

Online Appendix to “Pandemic Policymaking in Presidential Federations: Explaining Subnational Responses to Covid-19 in Brazil, Mexico and the United States”

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A1. Variable Coding

Administrative variables

Country

- Variable name: `country`
- Description: Indicates either U.S., Mexico, or Brazil

State name

- Variable name: `state_name`
- Description: Indicates name of subnational state

State short

- Variable name: `state_short`
- Description: Indicates either a two-letter code for each subnational state (U.S. and Brazil) or an abbreviation for each subnational state (Mexico)

State code

- Variable name: `state_code`
- Description: Indicates a numeric code for each subnational state
- Notes:
 - U.S.: Range: 1-56
 - Mexico: Range: 1-32
 - Brazil: Range: 1-27

Date

- Variable name: `date`
- Description: Indicates the date
- Range: 2020-02-25 - 2020-06-30

Days

- Variable name: `days`
- Description: Number of days since first reported covid case in country

Weeks

- Variable name: `weeks`
- Description: Number of weeks since first reported covid case in country

Region

- Variable name: `region`
- Description: Indicates the larger region of each subnational state
- Notes:
 - U.S.: Northeast; South; Midwest; West
 - Mexico: North; Central; East; West; South
 - Brazil: Northeast; North; Central; Southeast; South

Subregion

- Variable name: `sub_region`
- Description: Indicates the sub region of each subnational state in the U.S.
- Notes:
 - U.S.: East North Central; East South Central; Mid Atlantic; Mountain West; New England; Pacific West; South Atlantic West; North Central; West South Central

Policy variables

School closure

- Variable name: `policy_school_closure`
- Description: Indicates whether schools were open, partially closed, or completely closed across a subnational unit.
- Brazil:
 - Observed Range: 0-1
 - Median: 1.0
 - Mean: 0.9
- Mexico:
 - Observed Range: 0-1
 - Median: 1.0
 - Mean: 0.9
- U.S.:
 - Observed Range: 0-1
 - Median: 1.0
 - Mean: 0.8
- U.S.: University of Oxford <https://github.com/OxCGRT/USA-covid-policy>
- Mexico: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/mexico/>
- Brazil: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/brazil/>
- Notes:

Workplace closure

- Variable name: `policy_workplace_closure`

- Description: Indicates whether non-essential workplaces were open, partially closed, or completely closed.

- Brazil:

- Observed Range: 0-1

- Median: 0.5

- Mean: 0.5

- Mexico:

- Observed Range: 0-1

- Median: 0.5

- Mean: 0.4

- U.S.:

- Observed Range: 0-1

- Median: 0.7

- Mean: 0.5

- U.S.: University of Oxford <https://github.com/OxCGRT/USA-covid-policy>

- Mexico: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/mexico/>

- Brazil: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/brazil/>

- Notes:

Public events cancelled

- Variable name: `policy_public_events_cancelled`

- Description: Indicates whether public events were not, were partially, or were completely cancelled.

- Brazil:

- Observed Range: 0-1

- Median: 1.0

- Mean: 0.8

- Mexico:

- Observed Range: 0-1

- Median: 1.0

- Mean: 0.7

- U.S.:

- Observed Range: 0-1

- Median: 0.8

- Mean: 0.7

- U.S.: University of Oxford <https://github.com/OxCGRT/USA-covid-policy>

- Mexico: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/mexico/>

- Brazil: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/brazil/>

- Notes:

Restrict gatherings

- Variable name: `policy_restrict_gatherings`

- Description: Indicates the extent to which gatherings were restricted.

- Brazil:

- Observed Range: 0-1
- Median: 0.5
- Mean: 0.3
- Mexico:
 - Observed Range: 0-1
 - Median: 0.8
 - Mean: 0.7
- U.S.:
 - Observed Range: 0-1
 - Median: 0.8
 - Mean: 0.7
- U.S.: University of Oxford <https://github.com/OxCGRT/USA-covid-policy>
- Mexico: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/mexico/>
- Brazil: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/brazil/>
- Notes:

Stay at home

- Variable name: `policy_stay_at_home`
- Description: Indicates the extent of stay at home policies.
- Brazil:
 - Observed Range: 0-1
 - Median: 0
 - Mean: 0.02
- Mexico:
 - Observed Range: 0-1
 - Median: 0.5
 - Mean: 0.6
- U.S.:
 - Observed Range: 0-1
 - Median: 0.3
 - Mean: 0.3
- U.S.: University of Oxford <https://github.com/OxCGRT/USA-covid-policy>
- Mexico: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/mexico/>
- Brazil: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/brazil/>
- Notes:

Public transit suspension

- Variable name: `policy_public_transit_suspended`
- Description: Indicates the extent to which internal subnational state travel was restricted.
- Brazil:
 - Observed Range: 0-1
 - Median: 0
 - Mean: 0.06
- Mexico:

- Observed Range: 0-1
- Median: 0
- Mean: 0.2
- U.S.:
- Observed Range: 0-1
- Median: 0.3
- Mean: 0.2
- U.S.: University of Oxford <https://github.com/OxCGRT/USA-covid-policy>
- Mexico: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/mexico/>
- Brazil: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/brazil/>

Internal travel controls

- Variable name: `policy_internal_travel_controls`
- Brazil:
- Observed Range: 0-1
- Median: 0
- Mean: 0.2
- Mexico:
- Observed Range: 0-1
- Median: 0.3
- Mean: 0.3
- U.S.:
- Observed Range: 0-1
- Median: 0.5
- Mean: 0.4
- U.S.: University of Oxford <https://github.com/OxCGRT/USA-covid-policy>
- Mexico: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/mexico/>
- Brazil: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/brazil/>

Any school closure

- Variable name: `policy_school_closure_imp_any`
- Description: Indicates whether any policy was implemented on school closure, whether recommended, partially, or fully
- Brazil:
- Possible Range: 0-1
- Observed Range: 0-1
- Median: 1.0
- Mean: 0.9
- Mexico:
- Possible Range: 0-1
- Observed Range: 0-1
- Median: 1.0
- Mean: 0.9
- U.S.:

- Possible Range: 0-1
- Observed Range: 0-1
- Median: 1.0
- Mean: 0.9
- Brazil: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/brazil/>
- Mexico: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/mexico/>
- U.S.: University of Oxford <https://github.com/OxCGRT/USA-covid-policy>

Full school closure

- Variable name: `policy_school_closure_imp_full`
- Description: Indicates whether a policy was fully implemented on school closure
- Brazil:
 - Possible Range: 0-1
 - Observed Range: 0-1
 - Median: 1.0
 - Mean: 0.9
- Mexico:
 - Possible Range: 0-1
 - Observed Range: 0-1
 - Median: 1.0
 - Mean: 0.9
- U.S.:
 - Possible Range: 0-1
 - Observed Range: 0-1
 - Median: 1.0
 - Mean: 0.6
- Brazil: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/brazil/>
- Mexico: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/mexico/>
- U.S.: University of Oxford <https://github.com/OxCGRT/USA-covid-policy>

Any workplace closure

- Variable name: `policy_workplace_closure_imp_any`
- Description: Indicates whether any policy was implemented on workplace closure, whether recommended, partially, or fully
- Brazil:
 - Possible Range: 0-1
 - Observed Range: 0-1
 - Median: 1
 - Mean: 0.8
- Mexico:
 - Possible Range: 0-1
 - Observed Range: 0-1
 - Median: 1.0
 - Mean: 0.9

-U.S.:

- Possible Range: 0-1
- Observed Range: 0-1
- Median: 1.0
- Mean: 0.8

- Brazil: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/brazil/>
- Mexico: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/mexico/>
- U.S.: University of Oxford <https://github.com/OxCGRT/USA-covid-policy>

Full workplace closure

- Variable name: `policy_workplace_closure_imp_full`

- Description: Indicates whether a policy was fully implemented on workplace closure

- Brazil:

- Possible Range: 0-1
- Observed Range: 0-1
- Median: 0
- Mean: 0.3

-Mexico:

- Possible Range: 0-1
- Observed Range: 0-1
- Median: 0
- Mean: 0.0

-U.S.:

- Possible Range: 0-1
- Observed Range: 0-1
- Median: 0
- Mean: 0.2

- Brazil: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/brazil/>
- Mexico: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/mexico/>
- U.S.: University of Oxford <https://github.com/OxCGRT/USA-covid-policy>

Any public events cancellation

- Variable name: `policy_public_events_cancelled_imp_any`

- Description: Indicates whether any policy was implemented on public events cancellation, whether recommended, partially, or fully

- Brazil:

- Possible Range: 0-1
- Observed Range: 0-1
- Median: 1.0
- Mean: 0.8

-Mexico:

- Possible Range: 0-1
- Observed Range: 0-1
- Median: 1.0

- Mean: 0.9
- U.S.:
 - Possible Range: 0-1
 - Observed Range: 0-1
 - Median: 1
 - Mean: 0.9
- Brazil: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/brazil/>
- Mexico: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/mexico/>
- U.S.: University of Oxford <https://github.com/OxCGRT/USA-covid-policy>

Full public events cancellation

- Variable name: `policy_public_events_cancelled_imp_full`
- Description: Indicates whether a policy on public events cancellation was fully implemented
- Brazil:
 - Possible Range: 0-1
 - Observed Range: 0-1
 - Median: 1.0
 - Mean: 0.8
- Mexico:
 - Possible Range: 0-1
 - Observed Range: 0-1
 - Median: 1.0
 - Mean: 0.6
- U.S.:
 - Possible Range: 0-1
 - Observed Range: 0-1
 - Median: 1
 - Mean: 0.5
- Brazil: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/brazil/>
- Mexico: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/mexico/>
- U.S.: University of Oxford <https://github.com/OxCGRT/USA-covid-policy>

