

Recommended distances for physical distancing during COVID-19 pandemics reveal cultural connections between countries

(117 characters, max 250 characters)

5 short title: Recommended distances during COVID-19 pandemics
(max 100 characters)

Dongwoo Chai¹, Layla El Mossadeq¹, Michel Raymond², Virginie Courtier-Orgogozo¹

10 1. Université Paris Cité, CNRS, Institut Jacques Monod, 75013 Paris, France

2. ISEM, Univ. Montpellier, CNRS, EPHE, IRD, Montpellier, France

DC: redchai@postech.ac.kr, ORCID: 0000-0002-0219-5804

LEM: elmoscadeq.layla@gmail.com , ORCID: 0009-0007-2786-3673

MR: michel.raymond@umontpellier.fr, ORCID: 0000-0002-1714-6984

15 VCO: virginie.courtier@normalesup.org, ORCID: 0000-0002-9297-9230

Corresponding author: VCO

20 **Keywords:** COVID-19, SARS-CoV-2, pandemic, social distancing, physical distancing,
public health measure, reproduction number, epidemic dynamics, civil law system

Abstract

25 During COVID-19 pandemic several public health measures were implemented by
diverse countries to reduce the risk of COVID-19, including social distancing. Here we
collected the minimal distance recommended by each country for physical distancing
at the onset of the pandemic and aimed to examine whether it had an impact on the
outbreak dynamics and how this specific value was chosen. Despite an absence of data
30 on SARS-CoV-2 viral transmission at the beginning of the pandemic, we found that
most countries recommended physical distancing with a precise minimal distance,
between one meter/three feet and two meters/six feet. 45% of the countries advised one
meter/three feet and 49% advised a higher minimal distance. The recommended
minimal distance did not show a clear correlation with reproduction rate nor with the
number of new cases per million, suggesting that the overall COVID-19 dynamics in
35 each country depended on multiple interacting factors. Interestingly, the recommended
minimal distance correlated with several cultural parameters: it was higher in countries
with larger interpersonal distance between two interacting individuals in non-epidemic
conditions, and it correlated with civil law systems, and with currency. This suggests
that countries which share common conceptions such as civil law systems and
40 currency unions tend to adopt the same public health measures.

(220 words, max 300 words)

45 Introduction

Interpersonal distance, the distance between two interacting individuals, is an essential
characteristic of human social interactions [1,2]. The choice of an appropriate interpersonal
distance should satisfy two opposite needs: the need to interact with others and the need to
maintain a zone of safety to protect the body from potential hazards [2,3]. Interpersonal

NOTE: This preprint reports new research that has not been certified by peer review and should not be used to guide clinical practice.

50 distance has been shown to vary with several factors including personal relationship with the
other person [1], age [4–7], gender [6,8–10], facial expression of the other person [10–12] and
country [1,8,13]. A recent study involving 8,943 participants from 42 countries showed that
people in warmer countries tend to maintain closer distances toward strangers than in colder
countries, but farther toward intimate partners [13].

55 Since at least the 1918 influenza pandemic, epidemics have triggered various
reactions, including a reduction of interpersonal contacts and an increase in interpersonal
distance [14–16]. Avoidance of conspecifics showing signs of disease such as leprosy, polio
or fungus infection have been observed not only in humans [17,18] but also in chimpanzees
[19], mandrills [20] and frogs [21]. Furthermore, in regions with higher historical prevalence of
60 infectious diseases, people report lower levels of sociosexuality, extraversion and openness
[22].

In 1897 bacteriologist Carl Flügge showed that airborne droplets such as those emitted
by sick persons while coughing, sneezing or speaking contained infectious germs [23,24]. A
three-foot/one-meter recommendation was advocated by WHO and other public health
65 guidelines based on studies done in the 1930s-1950s about the location of droplets and germs
after sneezing, coughing and loud talking [25–27]. However, these early studies were limited
in their sensitivity. It is only after the SARS outbreak in 2003 and further work documenting
more distant spread [28] that certain health agencies, including the Centers for Disease
Control and Prevention (CDC) based in the United States, doubled the recommended safe
70 distance from one to two meters.

The severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2 (SARS-CoV-2) outbreak was
declared a global worldwide pandemic by the World Health Organization on 11 March 2020
[29]. The SARS-CoV-2 virus causes coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) and is mainly
transmissible via airborne routes through inhalation of aerosols and droplets [30]. When
75 SARS-CoV-2 started to spread across the world, no vaccine nor effective pharmacological
interventions were available [31]. Diverse measures were recommended by governments to
try to reduce the rate of infection in the general population such as washing hands, wearing
face masks, closing schools, lock-downs, praying (e.g. Burundi), daily practicing therapeutic
Yoga (e.g. Nepal), reinforcing hygiene for people in contact with camels (e.g. Cameroon) and
80 physical distancing. The Oxford COVID-19 Government Response Tracker (OxCGRT)
collected systematic information on various government policy measures including school
closures, travel restrictions or vaccination policy [32], with the aim to track and compare policy
responses around the world. Overall, a lack of coordination among countries regarding policies
and social measures to contain the pandemic was noted by "The Lancet Commission on
85 lessons for the future from the COVID-19 pandemic" in 2022 [31].

Here we examined the minimum distance recommended between people in public
spaces (shops, streets, etc.) during the early days of COVID-19 pandemic in the different
countries, a measure not analyzed in the OxCGRT tracker. The exact distance and time that
SARS-CoV-2 viruses could travel in the air while remaining infectious were not known at the
90 beginning of the pandemic and countries recommended various minimal distances between
one meter/three feet and two meters/six feet. Although variation in recommended distances is
relatively small, we searched for correlations with parameters describing the outbreak
dynamics to test whether choosing different distances had an impact. We also searched for
correlations with potentially relevant parameters that might have influenced the decision of
95 health authorities to choose specific recommended distances.

Abbreviations

CDC: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention

CFA Franc: Franc of the Financial Community of Africa

- 100 COVID-19: Coronavirus Disease 2019
GLM: Generalized Linear Model
OxCGRT: Oxford COVID-19 Government Response Tracker
SARS-CoV-2: severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2
SE: standard error of the mean
105 WHO: World Health Organization

Materials and Methods

Collection of the recommended distances for each country

- 110 The list of all 195 sovereign countries was retrieved from <https://unstats.un.org/unsd/methodology/m49/>. We also included Hong-Kong and Taiwan in our analysis, even if they are not considered as sovereign countries, because they have their own, independent health agencies. Recommended distances were retrieved individually from the official web pages of each country (Table S1). We performed Google searches in French,
115 English, Spanish and Arabic using the following keywords: coronavirus, COVID-19, distance, meter, feet and site:.x with x the top-level internet domain of each country. For other languages, we used Google Translate or asked native researchers from the respective countries for official web pages and recommendations. All recommended distances were collected between
120 21 May 2020 and 15 June 2020. We managed to collect distances for all countries except Nepal and Tuvalu. Most relevant web pages (Table S1) were also archived at <https://web.archive.org/> or <https://archive.is/>. With respect to recommended distances, our survey is more comprehensive than the COVID-19 Health System Response Monitor (HSRM) tool which collects information about health system pandemic responses across Europe (<https://eurohealthobservatory.who.int/monitors/hsrcm/hsrcm-countries/>) [33].
125 For a few countries, variations were found depending on regions (for example Germany's recommendation was 1.5 m in general but 2 m in some parts of the country) or on settings (for example the 1.5-m-distance observed in Spain could be reduced at open-air events in Catalonia if masks were worn, in Greece the 2m-distance rule could go down to 1.5-m if one wears a mask) (see Table S1 for references). For such cases, we used the distance
130 recommended by the government for public spaces in general. When the recommended distance was given both in feet and meters, the one in meters was used for analysis. When the recommended distance was given in imperial units, we changed it into the corresponding metric distance: for countries recommending a separation of 6 feet the value was replaced with 2m, and for 3 feet the value was replaced with 1m. Out of 197 countries, two countries
135 (Nepal and Tuvalu) had no physical distancing recommendation found, nine countries made no precise recommendation in terms of distance and one (South Africa) has all three distances (1, 1.5 and 2m) recommended. Therefore, we used a total of 185 countries with a recommended distance for our analysis.

140

Creation of the world map

The recommended distances were visualized on a world map using the rworldmap package in R (<https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/worldmap/>) [34].

145 Datasets used for statistical analysis

We examined eleven factors and their relationships with the recommended distances: reproduction rate, number of new cases per million, interpersonal distances (intimate, personal, and social), population density, colonization history, first official language, currency union, legal system, previous exposure to SARS.

