNet and CCCSL are structured as an unbalanced panel,  
662 requiring additional steps to convert into a format that facilitates conventional  
663 analysis.

664  
665 **Coverage of jurisdictions and dates:** The OxCGRT publishes data on 184 countries,  
666 and several subnational jurisdictions (50 United States, 13 Canadian Provinces and  
667 Territories, 27 Brazilian states and over 50 cities, and 4 UK devolved nations).  
668 CoronaNet publishes data on 195 countries, and the following subnational  
669 jurisdictions: Brazil, China, Canada, France, Germany, India, Italy, Japan, Nigeria,  
670 Russia, Spain, Switzerland and the United States. CCCSL publishes data on 56  
671 countries, 33 of them European. All three datasets aim to update continuously, though  
672 at the time of writing only OxCGRT had up-to-date information for all jurisdictions.  
673

674 **Coverage of government responses:** All three datasets broadly cover what we have  
675 termed closure and containment and health policies. In addition, OxCGRT and  
676 CCCSL record economic support measures. OxCGRT uniquely covers public  
677 transportation-related and vaccine policies. However, it does not include states of  
678 emergency or enforcement measures, as CoronaNet does, nor does it include receiving  
679 international help, measures to secure supply chains, crisis management plans, or port  
680 and ship restrictions, as CCCSL does.  
681

682 **Design of indicators:** The OxCGRT 19 indicators are either ordinal or numeric, with  
683 an additional binary flag that records whether measures are general or targeted.  
684 CoronaNet considers different elements, such as the directionality of policies (e.g.  
685 inbound or outbound flights), the mechanism of travel (flights or trains), enforcement  
686 (mandatory or voluntary), and enforcers (national government or military). While the  
687 CCCSL covers fewer countries, their indicators are more granular split into four  
688 levels, without an ordinal scale. This more descriptive approach then needs further  
689 processing before it can be analyzed. While the detailed text descriptions enables rich  
690 qualitative analysis, it is less suited for quantitative analysis.  
691

692 **Data collection methods:** All three datasets rely on hand-coded data entered by a  
693 large international pool of trained contributors into a central database. All three use  
694 publicly available sources, including policy documents and media reports. A key  
695 difference of the CoronaNet methodology is their use of the machine learning  
696 software instrument to extract data from news articles to aid contributors in their data  
697 collection. The CCCSL share their information sources in an open source Zotero  
698 library. From examination of the CoronaNet and CCCSL data and papers, it seems  
699 that OxCGRT is the only dataset to include archived weblinks to all original sources.  
700

701 Looking at the data reveals further complementarities and differences between  
702 OxCGRT and related projects. OxCGRT most closely resembles CoronaNet, which  
703 also has global coverage for over 180 countries, and which produces a government  
704 policy activity index that can be compared quantitatively to the OxCGRT indices. Our  
705 database is highly correlated with CoronaNet within a given country. Supplementary  
706 Figure 3 shows the example of the United States, demonstrating how both indices  
707 track each other over time. Supplementary Figure 4 quantifies this relationship for all  
708 countries showing the average within country correlation between the CoronaNet and  
709 Oxford government response indices within a given country. The average correlation  
710 (Pearson's  $r$ ) is high at .85. This suggests robustness across databases.  
711

712 At the same time, the OxCGRT indices complements the CoronaNet index by  
713 providing greater comparability across countries. The CoronaNet index use item-  
714 response theory to model a given country's willingness to impose policies and adjusts

715 for trends over time. This results in a relative rather than absolute measure. This  
716 results in scenarios, for example, where imposing a given policy when most countries  
717 have already imposed them will result in little change in the CoronaNet index. For  
718 example, both Nigeria and the United States closed primary schools in March, but the  
719 U.S. did so a few weeks earlier and has an index score that is a full standard deviation  
720 greater for the U.S. than Nigeria on the CoronaNet scale, despite being a similar  
721 policy action. This limits the ability to make cross-country comparisons on an  
722 absolute scale using the CoronaNet database. Figure 3 shows that the cross-country  
723 relationship between the Oxford and CoronaNet databases with a correlation  
724 (Pearson's  $r$ ) of just 0.275. This reveals that while the two database are highly  
725 consistent *within* countries, our database adds significant new information to also  
726 enable *across* country comparisons and analysis.

727  
728 We note a few other distinctions. First, our absolute indices show variation more  
729 clearly. The CornaNet index falls, by and large, within 10 points on a 100-point scale  
730 with a standard deviation of 1.2 and stays nearly flat over time for an individual  
731 country. In contrast, countries in our database span the entire 100-point range across  
732 countries and over time with a standard deviation of 12. This granularity is  
733 particularly essential to capture important variation in waxing and waning of policies  
734 over time in addition to more sweeping lockdowns which can be captured with coarser  
735 measurement.