Any policy restricting gatherings

- Variable name: `policy_restrict_gatherings_imp_any`
- Description: Indicates whether any policy was implemented restricting gatherings, whether recommended, partially, or fully
- Brazil:
 - Possible Range: 0-1
 - Observed Range: 0-1
 - Median: 1.0
 - Mean: 0.5
- Mexico:
 - Possible Range: 0-1
 - Observed Range: 0-1

- Median: 1.0
- Mean: 0.9
- U.S.:
 - Possible Range: 0-1
 - Observed Range: 0-1
 - Median: 1
 - Mean: 0.8
- Brazil: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/brazil/>
- Mexico: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/mexico/>
- U.S.: University of Oxford <https://github.com/OxCGRT/USA-covid-policy>

Full policy restricting gatherings

- Variable name: `policy_restrict_gatherings_imp_full`
- Description: Indicates whether a policy on restricting gatherings was fully implemented
- Brazil:
 - Possible Range: 0-1
 - Observed Range: 0-1
 - Median: 0
 - Mean: 0.1
- Mexico:
 - Possible Range: 0-1
 - Observed Range: 0-1
 - Median: 0
 - Mean: 0.1
- U.S.:
 - Possible Range: 0-1
 - Observed Range: 0-1
 - Median: 0
 - Mean: 0.4
- Brazil: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/brazil/>
- Mexico: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/mexico/>
- U.S.: University of Oxford <https://github.com/OxCGRT/USA-covid-policy>

Any stay-at-home policy

- Variable name: `policy_stay_at_home_imp_any`
- Description: Indicates whether any stay-at-home policy was implemented, whether recommended, partially, or fully
- Brazil:
 - Possible Range: 0-1
 - Observed Range: 0-1
 - Median: 0
 - Mean: 0
- Mexico:
 - Possible Range: 0-1

- Observed Range: 0-1
- Median: 1.0
- Mean: 0.9
- U.S.:
- Possible Range: 0-1
- Observed Range: 0-1
- Median: 1
- Mean: 0.7
- Brazil: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/brazil/>
- Mexico: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/mexico/>
- U.S.: University of Oxford <https://github.com/OxCGRT/USA-covid-policy>

Full stay-at-home policy

- Variable name: `policy_stay_at_home_imp_full`
- Description: Indicates whether a full stay-at-home policy was implemented
- Brazil:
- Possible Range: 0-1
- Observed Range: 0-1
- Median: 0
- Mean: 0
- Mexico:
- Possible Range: 0-1
- Observed Range: 0-1
- Median: 0
- Mean: 0.4
- U.S.:
- Possible Range: 0-1
- Observed Range: 0-1
- Median: 0
- Mean: 0.21
- Brazil: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/brazil/>
- Mexico: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/mexico/>
- U.S.: University of Oxford <https://github.com/OxCGRT/USA-covid-policy>

Any transit suspension policy

- Variable name: `policy_public_transit_suspended_imp_any`
- Description: Indicates whether any policy was implemented suspending public transit, whether recommended, partially, or fully
- Brazil:
- Possible Range: 0-1
- Observed Range: 0-1
- Median: 0
- Mean: 0.1
- Mexico:

- Possible Range: 0-1
- Observed Range: 0-1
- Median: 0
- Mean: 0.5
- U.S.:
 - Possible Range: 0-1
 - Observed Range: 0-1
 - Median: 1
 - Mean: 0.5
- Brazil: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/brazil/>
- Mexico: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/mexico/>
- U.S.: University of Oxford <https://github.com/OxCGRT/USA-covid-policy>

Full transit suspension policy

- Variable name: `policy_public_transit_suspended_imp_full`
- Description: Indicates whether a policy suspending public transit was fully implemented
- Brazil:
 - Possible Range: 0-1
 - Observed Range: 0-1
 - Median: 0.03
 - Mean: 0
- Mexico:
 - Possible Range: 0-1
 - Observed Range: 0
 - Median: 0
 - Mean: 0
- U.S.:
 - Possible Range: 0-1
 - Observed Range: 0-1
 - Median: 0
 - Mean: 0.02
- Brazil: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/brazil/>
- Mexico: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/mexico/>
- U.S.: University of Oxford <https://github.com/OxCGRT/USA-covid-policy>

Any transit suspension policy

- Variable name: `policy_internal_travel_controls_imp_any`
- Description: Indicates whether any policy was implemented restricting internal travel, whether recommended, partially, or fully
- Brazil:
 - Possible Range: 0-1
 - Observed Range: 0-1
 - Median: 0
 - Mean: 0.3

-Mexico:

- Possible Range: 0-1
- Observed Range: 0-1
- Median: 1
- Mean: 0.6

-U.S.:

- Possible Range: 0-1
- Observed Range: 0-1
- Median: 1
- Mean: 0.6
- Brazil: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/brazil/>
- Mexico: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/mexico/>
- U.S.: University of Oxford <https://github.com/OxCGRT/USA-covid-policy>

Full transit suspension policy

- Variable name: `policy_internal_travel_controls_imp_full`
- Description: Indicates whether any a policy restricting internal travel was implemented fully
- Brazil:

- Possible Range: 0-1
- Observed Range: 0-1
- Median: 0
- Mean: 0.2

-Mexico:

- Possible Range: 0-1
- Observed Range: 0
- Median: 0
- Mean: 0

-U.S.:

- Possible Range: 0-1
- Observed Range: 0-1
- Median: 0
- Mean: 0.2
- Brazil: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/brazil/>
- Mexico: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/mexico/>
- US: University of Oxford <https://github.com/OxCGRT/USA-covid-policy>

Policy Index

- Variable name: `policy_index`
- Description: Ten-item additive index of individual policy items
- Brazil:

- Possible Range: 0-100
- Observed Range: 0-75
- Median: 45

- Mean: 42.62
- Mexico:
 - Possible Range: 0-100
 - Observed Range: 0-77.50
 - Median: 55
 - Mean: 45.50
- U.S.:
 - Possible Range: 0-100
 - Observed Range: 0-84.17
 - Median: 50.42
 - Mean: 49.85
- Brazil: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/brazil/>
- Mexico: University of Miami <http://observcovid.miami.edu/mexico/>
- US: University of Oxford <https://github.com/OxCGRT/USA-covid-policy>

Covariates Variables

Presidential vote share

- Variable name: `politics_pres_vote_share`
- Description: Percentage share of votes at the state level for the current president during previous election
- Possible Range: 0-100
- Observed Range: 22.95-77.22%
- Median: 49.49%
- Mean: 48.09%
- US: Data on the US's presidential and gubernatorial elections were collected by the authors in the file `raw_us_politics.`
- Mexico: Data on Mexico's presidential and gubernatorial elections were collected by the authors in the file `raw_mex_politics.` Vote share data were collected from the Mexican Instituto Nacional Electoral (INE) from (<https://www.ine.mx/voto-y-elecciones/resultados-electorales/>).
- Brazil: Data on Brazil's presidential and gubernatorial elections come from the [`cepespR`](<https://github.com/Cepesp-Fgv/cepesp-r>) R package and are supplemented with additional data collected by the authors stored in the `raw_br_politics` file.
- Notes:

Political trust

- Variable name: `trust_pca_ps`
- Description: Level of trust in political institutions
- Brazil:
 - Observed Range: -0.10 – 0.12
 - Median: -0.005
 - Mean: 0.001
- Mexico:

- Observed Range: -0.13 – 0.14
- Median: -0.004
- Mean: 0.007

U.S.:

- Observed Range: -0.13 – 0.20
- Median: -0.05
- Mean: -0.05
- We use six items from LAPOP's 2019 surveys in Brazil, Mexico, and the U.S. that measure respondent trust in their country's system of government, executive, legislature, political parties, media, and elections. We scale these items using a principal components analysis with varimax rotation to create a single measure of political institutions trust.

Party alignment of governor

- Variable name: `politics_alignment_party`
- Description: Whether the party of the governor matches the party of the president
- Possible Range: 0-1
- Observed Range: 0-1
- Median: 0
- Mean: 0.32
- US: Data on the US's presidential and gubernatorial elections were collected by the authors in the file `raw_us_politics.`
- Mexico: Data on Mexico's presidential and gubernatorial elections were collected by the authors in the file `raw_mex_politics.`
- Brazil: Data on Brazil's presidential and gubernatorial elections come from the [`cepespR`](https://github.com/Cepesp-Fgv/cepesp-r) R package and are supplemented with additional data collected by the authors stored in the `raw_br_politics` file.
- Notes:

New COVID-19 cases

- Variable name: `covid_new_cases`
- Description: New confirmed COVID-19 cases per day
- Possible Range: 0 =<
- Observed Range: 0-393454
- Median: 1209
- Mean: 12629
- US: We use the `R` package [COVID19](https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/COVID19/index.html) to obtain daily state level data on Covid 19 compiled from [Johns Hopkins Center for Systems Science and Engineering](https://github.com/CSSEGISandData/COVID-19)
- Mexico: We download daily state level data on COVID-19 for Mexico from the [CoronaMex] Github (https://github.com/coronamex/datos/raw/master/datos_abiertos/serie_tiempo_estados_fecha_confirmacion.csv.gz)

- Brazil: We download daily state level data on COVID-19 for Brazil from the [coronavirusbrazil](https://github.com/mralbu/coronavirusbrazil) R package.
- Note:

New COVID-19 cases per 100k

- Variable name: `covid_new_cases_per100k`
- Description: New confirmed COVID-19 cases per day per 100000 people
- Possible Range: 0 =<
- Observed Range: 0-3299.04
- Median: 44.14
- Mean: 185.06
- US: We use the `R` package [COVID19](https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/COVID19/index.html) to obtain daily state level data on Covid 19 compiled from [Johns Hopkins Center for Systems Science and Engineering](https://github.com/CSSEGISandData/COVID-19)
- Mexico: We download daily state level data on COVID-19 for Mexico from the [CoronaMex] Github (https://github.com/coronamex/datos/raw/master/datos_abiertos/serie_tiempo_estados_fecha_confirmacion.csv.gz)
- Brazil: We download daily state level data on COVID-19 for Brazil from the [coronavirusbrazil](https://github.com/mralbu/coronavirusbrazil) R package.
- Note:

