

# The Effect of Large-Scale Anti-Contagion Policies on the Coronavirus (COVID-19) Pandemic

The Global Policy Laboratory | UC Berkeley

Solomon Hsiang, Daniel Allen, Sébastien Annan-Phan, Kendon Bell, Ian Bolliger, Trinetta Chong, Hannah Druckenmiller, Luna Yue Huang, Andrew Hultgren, Emma Krasovich, Peiley Lau, Jaecheol Lee, Esther Rolf, Jeanette Tseng, Tiffany Wu

[globalpolicy.science/covid19](https://globalpolicy.science/covid19)

HELP Workshop – May 1, 2020

# Motivation

Currently, cost-benefit analysis of anti-contagion policies is almost impossible with existing information.

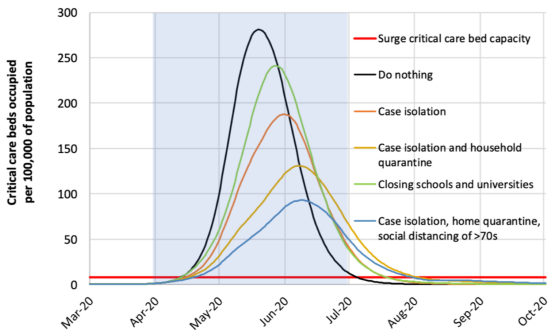
**Costs** of policies (e.g. stock market, unemployment) are salient and easily observed.

**Benefits** of policies (averted cases, lives not lost) cannot be directly observed.

*Standard econometric approaches are ideally suited to measure these benefits.*

Current understanding of benefits comes exclusively from forward-looking process-based epidemiological simulations.

These simulations are “structural” models that rely on numerous “deep” epidemiological parameters that are challenging to quantify.



The predicted impact that countermeasures could have on critical care bed use in Britain. Imperial College COVID-19 Response Team

**Impacts of ongoing policies have not been directly measured.**

# Research Questions

Global Policy Lab breakfast meeting on March 13th:

- 1) Can we empirically measure the benefits of anti-contagion policies using available data from countries with early outbreaks?**
- 2) If so, which policies “work” and/or generate the greatest benefits?**

Information can be useful to populations and decision-makers in remaining 180 countries where COVID-19 has been detected.

# Research Questions

Global Policy Lab breakfast meeting on March 13th:

**1) Can we empirically measure the benefits of anti-contagion policies using available data from countries with early outbreaks?'**

**2) If so, which policies "work" and/or generate the greatest benefits?**

Information can be useful to populations and decision-makers in remaining 180 countries where COVID-19 has been detected.

(paper submitted on March 23rd)

# Data Collection

Six Countries with early outbreaks and subnational data:

→ **China, South Korea, Iran, Italy, France, USA**

Restrict dates to >10 confirmed cases, no policies lifted:

→ **January 16** (China) — **April 6** (S. Korea, Italy, USA)

Daily subnational epidemiological data on confirmed **active cases** (China, S. Korea) or **cumulative cases**.

Data on documented **regime changes for diagnosis or testing** (country-level)

Subnational data on **deployment of anti-contagion policies**.

# Types of anti-contagion policies

Policies are aggregated or hand-collected from a variety of sources (e.g. online databases, news articles):

- travel bans
- transit restrictions
- business closures
- quarantining positive cases
- lockdowns / home isolation
- emergency declarations
- expansions of paid sick leave
- school closure
- canceling events
- prohibiting religious gatherings
- work from home
- other social distancing measures (closing museums / libraries)

Policies are aggregated up (population weights) to administrative units of case data.

Policies are grouped based on similarity of objective (e.g. travel restrictions) or timing of deployment.

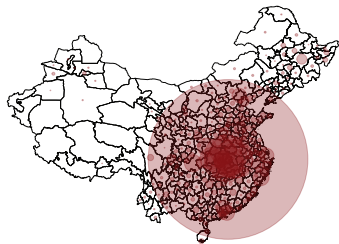
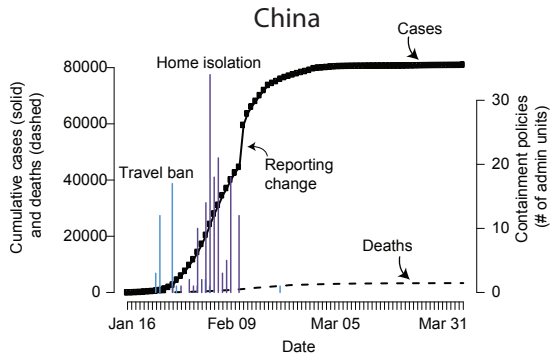
## Number of unique anti-contagion policies in this study by administrative division

