

Measuring the Impacts of Poverty Alleviation Programs with Satellite Imagery and Deep Learning

Luna Yue Huang*

This Version: July 28, 2020

Abstract

Household surveys are expensive. In this project, I argue that housing, a strong correlate of wealth, can be accurately and cheaply measured with high-resolution satellite imagery and deep learning models, and can be used to conduct impact evaluations with much lower costs. In Western Kenya, I evaluate the GiveDirectly randomized controlled trial, a large unconditional cash transfer program, with satellite imagery, and observe statistically significant and economically sizeable increases in overall building footprint and roof reflectance, a proxy for housing quality. Using an Engel curve approach, I infer overall treatment effects from observed increases in the consumption of housing, and obtain consistent results with extensive in-person surveys.

*University of California, Berkeley; Doctoral Fellow at the Global Policy Lab. Contact: yue_huang@berkeley.edu. I am extremely grateful to my advisors Marco Gonzalez-Navarro, Edward Miguel and Solomon Hsiang for their continued support and fantastic advising. I also benefited tremendously from suggestions and comments from Jeremy Magruder, Ben Faber, Marshall Burke, Joshua Blumenstock, Ethan Ligon, Elisabeth Sadoulet, Alain De Janvry, Aprajit Mahajan, and the participants in the AGU Fall Meeting 2019 (session: GC34C - Advances in Remote Sensing, Machine Learning, and Economics to Improve Risk Management and Evaluate Impacts in Socioenvironmental Systems), the UC Berkeley Trade Lunch, the UC Berkeley Development Workshop, the UC Berkeley Development Lunch, and the UC Berkeley Good Data Seminar. I thank Edward Miguel, Michael Walker, Dennis Egger, Johannes Haushofer, and Paul Niehaus, and the rest of the team who have worked on organizing the GiveDirectly randomized controlled trial, and collecting, cleaning and assembling the dataset for evaluation, for generously sharing the dataset with me and responding to my various inquiries. All errors are my own.

1 Introduction

Door-to-door household surveys have become an important basis for evidence based policy making in the field of international development. They generate crucial insights for the effectiveness of policies, but are expensive and time consuming to conduct. For example, a typical (median) impact evaluation funded by the 3ie (International Initiative for Impact Evaluation) costs around USD 334,000 and 3.4 years to complete. The costs of doing field surveys often limit the scope of impact evaluations to relatively small geographical areas or restricted samples. Delays could potentially lead researchers to miss the optimal window for influencing policy (1).

Satellite imagery offers a promising avenue for timely and inexpensive data collection that may challenge the paradigm for impact evaluation in international development. They may be viable substitutes for field surveys in low-budget studies or real-time analysis; and could complement data collection efforts in the field by serving as pilots to derisk larger-scale projects or mid-line surveys in between more costly field surveys.

A recent literature using nighttime light intensity (hereafter “nightlights”) as a proxy for economic development has shown great promise of this approach on a relatively large geographic scale. Numerous studies illustrated the usefulness of satellite-based economic welfare measures, and how they opened up new research possibilities (2–21). However, the nightlights data have a few undesirable properties. First, it has poor sensitivity in less developed and rural regions with little to no electrification (22). For example, 99.73% of pixels are completely unlit in Madagascar, 99.47% in Mozambique, and this is representative of low-income countries (23). This presents challenges for development economists, when using night lights to study rural and/or less developed areas. The lack of sensitivity also raises the concern of false negative results and attenuated estimated effects when night lights data are used as the proxy for economic well-being. Second, night lights data have relatively low spatial granularity. Night lights also suffer from the “blooming” effect, where bright lights appear larger than they actually are, especially over water- and snow-covered areas. This induces strong spatial auto-correlation and introduces problems when one compares economic activity across contiguous small areas (24). Low spatial resolution prevents economists from exploiting fine spatial variations, such as those generated by most randomized controlled trials (RCTs), or those used in spatial discontinuity designs.

In this paper, I propose a method that combines insights from a classical economic concept, Engel curve, with high-resolution daytime satellite images and deep learning models to construct proxies for economic well-being that overcome these limitations. The deep learning model recognizes specific patterns from unstructured image data, and automatically extracts semantic information. I use a state-of-the-art deep learning model (Mask-RCNN) to conduct instance segmentation for building footprint on high-resolution satellite images, and directly and precisely measure housing quality. An Engel curve describes the relationship between households’ consumption of certain commodities and their income levels. There is a long tradition in microeconomics to leverage the stability of such relationships and cheaply measure income by observing just part of households’ consumption basket: food, consumer durables, etc. Building on prior work (25–27), I infer changes in overall economic welfare from observed changes in housing quality. The Engel curve approach is appropriate for housing, as housing quality usually increases as income increases, and it accounts for a large proportion, around 10–20%, of people’s overall spending.

As a proof of concept, I evaluate a randomized controlled trial in western Kenya, where households are randomly assigned large unconditional cash transfers from GiveDirectly. I demonstrate the feasibility of

conducting impact evaluation with two proposed housing quality measures: building footprint, and roof reflectance. In many developing country contexts, higher levels of roof reflectance is often a signature of more durable and higher-quality metal roof materials, as opposed to plant-based materials.

Estimation with night lights yields a null result, missing large positive impacts of the treatment on recipients. This may be because of low demand for electrification, which is corroborated by field surveys, the fact that nightlights are not sensitive enough to detect variations in wealth or expenditure in less developed regions, or the fact that nightlights have a lower spatial resolution, potentially reducing statistical power.

On the other hand, I observe statistically significant and economically sizable effects on housing consumption, on both the intensive margin (higher quality roofs) and the extensive margin (larger building footprint). In cases where the intervention does not change the Engel curve, I am able to infer overall treatment effects on household consumption and assets, as measured in household surveys in the field, from observed increases in housing consumption. I obtain consistent results with extensive in-person surveys, although the estimates are less precise.

As an additional check in a different cultural context, I validate satellite-derived housing measures against the 2010 Population and Housing Census records of rural localities (villages) in Mexico. I show that, reassuringly, the predicted number of buildings from daytime satellite images is highly correlated with population count in the census, and does not display diminished sensitivity in smaller and poorer rural localities. Average building size is correlated with asset scores reported in the census, indicating that these measures are useful proxies of wealth.

This paper builds on prior empirical work, which has started exploring the use of satellite-derived housing quality measures such as roof reflectance (28), roof color and alignment of buildings (29), in evaluating specific policies. I develop the methods more formally, and relate these housing quality measures to overall economic welfare with an Engel curve approach.

The methods proposed here are related to an emerging literature in poverty mapping. Echoing an earlier literature in development economics (30), several recent studies show that high-resolution satellite images can be used to create spatially granular poverty maps (22, 31–36). These poverty maps are much cheaper to compile than conventional methods, and are useful for precisely targeting foreign aid or domestic assistance programs. In this paper, I propose to adjust these methods such that they are more appropriate for impact evaluation. These methods obtain poverty estimates by first training the machine learning model to predict living standard measures from satellite images, using census records, LSMS/DHS household expenditure surveys or researcher-collected survey data as the ground truth labels. To use these estimates as proxies of overall economic well-being for impact evaluation, one has to implicitly make the assumption that the intervention does not change the underlying relationship between extracted features on the images (e.g., infrastructure, agricultural land, etc.) and overall economic well-being. While this assumption is sometimes appropriate, it can be challenging to satisfy in certain settings — for example, if satellite-derived poverty estimates are used to evaluate infrastructure improvements, or education interventions, these interventions not only change recipients' living standards, but also the composition of their consumption basket. In this paper, I propose to disentangle (1) the prediction exercise from pixel values on raw satellite images to semantically meaningful observations of housing and housing quality, a mechanical relationship that is unlikely to be changed by interventions, and (2) the prediction exercise from observations on housing consumption to overall economic well-being, a relationship that is easier to theorize about and explicitly

test. This frames the first task as a traditional computer vision task that could leverage extensive research and recent development by the computer science community. This also makes the second assumption more explicit and testable.

2 Methods

Here, I evaluate a randomized controlled trial in rural Western Kenya, to illustrate the feasibility of conducting impact evaluation with the proposed satellite-derived measures. The experiment was conducted with GiveDirectly, a US charity, and randomized cash transfers to households in about half of the 653 villages in the experimental sample. From 2014 to 2016, around \$1000, which is equivalent to about 75% of the annual household expenditure, was distributed to households in lump sum with no conditions (see Appendix Section B.1.1 and the original paper ([37](#)) for more details on the design and implementation of the trial).

2.1 Deep Learning

Mask R-CNN In this paper, I leverage a state-of-the-art instance segmentation model in computer vision to identify buildings and outline their boundaries. Specifically, I used a model named Mask R-CNN ([38](#)). Intuitively, the model first examines the satellite images and extracts feature at different scales; it then identifies a large number of regions of interest; finally, it predicts whether the regions of interest contain an object and, if so, classifies the object and generates pixel masks for each object. Appendix Section B.2 describes the implementation used, the official PyTorch implementation, and my modifications in more detail.

Training Data One of the main challenges in training building footprint instance segmentation models in developing countries is that training data are sparse. Most mainstream data sets on building footprint, such as SpaceNet and Inria Aerial, consist of images in metropolitan cities in developed countries (e.g., Chicago, Las Vegas, Paris and Shanghai). These urban landscapes are dramatically different from most rural scenes in my analysis sample. Additionally, both SpaceNet and Inria Aerial provide semantic segmentation labels, and do not annotate buildings that border each other separately.

To overcome this challenge, I train the Mask R-CNN model with a multi-step process, utilizing both publicly available data sets and data sets created specifically for this paper. First, I pre-train the model on COCO (Common Objects in Contexts), a large natural image dataset ([39](#)). Second, I pre-train the model on Open AI Tanzania, a collection of overhead images taken by consumer drones in Zanzibar, Tanzania, that are annotated with building footprints ([40](#)). These images are more representative of the rural or peri-urban scenes in a developing country context, in terms of the distribution of the density, sizes and heights of the buildings. Third, I create in-sample annotations by randomly sampling from the set of images that predictions will be made on, and annotating them (see Section B.1.3 for a more detailed description). This ensures that training images and inference images belong to the same data distribution. Because the set of in-sample annotations is small, I rely on transfer learning (i.e., pre-training on larger data sets) and extensive data augmentation to prevent overfitting.