New COVID-19 deaths

- Variable name: `covid_new_deaths`
- Description: New confirmed COVID-19 deaths per day
- Possible Range: 0 =<
- Observed Range: 0-24855.0
- Median: 55.0
- Mean: 692.4
- US: We use the `R` package [COVID19](https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/COVID19/index.html) to obtain daily state level data on Covid 19 compiled from [Johns Hopkins Center for Systems Science and Engineering](https://github.com/CSSEGISandData/COVID-19)
- Mexico: We download daily state level data on COVID-19 for Mexico from the [CoronaMex] Github (https://github.com/coronamex/datos/raw/master/datos_abiertos/serie_tiempo_estados_fecha_confirmacion.csv.gz)
- Brazil: We download daily state level data on COVID-19 for Brazil from the [coronavirusbrazil](https://github.com/mralbu/coronavirusbrazil) R package.
- Note:

New COVID-19 deaths per 100k

- Variable name: `covid_new_deaths_per100k`
- Description: New confirmed COVID-19 deaths per day per 100000 people
- Possible Range: 0 =<
- Observed Range: 0-168.32
- Median: 1.75
- Mean: 9.25
 - U.S.: We use the `R` package [COVID19](https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/COVID19/index.html) to obtain daily state level data on Covid 19 compiled from [Johns Hopkins Center for Systems Science and Engineering](https://github.com/CSSEGISandData/COVID-19)
 - Mexico: We download daily state level data on COVID-19 for Mexico from the [CoronaMex] Github (https://github.com/coronamex/datos/raw/master/datos_abiertos/serie_tiempo_estados_fecha_confirmacion.csv.gz)
 - Brazil: We download daily state level data on COVID-19 for Brazil from the [coronavirusbrazil](https://github.com/mralbu/coronavirusbrazil) R package.
- Note:

Subnational Human Development Index

- Variable name: `social_shdi`
- Description: Subnational human development index score for health
- Possible Range: 0-1
- Observed Range: 0.69-0.96
- Median: 0.80
- Mean: 0.83
 - U.S.: We download state-level health SHDI data from the Global Data Lab (https://globaldatalab.org/shdi/shdi/)
 - Mexico: We download state-level health SHDI data from the Global Data Lab (https://globaldatalab.org/shdi/shdi/)
 - Brazil: We download state-level health SHDI data from the Global Data Lab (https://globaldatalab.org/shdi/shdi/)
- Note:

Myers State Capacity Index

- Variable name: `statecap_myers_latest`
- Description: The latest subnational state capacity measure
- Possible Range:
- Observed Range:
- Median:
- Mean:
 - US: We download state-level capacity data from the State Capacity Scores website (https://statecapacityscores.org/the-data/)
 - Mexico: We download state-level capacity data from the State Capacity Scores website (https://statecapacityscores.org/the-data/)

- Brazil: We download state-level capacity data from the State Capacity Scores website (<https://statecapacityscores.org/the-data/>)

State GINI

- Variable name: `social_gini`
- Description: State-level GINI coefficient

Brazil

- Observed Range: 0.49-0.65
- Median: 0.60
- Mean: 0.59

Mexico

- Observed Range: 0.40-0.50
- Median: 0.45
- Mean: 0.45

U.S.

- Observed Range: 0.42-0.51
- Median: 0.46
- Mean: 0.46

A2. Political Parties by Country

Table A2.1 Political Parties by Country

Country	Party name	Party (trans)	Party acronym	Reference group
Brazil	Progressistas	Progressives	PP	Y
	Partido Democrático Trabalhista	Democratic Workers' Party	PDT	Y
	Partido Comunista do Brasil	Communist Party of Brazil	PC do B	Y
	Partido Novo	New Party	NOVO	Y
	Aliança	Alliance		Y
	Democratas	Democrats	DEM	N
	Movimento Democrático Brasileiro	Brazilian Democratic Movement	MDB	N
	Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira	Brazilian Social Democracy Party	PSDB	N
	Partido dos Trabalhadores	Workers' Party	PT	N
	Partido Social Cristão	Social Christian Party	PSC	N
	Partido Social Democrático	Social Democratic Party	PSD	N
	Partido Social Liberal	Social Liberal Party	PSL	N
	Partido Socialista Brasileiro	Brazilian Socialist Party	PSB	N
Mexico	Movimiento Regeneración Nacional	National Regeneration Movement	MORENA	Y
	Partido Revolucionario Institucional	Institutional Revolutionary Party	PRI	N
	Partido Acción Nacional	National Action Party	PAN	N
	Partido de la Revolución Democrática	Party of the Democratic Revolution	PRD	N
U.S.	Republican Party			Y
	Democratic Party			N

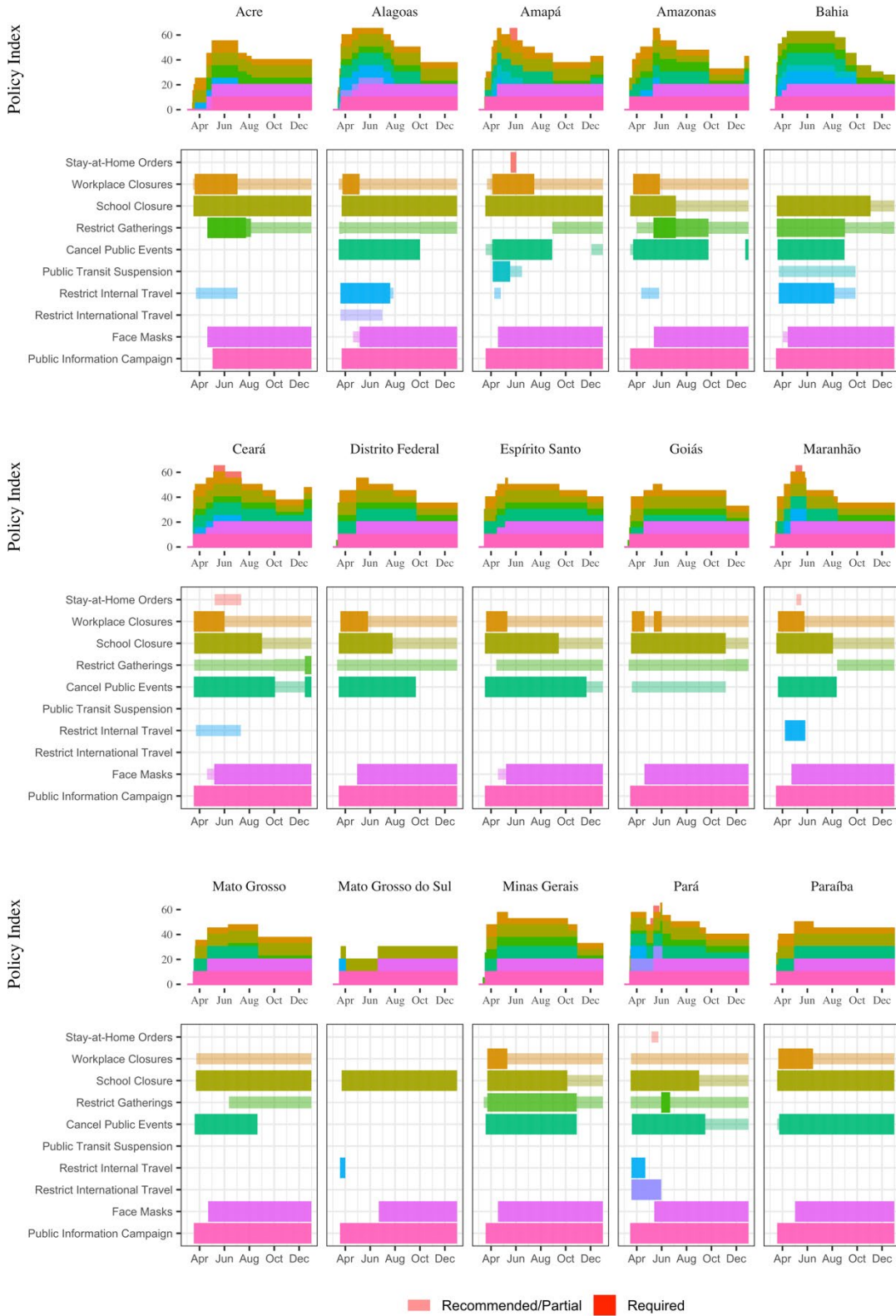
Note. In Mexico, 12 states have PRI governors: Campeche, Coahuila, Colima, Guerrero, Hidalgo, México, Oaxaca, San Luis Potosí, Sinaloa, Sonora, Tlaxcala, Zacatecas. Nine states have PAN governors: Aguascalientes, Baja

California Sur, Chihuahua, Durango, Guanajuato, Nayarit, Querétaro, Tamaulipas, Yucatán. Two states have PRD governors: Michoacán and Quintana Roo. Three states are led by independent governors: Jalisco, Morelos and Nuevo León. In Brazil, the reference category consists of the governors of five of the country's 27 states: Acre, Amapá, Maranhão, Minas Gerais, and Rondônia, who are affiliated with the PP, PDT, PC do B, NOVO, and *Aliança*, respectively. The distribution of the 22 Brazilian states across the eight parties which have more than one affiliated governor is as follows: Goiás, Mato Grosso, Tocantins (DEM); Alagoas, Distrito Federal, Pará (MDB); Espírito Santo, Paraíba, Pernambuco (PSB); Amazonas, Rio De Janeiro (PSC); Paraná, Sergipe (PSD); Mato Grosso Do Sul, Rio Grande Do Sul, Sao Paolo (PSDB); Roraima, Santa Catarina (PSL); Bahia, Ceará, Piauí, Rio Grande Do Norte (PT).