736  
737 In summary, OxCGRT complements related efforts in a few dimensions. Our database  
738 has global coverage, enables comparable within and across country analysis, will be  
739 consistently updated and expanded, is publicly available, is built with a team of coders  
740 with contextual expertise in the respective countries in which they focus, and has a  
741 systematic panel data structure which has enabled merging with other databases and  
742 quantitative analysis.

## 743 **Data availability**

744 The most up-to-date OxCGRT data and documentation are available via the project  
745 github repository: <https://github.com/OxCGRT/covid-policy-tracker>.

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827

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840 projects/coronavirus-government-response-tracker](https://www.bsg.ox.ac.uk/research/research-projects/coronavirus-government-response-tracker).  
841

## 842 **Author contributions**

843 Conceptualization: TH, BK, AP, TP, SW, EC-B, LH, SM, HT

844 Database design: TH, NA, BK, AP, TP, SW

845 Data collection: BK, EC-B, LH, SM, HT

846 Data analysis: TH, NA, RG, AP, TP

847 Project management: TH, BK, AP, TP, EC-B, LH, SM, HT

## 848 **Competing interests**

849 The authors declare no competing interests.

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## 851 **Figure legends**

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**Figure 1. Containment and Health Index (CHI) by country on the first day of each month.**

**Figure 2. Clustering of initial government responses compared to the spread of COVID-19.** This figure shows how 183 countries (each row), grouped by world region, ramped up their response policies to scores of 50 (out of 100) on the CHI within approximately the same fortnight in mid-March 2020 (as shown by the two vertical lines), despite the more scattered pattern of disease progression over time (as indicated by circles that mark the date a country experienced its tenth death) and in contrast to the greater divergence in policies observed in later months. Though the disease affected countries at different times, nearly all countries changed policy significantly in the same fortnight. The figure displays each country as a row and the x-axis dates are all in the year 2020.

**Figure 3. Sequencing of initial policy adoption (from first policy enacted) and reduction (from first policy eased).** This figure shows the ramping up (left panel) and rollback (right panel) of different kinds of government response policies. Days after first policy reduction is counted from the first reduction in the level of any policy for at least five consecutive days. A difference in the level of a policy line between the two panels in Figure 3—from 60 days into the ramp up (the far right of the left-hand panel) and the starting position of a policy line during rollback (the far left of the right-hand panel)—indicates the minimum percentage of countries that eased policies on the first day of policy reduction (if negative) or the percentage of countries adopting the policy after 60 days following the first measure, but before first policy reduction (if positive). For example, workplace closures have more commonly been eased at the initiation of rollback than regulations prohibiting public events. Countries that have increased policy intensity after five days of reducing policy strength are counted as countries that did not maintain their original maximum. The sample comprises 66,978 observations from 183 countries between 1 January 2020 and 31 December 2020.

**Figure 4. Variation in the degree, geographic coverage, and permanence of policies.** This figure shows the proportion of countries that, for various indicators, adopt any policies, adopt policies nationally (as opposed to geographically targeted policies), and adopt policies that correspond to the highest point on the ordinal scale. It also shows the percentage of countries that have at some point reduced and re-imposed such policies. A policy reduction is defined by a reduction in policy level sustained for at least five days. A policy reduction reversal is defined by an increase in policy level after a policy reduction that is sustained for at least five days. Adoption rates of some policies at any level (e.g. facial covering, income support and debt relief) are much higher than those depicted in the left panel of Fig.3. because countries often continue to adopt these policies after the first policy reduction. The sample comprises 66,978 observations from 183 countries between 1 January 2020 and 31 December 2020.

**Figure 5. Associations between different combinations of government responses and aggregate population behaviour.** The figure plots coefficients with 95% confidence intervals of the GRI, CHI and SI used as independent variables in separate panel regression models predicting changes in Google mobility data. The models use standard errors clustered by country and include country and date fixed effects (Supplementary Figure 1 plots coefficients of the same indices in models that control for daily deaths and Supplementary Tables 1 and 2 report full results). Note that change in the duration of time spent at home, as a proportion of the day, shows less variation than the other dependent variables, which capture change in the frequency of visits to different categories of locations.