Model Performance Figure 1 shows an example high-resolution satellite image, and extracted building footprints, as well as an average roof color profile, which is later used for computing housing quality measures. Figure A.1 show 10 more examples of my prediction results, which are randomly sampled from the entire archive of satellite images (in the study area in rural Kenya). Aside from qualitative results, I also provide quantitative performance evaluation of the Mask R-CNN model. The performance metrics reported in this section is representative of that on the entire GiveDirectly analysis sample, because the evaluation is conducted on an annotated random subset of the GiveDirectly images (see Section B.1.3 for details).

Figure A.2 shows the precision-recall curve on the in-sample annotations in Siaya, Kenya, computed with three-fold cross validation. The Mask R-CNN model generates a confidence score for every predicted instance, and by varying the confidence score cutoff, one could adjust their (potentially different) tolerance for false positive rates or false negative rates. The precision ($1 - FalsePositiveRate$) recall ($1 - FalseNegativeRate$) curve displays how the model performs under different score cutoffs. The area under the precision-recall curve (i.e., average precision) is used for model selection as described in Section B.2.2.

To determine the confidence score cutoff, below which predicted instances are dropped, I maximize F1, the harmonic mean of precision and recall. Using this criterion, I choose the confidence score cutoff of 0.73, resulting in an F1 score of 0.79, with precision being 0.80 and recall being 0.79 (Figure A.2). As a reference point, the No. 1 winner in the 2nd SpaceNet building footprint extraction competition reported an F1 score of 0.70 (averaged over Las Vegas, Shanghai, Paris and Khartoum). In particular, the F1 score in a developing country context (Khartoum) is notably lower, at 0.54. The scores on different data sets are not directly comparable, and the performance difference may be due to the fact that building footprint segmentation in rural, less complex scenes are relatively easier than in modern cities. This further illustrates the advantage of relying on high-resolution satellite images for measurements in low-income, rural contexts.

Post-Processing Steps For each predicted building instance, I convert the Boolean pixel mask to a polygon, and simplify the polygon with the Douglas-Peucker algorithm with a pixel tolerance of 3. From these polygons, I extract several observable properties that may be good indicators of housing quality.

Roof Reflectance I extract an “average” roof color for every building. I overlay a predicted building polygon with the raw input satellite image, take all the pixels in the polygon, and average over the pixel values in the RGB (Red, Green, Blue) channels respectively. Roof reflectance is defined as the mean of the RGB channels, and has been used by prior work to proxy housing quality (28).

When constructing this variable, it is important to control for variations in global lighting conditions in different satellite images. The conventional approach is to control for picture fixed effects (28). However, my input satellite images from Google Static Maps cover large contiguous areas, often with seamless transitions. I do not have access to information on the boundaries of the source satellite images, and therefore cannot control for picture fixed effects. As a second best approach, I control for a set of natural cubic spline bases for both longitude and latitude, each with 3 degrees of freedom.

Building Footprint I compute the area covered by each predicted building polygon and convert the unit to square meters. If matched with population density or household size, I calculate building footprint per capita through dividing overall building footprint by the number of residents or the number of household members (both including children).

2.2 Econometrics

Average Treatment Effect Estimation To conduct the estimation, I lay out a regular grid with a spatial resolution of 0.001° or 0.11 kilometers (with longitudes ranging from 34.03° E to 34.46° E and latitudes ranging from 0.06° S to 0.32° N). I create rasters of treatment intensity, and outcomes of interest, as shown in Figure 2. For better display, Figure 2 shows a slightly higher spatial resolution of 0.002° or 0.22 kilometers.

I compute treatment intensity based on data acquired from the original authors of the trial (37), and the data acquired are documented in more detail in Appendix Section B.1.1. The authors conducted a baseline census, and recorded the GPS coordinates of all the households that reside in the 653 villages within the study area. In each village, about 1/3 of the households met the eligibility criteria for the transfer. The trial uses a two-tier randomization technique to generate random “saturation” of the treatment in different areas. Each saturation group, which includes on average approximately 10 villages, was randomly assigned a high or low treatment saturation level. In high saturation groups, two-thirds of the villages are assigned to treatment, and the rest to control. In low saturation groups, one-third of the villages are assigned to treatment, and the rest to control. Households in the control villages never received the cash transfers; households in the treatment villages received the transfer if they met the eligibility criteria set by GiveDirectly. To construct the treatment intensity map, I count how many households are eligible and how many eligible households are treated, in each pixel. Figure 2 shows the proportion of eligible households that received the transfer.

I aggregate satellite-derived housing quality measures to the pixel level. In each grid, building polygons are assigned to pixels based on polygon centroids. I count how many structures there are in a given pixel and total square footage of building footprint. For roof reflectance, I take the mean of the roof reflectance values of all the structures in a given pixel. In cases of no structures, the value is set to missing, and the observation is omitted from the regression sample.

The econometric specification is as follows

$$y_i = \sum_{k \in K} \tau_k \mathbf{1}\{x_i = k\} + \sum_{m \in M} \beta_m \mathbf{1}\{e_i = m\} + \epsilon_i \quad (1)$$

where each observation i represents a pixel covering a area of about 0.012 square kilometers; x_i denotes the number of recipient households per pixel (equivalent to the amount of cash infusion, as each household received a transfer of roughly \$1000), with $k \in K = \{1, 2, 2+\}$; e_i denotes the number of eligible households per pixel with $m \in M = \{0, 1, 2, 3, \dots\}$; and y_i denotes satellite-derived housing quality outcomes, such as building footprint or roof reflectance. In order to utilize the variations in treatment intensity generated by the randomization, and account for effects of pre-existing population density or living standards, I flexibly control for the number of eligible households per pixel. Pixels with no eligible households are dropped. Because the pixels are fairly small, the number of observations for $k > 2$ is small. As such, I bin the number of recipient households into four bins $\{0, 1, 2, 2+\}$, to preserve statistical power. Standard errors are calculated à la Conley, with a uniform kernel and a 3km cutoff (41–44). To fully illustrate that this specification is identifying the causal effect of the cash transfer, I run 100 placebo tests that re-simulate the original randomization scheme. Specifically, in each simulation, I take the 68 saturation groups, randomly assign half to high saturation group and half to low saturation group; then I randomly assign villages to

treatment or control groups based on these simulated saturation statuses. I estimate the placebo treatment effects using these simulated placebo treatment statuses.

To compute a single pooled effect, I assume linear treatment effects—every transfer of \$1000 has an effect of the same magnitude, regardless of treatment intensity in that geographical area. As such, the econometric specification is as follows

$$y_i = \tau x_i + \sum_{m \in M} \beta_m \mathbf{1}\{e_i = m\} + \epsilon_i \quad (2)$$

where τ is the pooled (average) effect, and all else remains the same as above.

To systematically compare the results with nightlights, I conduct the same estimation with the nightlight (VIIRS-DNB data product) raster in 2019. In this case, the average treatment effect is estimated using the native nightlight raster grid, with a resolution of 15 arc seconds, or roughly 463 meters.

Engel Curve In this section, I lay out a model that is based on canonical economic models of Engel curves (25, 26) and simplified to fit the context of this paper. Let some household h with the welfare measure W_h (be it expenditure, assets, or other measures of economic well-being) consume Q_{hp} quantities of normal good p . Formulate the relationship between Q_{hp} and W_h as

$$Q_{hp} = F_p(W_h) + \epsilon_{hp} \quad (3)$$

where $F_p(\cdot)$ is strictly increasing, meaning that households consume more of product p as their welfare measures increase. Simplifying this with a linearity assumption

$$Q_{hp} = \alpha_p + \beta_p W_h + \epsilon_{hp} \quad (4)$$

where α_p is a constant and β_p is the coefficient of a linear Engel curve.

Suppose that one is interested in studying the effect of a plausibly exogenous treatment Z on W (denoted $\hat{\tau}_W$), but one can only inexpensively observe its effect on Q_p (denoted $\hat{\tau}_{Q_p}$). Assuming that $F_p(\cdot)$ does not depend on Z , then one could re-scale the treatment effect estimate on the observable product p based on their knowledge of the Engel curve

$$\hat{\tau}_W = \hat{\tau}_{Q_p} / \hat{\beta}_p \quad (5)$$

This formulation is adapted from prior work that uses survey measures to infer real income growth (25). The key assumption in this exercise is that there exists a stable Engle curve. This is sometimes termed the conditional independence assumption (26). The intuition is that, as households' income level changes, potentially as a response to interventions, their consumption basket composition is stable, conditional on their income level. This assumption will be violated if certain interventions change households' behavior in how they spend their money, for example, food voucher programs may increase households' overall food consumption, making food-based Engel curve imputations unreliable.

Using a formula for propagation of error (or the multivariate Delta method), one can derive the standard

error for $\hat{\tau}_W$ as follows.

$$\left(\frac{\hat{\sigma}(\hat{\tau}_W)}{\hat{\tau}_W}\right)^2 = \left(\frac{\hat{\sigma}(\hat{\tau}_{Q_p})}{\hat{\tau}_{Q_p}}\right)^2 + \left(\frac{\hat{\sigma}(\hat{\beta}_p)}{\hat{\beta}_p}\right)^2 \quad (6)$$

This is in spirit similar to the exercise in prior work (25), but additionally accounts for the precision of the beta coefficient in the Engel curve. The precision of the final estimate depends on two factors: the precision of the treatment effects estimated from satellite imagery, and the precision of the Engel curve beta coefficient. As such, it is necessarily less precise than estimates based on field surveys if field survey covers the entire sample, because it incorporates noises arising from the Engle curve estimation exercise. However, it may be more precise if the field surveys only sampled a small fraction of the entire sample, because the satellite-based treatment effects estimation will be based on a larger sample.

In this exercise, I obtained the Engle curve estimates from the actual experimental data, because the GiveDirectly team conducted extensive in-person surveys to measure the effects of the intervention on various economic indicators. One could alternatively conduct these Engle curve estimations from a different sample, such as from a representative sample in LSMS/DHS surveys.

I acquire the endline survey data collected by the authors of the original trial (37) between May 2016 and June 2017. This sample is a subset of the census sample. The authors randomly surveyed 8 eligible households and 4 ineligible households per village, with a village containing about 100 households on average, of which around one third are eligible. In order to match with satellite imagery, I drop households without GPS coordinates. Consistent with the original paper, I focus on the eligible households in the econometric analyses. My final analysis sample contains 4,578 eligible households in 653 villages. From the endline survey data, I obtain high-quality measures of economic well-being, including total consumption and assets, constructed from a comprehensive consumption and expenditure survey. Household consumption expenditure is the annualized sum of total food consumption in the last 7 days, frequent purchases in the last month, and infrequent purchases over the last 12 months. Asset measures include livestock, transportation (bicycles, motorcycles, and cars), electronics, farm tools, furniture, other home goods, and lending/borrowing from formal/informal sources. Asset measures do not include land value, measured as landholdings multiplied by the self-reported per-acre cost of land of similar quality in their village. I exclude land values for two reasons: the valuation of land is difficult given thin local markets; I don't anticipate satellite-derived variables to capture the variations in ownership of land, which is not visible on imagery. I compute consumption or assets per capita by dividing the household consumption or asset values by the number of household members (including children). To minimize the influence of outliers, I winsorize consumption and asset per capita values at the 2.5% and 97.5% cut-off of the full (eligible and non-eligible) sample.