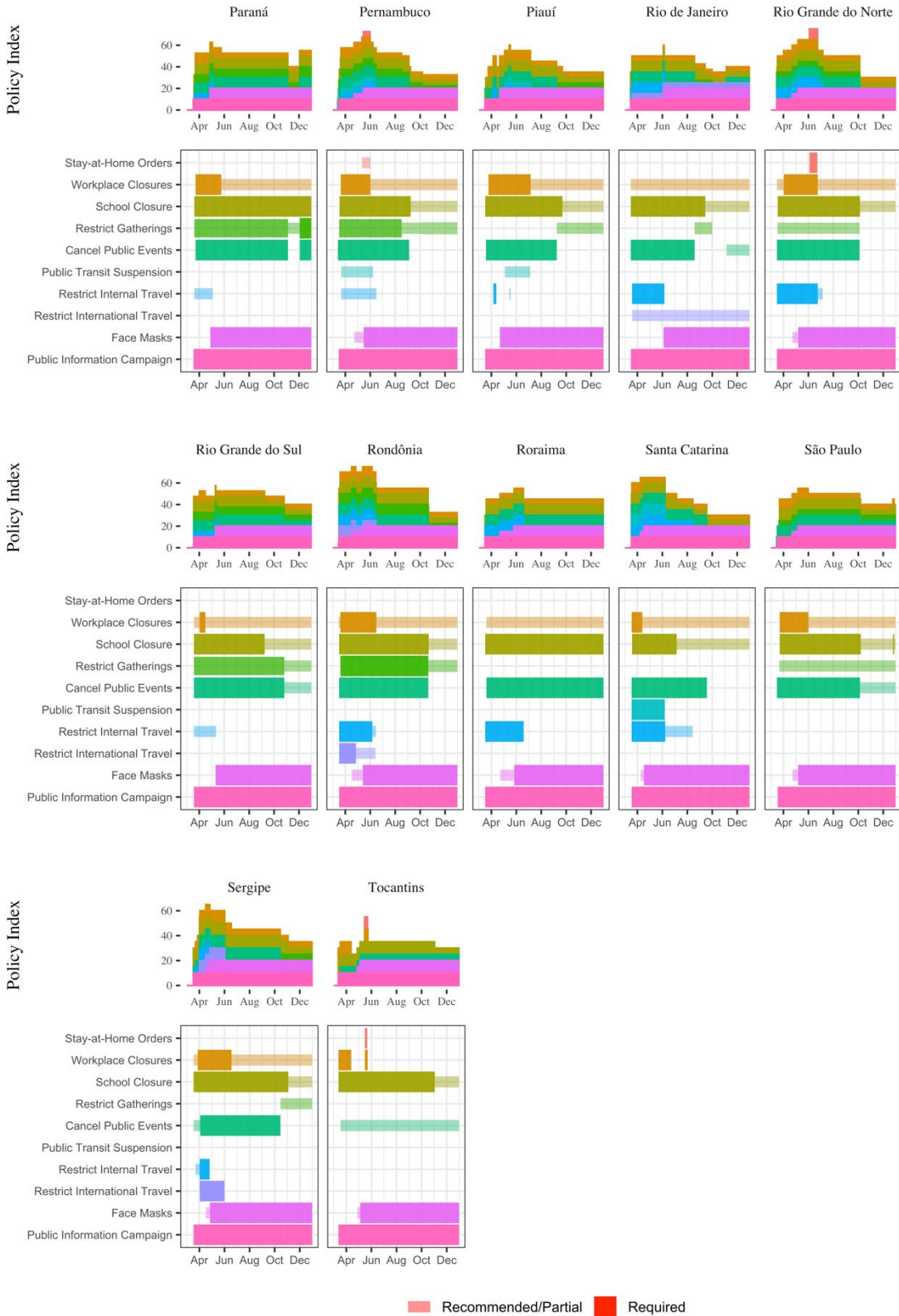
A2. State Profiles of Social Distancing Policies in Brazil, Mexico, and the U.S.

In this section we provide an overview of the underlying policies that make up the policy stringency index (PSI) scores for each state in Brazil, Mexico, and the U.S. over time. Each panel corresponds to a state. Within each panel, the top portion shows the policy index score for that state, with colored bars corresponding to the policies in effect. For clarity, the bottom portion of each panel presents each policy separately over time, with the width of the lines corresponding to the degree of implementation (“Recommended/Partial” or “Required”).

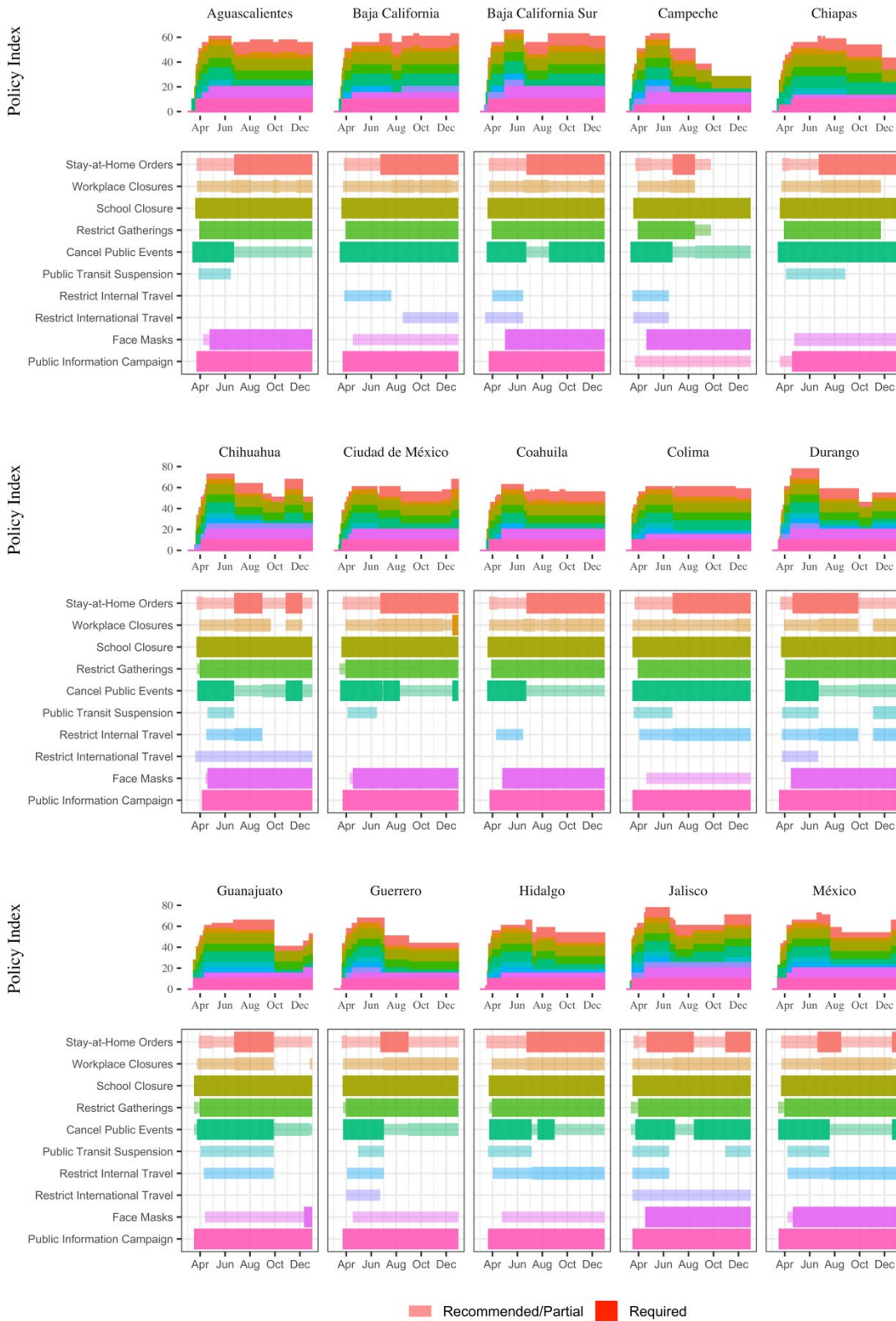
A2.A.1 Social Distancing Policies in Brazil (Acre- Paraíba)