150 For parameters describing the outbreak dynamics during the early stages of the pandemic, two different datasets were used separately. First, effective reproduction rates (R_t) were retrieved from Arroyo-Marioli et al. (2021) [35] (<https://github.com/crondonm/TrackingR/blob/main/Estimates-Database/database.csv>), for 131 (May 8th, 2020) or 152 countries (Aug 1st, 2020) depending on the retrieval date.

155 Second, effective reproduction rates and the smoothed numbers of new cases per million were obtained from Ritchie et al. (2020) [36] (<https://github.com/owid>) for 131 countries (for May 8th, 2020) and 153 countries (for Aug 1st, 2020). Interpersonal distance data (intimate, personal, and social distance) of 42 countries were retrieved from the supplementary file of [13]. Population density for 181 countries was retrieved from file

160 WPP2019_POP_F06_POPULATION_DENSITY.xlsx uploaded from the United Nations World Population Prospects website <https://population.un.org/wpp/Download/Standard/Population/> on 21 May 2020. Population density of the year 2020 was used for analysis. East Timor was not present in this file. Due to the abnormality of small sovereign nations with excessively high population density, sovereign

165 nations with population density higher than 1000 people/km² were excluded from the analysis. For colonization history and official languages of each country, data was retrieved from http://www.cepii.fr/cepii/en/bdd_modele/presentation.asp?id=6. The geo_cepii dataset contains geographical variables for 225 countries in the world, including the languages spoken in the country under different definitions and their colonial links. For colonization history data,

170 we only took into account countries that were colonized by a colonizer country which colonized more than 5 countries in the past to reduce statistical purposes. A total of 133 countries were attributed to one of the following colonizer countries: Great Britain, France, Russia, Turkey, Spain, and Portugal. For the other countries, we attributed the value "other colonizer or not colonized." For official languages, only the first official language used in each country was

175 used for simplicity. Most countries (101 countries) were attributed one of the four most common languages (English, French, Arabic, Spanish) and the other countries were attributed the value "other language".

Table of each legal system was retrieved from <http://www.juriglobe.ca/eng/langues/index-alpha.php>. Excluding the 59 countries with no recommended distances, non-sovereign

180 countries, one customary country and two muslim countries, a total of 75 civilist countries, 25 common law countries, and 85 mixed countries were used in the statistical analysis.

For currency unions we retrieved data from four currency unions (EURO, CFA Franc, United States Dollar, Eastern Caribbean Dollar) from the following sites: EURO: https://european-union.europa.eu/institutions-law-budget/euro/countries-using-euro_en, CFA FRANC: <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fabric/backgrnd.html>, United States Dollar: <https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/countries-that-use-the-us-dollar>, Eastern Caribbean Dollar: <https://www.eccb-centralbank.org/p/about-the-eccb>. All the other countries that did not have one of these four currency unions in our model were attributed the value "other currency".

190 The list of the countries which had cases of SARS-CoV infection during the 2002-2003 outbreak was retrieved from: <https://www.who.int/publications/m/item/summary-of-probable-sars-cases-with-onset-of-illness-from-1-november-2002-to-31-july-2003>.

Statistical analysis

195 All statistical analyses were performed using R (version 4.3.1, <https://cran.r-project.org/>). Logistic regression was used to analyze distance recommendations. For the recommended distance, we used a binary variable, corresponding to either one meter (or three feet) or higher than one meter. Gaussian generalized linear models were used to test whether COVID-19 effective reproduction rate (response variable) or the number of new cases per million

200 (response variable) were affected by the recommended distance for social distancing
(explanatory variable) in the early stages of the pandemic in May 2020 and August 2020.
To look for factors that might have influenced the choices of health agencies for a given
minimal distance, we used binomial generalized linear models with the recommended
distance as the binary response variable. Explanatory variables were interpersonal distances
205 (intimate, personal, and social), population density, colonizer country (Great Britain, France,
Russia, Turkey, Spain, Portugal, other), first official language (English, French, Arabic,
Spanish, other), currency union (euro, CFA Franc, United States Dollar, Eastern Caribbean
Dollar, other), legal system (mixed, common, civil), previous exposure to SARS (yes or no).
All quantitative variables were centered. In model 0, we used all these explanatory variables
210 and 40 countries, for which both interpersonal distance data and recommended distance
values were available. In model 1, personal and social interpersonal distances were excluded,
due to high correlation between the three interpersonal distance values ($r > 0.6$ for all
comparisons). For other cultural factors, first official language and previous colonization
history variables showed high correlation values (cramer's V value >0.25), and thus the
215 language factor was excluded for statistical analysis. Since interpersonal distance only
included data from 42 countries, a separate regression model without the intimate
interpersonal data was also performed. A total of 40 countries were used in model 1; 175
countries were assessed in model 2. The significance of each explanatory variable was
calculated by removing it and comparing the resulting variation in deviance using the χ^2 test,
220 as done by the function Anova from the car R package. The variance inflation factor (VIF) was
computed using the Vif function of the R package car.

Code Availability

225 Source code and supporting files for analyzing the data are available at a public Github
repository: <https://github.com/redchai/COVID-Distance-Project>

Result

230 **Most countries recommended minimal distances for physical distancing during COVID-19 pandemic**

The official recommendations regarding the distance that people should maintain in public
spaces during the COVID-19 pandemic were collected for all countries except Nepal and
Tuvalu between 21 May 2020 and 15 June 2020 (Table S1). We found that all governments
recommended physical distancing except Afghanistan and Eritrea. Four patterns were
235 identified regarding the minimal recommended distance: no exact values specified (e.g.
Sweden), a fixed distance (most countries), a range of values (e.g. Argentina: "between 1 and
2 meters"), diverse values provided by various official institutions (e.g. South Africa: either 1,
1.5 or 2 meters depending on the official institution) (Table S1). Overall, most countries
recommended specific distances for physical distancing during COVID-19 pandemic (Fig. 1A-
240 B). For only 9 countries advising for social distancing we did not find any specified minimum
distance: Ecuador, Gambia, Mauritania, Nicaragua, Oman, Sweden, Tonga, United Republic
of Tanzania and Uruguay.

In a few countries, the recommended distance was officially changed to a lower value as the
contamination risk was deemed to decrease. For example, Denmark switched from a 2-m rule
245 to a 1-m rule in May 2020 [37] and Switzerland switched from 2 to 1.5m in June 2020 [38].
Overall, the most common guideline, observed in 45% of the countries, was 1m or 3 feet,
which was also the World Health Organization recommendation to "keep physical distance of
at least 1 meter from others, even if they don't appear to be sick" [39]. The highest
recommended distance was 2m or 6 feet, prescribed in 31% of the countries (Fig. 1A-B).