Empirically, I estimate the treatment effects on satellite-derived outcomes, and at the same time, estimate the Engel curve using the cross section sample. I compute the “estimated” treatment effects on an aggregate economic well-being variable (consumption or assets per capita) and compare that to the actual treatment effects measured in field surveys.

In order to do this, I re-estimate the treatment effects on the household level, such that the treatment effect estimation based on satellite-derived variables could be compatible with that based on the surveys. However, a challenge is that household coordinates do not line up with building polygons perfectly, so heuristic matching between buildings and households is necessary. I acquired the endline survey data from

the original authors, and match each structure identified in the satellite imagery to its nearest household coordinate, if the distance between the centroid of the structure and the household GPS coordinate is within 50m. Each structure is matched to at most one household, eliminating concerns for double counting.

For roof reflectance, I assign the household the roof reflectance value of its closest structure. Observations are dropped if they are not matched with a structure. For total square footage of building footprint, I assign the household all the structures within a 50-meter radius, and take the sum to calculate total square footage. Instead of assigning the household only the closest structure, I choose this approach, because I observe strong treatment effects on the extensive and not the intensive margin for total building footprint, i.e., people build more new structures, but don't necessarily expand the size of their existing ones. This approach has the benefit of accounting for non residential structures (after getting the transfer, households build new kitchen sheds), or splitting of households and increase in per capita square footage. However, it may induce measurement errors by counting structures that actually belong to the households' neighbors.

Finally, to reduce the effects of outliers, I winsorize total building footprint, building footprint per capita and average building size, and nightlight at the 99% percentile.

3 Results

Figure 2 shows the distribution of treatment intensity (Panel A) and total square footage of building footprint (Panel B) in the study area. The building footprint map is consistent with the geography of the study area, with red spots corresponding to towns, and blue areas corresponding to lakes and uninhabited natural areas. The roof reflectance map (Panel C) displays less clear patterns.

Figure 3 shows the average treatment effect estimation results. I observe a steady increase in housing quality outcomes as cash inflow intensity increases (Panel A and B). This is in line with results based on extensive field surveys, finding that on average, overall assets (excluding housing and land values) increased by \$180, housing values increased by \$378, as a result of the cash transfer. The original paper found large spillover effects to non-recipients on consumption but not on assets, and I do not examine the spillover effects in the present project. With nightlights as the outcome, the results become statistically insignificant (Panel C). This may be because of low demand for electrification (45), the fact that nightlights are not sensitive enough to detect variations in wealth or expenditure in less developed regions, or the fact that nightlights have a lower spatial resolution, potentially reducing statistical power.

Figure 4 (Figure A.3) illustrates the process of estimating an Engel curve and using it to infer overall effects of the treatment on household asset holdings (household consumption). For the building footprint outcome, the Engel curve for the treatment group does not appear to be different from the curve for the control group, indicating that the treatment does not change the relationship between overall economic welfare and consumption patterns of housing (Panel A, left). As such, I estimate the treatment effects on overall assets, and obtain a less precise, but consistent estimate as the observed treatment effects, calculated from various measures in the field survey (Panel A, right).

On the other hand, it is plausible that the treatment directly impacted households' assets holding patterns. The eligibility criterion for the transfer is that households live in thatched-roof houses. Recipients in the GiveDirectly trial may be expecting subsequent transfers and thus may strategically avoid upgrading their roofs from thatched roofs to metal roofs, so that they would be eligible for potential future transfers. However,

there is very little evidence suggesting that that was the case, and the researchers were clear that the intervention was not recurrent and that no future interventions were being planned. It also seems plausible that households may have psychologically tied the transfer to roof upgrading, because of the eligibility criteria. The lump sum nature of the transfer may also have led recipient households to spend more on lumpy purchases than they normally would (Panel B, left). As a result, the estimated effects are biased (Panel B, right).

When using nightlights to conduct a similar exercise, the Engel curve between nightlight intensity and assets per capita is noisy, and even displays a downward trend. This indicates that the more lights are emitted from an area at night, the less wealthy that area is, which is not a desirable property for an economic wealth proxy (Panel C, left). Additionally, no treatment effects are detected on nightlights, so the estimated effects are also not statistically distinguishable from zero (Panel C, right).

As an additional check, Figure A.4 shows the scatter plots of satellite-derived and census-derived variables in a different context in rural Mexico, using the 2010 Population and Housing Census. As a reassuring check, the census population count and the number of building instances predicted by the deep learning model has a high correlation coefficient, and displays an almost linear relationship (Top-left Panel). The average size of structures, a proxy for wealth measurable from satellite imagery, is correlated with overall asset score in the census (Middle-left Panel). This is not driven entirely by housing consumption being a component in overall wealth. In fact, durable asset holdings, which are not directly seen on satellite images, are also equally strongly correlated with average size of houses (Bottom-left Panel). Variables derived from high resolution daytime imagery outperform nightlight (Top-right, Middle-right, Bottom-right Panel) in all three cases.

Roof reflectance displays a much weaker relationship with wealth, potentially because of the fact that the quality of roof materials used in Mexico is weakly correlated with reflectance. Also, the fact that global lighting conditions of images change and may add noise into the roof reflectance variable may also be an important factor (Middle-middle, Bottom-middle Panel).

4 Discussion

A fundamental limitation of using satellite-derived measures for impact evaluation is that, some outcomes are never unobserved in overhead imagery: education, health, ownership of land, etc. While I show that satellite-derived outcomes are correlated with some outcomes that cannot be directly observed from satellite imagery, such as consumer durables inside housing structures, effects of certain types of interventions (e.g. teacher training) are bound to be difficult to observe from space.

One does not observe whether households are renters or owners of the houses. For renters, housing consumption is a part of their consumption flow; whereas for owners, it is a part of their assets.

One cannot observe the movement of people in response to positive or negative economic shocks. In the GiveDirectly study areas, migration rates are low, but in contexts where migration rates are high, this may complicate the interpretation of the results.

One particularly interesting observation from comparing the results in Kenya versus Mexico is that, not all satellite derived outcomes are born equal, and some are more context specific than others. While building footprint seems to be a consistent correlate of wealth, roof reflectance responds to the treatment strongly in Kenya, but is a much weaker correlate of wealth in Mexico. This may be because of the different compositions

of roof materials in these two countries: metal roofs, and thus brighter roofs, are generally considered as high-quality roof materials in the study villages in Kenya, but not necessarily in rural Mexico.

In this paper, I show that using high-resolution daytime images is most valuable for low-income, rural contexts. Nightlights may demonstrate good sensitivity in middle-income countries, or in highly urbanized areas in low-income countries, as is shown in Figure 4 and Figure A.4. Figure 4, in rural Kenya, shows a noisy, and even negative relationship between nightlight intensity and wealth, which demonstrates that it is a bad proxy. Figure A.4, in rural Mexico, shows a somewhat more informative relationship between nightlight intensity and wealth, although still less informative than signals from high resolution daytime images.

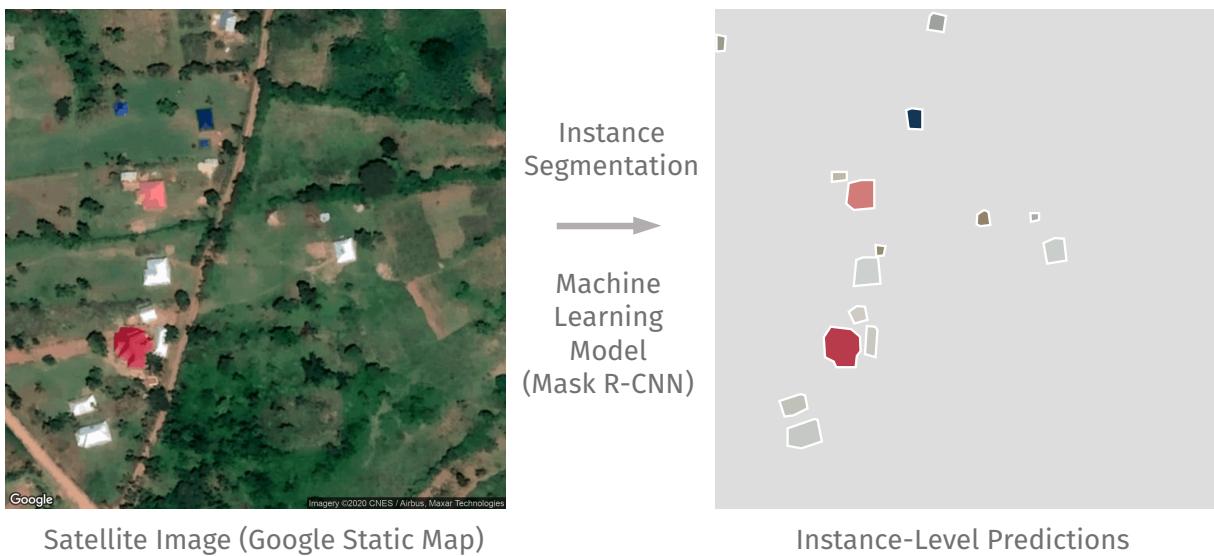


Figure 1: This schematic shows a randomly sampled raw satellite image (Panel A) and the predictions made by the deep learning model, with each polygon representing an instance of buildings and the color on the geometry representing the “average” roof color (Panel B).