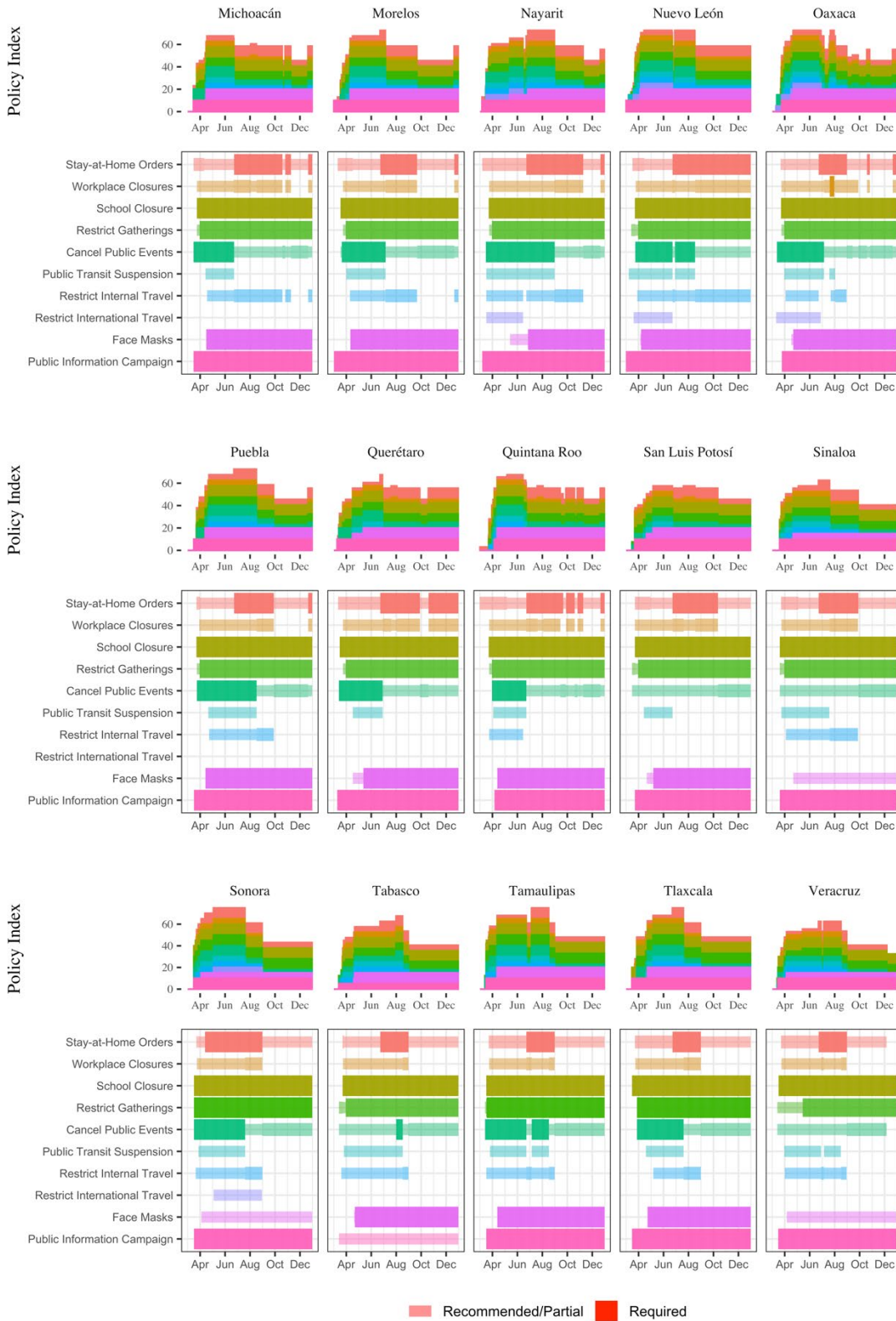
A2.A.2 Social Distancing Policies in Brazil (Paraná - Tocantins)



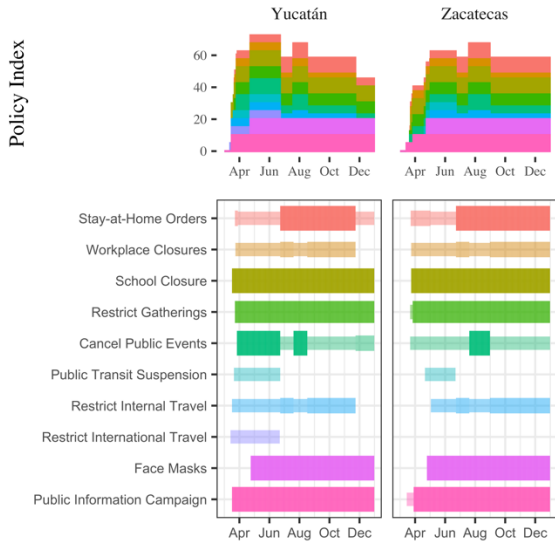
A2.B.1 Social Distancing Policies in Mexico (Aguascalientes – México)



A2.B.2 Social Distancing Policies in Mexico (Michoacán – Veracruz)

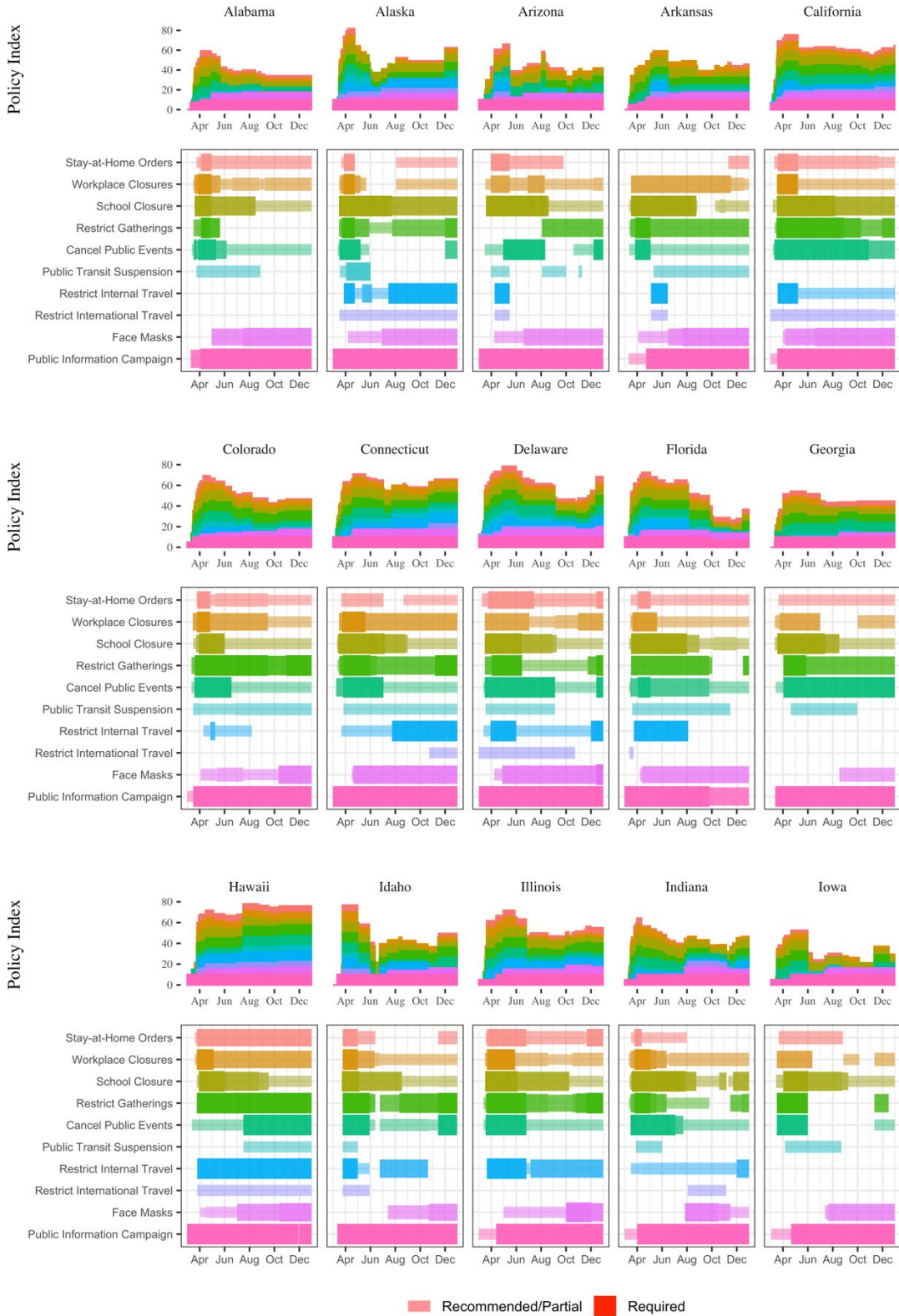


A2.B.3 Social Distancing Policies in Mexico (Yucatán - Zacatecas)