250

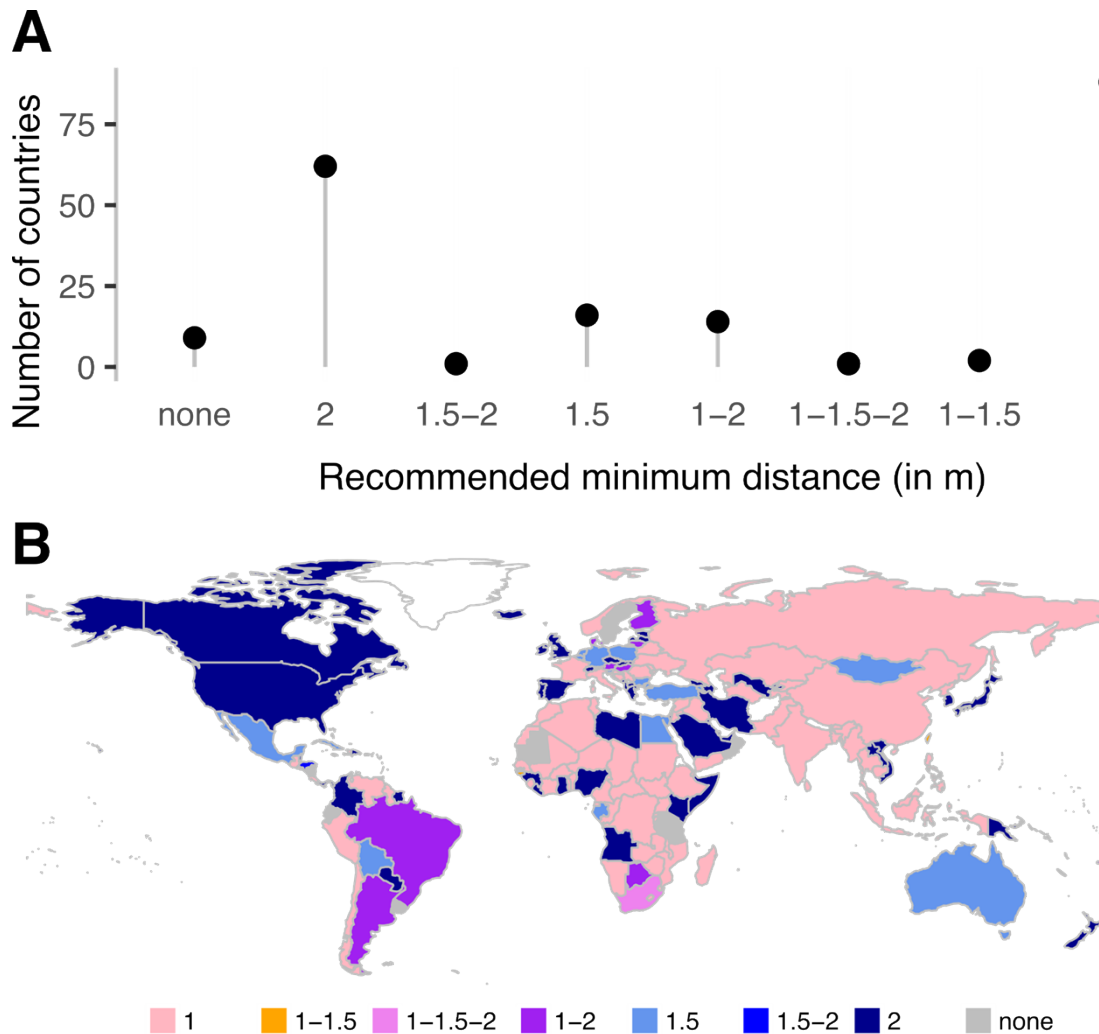


Figure 1. Distribution of the recommended distances for each country. (A) The y-axis indicates the total number of countries for each recommended minimal distance for physical distancing. The 3- and 6-feet distances were converted into 1- and 2-m distances, respectively. There are only two countries which recommended 1-1.5 m (Guinea-Bissau and Taiwan), one 1, 1.5 and 2 m (South Africa) and one 1.5-2 m (Honduras). (B) Worldwide map of the recommended minimal distances for each country.

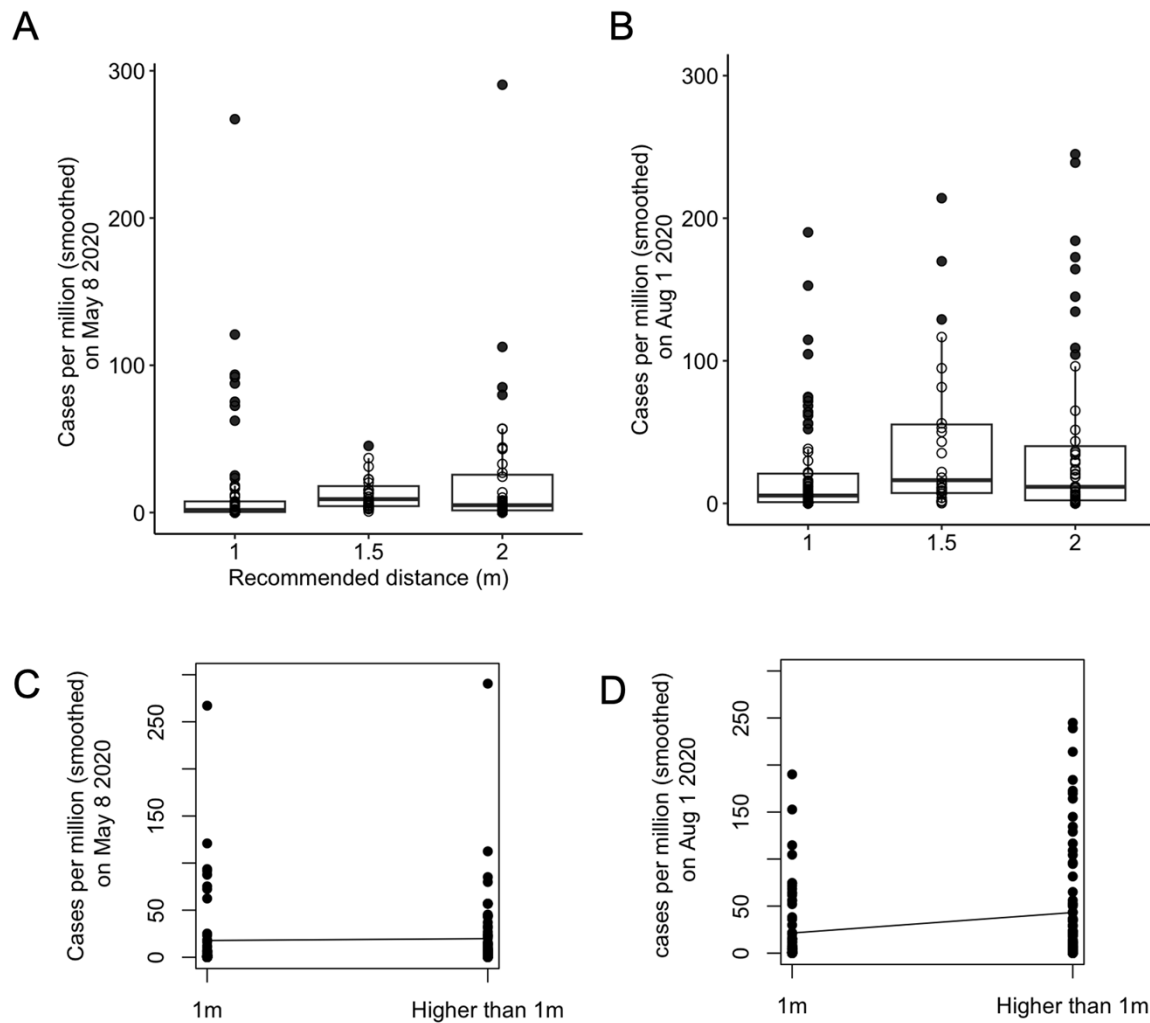
The recommended distance had no clear effect on COVID-19 outbreak dynamics

To test whether countries recommending higher distances had lower transmission rates, we performed binomial GLM using as the response variable either the effective reproduction number or the smoothed number of new COVID-19 cases per million. With data from May 2020, a higher recommended distance was associated with a lower transmission rate, as expected, although this effect was marginally non-significant (Table 1, $\beta = -0.912$, SE = 0.48, P = 0.052, model using Arroyo-Marioli et al. data [35], $\beta = -0.88$, SE = 0.48, P = 0.06, model using Ritchie et al. data [36]). Furthermore, no effect was detected on the smoothed number of new cases per million ($\beta = 0.001$, SE = 0.004, P = 0.784, model using Ritchie et al. data [36]). Data from Aug 2020 depicted the opposite pattern, with a higher recommended distance significantly associated with a higher reproduction rate ($\beta = 1.50$, SE = 0.54, P = 0.004, model using Arroyo-Marioli et al. data [35], $\beta = 1.52$, SE = 0.54, P = 0.003, model using Ritchie et al. data [36]) and a higher number of new cases per million, although with a low coefficient value ($\beta = 0.01$, SE = 0.004, P = 0.007, model using Ritchie et al. data [36]).

275 **Table 1. Effect of recommended distance on the dynamics of COVID-19 pandemic.** The estimated standard error of the mean (SE), χ^2 statistics, degree of freedom (df), and corresponding p-values are given. Bold characters indicate significant ($P < 0.05$) effects.

	8 May 2020				1 August 2020			
	Model using Arroyo-Marioli et al. data				Model using Arroyo-Marioli et al. data			
	β	SE	χ^2 (df)	$P (>\chi^2)$	β	SE	χ^2 (df)	$P (>\chi^2)$
Intercept	1.05	0.05			0.95	0.04		
Binomial recommended distance	-0.13	0.07	3.78(1)	0.052	0.16	0.05	8.50(1)	0.004
	Model using Ritchie et al. data				Model using Ritchie et al. data			
Intercept	1.04	0.05			0.95	0.04		
Binomial recommended distance	-0.13	0.07	3.53(1)	0.06	0.16	0.05	8.87(1)	0.003
	Number of new cases per million (smoothened)				Number of new cases per million (smoothened)			
Intercept	17.79	5.27			21.40	5.79		
Binomial recommended distance	1.95	7.21	0.07(1)	0.786	21.77	8.17	7.11(1)	0.008

280



285 **Fig 2. Boxplot & Generalized linear model of the number of new cases per million.** Boxplot of the smoothed number of new cases per million in May 8th, 2020 (A) and in Aug 1st, 2020 (B) plotted against the recommended distance during COVID-19 pandemic. Gaussian generalized model of the smoothed number of new cases per million for May 8th, 2020 (C) and for Aug 1st, 2020 (D).