Country	Adm0	Adm1	Adm2	Adm3	Total
China	0	4	133	0	137
France	8	1	50	0	59
Iran	5	17	0	0	22
Italy	14	29	95	77	215
South Korea	20	39	0	0	59
United States	36	682	418	31	1167
Total	83	772	696	108	1659

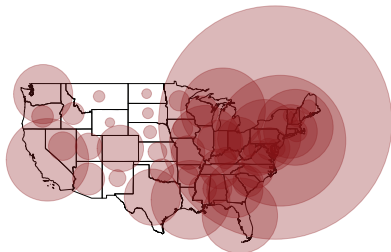
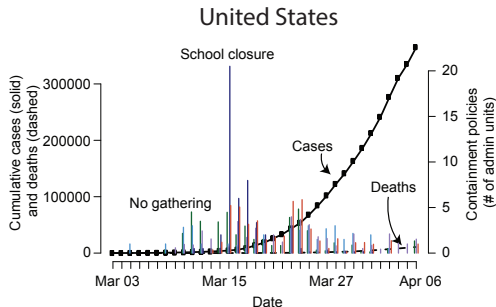
Adm0 = country; Adm1 = state; Adm2 = county



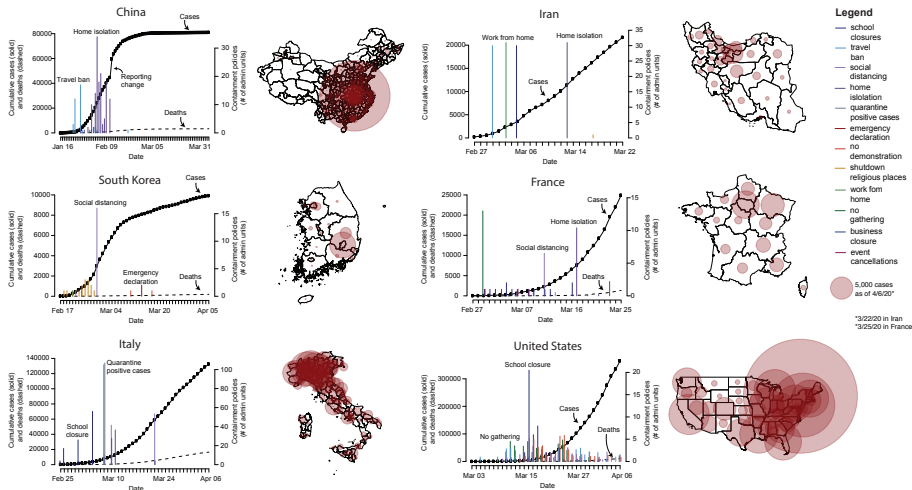
# Compiling new data: subnational cases + policies



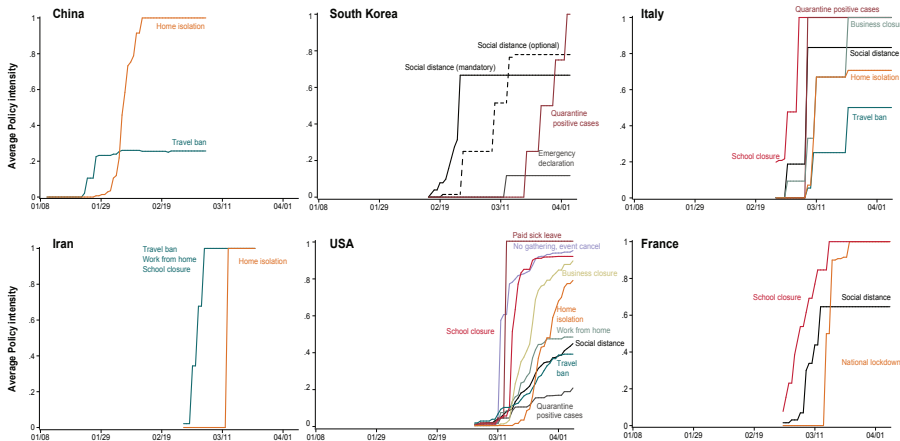
# Compiling new data: subnational cases + policies