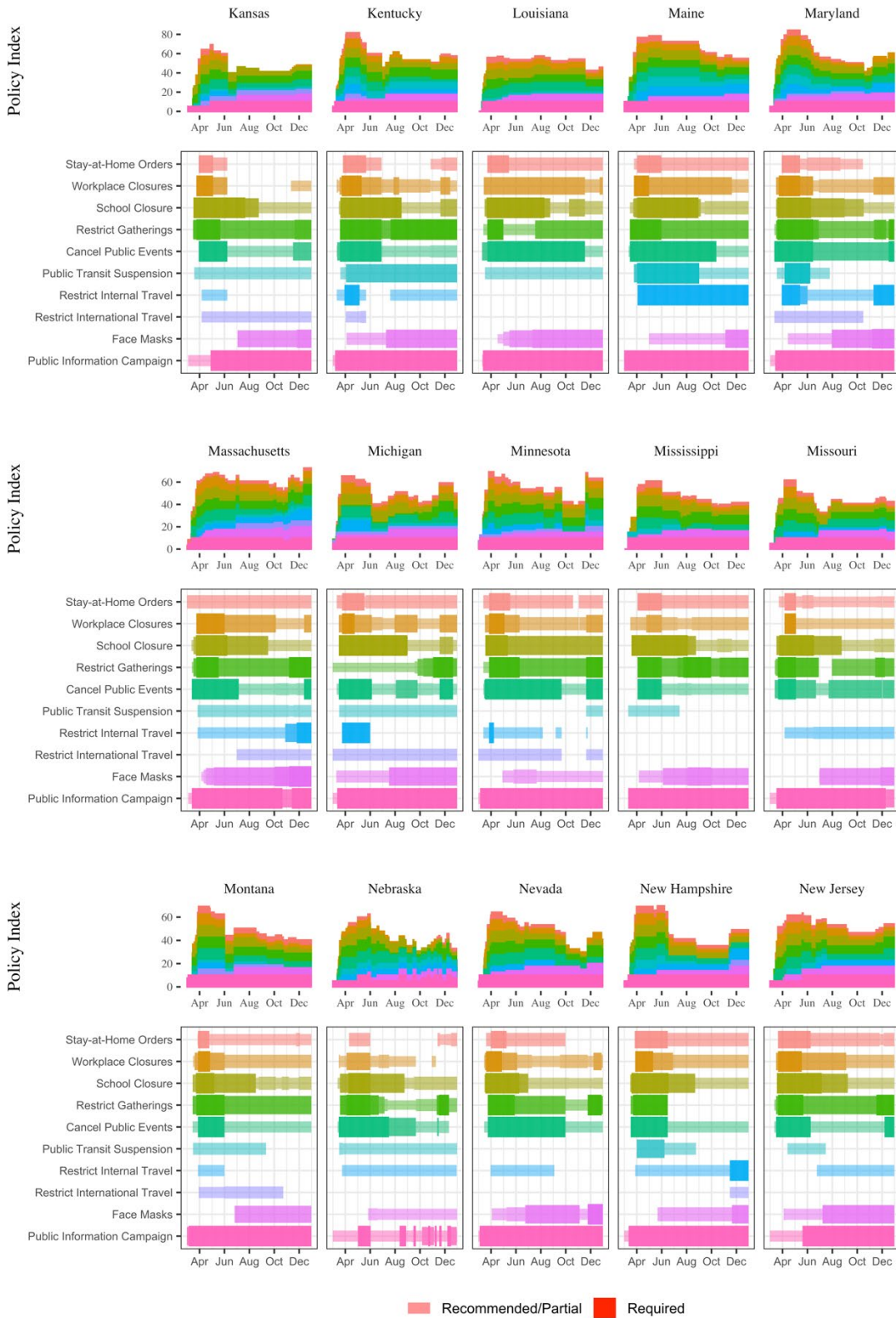


Recommended/Partial Required

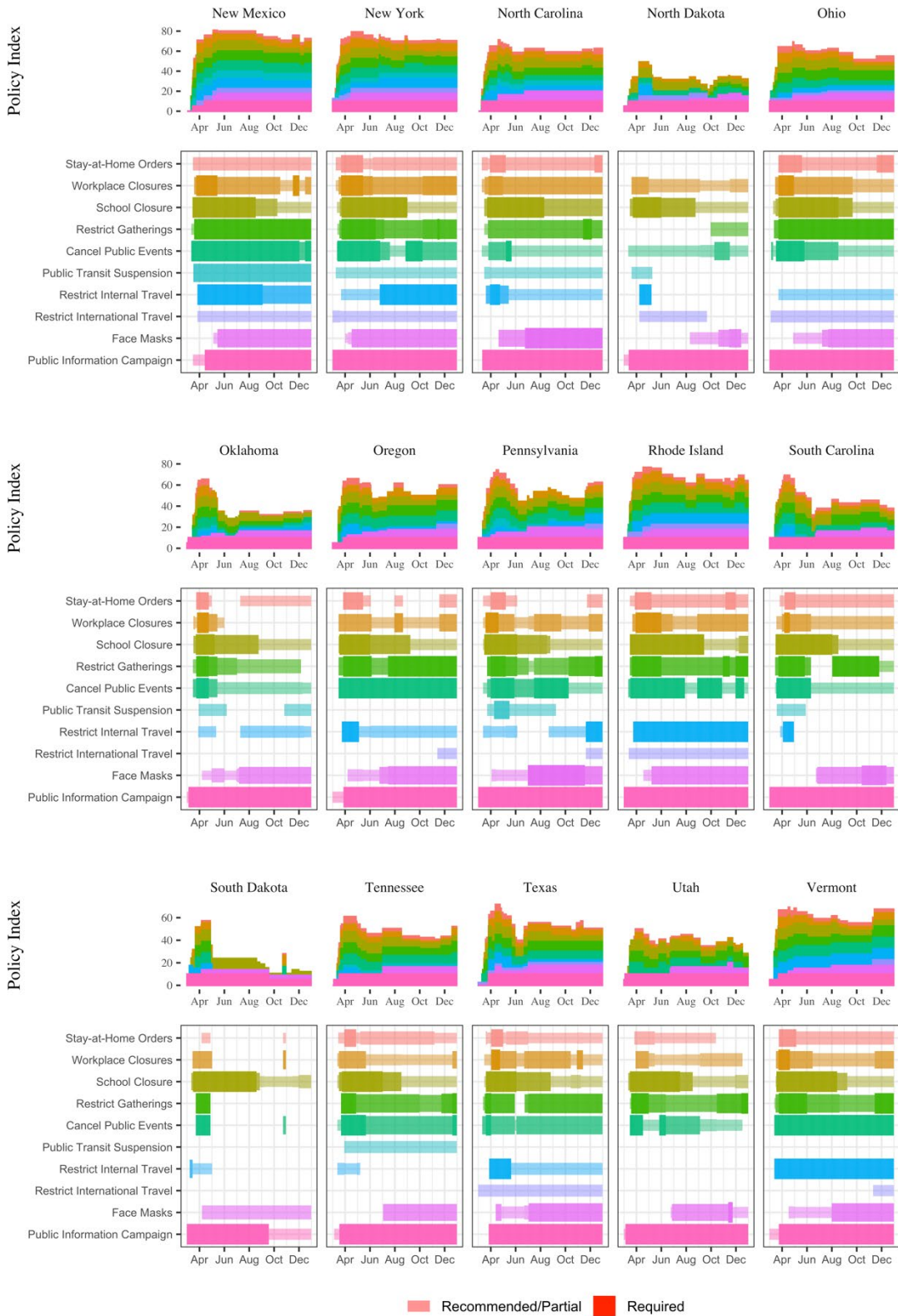
A2.C.1 Social Distancing Policies in the United States (Alabama - Iowa)



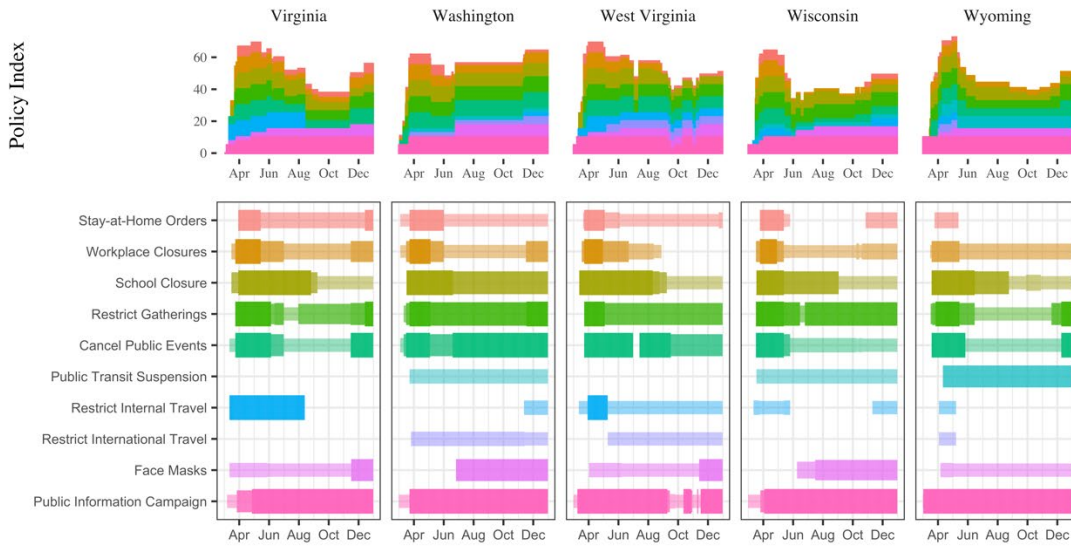
A2.C.2 Social Distancing Policies in the United States (Kansas – New Jersey)



A2.C.3 Social Distancing Policies in the United States (New Mexico - Vermont)



A2.C.4 Social Distancing Policies in the United States (Virginia - Wyoming)



Recommended/Partial Required

A4. Testing Predictors of State-Level Policy Responses to Covid-19 in Brazil, Mexico and the U.S. during the later months of the pandemic

This section extends the analysis presented in the main text to examine the middle and later periods of the Pandemic, corresponding roughly to periods of policy relaxation and readoption in Brazil, Mexico and the U.S. We employ the same dynamic panel specification presented in Figure 2 of the main text. Figure A4.A presents the results for the middle period (June-September). Figure A4.B presents the results for the later months (October -December). Intra-unit factors remain significant predictors of policy stringency in Brazil across both periods with both the Myers Index of state capacity and the share of the population over the age of 65 predicting higher levels of policy stringency. By contrast, none of the intra-unit factors predict policy stringency in Mexico in either period, and, surprisingly, the subnational index of human development, which measures degree of development on the dimensions of education, health and standard of living, is associated with lower levels of policy stringency in the U.S. One possible explanation for this negative relationship is that Covid-19 cases and death rates tended to be lower in states with high levels of human development during these periods, perhaps leading to more aggressive relaxation of policies. The effect of cross-unit factors appears diminished across all countries in the middle and later periods, as does the effect of cross-level factors in Brazil and Mexico. In the U.S. these cross-level factors remain significant predictors of policy stringency across all stages of the pandemic.