290

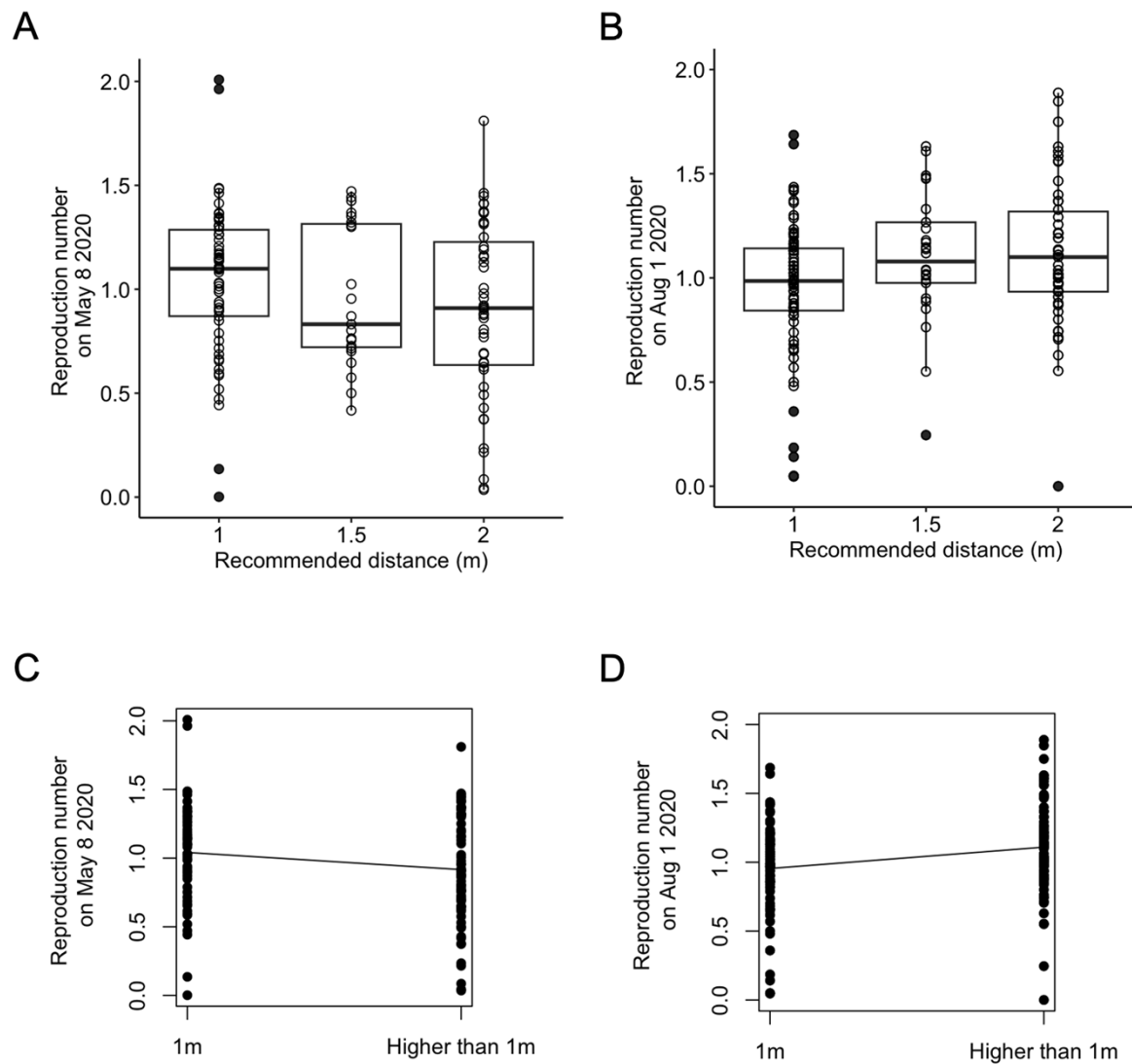


Fig 3. Boxplot & Generalized linear model of the effective reproduction number R_t (model using Arroyo-Marioli et al. data). Boxplot of the estimated effective reproduction rate in May 8th, 2020 (A) and in Aug 1st, 2020 (B) plotted against the recommended distance during COVID-19 pandemic. Gaussian generalized linear model of the estimated effective reproduction rate in May 8th, 2020 (C) and in Aug 1st, 2020 (D) according to the recommended minimal distance.

300 Recommended distance correlates with interpersonal distance, legal system and currency union

A world map view of the recommended distances (Fig. 1B) did not reveal any obvious geographical pattern, whether related to latitude, longitude or distance to the outbreak epicenter in China. We hypothesized that the choice made by diverse health agencies across the world for a specific recommended distance might be influenced by different factors. First, recommended distances may be higher in cultures where people tend to be more distant from each other in general. Second, several newspaper and blog articles reported that it was difficult to respect the one-meter distance in highly populated markets and public transportation in Madagascar and Burundi [40–42] so we wondered whether countries with higher population density would tend to recommend lower distances. Third, we noted that Faroe islands changed their recommendation from 2m to 1m [43] three days after their former

colonizer country Denmark did [37], so we speculated that former colonized countries may usually have continuing links with their colonizer regarding healthcare management and may tend to use the same recommended distances. Noting that both the United States of America and the United Kingdom recommended 6 feet, we hypothesized that former British colonies or English-speaking countries may also tend to recommend such a distance. Along with this, given that the common law system emerged in medieval England and spread among British colonies across the globe [44], we tested whether the recommended distances varied according to the three main legal systems (civil, common, mixed). Finally, we hypothesized that countries who suffered SARS-CoV-1 cases in 2003 would possibly recommend a higher distance. We thus decided to test the influence of the following variables: interpersonal distances (intimate, personal, and social), population density, colonizer country (Great Britain, France, Russia, Turkey, Spain, Portugal, other), first official language (English, French, Arabic, Spanish, other), currency union (euro, CFA Franc, United States Dollar, Eastern Caribbean Dollar, other), legal system (mixed, common, civil), previous exposure to SARS (yes or no). To test whether the probability that a country had a recommended minimum distance of 1 m, or higher than 1 m, is influenced by these variables, binomial generalized linear models (GLM) were made. Model 0 considered the 42 countries for which interpersonal distances (intimate, personal, and social) have been documented [13]. We found that the three interpersonal distance variables were highly correlated with each other (Pearson's $r > 0.6$ for all comparisons) and that the languages variable correlated with the currency union variable (Cramer's V value > 0.25). We thus removed the personal and social interpersonal distances as well as the languages variable from Model 0 and obtained Model 1. With this model, the intimate distance showed a significant effect on recommended distance ($X^2 = 3.96$, $df = 1$, $P = 0.047$, Table 2, Fig. S2) in the expected direction, with recommended distance increasing with higher intimate distance. Also, currency union showed a significant effect on recommended distance ($X^2 = 6.10$, $df = 2$, $P = 0.047$, Table 2): countries with euro and United States Dollar as their official currency were likely to recommend a higher distance. In addition, countries with previous exposure to SARS-CoV-1 tended to show a lower recommended distance for COVID-19 ($X^2 = 5.22$, $df = 1$, $P = 0.022$, Table 2), which is opposite to what one would have expected. Other variables had no influence on the recommended distance ($P > 0.05$, Table 2). All VIF (variance inflation factors) values were below 5 (max observed = 1.51), suggesting an absence of substantial correlation among the explanatory variables.

Model 2 considered 175 countries, but without the interpersonal distance variable. A slight but non-significant effect of population density was observed, in a direction opposite to our expectation, with larger population densities associated with higher recommended minimal distances (Table 2, Fig. S3A-B). The average population density for countries which recommended 1, 1.5 and 2 meters were 133.9, 113.5 and 158.7 inhabitants per square kilometers, respectively, and the three groups showed no statistical significance in a one-way ANOVA test ($P = 0.377$, Fig. S3A). The legal system variable showed a significant effect on the recommended distance ($X^2 = 13.64$, $df = 2$, $P = 0.001$, Table 2), with countries with a common law system likely to recommend a higher distance, and countries with a civil law or mixed law system likely to recommend a lower distance (Fig. S4A). The currency factor showed a significant effect on recommended distance ($X^2 = 13.09$, $df = 4$, $P = 0.01$, Table 2). Countries with CFA Franc and the Eastern Caribbean Dollar as their official currency tended to recommend a lower minimum distance, whereas countries with United States Dollar or Euro as their official currency were likely to recommend a higher minimum distance (Fig. S4D). Other variables had no influence on the recommended distance ($P > 0.05$, Table 2, Fig. S4B-C). All VIF values were below 5 (max observed = 1.28), suggesting an absence of substantial correlation among the explanatory variables.