## Tables

**Table 1: OxCGRT Indicators.** See project website for detailed descriptions and coding information.

ID	Name	Type	Targeted/ General?
Containment and closure			
C1	School closing	Ordinal	Geographic
C2	Workplace closing	Ordinal	Geographic

C3	Cancel public events	Ordinal	Geographic
C4	Restrictions on gathering size	Ordinal	Geographic
C5	Close public transport	Ordinal	Geographic
C6	Stay at home requirements	Ordinal	Geographic
C7	Restrictions on internal movement	Ordinal	Geographic
C8	Restrictions on international travel	Ordinal	No
Economic response			
E1	Income support	Ordinal	Sectoral
E2	Debt/contract relief for households	Ordinal	No
E3	Fiscal measures	Numeric	No
E4	Giving international support	Numeric	No
Health systems			
H1	Public information campaign	Ordinal	Geographic
H2	Testing policy	Ordinal	No
H3	Contact tracing	Ordinal	No
H4	Emergency investment in healthcare	Numeric	No
H5	Investment in Covid-19 vaccines	Numeric	No
H6	Facial Coverings	Ordinal	Geographic
H7	Vaccination Policy	Ordinal	Funding
Miscellaneous			
M1	Other responses	Text	No

905

906

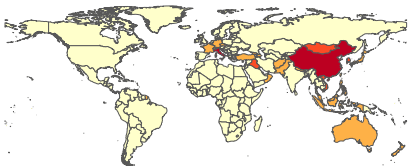
**Table 2: OxCGRT index composition and values.**

	Government response index	Containment and health index	Stringency index	Economic support index	Legacy stringency index	Max. value ( $N_j$ )	Flag? ( $F_j$ )
$k$	13	11	9	2	7		
<b>C1</b>	x	x	x		x	3 (0, 1, 2, 3)	yes=1
<b>C2</b>	x	x	x		x	3 (0, 1, 2, 3)	yes=1
<b>C3</b>	x	x	x		?	2 (0, 1, 2)	yes=1
<b>C4</b>	x	x	x		?	4 (0, 1, 2, 3, 4)	yes=1
<b>C5</b>	x	x	x		x	2 (0, 1, 2)	yes=1
<b>C6</b>	x	x	x		?	3 (0, 1, 2, 3)	yes=1
<b>C7</b>	x	x	x		?	2 (0, 1, 2)	yes=1
<b>C8</b>	x	x	x		x	4 (0, 1, 2, 3, 4)	no=0
<b>E1</b>	x			x		2 (0, 1, 2)	yes=1
<b>E2</b>	x			x		2 (0, 1, 2)	no=0
<b>E3</b>							
<b>E4</b>							
<b>H1</b>	x	x	x		x	2 (0, 1, 2)	yes=1
<b>H2</b>	x	x				3 (0, 1, 2, 3)	no=0
<b>H3</b>	x	x				2 (0, 1, 2)	no=0
<b>H4</b>							
<b>H5</b>							

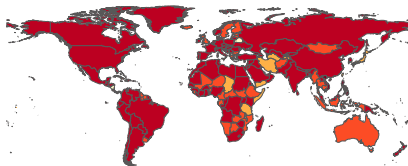
<b>H6</b>	x	x				4 (0, 1, 2, 3, 4)	yes=1
<b>H7</b>	x	x				5 (0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5)	yes=1
<b>M1</b>							

907  
908  
909  
910

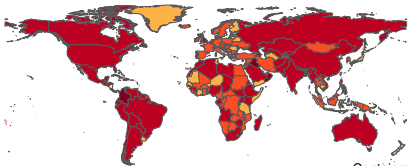
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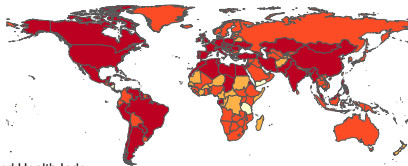
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01-August-2020



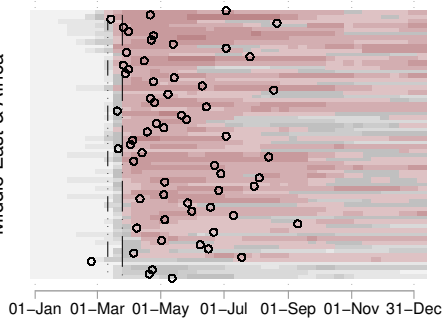
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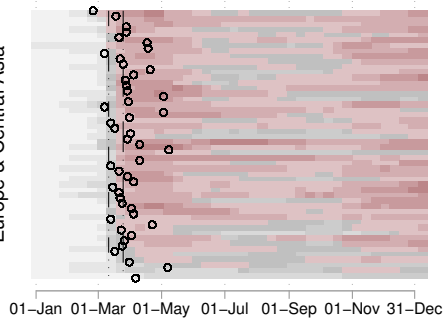
Containment and Health Index