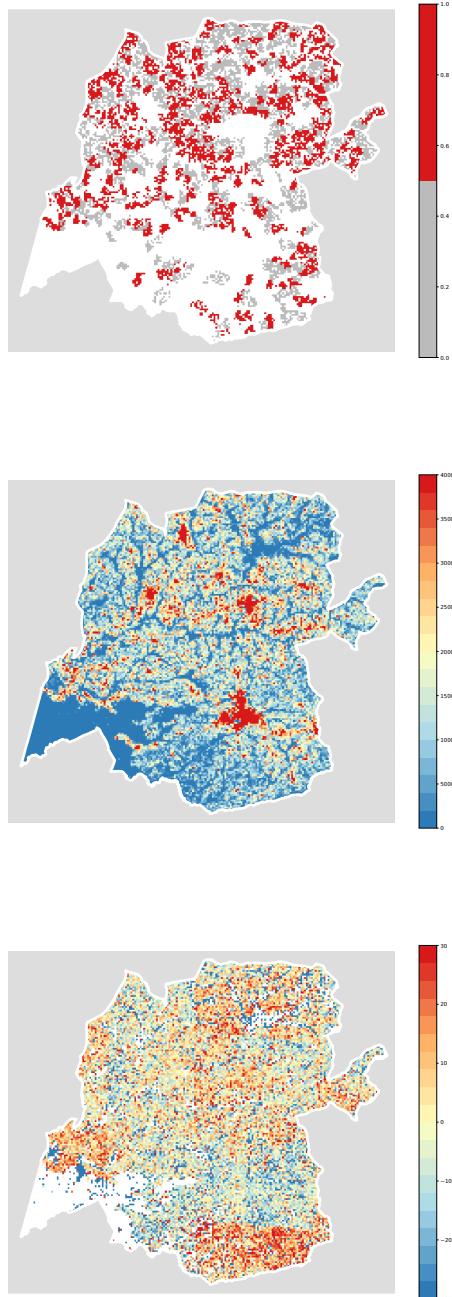
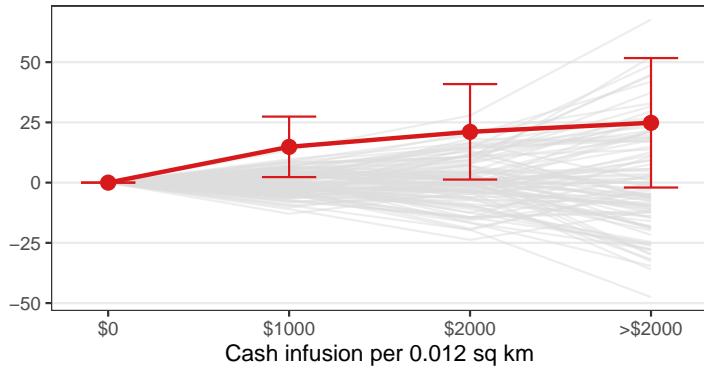
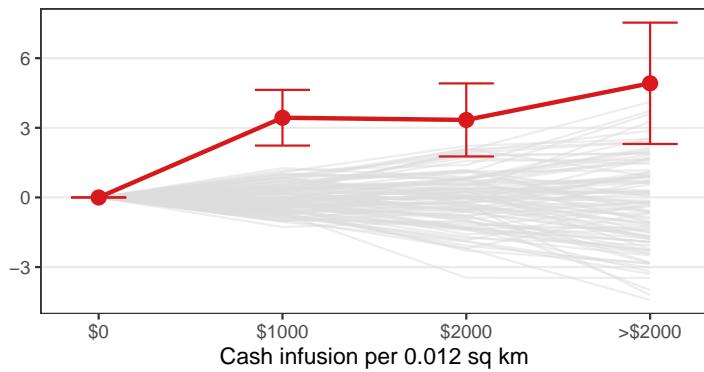


Figure 2: Maps of the treatment intensity (Panel A), total building footprint (Panel B), and roof reflectance (Panel C). In Panel A, red represents treated areas, and gray represents control areas. In Panel B and C, red represents higher values and blue represents lower values. The white lines outline the sample area for the GiveDirectly trial. The outside area is masked out.

Treatment Effect on Total Square Footage of Buildings:
9.341, 95% CI: [2.586, 16.097]



Treatment Effect on Roof Reflectance:
1.843, 95% CI: [1.182, 2.505]



Treatment Effect on Nightlight:
0.000, 95% CI: [-0.002, 0.003]

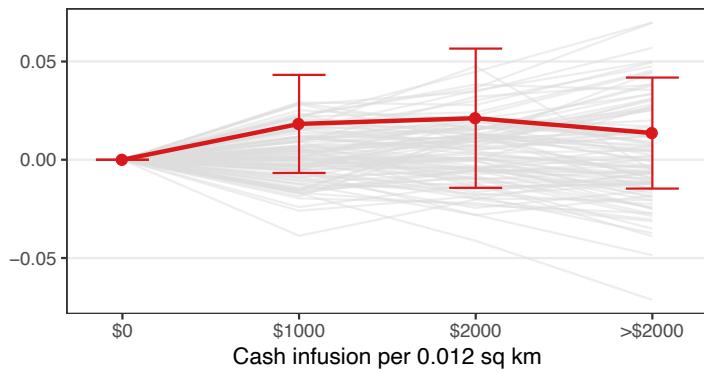


Figure 3: Estimated average treatment effects of the GiveDirectly unconditional cash transfer on (Panel A) total square footage of buildings, (Panel B) roof reflectance, and (Panel C) nightlight values. x-axis represents the intensity of the cash inflow (in nominal USD) to each pixel (covering an area of 0.012 square kilometers). y-axis represents the magnitude of the treatment effects. Red points represent the point estimates, error bars correspond to the 95% confidence intervals. Gray lines indicate estimated treatment effects from 100 placebo simulations. Panel title reports pooled estimates with a linear effect assumption, along with 95% confidence intervals.

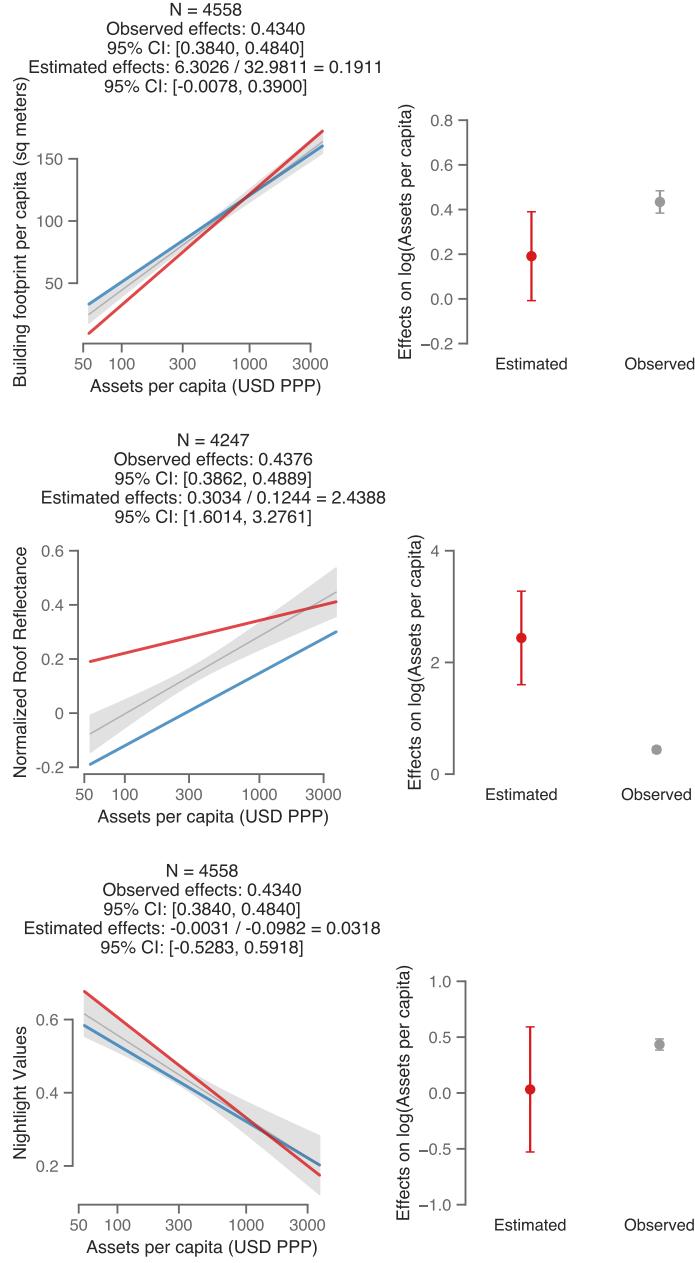


Figure 4: The Engel curves of total building footprint (Panel A, left), roof reflectance (Panel B, left), or nightlight (Panel C, left) and the observed treatment effects on assets versus the estimated effects from building footprint (Panel A, right), roof reflectance (Panel B, right), or nightlight (Panel C, right). The grey curves and grey regions in the left panels indicate the Engel curves (linear fit) and its 95% confidence intervals for the full sample. The red and blue curves correspond to the treatment and control groups, respectively. The gray points and error bars in the right panels represent the observed treatment effects on household assets per capita (logarithmic scale, in USD PPP) and its 95% confidence interval. The red points and error bars in the right panels represent the estimated treatment effects using the Engel curve approach and its 95% confidence interval.

References

1. J. Puri, F. Rathinam, Challenges in real-world impact evaluations: Some learning on costs and timeliness. (2019).
2. A. Storeygard, Farther on down the road: transport costs, trade and urban growth in sub-Saharan Africa. *The Review of economic studies* **83**, 1263–1295 (2016).
3. A.-S. Isaksson, A. Kotsadam, Chinese aid and local corruption. *Journal of Public Economics* **159**, 146–159 (2018).
4. R. Jedwab, E. Kerby, A. Moradi, History, path dependence and development: Evidence from colonial railways, settlers and cities in Kenya. *The Economic Journal* **127**, 1467–1494 (2017).
5. J. Fenske, N. Kala, Climate and the slave trade. *Journal of Development Economics* **112**, 19–32 (2015).
6. T. Besley, M. Reynal-Querol, The legacy of historical conflict: Evidence from Africa. *American Political Science Review* **108**, 319–336 (2014).
7. Y. S. Lee, International isolation and regional inequality: Evidence from sanctions on North Korea. *Journal of Urban Economics* **103**, 34–51 (2018).
8. H. Bleakley, J. Lin, Portage and path dependence. *The quarterly journal of economics* **127**, 587–644 (2012).
9. S. Michalopoulos, E. Papaioannou, Pre-colonial ethnic institutions and contemporary African development. *Econometrica* **81**, 113–152 (2013).
10. S. Michalopoulos, E. Papaioannou, National institutions and subnational development in Africa. *The Quarterly journal of economics* **129**, 151–213 (2014).
11. A. Alesina, S. Michalopoulos, E. Papaioannou, Ethnic inequality. *Journal of Political Economy* **124**, 428–488 (2016).
12. R. Hodler, P. A. Raschky, Regional favoritism. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* **129**, 995–1033 (2014).
13. S. Bazzi, A. Gaduh, A. D. Rothenberg, M. Wong, Skill transferability, migration, and development: Evidence from population resettlement in Indonesia. *American Economic Review* **106**, 2658–98 (2016).
14. N. Gennaioli, R. La Porta, F. L. De Silanes, A. Shleifer, Growth in regions. *Journal of Economic Growth* **19**, 259–309 (2014).
15. M. Lipscomb, A. M. Mobarak, Decentralization and pollution spillovers: evidence from the re-drawing of county borders in Brazil. *The Review of Economic Studies* **84**, 464–502 (2016).
16. J. V. Henderson, T. Squires, A. Storeygard, D. Weil, The global distribution of economic activity: Nature, history, and the role of trade. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* **133**, 357–406 (2017).
17. M. Gonzalez-Navarro, M. A. Turner, Subways and urban growth: Evidence from earth. *Journal of Urban Economics* **108**, 85–106 (2018).
18. A. Kocornik-Mina, T. K. J. McDermott, G. Michaels, F. Rauch, Flooded Cities. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* **12**, 35–66, (<https://www.aeaweb.org/articles?id=10.1257/app.20170066>) (Apr. 2020).