	Model 1 with 42 countries, including intimate interpersonal distance				Model 2 with 175 countries, without interpersonal distance			
	β	SE	χ^2 (df)	$P(>\chi^2)$	β	SE	χ^2 (df)	$P(>\chi^2)$
Intercept	-3.37	3.39			-0.68	0.50		
Population density	<0.001	<0.01	0.19(1)	0.67	<0.001	<0.01	1.17 (1)	0.28
Colonization (Other colonies)			5.83(5)	0.32			4.80 (6)	0.57
Spain	0.61	1.60			0.07	0.68		
France	-	-			-0.05	0.66		
United Kingdom	-1.61	1.81			0.52	0.58		
Portugal	17.71	>10			0.11	0.91		
Russia	-3.28	2.98			-0.71	0.74		
Turkey	-3.28	>10			1.20	0.92		
Legal system (Mixed law)			4.34(2)	0.11			13.64(2)	0.001
Civil	-6.38	1.63			0.85	0.52		
Common Law	19.6	>10			2.44	0.87		
Currency union (Other currency)			6.10(2)	0.047			13.09(4)	0.01
CFA franc	-	-			-1.30	0.88		
USD	2.36	>10			0.47	1.03		
ECD	-	-			0.08	1.35		
Euro	3.56	1.75			2.20	0.82		
Exposure to SARS-CoV-1 (No)			5.22(1)	0.022			0.07(1)	0.79
Yes	-2.74	1.43			-0.15	0.55		
Intimate distance	0.09	0.05	3.96(1)	0.047	-	-	-	-

Table 2. Effects of different variables on the probability of having a recommended distance of one versus more than one meter for two different models. The estimate (β), standard error of the mean (SE), χ^2 statistics (degree of freedom (df)), and corresponding p-values are given. For each qualitative variable, the modality included as the intercept is indicated in parentheses in the first column. Bold characters indicate significant ($P < 0.05$) effects.

370 Discussion

In this study we collected the minimum distances recommended by the diverse countries for public spaces during the early days of COVID-19 pandemic. Although the exact distance at which a person could be contaminated by another person was not known at the time and was manifestly expected to vary between settings, we found that for most (94%) of the countries the minimal distance recommendation was a precise number, between 1 meter/3 feet and 2 meters/3 feet. We can think of at least two reasons why health agencies may have chosen to provide a precise figure in their social distancing advice. First, a specific number can help to communicate information in a clear and straightforward manner, facilitating public understanding and avoiding confusion. Second, a precise number can create a sense of accuracy, command or authority. With an exact figure, the information may appear more reliable and credible to the public. Overall, people might be more willing to follow precise guidance rules with figures because they are easier to understand and seem more reliable. In Germany and Switzerland, despite the separation into several counties/cantons which have their own local health agencies, efforts were made so that a single minimal distance was recommended for all citizens at the national level [45,46]. We note however that in certain countries advising a precise minimal distance such as 1 meter or 2 meters the physical distancing recommendations were not always consistent. For example, in South Africa the distance value varied between health agencies (Table S1). In any case, the fact that such precise numbers were provided in most of the countries facilitated our analysis of trends and our assessment of the potential impact of these social distancing measures.

During COVID-19 pandemic, there have been numerous disagreements within the scientific community regarding the sizes of the SARS-CoV-2 containing particles (aerosols, droplets), the distance they traveled and the time they stayed in the air [47]. Once physical distancing measures were taken by most countries, advanced epidemiological analyses revealed that in certain settings such as a bus [48] or a restaurant [49] SARS-CoV-2 virus could contaminate an individual located at more than 2 meters from an infected person. Yet after these findings were published, no country chose to increase their recommended minimal distance to values higher than 2 meters. This shows that health guidelines take into account not only scientific data but also practical aspects and a certain level of disturbance.

To our knowledge, this study is the first one to assess the effectiveness of the physical distance measures adopted by various countries on COVID-19 pandemic. Previous analyses on the potential effects of social distancing were country-specific and examined differences in physical distancing between participants. They found either no effect or a reduction in transmission rate and in COVID-19 related mortality [50,51]. Our results are not as clear. We found that higher recommended distances were associated with either a small, barely significant reduction in COVID-19 dynamics, as expected, or even an increased COVID-19 dynamics, depending on the day of the pandemic we examined. Due to confounding and measurement bias, this analysis should be interpreted with caution. Other policies, including lockdowns, wearing masks, or the compliance of the general public to governmental policies may vary according to cultural factors. It is thus possible that the slight impact of physical distancing that we detected in the present study at the beginning of the pandemic is actually due to other public health measures that correlated with physical distancing measures. An outbreak dynamics in a country is undoubtedly the result of multiple interacting factors, including health policies, individual behaviors, percentage of infectious people coming from other countries, virus intrinsic parameters, etc. An alternative method to assess the effectiveness of the physical distancing measures would be to compare reproduction numbers before and after the minimal distance was officially reduced in certain countries such as Denmark and the United Kingdom. However, this policy change was generally accompanied

420 by the relaxation of a series of other measures such as restaurants and hotels reopening
[37,52], and was concomitant with the appearance of new, more transmissible SARS-CoV-2
strains [53]. So these confounding factors make it difficult to estimate the exact effect of a
reduction in the official minimal recommended distance.

425 Classifying countries into two groups, those recommending one meter and those
recommending a distance higher than one meter, we tried to identify factors that might have
contributed to the choice of one distance or another. Although interpersonal distance data was
only available for 42 countries, we found that intimate interpersonal distance displayed a
positive correlation with recommended distance. Two possible explanations can account for
this observation. First, health authorities may be influenced by the actual distances observed
430 between fellow citizens and may recommend distances that are more likely to be followed by
the general public. Second, upstream undetermined factors that may vary between countries
may influence both the interpersonal distance and the distance recommended by health
agencies. For example, it has been hypothesized - though not confirmed - that in warmer
climates people tend to maintain closer distances toward strangers than in colder countries
[13]. It would be interesting to gather interpersonal distances for all countries and to test
435 whether the correlation we detected with the recommended distance during COVID-19
pandemic still holds. Noticeably, it is possible that the physical distancing measures during
the COVID-19 epidemic, which have been worldwide and lasted several months, have
influenced later habits, so that people who lived in countries advising longer distances during
COVID-19 pandemic will tend to exhibit higher interpersonal distances in the future than
440 people who were in countries recommending smaller distances.

We found that legal systems had a major effect in predicting the countries' recommended
distance, even after controlling for confounding effects such as population density, previous
colonizer country, language, and previous exposure to SARS-CoV-1. The legal system was
originally divided into two families, common law, and civil law [44]. Common law emerged in
445 England and spread among British colonies across the globe. Civil law was developed in
continental Europe during the Middle Ages and was applied in the colonies of European
imperial powers. A third family of mixed legal systems was defined later to improve the
classification of legal systems [54]. The general influence of certain legal systems on having
similar administrative policies is poorly studied but still generally assumed, due to the legal
450 system being a result of the combination of history, culture, and politics. We can hypothesize
that countries might have made their distancing policy based on the data of several other
countries which have previously issued their policy, where their legal systems were mostly the
same. A notable example would be the issuance of a distancing measure of 1 meter by
Senegal on March 2, 2020, and the following same policy of ten other African countries which
455 used the same civil law system and the same currency (CFA Franc) in the following months,
with the exception of Guinea-Bissau (1.25m) and Gabon (1.5m) (Table S1). Whether such
potential links between countries can also be identified when examining a larger range of
health measures such as school closures, travel bans, etc. remains to be done. Overall, our
analysis of physical distancing recommendations unravels connections between countries that
460 may lead them to propose comparable health measures.

Conclusions

Most countries recommended a precise minimal distance for physical distancing during
COVID-19 pandemic, with 45% advising one meter/three feet and 49% a higher minimal
465 distance. Our mixed binomial generalized linear models reveal that the average interpersonal
distance between two interacting individuals in non-epidemic conditions in a given country
correlates with the recommended minimal distance. Furthermore, countries sharing certain
cultural factors such as legal system and currency tended to adopt the same distancing values.

470 Studies such as ours can help to understand how decisions are taken at the national level and how they can be influenced by existing connections with other countries.