# Compiling new data: subnational cases + policies



# Summaries: national average policy intensity



All data public → [globalpolicy.science/covid19](https://globalpolicy.science/covid19)

# Model

In Susceptible-Infected-Recovered (SIR) disease model, the rate of change in infections early in an epidemic is

$$\frac{dI_t}{dt} = (S_t\beta - \gamma)I_t \underset{S_t \rightarrow 1}{=} (\beta - \gamma)I_t$$

$I_t$  = infected individuals at time  $t$

$S_t$  = susceptible fraction of the population

$\beta$  = transmission rate

$\gamma$  = removal rate

Therefore, active infections grow exponentially in every time step:

$$\frac{I_{t_2}}{I_{t_1}} = e^{g_t \cdot (t_2 - t_1)} \quad (1)$$

where daily growth rate  $g_t$  is a function of behavior and policy.

# Estimation

Estimate a separate panel growth regression for each country:

$$\underbrace{\log(I_{cit}) - \log(I_{ci,t-1})}_{\text{daily growth rate } g_t} = \theta_{0,ci} + \delta_{ct} + \mu_{cit} + \sum_{p=1}^{P_c} (\theta_{cp} \cdot \text{policy}_{pcit}) + \epsilon_{cit}$$

$I$  = number of infected individuals

$\theta_0$  = subnational unit-fixed effects (e.g. state or city)

$\delta$  = day-of-week-fixed effects

$\mu$  = testing regime dummies

$\text{policy}$  = dummy variable for enacted policies

Country  $c$ , subnational unit  $i$ , and day  $t$ .

# Identification

Decisions to deploy policy are likely independent of growth rates or anticipation of growth rates.

→ epidemiological guidance to decision-makers was explicit that growth rates are constant in the absence of policy.

In practice, policies are generally deployed in response to

- levels of cumulative cases (not growth rates)
- outbreaks in other locations
- other arbitrary events (e.g. closing businesses on a Monday or schools after Spring Break).

# Is exponential growth a good assumption?

**Exponential growth occurs when most of the population remains susceptible.**

After correcting for estimated rates of case-detection (Russell et al., 2020), we compute:

- Susceptible fraction of population  $> 95\%$  across 86% of administrative units across all six countries at end of sample.
- Minimum susceptible population in any of the administrative units in our sample is approximately 78.0% (Cremona, Italy).

→ Much of sample would likely be in a regime of uninhibited exponential growth if policies were removed.



# Under-reporting of cases?

Suppose each locality  $i$  reports only a fraction  $\psi_i$  of infections.

We observe  $\tilde{l}_{it} = \psi_i l_{it}$  rather than actual infections  $l_{it}$ .

$$\begin{aligned}\log(\tilde{l}_{it}) - \log(\tilde{l}_{i,t-1}) &= \log(\psi_i l_{it}) - \log(\psi_i l_{i,t-1}) \\ &= \log(\psi_i) - \log(\psi_i) + \log(l_{it}) - \log(l_{i,t-1}) \\ &= \log(l_{it}) - \log(l_{i,t-1}) = g_{it}\end{aligned}$$

→ robust to systematic, time-invariant, location-specific under-reporting.

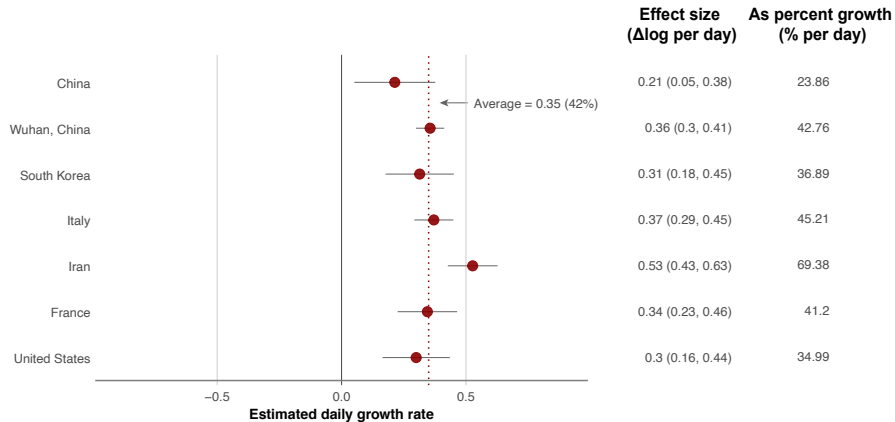
If there are trends in case-detection:

$$\log(\tilde{l}_{it}) - \log(\tilde{l}_{i,t-1}) = \underbrace{\log(\psi_{it}) - \log(\psi_{i,t-1})}_{\text{growth rate of \% cases detected}} + g_{it}$$