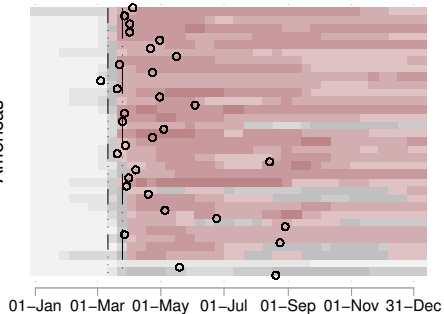
Middle East &amp; Africa



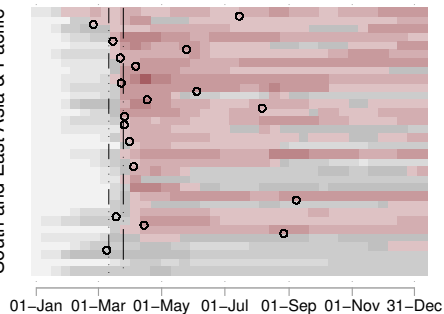
Europe &amp; Central Asia



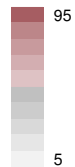
Americas

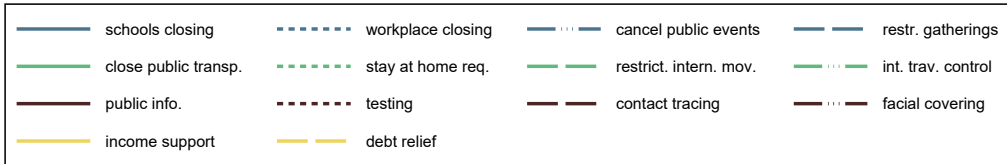
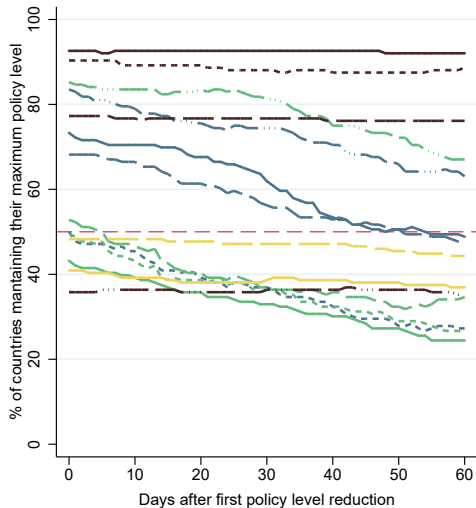
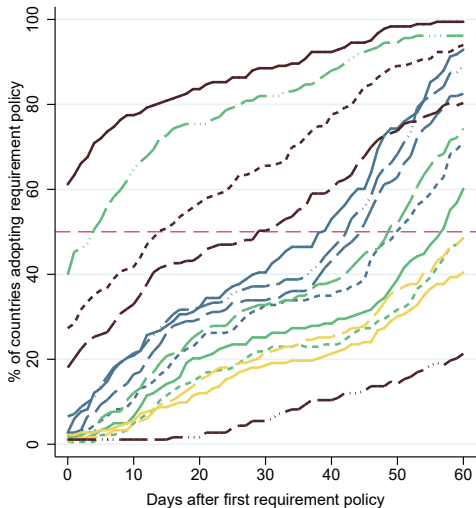