Author contributions

475 Conceived, designed and coordinated the study: VCO. Collected data: VCO MR LEM DC. Performed statistical analyses: DC MR. Prepared Figure 1: VCO. Prepared tables and other figures: DC. Wrote the original draft: VCO DC. Provided feedback on the draft: MR.

Acknowledgements

480 We thank Arzu Celik, Marianthi Karageorgi, Manon Monier, Antónia Monteiro, Olga Nagy, Magnus Nordborg, Francesca Pinton, Rosina Savisaar and Yumiko Suto for helping us to retrieve recommended distances for certain countries. We are grateful to Aurélie Surtel for archiving web pages at <https://web.archive.org/>. We thank Olivier Tenailon for his help with COVID-19 transmission rate data.

Funding Disclosure

485 This research was funded by the European Research Council under the European Community's Seventh Framework Program (FP7/2007-2013 Grant Agreement no. 337579) to VCO. DC was supported by a fellowship from Pohang University of Science and Technology, South Korea (Study Abroad scholarship).

490

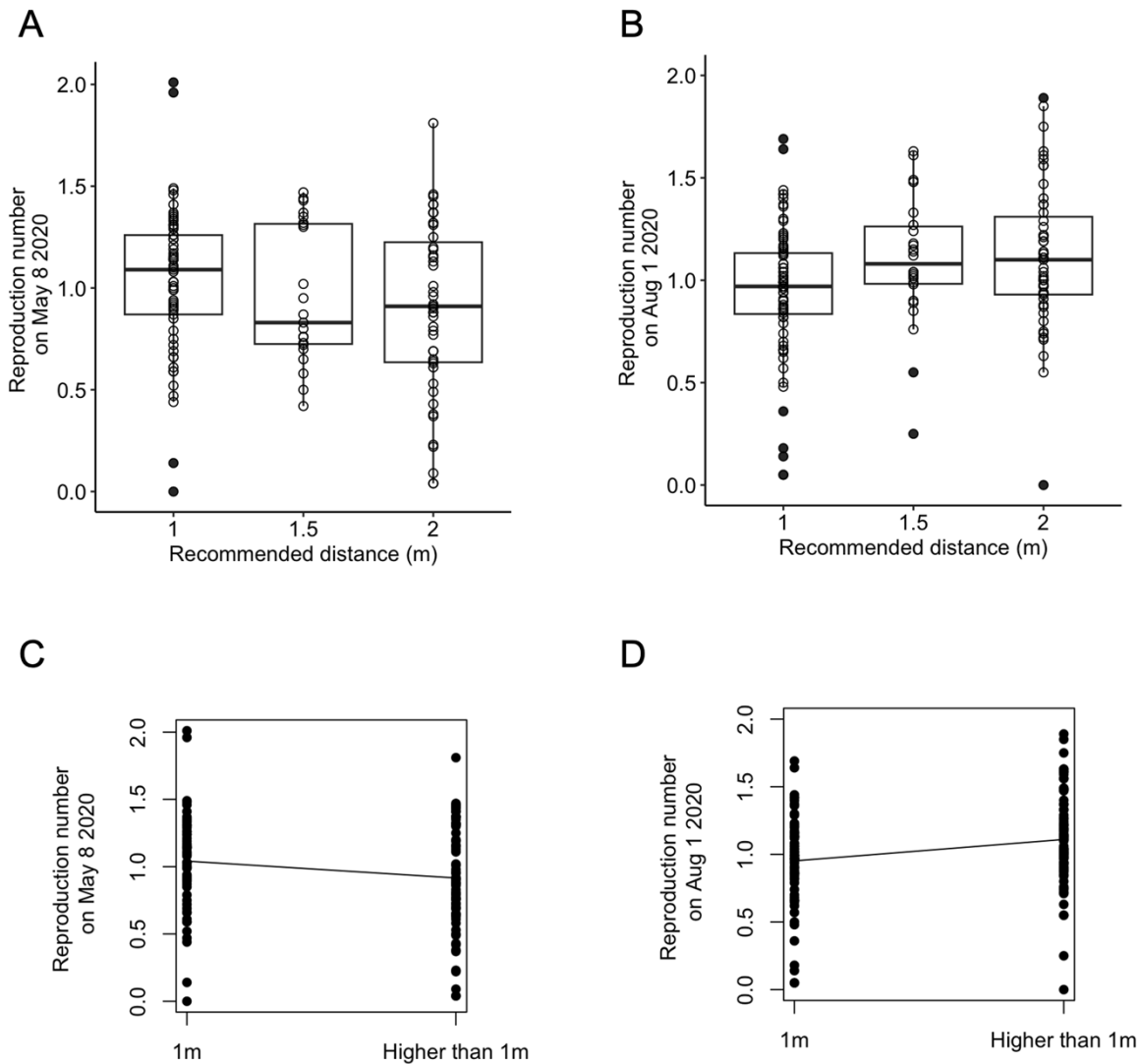
Competing Interests

None.

495

Supplementary Figures

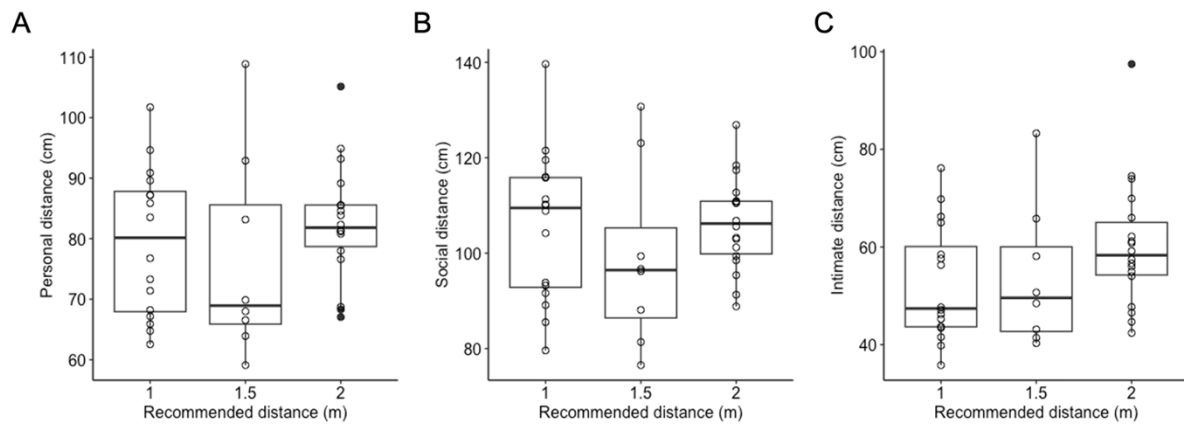
Recommended distances for physical distancing during COVID-19 pandemics reveal cultural connections between countries



500

Fig S1. Boxplot & Generalized linear model of the recommended distance and the effective reproduction number R_t (model using Ritchie et al. data). Boxplot of the estimated effective reproduction rate in May 8th, 2020 (A) and in Aug 1st, 2020 (B) plotted against the recommended distance during COVID-19 pandemic. Gaussian generalized linear model of the estimated effective reproduction rate in May 8th, 2020 (C) and in Aug 1st, 2020 (D) according to the recommended minimal distance.

505

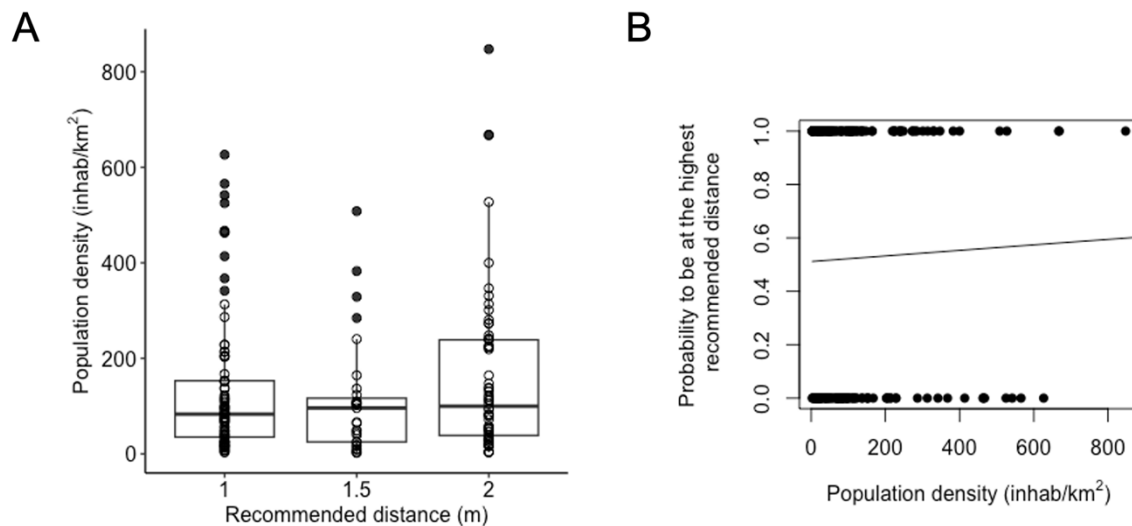


510

Figure S2. Interpersonal distance of 42 countries plotted against the recommended distance during COVID-19 pandemic. Each point represents one country. Countries with a recommended distance of 1-2 m were considered as 1.5m in this graph. The y-axis indicates the social (A), personal (B) and intimate (C) interpersonal distances reported in [13].