Using time-varying case detection rates, we estimate this bias may be roughly 0.022 on average (6.2% of baseline).

# “No policy” growth rates

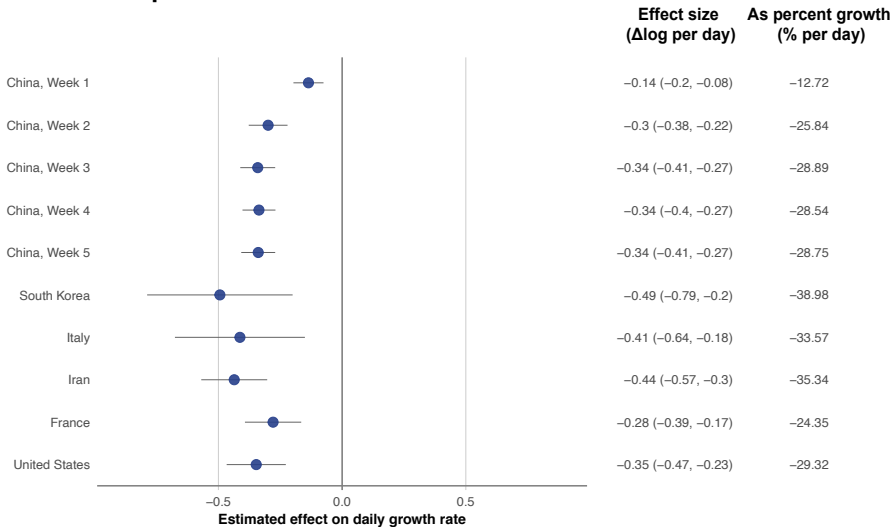
## Infection growth rate without policy



(These are mostly unobserved, actual infection growth is confounded by policy.)

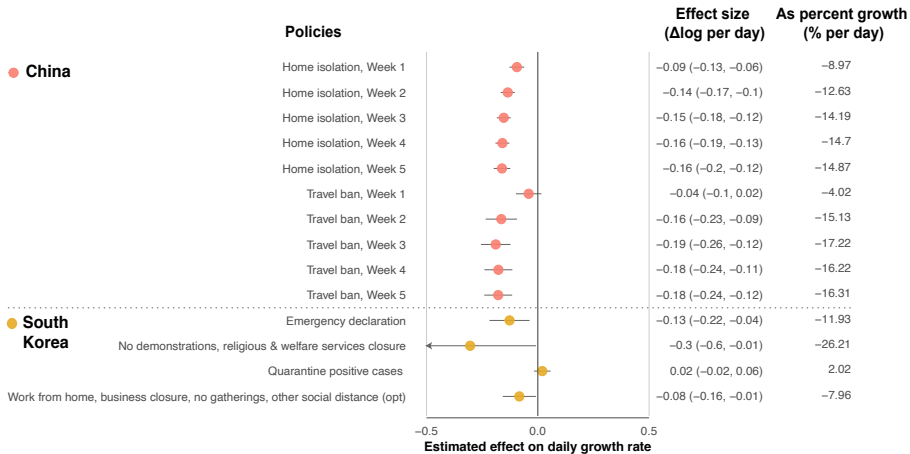
# Effect if all available policies are fully deployed