19. G. De Luca, R. Hodler, P. A. Raschky, M. Valsecchi, Ethnic favoritism: An axiom of politics? *Journal of Development Economics* **132**, 115–129 (2018).
20. M. L. Pinkovskiy, Growth discontinuities at borders. *Journal of Economic Growth* **22**, 145–192 (2017).
21. F. Campante, D. Yanagizawa-Drott, Long-range growth: economic development in the global network of air links. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* **133**, 1395–1458 (2017).
22. N. Jean *et al.*, Combining satellite imagery and machine learning to predict poverty. *Science* **353**, 790–794 (2016).
23. J. V. Henderson, A. Storeygard, D. N. Weil, Measuring economic growth from outer space. *American economic review* **102**, 994–1028 (2012).
24. S. Michalopoulos, E. Papaioannou, Spatial patterns of development: A meso approach. *Annual Review of Economics* **10**, 383–410 (2018).
25. A. Young, The African growth miracle. *Journal of Political Economy* **120**, 696–739 (2012).
26. A. Tarozzi, A. Deaton, Using census and survey data to estimate poverty and inequality for small areas. *The review of economics and statistics* **91**, 773–792 (2009).
27. D. Atkin, B. Faber, T. Fally, M. Gonzalez-Navarro, “A New Engel on Price Index and Welfare Estimation”, tech. rep. (National Bureau of Economic Research, 2020).
28. B. Marx, T. M. Stoker, T. Suri, There is no free house: Ethnic patronage in a Kenyan slum. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* **11**, 36–70 (2019).
29. G. Michaels *et al.*, “Planning Ahead for Better Neighborhoods: Long Run Evidence from Tanzania”, Unpublished, 2019.
30. C. Elbers, J. O. Lanjouw, P. Lanjouw, Micro-level estimation of poverty and inequality. *Econometrica* **71**, 355–364 (2003).
31. C. Yeh *et al.*, Using publicly available satellite imagery and deep learning to understand economic well-being in Africa. *Nature communications* **11**, 1–11 (2020).
32. J. Blumenstock, G. Cadamuro, R. On, Predicting poverty and wealth from mobile phone metadata. *Science* **350**, 1073–1076 (2015).
33. J. E. Blumenstock, Fighting poverty with data. *Science* **353**, 753–754 (2016).
34. A. Head, M. Manguin, N. Tran, J. E. Blumenstock, presented at the ICTD, pp. 8–1.
35. R. Engstrom, J. Hersh, D. Newhouse, “Poverty from space: Using high-resolution satellite imagery for estimating economic well-being”, Working Paper (The World Bank, 2017).
36. B. Babenko, J. Hersh, D. Newhouse, A. Ramakrishnan, T. Swartz, Poverty mapping using convolutional neural networks trained on high and medium resolution satellite images, with an application in mexico. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1711.06323* (2017).
37. D. Egger, J. Haushofer, E. Miguel, P. Niehaus, M. W. Walker, “General equilibrium effects of cash transfers: experimental evidence from Kenya”, tech. rep. (National Bureau of Economic Research, 2019).

38. K. He, G. Gkioxari, P. Dollár, R. Girshick, presented at the Proceedings of the IEEE international conference on computer vision, pp. 2961–2969.
39. *COCO - Common Objects in Contexts*, <http://cocodataset.org>, accessed 6 May 2020.
40. *2018 Open AI Tanzania Building Footprint Segmentation Challenge*, <https://competitions.codalab.org/competitions/201> accessed 6 May 2020.
41. T. G. Conley, GMM estimation with cross sectional dependence. *Journal of econometrics* **92**, 1–45 (1999).
42. T. Conley, *Spatial econometrics. New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics*, eds Durlauf SN, Blume LE, 2008.
43. S. M. Hsiang, Temperatures and cyclones strongly associated with economic production in the Caribbean and Central America. *Proceedings of the National Academy of sciences* **107**, 15367–15372 (2010).
44. F. Burlig, M. Woerman, *ARE 212 Section 10: Non-Standard Standard Errors II*, <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/> accessed 10 May 2020.
45. K. Lee, E. Miguel, C. Wolfram, Experimental evidence on the economics of rural electrification. *Journal of Political Economy* **128**, 1523–1565 (2020).

Appendices

A Appendix Figures and Tables

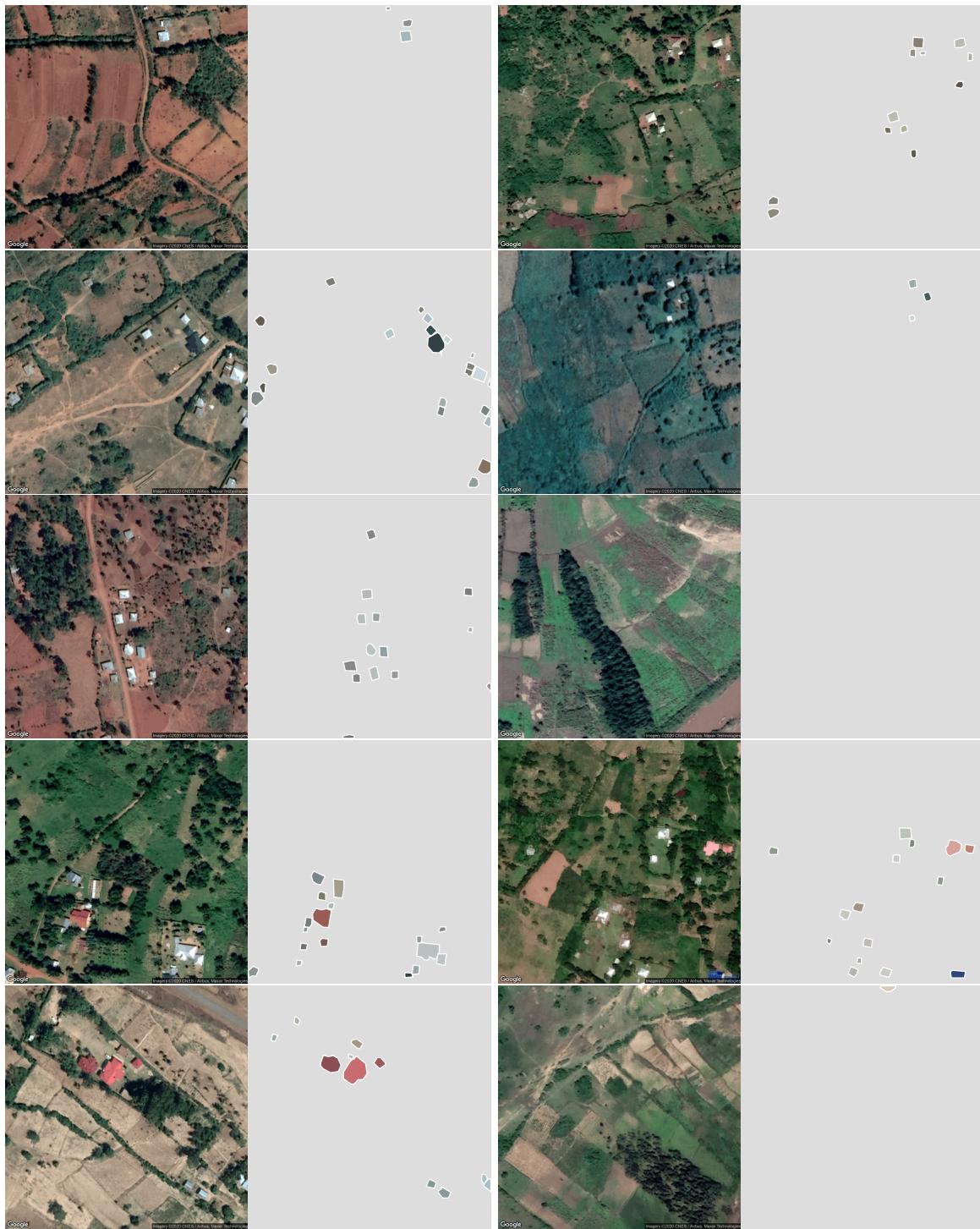


Figure A.1: 10 randomly sampled prediction results of the deep learning model.

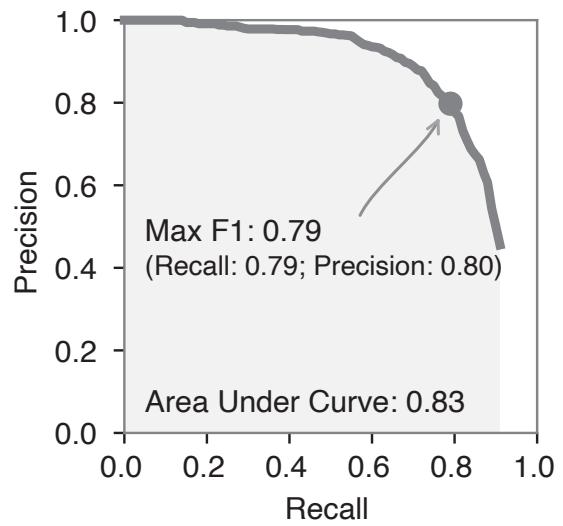


Figure A.2: The precision-recall curve of the Mask R-CNN model, evaluated on a random subset of 120 in-sample satellite images with 3-fold cross validation.