A4.A Testing Predictors of State-Level Policy Responses to Covid-19 in Brazil, Mexico and the U.S.: June - September

Figure A4.A: Testing Hypothesized Predictors of State-Level Pandemic Policies in Brazil, Mexico and the United States: June - September

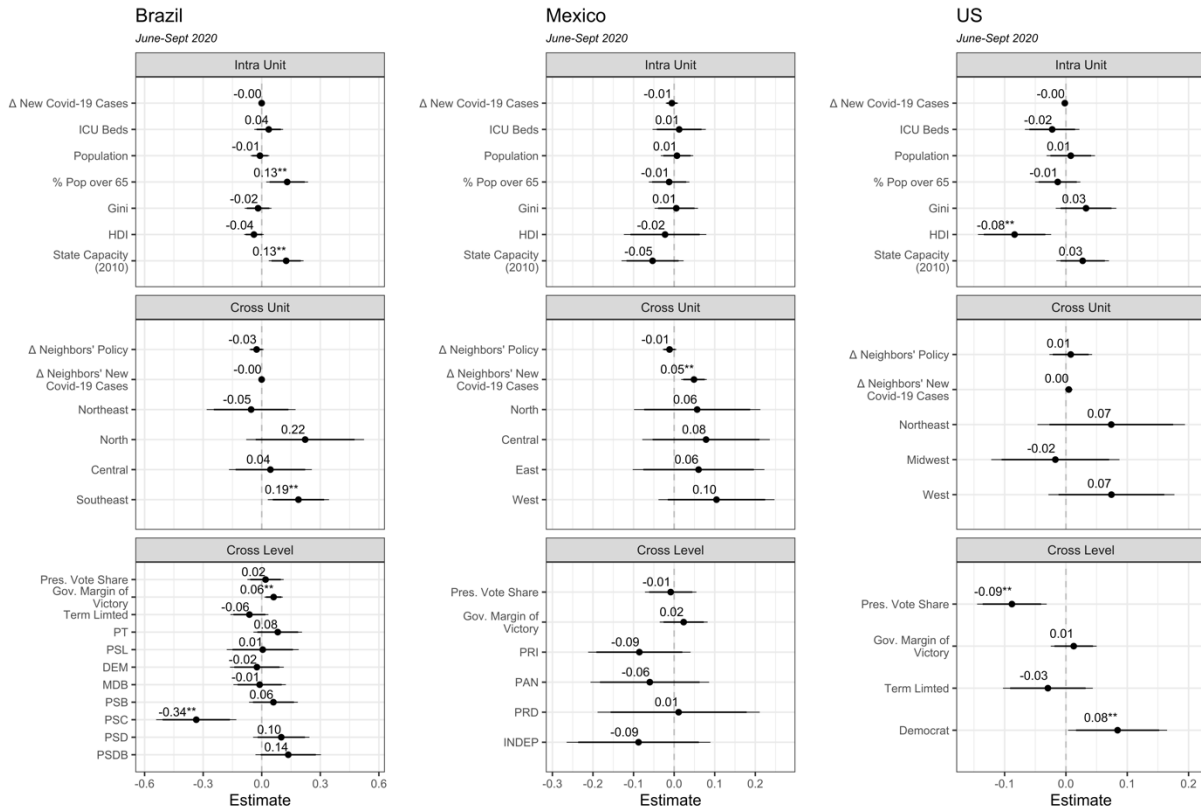


Figure A4.A presents the coefficient plots from the regression models for Brazil, Mexico and the U.S. estimated over the period of June – September 2020 with 90 percent confidence intervals (* $p < 0.10$) provided by the thick bars and 95 percent confidence intervals (** $p < 0.05$) provided by the thin bars.

A4.B Testing Predictors of State-Level Policy Responses to Covid-19 in Brazil, Mexico and the U.S.: October - December

Figure A4.B: Testing Hypothesized Predictors of State-Level Pandemic Policies in Brazil, Mexico and the United States: October - December

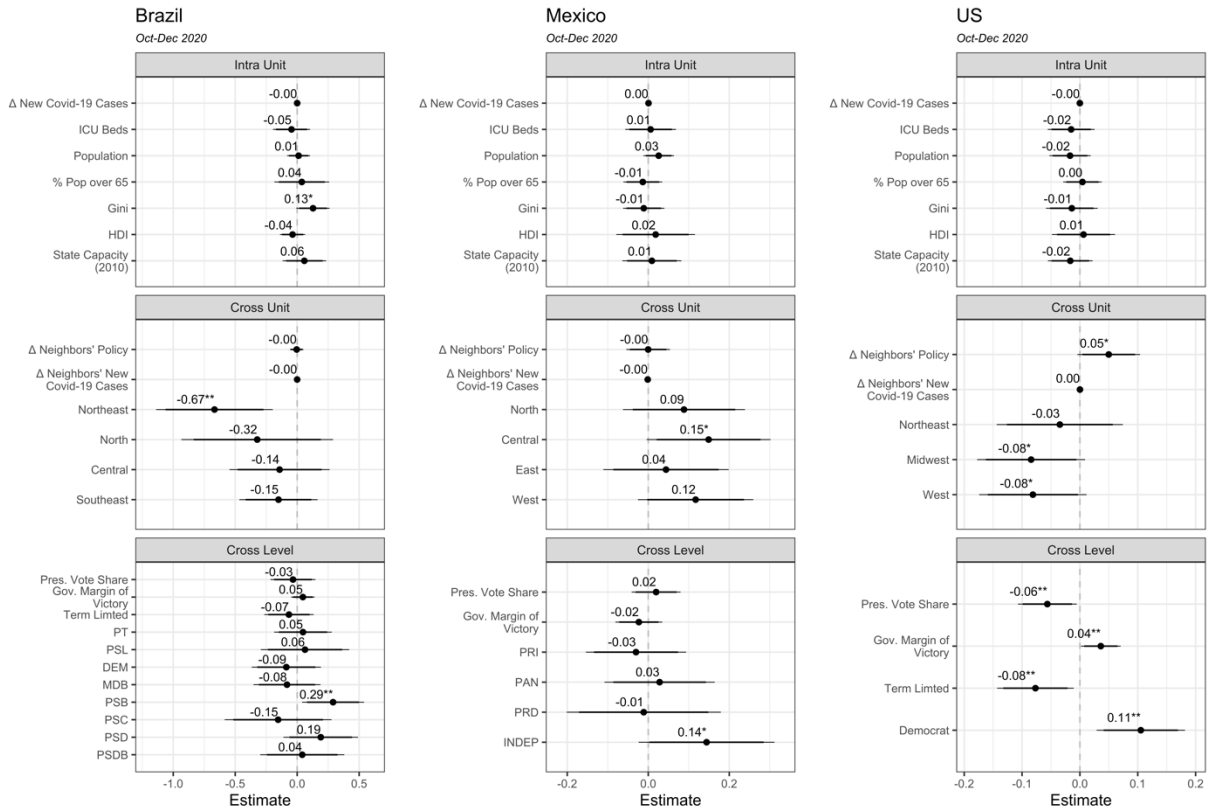


Figure A4.B presents the coefficient plots from the regression models for Brazil, Mexico and the U.S. estimated over the period of October – December 2020 with 90 percent confidence intervals (* $p < 0.10$) provided by the thick bars and 95 percent confidence intervals (** $p < 0.05$) provided by the thin bars.

A5. Alternative Regression Specification Testing Predictors of State-Level Policy Responses to Covid-19 in Brazil, Mexico and the U.S. during the early months of the Pandemic

This section explores the robustness of our analysis of factors that predict policy stringency during the early stages of the pandemic in Brazil, Mexico, and the U.S. Specifically, we assess the degree to which our results change when controlling for the change in new Covid-19 related *deaths* in each state and their neighbors, instead of Covid-19 related cases. As we note in the main text, we prefer specifications using Covid-19 cases because of potential heterogeneity in cause of death attributions across countries and states. Figure A5.A presents the results of the analysis controlling for changes in Covid-19 deaths instead of changes in Covid-19 cases. The results when using Covid-19 deaths are quite similar to those reported in the main text. The key difference is that changes in the number of new deaths in neighboring states are significant predictors of more stringent policy in Mexico and the U.S., which we take as further evidence of the importance of cross-unit diffusion during this period.

Figure A5.A: Testing Predictors of State-Level Policy Responses to Covid-19 in Brazil, Mexico and the U.S. controlling for Covid-19 Deaths

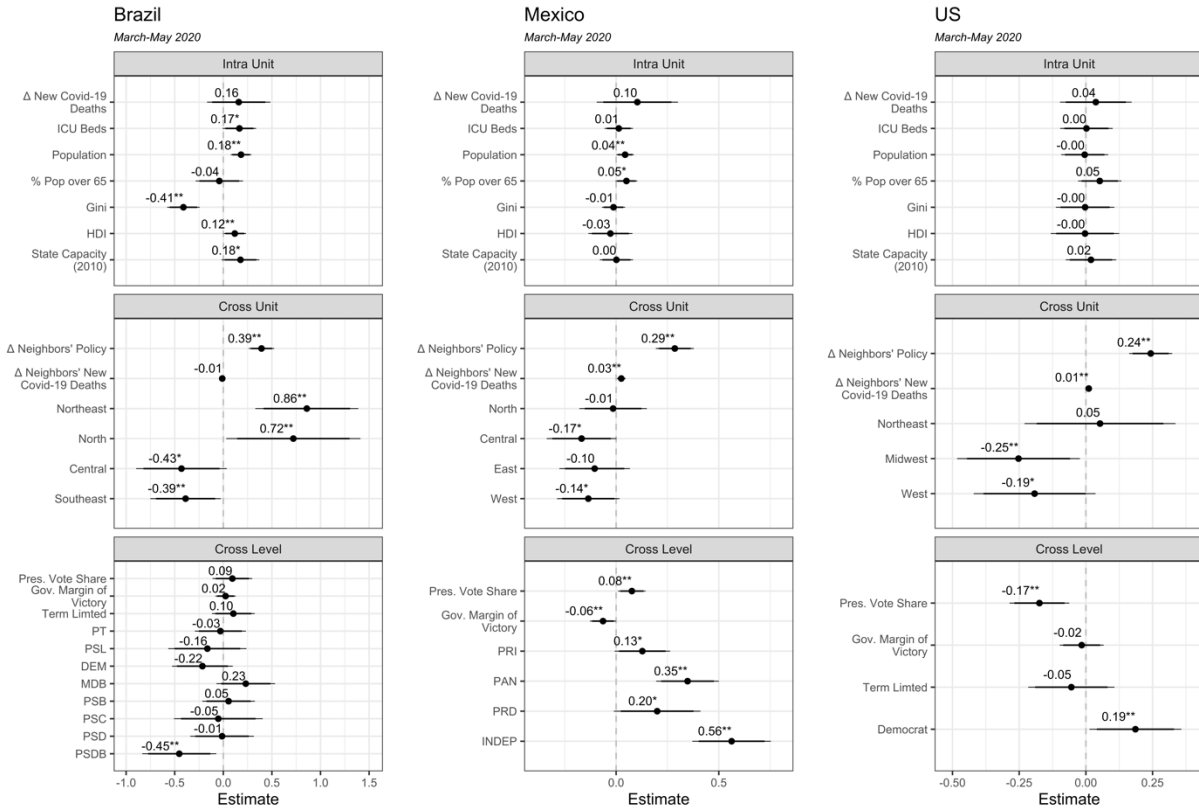



Figure A4.A presents the coefficient plots from the regression models for Brazil, Mexico and the U.S. estimated over the period of March–May 2020 with 90 percent confidence intervals (* $p < 0.10$) provided by the thick bars and 95 percent confidence intervals (** $p < 0.05$) provided by the thin bars.