## Effect of all policies combined

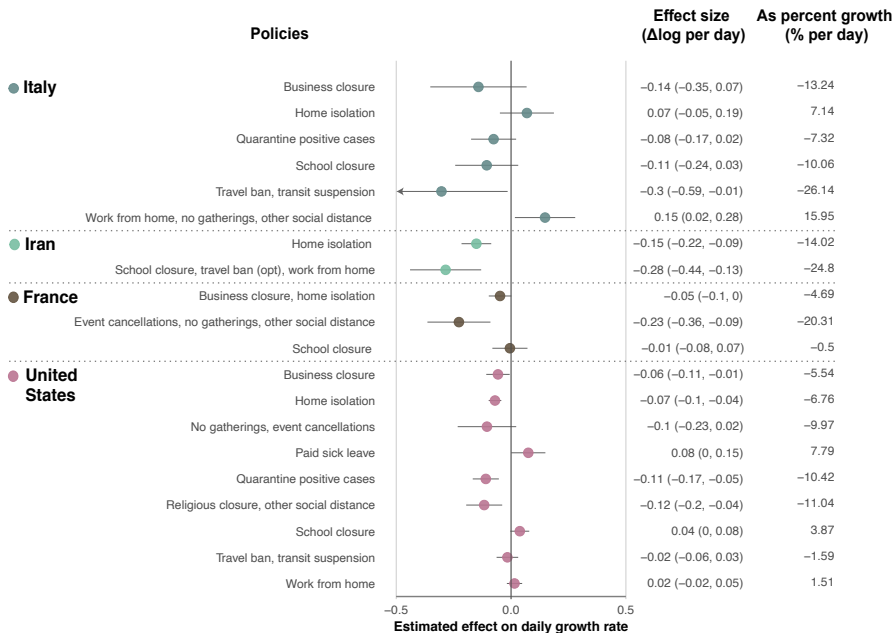


(Few locations deploy all policies in our sample.)

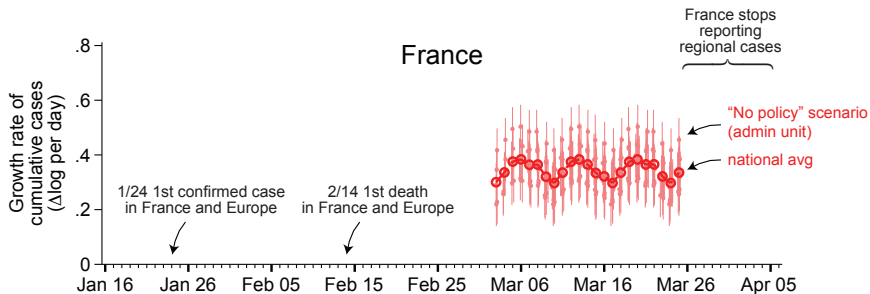
## Effect of individual policies



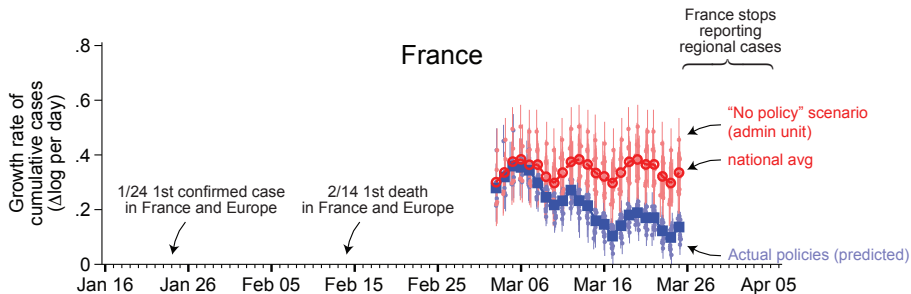
# Effect of individual policies



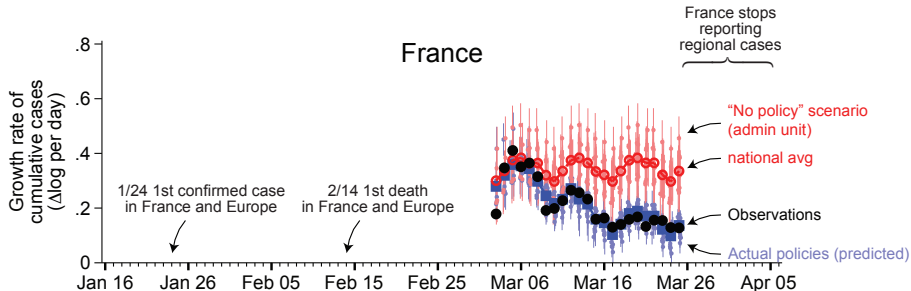
# Predicting counterfactual infection growth rates