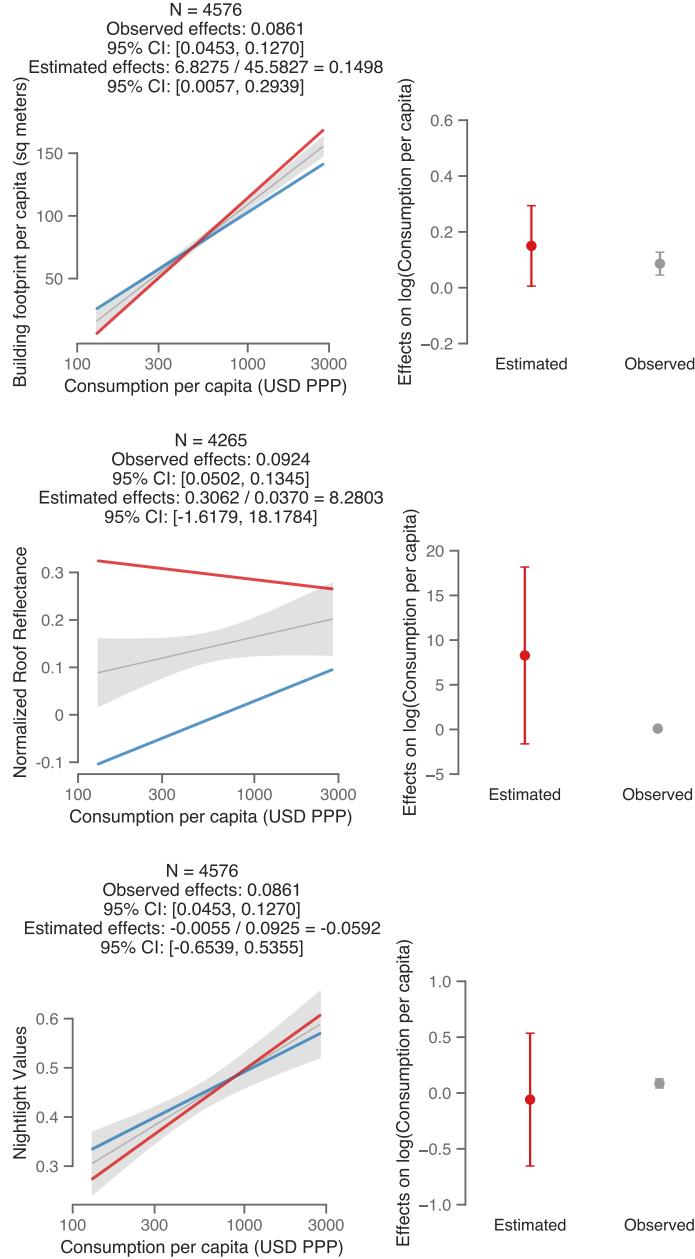


Figure A.3: The Engel curves of total building footprint (Panel A, left), roof reflectance (Panel B, left), or nightlight (Panel C, left) and the observed treatment effects on consumption versus the estimated effects from building footprint (Panel A, right), roof reflectance (Panel B, right), or nightlight (Panel C, right). The grey curves and grey regions in the left panels indicate the Engel curves (linear fit) and its 95% confidence intervals for the full sample. The red and blue curves correspond to the treatment and control groups, respectively. The gray points and error bars in the right panels represent the observed treatment effects on household consumption per capita (logarithmic scale, in USD PPP) and its 95% confidence interval. The red points and error bars in the right panels represent the estimated treatment effects using the Engel curve approach and its 95% confidence interval.

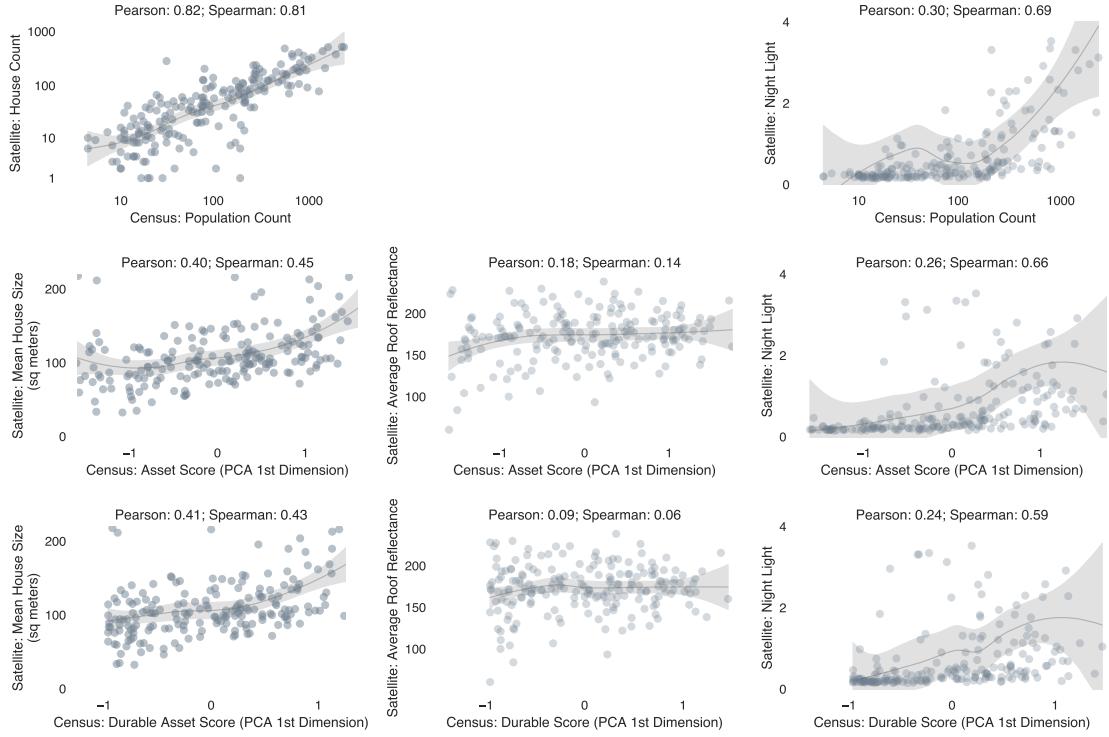


Figure A.4: Correlation between satellite-derived measurements and census-derived measurements in rural Mexico. Three columns correspond to outcomes in the census: population count in a rural locality, overall assets scores, and durable asset scores, which are not directly observable from satellite imagery. Three rows correspond to satellite-derived outcomes: no. of structures identified in satellite images, average size of structures, and average roof reflectance. Each point corresponds to a sampled rural locality in Mexico. Pearson correlation (in levels) and Spearman's rank correlation coefficients are reported. Gray lines are estimated LOESS curves, along with 95% confidence intervals.

B Data and Methods

The goal of this paper is to develop methods that generate inexpensive, remotely sensed proxies of living standards in developing countries, and demonstrate the feasibility of conducting causal inference with these proxy measures. Here, I describe my input data, including census, survey, and remote sensing data, and document the process of training a deep learning model (Mask R-CNN) to extract building footprint, and constructing measures of housing quality.

B.1 Data

B.1.1 Census and Survey Data

Census and Survey Data in the GiveDirectly Trial In order to validate the remotely sensed living standard proxies, and demonstrate the feasibility of conducting causal inference with these measures, I acquire two data sets from the authors of the GiveDirectly randomized controlled trial in rural Kenya (1).

First, I acquire the baseline household census data in the GiveDirectly study area. Before the intervention, the authors first conducted a baseline household census in all the villages, which served as a sampling frame for the subsequent surveys and collected information on household eligibility status. The census identified 65,385 households with a total baseline population of 280,000 people in study villages. Consistent with the original paper, I use the sampling frame established by the baseline census in all the econometric analyses. From the census, I map the intensity of the treatment by combining information on the geo-location of the households, the households' eligibility status and the treatment status of the villages. Households that met both of the following requirements can receive the transfer: (1) they were eligible for the GiveDirectly unconditional cash transfers (i.e., they lived in a thatched-roof house at the time of the baseline census); and (2) they lived in a village that were randomized into the treatment group. The census was separately conducted by independent (non-GiveDirectly) enumerators to achieve consistency between the treatment and control villages, and the procedure was designed to mimic GiveDirectly's own censusing procedure. To minimize the impacts of the measurement errors generated by the GPS collection device, missing GPS coordinates or outliers were dropped and filled with village longitude and latitude means. Out of 65,385 households, 4 households had missing GPS coordinates, and 58 household coordinates were considered outliers (more than 2 kilometers away from the village averages). Additionally, I obtain the boundary shapefile of the study area (shown in Figure 2) from the authors.

Second, I acquire the endline survey data collected by the authors between May 2016 and June 2017. This sample is a subset of the census sample. The authors randomly surveyed 8 eligible households and 4 ineligible households per village, with a village containing about 100 households on average, of which around one third are eligible. In order to match with satellite imagery, I drop households without GPS coordinates. Consistent with the original paper, I focus on the eligible households in the econometric analyses. My final analysis sample contains 4,578 eligible households in 653 villages. From the endline survey data, I obtain high-quality measures of economic well-being, including total consumption and assets, constructed from a comprehensive consumption and expenditure survey. Household consumption expenditure is the annualized sum of total food consumption in the last 7 days, frequent purchases in the last month, and infrequent purchases over the last 12 months. Asset measures include livestock, transportation (bicycles, motorcycles, and cars), electronics, farm tools, furniture, other home goods, and lending/borrowing from formal/informal

sources. Asset measures do not include land value, measured as landholdings multiplied by the self-reported per-acre cost of land of similar quality in their village. I exclude land values for two reasons: the valuation of land is difficult given thin local markets; I don't anticipate satellite-derived variables to capture the variations in ownership of land, which is not visible on imagery. I compute consumption or assets per capita by dividing the household consumption or asset values by the number of household members (including children). To minimize the influence of outliers, I winsorize consumption and asset per capita values at the 2.5% and 97.5% cut-off of the full (eligible and non-eligible) sample¹.

Census Data in Mexico To further validate remotely sensed measures of housing quality, and assess the relationship between these measures and overall economic well-being, I conduct a validation exercise against the 2010 Population and Housing Census in Mexico (2).

I utilize the locality-level data set (Principales Resultados por Localidad, or ITER) in the 2010 census. I do not use household-level micro data in this paper, because they are not precisely geo-coded. Each observation represents a locality, which is equivalent to a village in rural areas. I drop all urban localities (defined as having more than 2,500 residents) and focus only on rural localities. Additionally, I drop localities where the relevant asset measures are masked in the census to protect privacy (in very small localities), or where these measures are missing. Each rural locality is geo-coded as a point. Most of the rural localities are small, isolated and surrounded by vegetation or open space, alleviating concerns that the 2010 census did not include the boundary of the rural localities. I match each locality to satellite images that cover an area of roughly 1×1 km, with the locality coordinate at the center. To avoid covering neighboring urban or rural localities in the satellite images, I exclude rural localities that are closer than 1.1 km (0.01 degree) from other rural localities, or 11.1 km (0.1 degree) from urban localities. Finally, to reduce computation, I randomly sampled 200 rural localities for the validation exercise. Google Static Maps does not have satellite image coverage for 3 of the 200 sampled localities and they are thus dropped from the sample.