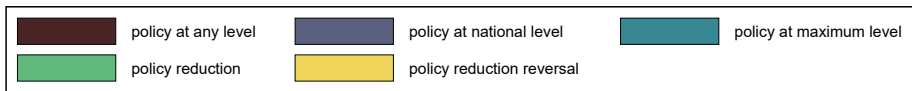
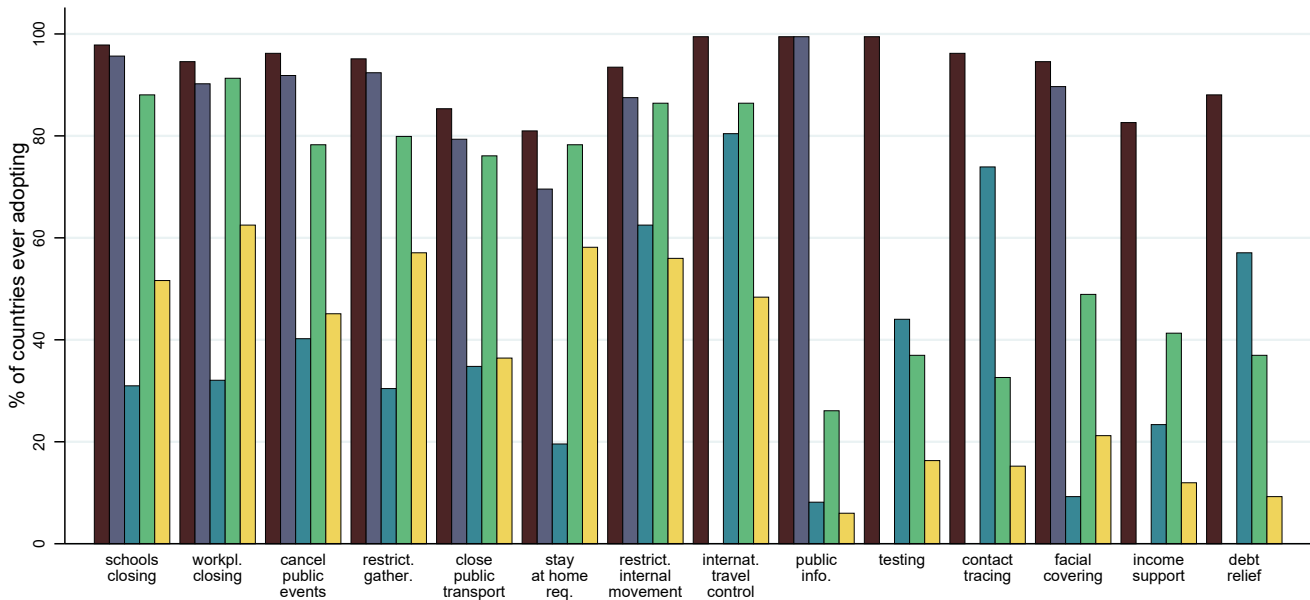
South and East Asia &amp; Pacific

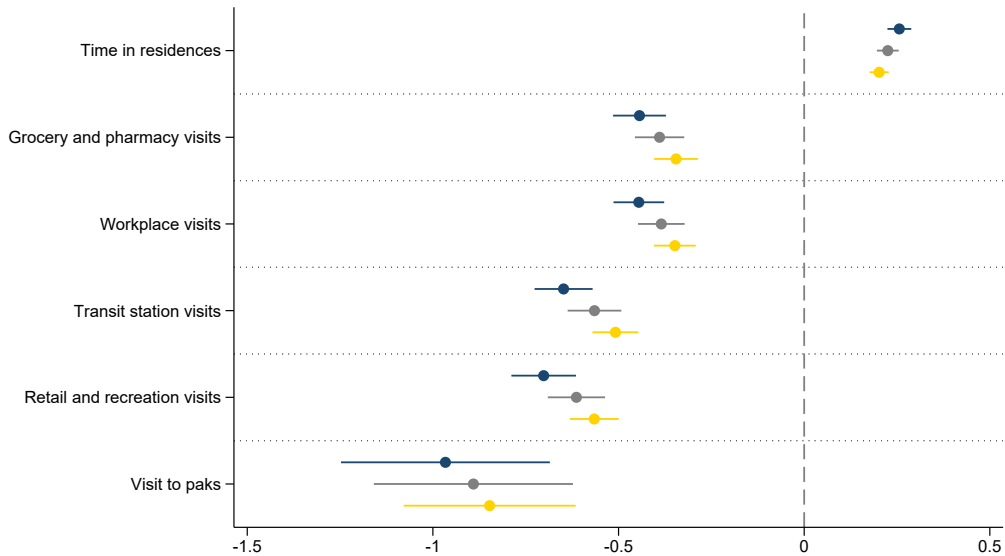


Index









Percentage change in mobility associated with a one-unit increase in three OxCGRT indices

- Government response index (GRI)
- Containment and health index (CHI)
- Stringency index

Calculated for 15 February - 9 October 2020

	<b>TOTAL<sup>1</sup></b>	<b>WIDE</b>	<b>GOV</b>
<b>National</b>	180+ countries	Not applicable <sup>2</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• USA federal government</li> <li>• Brazilian federal government</li> <li>• UK government (Westminster)</li> <li>• Canada federal government</li> </ul>
<b>State</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• USA: 50 states and Washington DC</li> <li>• Brazil: 26 states and the Federal District</li> <li>• UK: 4 devolved nations</li> <li>• Canada: 13 provinces and territories</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• USA: 50 states and Washington DC</li> <li>• Brazil: 26 states and the Federal District</li> <li>• UK: 4 devolved nations</li> <li>• Canada: 13 provinces and territories</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Brazil: 26 states and the Federal District</li> </ul>
<b>City</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Brazil: 26 state capital cities and 26 second cities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Brazil: 26 state capital cities and 26 second cities</li> </ul>	Not applicable <sup>3</sup>