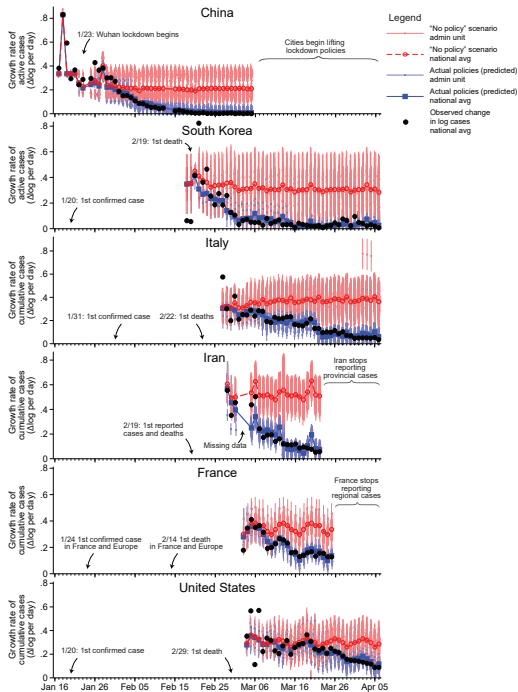
# Predicting counterfactual infection growth rates



# Predicting counterfactual infection growth rates







# Average total effect of anti-contagion policies

Without policy, daily infection growth rate = +0.35 (42%) per day  
→ doubling every 2 days.

Impacts of policy depend on timing and duration of deployment.

In our sample, we estimate all anti-contagion policies combined slowed average daily growth rate of infections:

**China**  $-0.156 (\pm 0.015)$  per day

**S Korea:**  $-0.248 (\pm 0.089)$  per day

**Italy:**  $-0.241 (\pm 0.068)$  per day

**Iran:**  $-0.362 (\pm 0.069)$  per day

**France:**  $-0.139 (\pm 0.038)$  per day

**USA:**  $-0.092 (\pm 0.033)$  per day

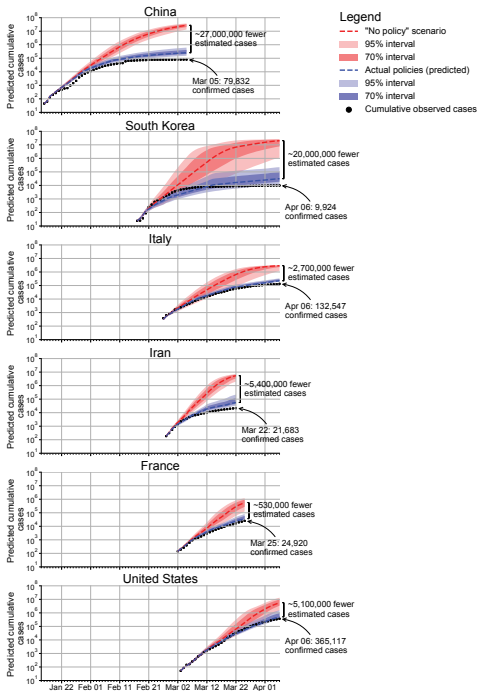
# Cumulative effect on total cases

We want to understand scale of total benefit from deployed policies.

→ Integrate growth rates to compute total infections averted.

Challenge: As more infections occur, growth rate natural slows because fewer individuals to infect.

Solution: Link results to SIR / SEIR model to adjust for changing susceptible population (including undetected cases).



## Benefits of policy: est. cases delayed or avoided

Country	End date	Cumulative "confirmed" cases delays / avoided
China	3-05	26,988,000
South Korea	4-06	20,149,000
Italy	4-06	2,684,000
Iran	3-22	5,358,000
France	3-25	532,000
United States	4-06	5,108,000
Total		60,819,000

Sensitivity tests using Susceptible-Exposed-Infected-Removed (SEIR) model:  
57–65 million confirmed cases averted (central est).

# Conclusions

- Without policy, daily infection growth rate = +0.35 (42%) per day  
→ doubling every 2 days.
- Current policy packages are effective at dramatically slowing growth rate if fully deployed.
- Ranking policies is more difficult with currently available data, but possible in some countries.
- It takes roughly 3 weeks for full effects to be observed.
- Existing policies are generating large benefits (e.g. without policy: 339× current cumulative infections in China, 15× in the US)
- Likely delayed / avoided on the order of 60M confirmed infections across six countries during our sample (ended April 6).