In line with prior literature (3, 4), I use an asset index to measure wealth. The asset index is computed as the first principal component of multiple variables, each measuring the percentage of households in the locality who own a given type of asset. Assets are grouped into three categories: durable good (radio, TV, refrigerator, washer, car, computer, telephone, cell phone, and internet), housing (cement floor, house with ≥ 2 bedrooms, house with ≥ 3 rooms), and public good (toilet, electricity, piped water, and drainage). An asset index is calculated for each category, and an overall asset index is calculated by pooling all the categories. When necessary, I flip the signs of the asset indices, such that a higher score indicates more wealth.

B.1.2 Daytime High-resolution Satellite Images

The input high-resolution satellite images are from Google Static Maps (5). These images have been pre-processed (e.g., to remove clouds) and geo-referenced and they come from a variety of sources such as Maxar (formerly DigitalGlobe) and Airbus. Unlike other remote sensing data sets, these images only contain the RGB (red, green, blue) bands, and no information in other wavelengths.

The input satellite images are at a spatial resolution of about 30 cm per pixel (on equator). More

¹In the data set that I acquired, the household consumption values have already been winsorized at the 99.64% cut-off to reduce the effects of outliers.

precisely, the images are at zoom level 19 in the XYZ tiles system, a convention that Google Static Maps uses to store and display satellite images at different scales. Users can retrieve an image of 640×640 pixels via querying the API with the geo-coordinate of the center of the image. Each Google Static Maps image cover an area of around 190×190 meters at zoom level 19. The XYZ tiles system is based on the Web Mercator projection system, which induces large area distortion in high-latitude areas. Whenever necessary, I correct for area distortion during the post processing steps.

Google Static Maps uses satellite images from different commercial providers and different time periods, and seamlessly mosaic images together. Most images are taken fairly recently. However, no exact timestamps are available for the images.

To evaluate the GiveDirectly randomized controlled trial in Kenya, I download a set of satellite images covering all of the Siaya county in Western Kenya, where the study took place. The images were retrieved from the Google Static Maps API between Feb 19 and Feb 21, 2020. Given that the GiveDirectly cash transfers were given out from mid 2014 to early 2017, it is safe to assume that most of these satellite images are taken after the intervention. This is consistent with the fact that I observe strong treatment effects.

To conduct the validation exercise against the 2010 census in Mexico, I download a collection of satellite images covering about an area of 1×1 km, for each rural locality in the analysis sample. More precisely, I download a grid of 5×5 satellite images (each with a size of 640×640 pixels) with the geo-coordinate of the locality being the center of the image grid. The images were retrieved from the Google Static Maps API on October 10, 2019. The time when the satellite images are taken is quite different from the time of the census, likely reducing the correlation between satellite- and census-based measures.

B.1.3 In-sample Building Footprint Annotations

I create in-sample building footprint annotations to objectively and quantitatively evaluate the predictive performance of the deep learning model. Among the 71,012 satellite images that cover all of the Siaya county in Kenya, I randomly sample 120 images for annotation. Among the 197 rural localities in Mexico, I randomly sample 8 localities and annotated all the 199 satellite images in these localities.

I use the supervisely image annotation web platform to create annotations. On any given image, I outline the boundaries of all the instances of buildings on the image. Buildings that border each other are annotated as separate instances, if there are reasons to believe that they are separate structures (e.g., if they appear to use different roof materials). Half-finished buildings are included in the annotations, although they are fairly rare in the analysis sample.

Some measurement errors are expected to arise from the annotation exercise, but their magnitude is small. First, the Google Static Maps logo block 1.05% of the total area of any given image, and structures covered by the logos are not annotated. Second, only the visible parts of the buildings are annotated, but a very small part of some buildings may be partially occluded by trees. Third, as all the satellite images are processed as “chips” with a size of 640×640 pixels, a small proportion of structures may be on the edges of the chips and thus annotated as “partial” structures on multiple chips. Finally, the annotation accuracy (and potentially prediction accuracy) may be different across buildings with different roof materials. In particular, some study participants in the GiveDirectly trial live in thatched-roof houses. These structures tend to be harder to identify for human annotators than metal-roof houses, because they are typically smaller, not as reflective, and may sometimes be mistaken for a tree in overhead imagery.

Almost all the buildings in my analysis sample are single-storey structures that are fairly isolated. For this reason, building footprint may be a good approximation of overall square footage of the buildings, and the number of structures tend to be well correlated with population density. This may apply to other rural settings. However, the existence of apartment complexes, and a large number of multi-storey buildings will present challenges to generalizing the methods in this paper for more urban contexts.

B.1.4 Nightlight

Satellites from the United States Air Force Defense Meteorological Satellite Program (DMSP) have been recording the intensity of Earth-based lights with their Operational Linescan System (OLS) sensors, creating an important remote sensing data set that are widely used to proxy economic development (6). Beginning in 2014, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration’s (NOAA) National Geophysical Data Center (NGDC) started to provide a separate nighttime lights data set collected from the Visible Infrared Imaging Radiometer Suite (VIIRS) Day/Night Band (DNB). The VIIRS-DNB data are produced at a spatial resolution of 15 arc seconds (approximately 463 meters at the equator), twice the resolution of the preceding DMSP-OLS product. It is considered superior to DMSP-OLS because it preserves more spatial details, has a lower detection limit and displays no saturation on bright lights (which is common in dense urban areas) (7). Most of the empirical economic studies (6) and related work (3) have been based on the DMSP-OLS product because of its more extensive temporal coverage. Throughout this paper, I use the VIIRS-DNB product. I choose the year 2019 to minimize the temporal differences between daytime Google Static Maps images and nightlight data products, and to conduct fairer comparisons. Specifically, I download the stray light corrected version of the monthly average radiance composite images hosted on Google Earth Engine (8). I aggregate over all the monthly observations in 2019 by taking the mean.

The VIIRS-DNB data product excludes areas impacted by cloud cover and correct for stray light (9). However, it has not been filtered to screen out lights from aurora, fires, boats, and other temporal lights. Additionally, lights are not separated from background (non-light) values. These methods are currently under development (8).

For the causal inference or validation exercises, I link the nightlights raster data set to either household coordinates (collected in the GiveDirectly census or survey in Kenya) or locality coordinates (collected in the 2010 census in Mexico). Specifically, I assign the nightlight values in a given pixel to all the households or localities in that pixel.

B.2 Methods

Deep learning models have proven to be immensely successful in establishing new benchmarks on a wide set of computer vision tasks, such as image recognition and segmentation, that have traditionally been challenging to automate (10). The method presented in this paper builds on established computer vision algorithms to analyze satellite images and study the relationship between remotely sensed proxies and measures of economic development collected in field surveys. Specifically, I focus on one of the most salient features in satellite images that carry strong signals about wealth: housing. I use a state-of-the-art instance segmentation model, Mask R-CNN (11), to perform a building footprint instance segmentation task. Here, I provide details on the training schedule, the hyper-parameter settings of the model, and the post-processing steps that generate

measures for housing quality.

B.2.1 Mask R-CNN

Intuition Instance segmentation is a computer vision task where the algorithm identifies the boundaries of all the instances belonging to a category of interest (in this paper, buildings) on input images. Mask R-CNN is a model that first generates potential proposals of bounding boxes that contain the objects of interest; and then predicts what class the objects belong to and outlines the boundaries of the identified objects. Consider the following set-up

$$Y = f_\theta(X) \quad (7)$$

In this formulation, X denotes the input matrix to the model, Y denotes a 4-tuple of the output matrices, and f_θ denotes the deep learning model with the parameters θ . For a given input image, X is a $H \times W \times C$ (H : height; W : width; C : color) matrix that represents the raw pixel values of the RGB (Red, Green, Blue) bands, with each element taking on an integer value between 0 to 255. For every image, the model predicts a maximum of 100 instances. Assuming that there are N instances detected in the image, then Y is a 4-tuple of (B, L, S, M) , where B is a matrix of size $N \times 4$ representing N bounding boxes; L is a vector of length N representing the predicted labels for each instance (with 1 denoting buildings); S is a vector of length N representing the scores of each prediction (ranging from 0 to 1); and M is a matrix of size $H \times W \times N$ representing predicted pixel masks for all the instances².

During the training phase, the model is shown a large number of (X, Y) pairs in the training data. The model parameters θ are optimized to predict instance segmentation results Y based on input images X , such that the difference between the predictions and the “ground truth” is minimized.

Implementation Details The model is based on the official PyTorch implementation of Mask R-CNN. I use ResNet50 with the Feature Pyramid Networks as the backbone of the model. The model is trained with a learning rate of 5×10^{-4} and a batch size of 10. Optimization is conducted with the Adam optimizer.

The official PyTorch implementation of the original Mask R-CNN model cannot handle training images that are empty (i.e., images that do not contain any buildings). This may be particular problematic in the context of building detection and segmentation in developing countries, because the population density is low and a majority of the images will be empty. Discarding these empty images in training time may cause undesirable shifts in the data distribution that lower model performance. To address this issue, I create a “placeholder” class (which is later dropped) that corresponds to a small gray patch, and paste that onto all the empty images so that they can be included in the training data.

B.2.2 Training Schedule

One of the main challenges in training building footprint instance segmentation models in developing countries is that training data are sparse. Most mainstream data sets on building footprint, such as SpaceNet and Inria Aerial, consist of images in metropolitan cities in developed countries (e.g., Chicago, Las Vegas, Paris

²Elements in M take on continuous values between 0 and 1. Following convention, I perverse the continuous values in training time, but threshold M at 0.5 to obtain Boolean masks when conducting inference.

and Shanghai). These urban landscapes are dramatically different from most rural scenes in my analysis sample. Additionally, both SpaceNet and Inria Aerial provide semantic segmentation labels, and do not annotate buildings that border each other separately.

To overcome these challenges, I train the Mask R-CNN model with a multi-step process, utilizing both publicly available data sets and data sets created specifically for this paper. First, I pre-train the model on Open AI Tanzania, a collection of overhead images taken by consumer drones in Zanzibar, Tanzania, that are annotated with building footprints (12). These images are more representative of the rural or peri-urban scenes in a developing country context, in terms of the distribution of the density, sizes and heights of the buildings. Second, I create in-sample annotations by randomly sampling from the set of images that predictions will be made on, and annotating them (see Section B.1.3 for a more detailed description). This ensures that training images and inference images belong to the same data distribution. Because the set of in-sample annotations is small, I rely on transfer learning (i.e., pre-training on larger data sets) to prevent overfitting.