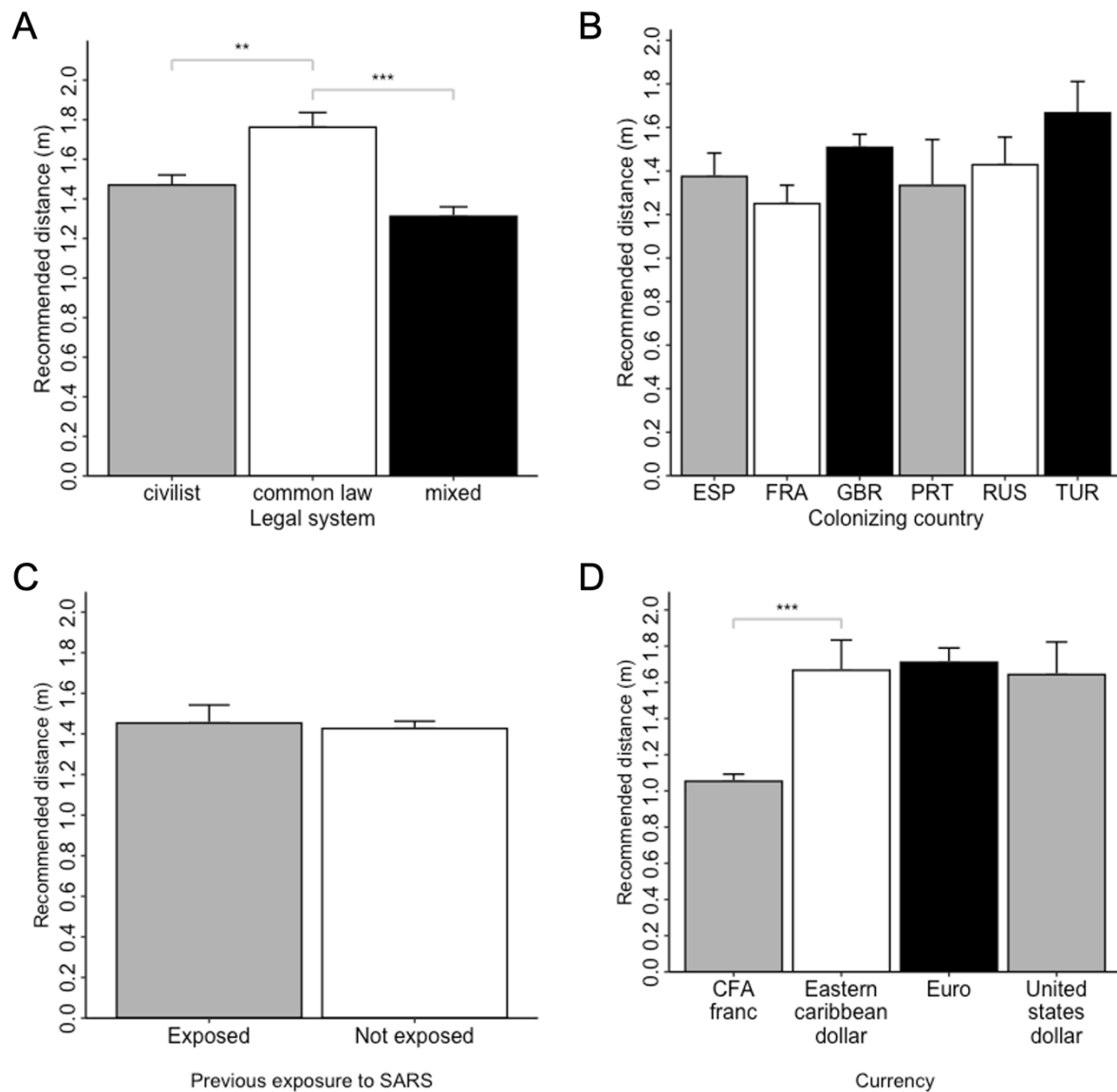
515

520



525

Fig. S3. Recommended distances and population density. (A) Boxplot of population density according to the recommended distance. Each point represents one country. Countries with a recommended distance of 1-2 m were considered as 1.5m in this graph. (B) The y-axis indicates the probability to be at the highest recommended distance (higher than 1m) from the binomial generalized linear model. Points represent data for 174 countries.



530 **Fig S4. Recommended distances with respect to cultural parameters.** (A) Average recommended distance for civil law (n=75), common law (n=21), mixed (n=85) countries. (B) Average recommended distance for countries previously colonized by Spain (n=17), France (n=26), Great Britain (n=60), Portugal (n=7), Russia (n=14) and Turkey (n=9). (C) Average recommended distance for countries previously exposed (n=27) or not (n=157) to SARS-CoV-1. (D) Average recommended distance for countries using CFA Franc (n=14), Eastern Caribbean Dollar (n=6), Euro (n=19), United States Dollar (n=8). Bars indicate the standard errors. **: p<0.05, ***:p<0.01, 1-way ANOVA followed by Tukey's multiple comparisons test.

535

540 **References**

1. Hall ET. The hidden dimension. Anchor; 1966.
2. Hayduk LA. Personal space: Where we now stand. *Psychol Bull.* 1983;94: 293.
3. Dosey MA, Meisels M. Personal space and self-protection. *J Pers Soc Psychol.* 1969;11: 93.
- 545 4. Burgess JW. Developmental trends in proxemic spacing behavior between surrounding companions and strangers in casual groups. *J Nonverbal Behav.* 1983;7: 158–169.
5. Gérin-Lajoie M, Richards CL, McFadyen BJ. The circumvention of obstacles during walking in different environmental contexts: a comparison between older and younger adults. *Gait Posture.* 2006;24: 364–369.
- 550 6. Ozdemir A. Shopping malls: Measuring interpersonal distance under changing conditions and across cultures. *Field Methods.* 2008;20: 226–248.
7. Webb JD, Weber MJ. Influence of sensory abilities on the interpersonal distance of the elderly. *Environ Behav.* 2003;35: 695–711.
8. Remland MS, Jones TS, Brinkman H. Interpersonal distance, body orientation, and touch: Effects of culture, gender, and age. *J Soc Psychol.* 1995;135: 281–297.
- 555 9. Aiello JR, Jones SE. Field study of the proxemic behavior of young school children in three subcultural groups. *J Pers Soc Psychol.* 1971;19: 351.
10. Cartaud A, Quesque F, Coello Y. Wearing a face mask against Covid-19 results in a reduction of social distancing. *Plos One.* 2020;15: e0243023.
- 560 11. Cartaud A, Ruggiero G, Ott L, Iachini T, Coello Y. Physiological response to facial expressions in peripersonal space determines interpersonal distance in a social interaction context. *Front Psychol.* 2018;9: 657.
12. Ruggiero G, Frassinetti F, Coello Y, Rapuano M, Di Cola AS, Iachini T. The effect of facial expressions on peripersonal and interpersonal spaces. *Psychol Res.* 2017;81: 1232–1240.
- 565 13. Sorokowska A, Sorokowski P, Hilpert P, Cantarero K, Frackowiak T, Ahmadi K, et al. Preferred interpersonal distances: a global comparison. *J Cross-Cult Psychol.* 2017;48: 577–592.
14. Fenichel EP. Economic considerations for social distancing and behavioral based policies during an epidemic. *J Health Econ.* 2013;32: 440–451.
- 570 15. Bell D, Nicoll A, Fukuda K, Horby P, Monto A, Hayden F, et al. Non-pharmaceutical interventions for pandemic influenza, national and community measures. *Emerg Infect Dis.* 2006;12: 88–94.
16. Caley P, Philp DJ, McCracken K. Quantifying social distancing arising from pandemic influenza. *J R Soc Interface.* 2008;5: 631–639.
- 575 17. Park JH, Faulkner J, Schaller M. Evolved disease-avoidance processes and contemporary anti-social behavior: Prejudicial attitudes and avoidance of people with physical disabilities. *J Nonverbal Behav.* 2003;27: 65–87.
18. Oaten M, Stevenson RJ, Case TI. Disgust as a disease-avoidance mechanism. *Psychol Bull.* 2009;135: 303.
- 580 19. Goodall J. Social rejection, exclusion, and shunning among the Gombe chimpanzees. *Ethol Sociobiol.* 1986;7: 227–236.
20. Poirotte C, Massol F, Herbert A, Willaume E, Bomo PM, Kappeler PM, et al. Mandrills use olfaction to socially avoid parasitized conspecifics. *Sci Adv.* 2017;3: e1601721.
- 585 21. Kiesecker JM, Skelly DK, Beard KH, Preisser E. Behavioral reduction of infection risk. *Proc Natl Acad Sci.* 1999;96: 9165–9168.
22. Schaller M, Murray DR. Pathogens, personality, and culture: disease prevalence predicts worldwide variability in sociosexuality, extraversion, and openness to experience. *J Pers Soc Psychol.* 2008;95: 212.
- 590 23. Flugge C. Uber luftinfection. *Z Hyg Infektionskr.* 1897;25: 179–224.
24. Schlich T, Strasser BJ. Making the medical mask: surgery, bacteriology, and the control of infection (1870s–1920s). *Med Hist.* 2022;66: 116–134.
25. Hamburger M, Robertson OH. Expulsion of group A hemolytic streptococci in droplets and droplet nuclei by sneezing, coughing and talking. *Am J Med.* 1948;4: 690–701.
- 595 doi:10.1016/s0002-9343(48)90392-1