A6. Twitter and Other Social Media Evidence about State-Level Policy Responses to COVID-19 in Brazil, Mexico and the United States

A6.A Brazil





 **Jair M. Bolsonaro** ✓
@jairbolsonaro


Replying to @jairbolsonaro

2- Cada vez mais o uso da Cloroquina se apresenta como algo eficaz. Dois renomados médicos no Brasil se recusaram a divulgar o que os curou da COVID-19. Seriam questões políticas, já que um pertence a equipe do Governador de SP?

7:01 AM · Apr 8, 2020 · Twitter for Android

7.1K Retweets 401 Quote Tweets 42.3K Likes

 **Jair M. Bolsonaro** ✓
@jairbolsonaro

- Atividades essenciais:
- Academias de esporte, salões de beleza e barbearias.

DECRETO Nº 10.344, DE 11 DE MAIO DE 2020

Altera o Decreto nº 10.282, de 20 de março de 2020, que regulamenta a Lei nº 13.979, de 6 de fevereiro de 2020, para definir os serviços públicos e as atividades essenciais.

O PRESIDENTE DA REPÚBLICA, no uso da atribuição que lhe confere o art. 84, caput, inciso IV, da Constituição, e tendo em vista o disposto na Lei nº 13.979, de 6 de fevereiro de 2020,

DECRETA :

Art. 1º O Decreto nº 10.282, de 20 de março de 2020, passa a vigorar com as seguintes alterações:

"Art. 3º

§ 1º

.....

LIV - atividades de construção civil, obedecidas as determinações do Ministério da Saúde;

LIV - atividades industriais, obedecidas as determinações do Ministério da Saúde;

LVI - salões de beleza e barbearias, obedecidas as determinações do Ministério da Saúde; e

LVII - academias de esporte de todas as modalidades, obedecidas as determinações do Ministério da Saúde.

....." (NR)

Art. 2º Este Decreto entra em vigor na data de sua publicação.

Brasília, 11 de maio de 2020; 199º da Independência e 132º da República.

JAIR MESSIAS BOLSONARO
Walter Souza Braga Netto
Jorge Antonio de Oliveira Francisco

6:30 PM · May 11, 2020 · Twitter for iPhone

Sample of Bolsonaro's tweets promoting hydroxychloroquine and his attempt to override the authority of governors.



The Spectator Index @spectatorindex · Aug 24
Do you have confidence in Brazil's president Jair Bolsonaro?



178,265 votes · Final results

7.1K 11.1K 7.6K



Coronel Marcos Rocha
@celmarcosrocha

Replying to @spectatorindex

Brazil with Bolsonaro has become a country of respect. Brazil is developing like never before in all areas. We have a President who speaks and acts as the people have always dreamed. Fighting corruption and overcoming the sadness that Lula left.

10:57 AM · Aug 24, 2020 · Twitter for Android

1 Retweet 1 Quote Tweet 9 Likes



Governor Rocha of Rondônia, one of Bolsonaro's steadfast allies.



Wilson Witzel ✓
@wilsonwitzel



Entre a saúde dos brasileiros e a política, o presidente Jair Bolsonaro preferiu a política. Que Deus nos ajude. Parabéns pelo belo trabalho à frente do Ministério da Saúde, @lhmandetta. Nossa luta contra o coronavírus continua. Que o novo ministro siga as orientações da OMS.

5:29 PM · Apr 16, 2020 · Twitter for iPhone

806 Retweets 386 Quote Tweets 8.4K Likes



Bolsonaro's former ally, Governor Witzel of Rio de Janeiro, speaks out against him.



João Doria ✓
@jdoriajr



@jairbolsonaro chama coronavírus de gripezinha e eu que sou lunático?

Lidere seu País, presidente. Faça seu papel. Os governadores do Brasil estão fazendo o seu.



Folha de S. Paulo ✓ @folha · Mar 21

Bolsonaro chama Doria de 'lunático' e diz a governadores rivais que 'eleições de 2022 ainda estão longe' www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2020/03/...

9:42 PM · Mar 21, 2020 · Twitter for iPhone

9.2K Retweets 6.1K Quote Tweets 70.5K Likes



Bolsonaro's former ally, Governor Doria of São Paulo, speaks out against him.

A6.B Mexico

 **Asociación de Gobernadores de Acción Nacional @GO...** · Mar 14

Ante la emergencia de salud los 9 gobiernos de [@GOAN_MX](#) establecimos un sistema de cooperación, consulta y actuación.

Anunciamos 7 medidas espejo.


Actuamos con oportunidad, efectividad, y firmeza, en coordinación con todos los niveles de gobierno.

La salud es primero.

- 4 definir las contingencias sociales necesarias según la fase viral decretada.
Exhortamos a la población a tomar las medidas de higiene adecuadas, limitar el contacto físico y evitar los actos masivos.
- 5 Instruimos a los sistemas estatales de salud implementar de inmediato las mejores prácticas sanitarias para atender pacientes y proteger al personal de primer contacto.
- 6 Monitoreo permanente para garantizar márgenes adecuados de los inventarios de medicamentos e insumos que nos permitan atender de manera adecuada a los pacientes.
- 7 Establecemos una coordinación estrecha con el sector privado y social para tomar las medidas de prevención adecuadas.



22 240 314

 **Asociación de Gobernadores de Acción Nacional @GOA...** · May 5

La decisión del regreso a clases debe anteponer la salud de los menores de edad a otros factores

Antes de tomarla, es importante conocer los elementos que el [@GobiernoMX](#) evalúa para decidir la fecha, en su caso, de reanudación

Consensuemos lo que sea mejor para los estudiantes.

11 119 214



Asociación de Gobernadores de Acción Nacional
@GOAN_MX



A raíz del anuncio de [@DeSalubridad](#), advertimos que no es posible reabrir más actividades económicas hasta que el descenso en el nivel de contagios lo permita y se den los protocolos sanitarios para hacerlo con seguridad.

Sería delicado e irresponsable.

[Translate Tweet](#)

12:49 AM · May 13, 2020 · [Twitter for iPhone](#)

290 Retweets **37** Quote Tweets **616** Likes



Asociación de Gobernadores de Acción Nacional @GO... · May 13
Replying to [@GOAN_MX](#)



Anticipamos que, escuchando a los especialistas en salud, y asumiendo la autoridad sanitaria que representamos, determinaremos lo conducente en nuestras entidades según las condiciones locales.

La salud y vida de las personas es primero.

37

136

341



Sample of Tweets from the National Action Party's (PAN) governors' association highlighting the coordinated policy responses of PAN governors to Covid-19.



Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H-ABW0r1IU&feature=youtu.be>






Mexico's Deputy Secretary of Prevention and Health Promotion, Hugo López-Gatell, unveils the federal government's semáforo, showing 31 of the country's 32 states with "maximum risk" from Covid-19, as President López Obrador looks on.










Meeting of the eight governors participating in the Nueva Convivencia Social (NCS) Alliance, Tequila, Jalisco, June 5, 2020.

A6.C United States





 **Donald J. Trump**  @realDonaldTrump · Apr 13 




For the purpose of creating conflict and confusion, some in the Fake News Media are saying that it is the Governors decision to open up the states, not that of the President of the United States & the Federal Government. Let it be fully understood that this is incorrect....

 45.6K  41.7K  150.7K 

 **Donald J. Trump**  @realDonaldTrump · Apr 13 





....It is the decision of the President, and for many good reasons. With that being said, the Administration and I are working closely with the Governors, and this will continue. A decision by me, in conjunction with the Governors and input from others, will be made shortly!




 29K  25.9K  106.4K 

 **Gavin Newsom**  @GavinNewsom · Apr 27 


Today, Colorado and Nevada joined CA, OR, and WA in our Western States Pact.



The West Coast is -- and will continue to be -- guided by SCIENCE. We issued our stay at home orders early to keep the public healthy. We'll open our economies with that same guiding principle.

 3.6K  13.3K  70.1K 

 **Donald J. Trump**  
@realDonaldTrump

The Governor of Michigan should give a little, and put out the fire. These are very good people, but they are angry. They want their lives back again, safely! See them, talk to them, make a deal.

8:42 AM · May 1, 2020 

 199.1K  98.4K people are Tweeting about this



Donald J. Trump 

@realDonaldTrump



The Great State of Wisconsin, home to Tom Tiffany's big Congressional Victory on Tuesday, was just given another win. Its Democrat Governor was forced by the courts to let the State Open. The people want to get on with their lives. The place is bustling!

8:11 AM · May 14, 2020



104.2K



36K people are Tweeting about this