Throughout the training process, I conduct extensive data augmentation to increase the transferability of the model from one data set to another. I randomly flip the training images horizontally and vertically, randomly jitter the brightness, contrast, saturation, and hue of the images, and for Open AI Tanzania, randomly blur and crop the images.

Below, I describe in more detail the training schedule and the data used.

1. COCO (Common Objects in Context) The model is first pre-trained with the COCO (Common Objects in Context) data set, a large-scale natural image data set containing 80 object categories and around 1.5 million object instances (13). Despite the fact that input images and object categories in COCO are different from target satellite images, pre-training the model with a large-scale dataset often provides meaningful performance gains, even when the model is later transferred across domains. I load the COCO pre-trained model provided in PyTorch. Because COCO has a different set of object categories, I re-initialized weights in the last neural network layers used for predicting bounding boxes and masks.

2. Open AI Tanzania After the first step, the model is fine-tuned on the Open AI Tanzania building footprint segmentation data set, a collection of high-resolution aerial imagery collected by consumer drones in Zanzibar, Tanzania (12).

All the buildings in the drone images are identified, outlined and classified into three categories (completed building, unfinished building, and foundation) by human annotators. This somewhat unusual categorization is due to the fact that there exist a large number of unfinished structures in Zanzibar. Most input satellite images in this paper contain very few unfinished structures, so I do not preserve it as a separate category. I collapse the first two categories into buildings and drop the third category.

The native resolution of the drone images is 7cm. I down-resolution the images to about 30cm to match with the resolution of the target satellite images. The images are provided as large tiles, which cannot be fed to the deep learning model directly, so I randomly sample smaller chips from the large tiles (with an oversampling ratio of 3, meaning that any area in the sample is sampled 3 times in expectation). This serves as a form of data augmentation and takes advantage of the fact that the raw input images and annotations cover large contiguous areas.

In training time, 90% of the sampled 4,034 chips are used for training, and the remaining 10% for validation. In order to guard against overfitting, and choose the best model, in each epoch, I evaluate the performance of the model with the validate set, using average precision with an Intersection over Union (IoU) cutoff of 0.5 as the main evaluation metric. The model is trained for 50 epochs, and the best model (at epoch 43) is saved and loaded in subsequent steps.

3. In-sample Annotations in Mexico; Supplementary Images in Tanzania and Kenya Next, the model is fine-tuned on a set of 587 annotated high-resolution satellite images, including

- 199 Google Static Maps images in Mexico that are randomly drawn from my analysis sample (see Section B.1.1 and B.1.2 for details on the construction of the sample) and annotated with building footprints (see Section B.1.3 for details on annotation procedures).
- 200 Google Earth Pro images in Tanzania that are randomly sampled from several peri-urban neighborhoods in Dar es Salaam. Unlike most Google Static Maps images, these images are historical images from 2003 to 2018, and generally have a lower image quality. They are sometimes covered by cloud, and buildings masked by clouds are not annotated. These annotations were originally created for another project, but implemented in a consistent manner as our in-sample annotations.
- 188 Google Static Maps images in Kenya that are sampled from the GiveDirectly study area. These images were originally downloaded in 2018 and annotated in the same manner as described in Section B.1.3. Updates in both the main analysis and the satellite images in 2020 rendered these downloaded images obsolete, and they were superseded by newly created in-sample annotations. I continue to use them in this pre-training step.

These images are pooled and randomly split into a training set (90%) and a validation set (10%). The model is fine-tuned for 25 epochs, achieving the best performance at epoch 17. For the validation exercise in Mexico, the best model here is used for inference; for the evaluation of the GiveDirectly trial, I fine-tune the best model further in the next step.

4. In-sample Annotations in Siaya, Kenya For the evaluation of the GiveDirectly trial, the final step is to fine-tune the model on in-sample annotations in Siaya, Kenya. Section B.1.1 and B.1.2 describe how the sample is constructed and Section B.1.3 describes the procedure for annotation. Here, the model is trained on 90% of the images for 25 epochs, and evaluated with the 10% held out set, which determines that the best performance is achieved at epoch 15. Inference on satellite images in Siaya, Kenya is based on the best model estimated in this step.

B.2.3 Evaluation Metrics

I provide quantitative performance evaluation of the Mask R-CNN model. The performance metrics reported in this section is representative of that on the entire GiveDirectly analysis sample, because the evaluation is conducted on an annotated random subset of the GiveDirectly images (see Section B.1.3 for details).

Figure A.2 shows the precision-recall curve on the in-sample annotations in Siaya, Kenya, computed with three-fold cross validation. First, I load the best model in Section B.2.2, Step 3. Then, I train on 67%

of the sample for 15 epochs, and obtain predictions for the remaining 33%, a process repeated to generate predictions for all the images in the sample. Finally, I calculate the precision-recall curve based on the entire set of predictions. The Mask R-CNN model generates a confidence score for every predicted instance, and by varying the confidence score cutoff, one could adjust their (potentially different) tolerance for false positive rates or false negative rates. The precision ($1 - FalsePositiveRate$) recall ($1 - FalseNegativeRate$) curve displays how the model performs under different score cutoffs. For example, if all the instances, regardless of their confidence scores, are “accepted” (on the rightmost point of the curve in Figure A.2), one would expect the false negative rates to be low, and the false positive rates to be high (most true instances are found, but many predicted instances are wrong); on the other hand, if only a small set of instances with extremely high confidence scores are “accepted” (on the leftmost point of the curve in Figure A.2), one would expect the false negative rates to be high, and the false positive rates to be low (most predicted instances are correct, but many true instances are missed). Here, a true positive instance is defined as the predicted pixel mask and the ground truth pixel mask having sufficient overlap (more precisely, the intersection of the two masks is more than 50% of the union of the two masks).

The area under the precision-recall curve (i.e., average precision) is used for model selection as described in Section B.2.2. The precision-recall curve shown in Figure A.2 is not complete—the rightmost part of the curve is not shown because the Mask R-CNN model default to not outputting predictions with a confidence score that is lower than 0.05, for efficiency reasons. I do not expect this to systematically impact model selection.

To determine the confidence score cutoff, below which predicted instances are dropped, I maximize F1, the harmonic mean of precision and recall. Using this criterion, I choose the confidence score cutoff of 0.73, resulting in an F1 score of 0.79, with precision being 0.80 and recall being 0.79 (Figure A.2). As a reference point, the No. 1 winner in the 2nd SpaceNet building footprint extraction competition reported an F1 score of 0.70 (averaged over Las Vegas, Shanghai, Paris and Khartoum). In particular, the F1 score in a developing country context (Khartoum) is notably lower, at 0.54. The scores on different data sets are not directly comparable, and the performance difference may be due to the fact that building footprint segmentation in rural, less complex scenes are relatively easier than in modern cities. Future work may conduct comprehensive ablation studies to determine the optimal training schedule, or compare the Mask R-CNN model to others, but that is beyond the scope of the present study.

B.2.4 Post-processing Steps

For each predicted building instance, I convert the Boolean pixel mask to a polygon, and simplify the polygon with the Douglas-Peucker algorithm with a pixel tolerance of 3. From these polygons, I extract several observable properties that may be good indicators of housing quality.

Roof Reflectance I extract an “average” roof color for every building. I overlay a predicted building polygon with the raw input satellite image, take all the pixels in the polygon, and average over the pixel values in the RGB (Red, Green, Blue) channels respectively. Roof reflectance is defined as the mean of the RGB channels, and has been used by prior work to proxy housing quality (14).

When constructing this variable, it is important to control for variations in global lighting conditions in different satellite images. The conventional approach is to control for picture fixed effects (14). However, my

input satellite images from Google Static Maps cover large contiguous areas, often with seamless transitions. I do not have access to information on the boundaries of the source satellite images, and therefore cannot control for picture fixed effects. As a second best approach, I control for a set of natural cubic spline bases for both longitude and latitude, each with 3 degrees of freedom. I do this only for the GiveDirectly evaluation, and not for the validation in Mexico, because the localities in the latter exercise are extremely dispersed.

Building Footprint I compute the area covered by each predicted building polygon and convert the unit to square meters. If matched with population density or household size, I calculate building footprint per capita through dividing overall building footprint by the number of residents or the number of household members (both including children).

References

1. D. Egger, J. Haushofer, E. Miguel, P. Niehaus, M. W. Walker, “General equilibrium effects of cash transfers: experimental evidence from Kenya”, tech. rep. (National Bureau of Economic Research, 2019).
2. *2010 Population and Housing Census of Mexico*, <https://www.inegi.org.mx/programas/ccpv/2010/default.html>, accessed 5 May 2020.
3. N. Jean *et al.*, Combining satellite imagery and machine learning to predict poverty. *Science* **353**, 790–794 (2016).
4. J. Blumenstock, G. Cadamuro, R. On, Predicting poverty and wealth from mobile phone metadata. *Science* **350**, 1073–1076 (2015).
5. *Google Static Maps*, <https://developers.google.com/maps/documentation/maps-static/intro>, accessed 6 May 2020.
6. J. V. Henderson, A. Storeygard, D. N. Weil, Measuring economic growth from outer space. *American economic review* **102**, 994–1028 (2012).
7. C. D. Elvidge, K. E. Baugh, M. Zhizhin, F.-C. Hsu, Why VIIRS data are superior to DMSP for mapping nighttime lights. *Proceedings of the Asia-Pacific Advanced Network* **35** (2013).
8. *VIIRS Stray Light Corrected Nighttime Day/Night Band Composites Version 1*, https://developers.google.com/earth-engine/datasets/catalog/NOAA_VIIRS_DNB_MONTHLY_V1_VCMSCFG, accessed 6 May 2020.
9. S. Mills, S. Weiss, C. Liang, presented at the Earth Observing Systems XVIII, vol. 8866, 88661P.
10. Y. LeCun, Y. Bengio, G. Hinton, Deep learning. *nature* **521**, 436–444 (2015).
11. K. He, G. Gkioxari, P. Dollár, R. Girshick, presented at the Proceedings of the IEEE international conference on computer vision, pp. 2961–2969.
12. *2018 Open AI Tanzania Building Footprint Segmentation Challenge*, <https://competitions.codalab.org/competitions/2011>, accessed 6 May 2020.
13. *COCO - Common Objects in Contexts*, <http://cocodataset.org>, accessed 6 May 2020.
14. B. Marx, T. M. Stoker, T. Suri, There is no free house: Ethnic patronage in a Kenyan slum. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* **11**, 36–70 (2019).