26. Wells WF. On air-borne infection. Study II. Droplets and droplet nuclei. *Am J Hyg.* 1934;20: 611–18.
27. Turner CE, Jennison MW, Edgerton HE. Public Health Applications of High-Speed Photography. *Am J Public Health Nations Health.* 1941;31: 319–324.
doi:10.2105/ajph.31.4.319
- 600 28. Olsen SJ, Chang H-L, Cheung TY-Y, Tang AF-Y, Fisk TL, Ooi SP-L, et al. Transmission of the severe acute respiratory syndrome on aircraft. *N Engl J Med.* 2003;349: 2416–2422.
- 605 29. World Health Organization. Virtual press conference on COVID-19–11 March 2020. Available at: <http://www.who.int/docs/default-source/coronaviruse/transcripts/who-audioemergencies-coronavirus-press-conference-full-and-final-11mar2020.pdf>. 2020.
30. Greenhalgh T, Jimenez JL, Prather KA, Tufekci Z, Fisman D, Schooley R. Ten scientific reasons in support of airborne transmission of SARS-CoV-2. *The Lancet.* 2021;397: 1603–1605.
- 610 31. Sachs JD, Karim SSA, Akinin L, Allen J, Brosbøl K, Colombo F, et al. The Lancet Commission on lessons for the future from the COVID-19 pandemic. *The Lancet.* 2022;0. doi:10.1016/S0140-6736(22)01585-9
32. Hale T, Anania J, Angrist N, Boby T, Cameron-Blake E, Di Folco M, et al. Variation in government responses to COVID-19. 2021.
- 615 33. Rajan S, McKee M, Hernández-Quevedo C, Karanikolos M, Richardson E, Webb E, et al. What have European countries done to prevent the spread of COVID-19? Lessons from the COVID-19 Health System Response Monitor. *Health Policy.* 2022;126: 355–361.
34. South A. rworldmap: A new R package for mapping global data. *R J.* 2011;3.
- 620 35. Arroyo-Marioli F, Bullano F, Kucinkas S, Rondón-Moreno C. Tracking R of COVID-19: A new real-time estimation using the Kalman filter. *PLOS ONE.* 2021;16: e0244474. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0244474
36. Ritchie H, Mathieu E, Rodés-Guirao L, Appel C, Giattino C, Ortiz-Ospina E, et al. Coronavirus pandemic (COVID-19). *Our World Data.* 2020.
- 625 37. Denmark halves distance advice to 1m as lockdown lifts. *The Local.* 2020 [cited 26 Apr 2023]. Available: <https://www.thelocal.dk/20200511/denmark-halves-distance-advice-to-1m-as-lockdown-lifts>
38. Switzerland lifts most remaining coronavirus restrictions. In: SWI swissinfo.ch [Internet]. 19 Jun 2020 [cited 25 Jul 2023]. Available:
630 <https://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/politics/government-lifts-most-remaining-coronavirus-restrictions/45847950>
39. World Health Organization. Advice for the public: Coronavirus disease (COVID-19). In: Last accessed November 2021 [Internet]. 2021. Available:
<https://www.who.int/emergencies/diseases/novel-coronavirus-2019/advice-for-public>
- 635 40. Nishirimbere A. Burundi : aucun cas de coronavirus à ce jour, vigilance tout de même ! In: Africa Blogging [Internet]. 31 Mar 2020 [cited 17 Jun 2023]. Available:
<https://blogging.africa/fr/coronavirus-fr/burundi-aucun-cas-de-coronavirus-a-ce-jour-vigilance-tout-de-meme/>
41. Bass L, Amour P. COVID-19 in rural Madagascar - Blog - News & Media. In: SEED Madagascar [Internet]. 12 Aug 2020 [cited 17 Jun 2023]. Available:
640 <https://madagascar.co.uk/blog/2020/08/covid-19-rural-madagascar>
42. Tétaud S. Madagascar: la faim ou le risque de contagion, le dilemme des populations vulnérables. *RFI.* 26 Mar 2020. Available: <https://www.rfi.fr/fr/afrique/20200326-madagascar-faim-risque-contagion-dilemme-populations-vuln%C3%A9rables> .
645 Accessed 17 Jun 2023.
43. The Government of the Faore Islands. Reopening Faroese society – Phase 3. In: Korona í Føroyum [Internet]. [cited 17 Jun 2023]. Available:
<https://korona.fo/news/431/reopening-faroese-society-phase-3?l=en>
44. Husa J. The Future of Legal Families. In: Oxford Handbooks Editorial Board, editor. *Oxford Handbook Topics in Law.* Oxford University Press; p. 0.
650 doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935352.013.26
45. Emerging COVID-19 success story: Germany’s strong enabling environment. In: Our

- World in Data [Internet]. [cited 25 Jul 2023]. Available: <https://ourworldindata.org/covid-exemplar-germany-2020>
- 655 46. Fahy <Geraldine Wong Sak Hoi> With input from Jo. How social distancing is taking hold in Switzerland. In: SWI swissinfo.ch [Internet]. 23 Mar 2020 [cited 25 Jul 2023]. Available: https://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/society/covid-19-explainer_how-social-distancing-is-taking-hold-in-switzerland/45625540
- 660 47. Jayaweera M, Perera H, Gunawardana B, Manatunge J. Transmission of COVID-19 virus by droplets and aerosols: A critical review on the unresolved dichotomy. *Environ Res.* 2020;188: 109819.
48. Shen Y, Li C, Dong H, Wang Z, Martinez L, Sun Z, et al. Airborne transmission of COVID-19: epidemiologic evidence from two outbreak investigations.
- 665 49. Lu J, Gu J, Li K, Xu C, Su W, Lai Z, et al. COVID-19 outbreak associated with air conditioning in restaurant, Guangzhou, China, 2020. *Emerg Infect Dis.* 2020;26: 1628.
50. Talic S, Shah S, Wild H, Gasevic D, Maharaj A, Ademi Z, et al. Effectiveness of public health measures in reducing the incidence of covid-19, SARS-CoV-2 transmission, and covid-19 mortality: systematic review and meta-analysis. *BMJ.* 2021;375: e068302. doi:10.1136/bmj-2021-068302
- 670 51. Kwon S, Joshi AD, Lo C-H, Drew DA, Nguyen LH, Guo C-G, et al. Association of social distancing and face mask use with risk of COVID-19. *Nat Commun.* 2021;12: 3737. doi:10.1038/s41467-021-24115-7
52. Coronavirus: Lockdown to be relaxed in England as 2m rule eased. BBC News. 23 Jun 2020. Available: <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-53152416>
- 675 53. Luring AS, Hodcroft EB. Genetic variants of SARS-CoV-2—what do they mean? *Jama.* 2021;325: 529–531.
54. Palmer VV. Introduction to The Mixed Jurisdictions. *Mixed jurisdictions worldwide: the third legal family* (2nd edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2012. pp. 3–18.

680