

# Micro-level structural poverty estimates for southern and eastern Africa

Elizabeth Tennant<sup>a,1</sup>, Yating Ru<sup>b,c</sup>, Peizan Sheng<sup>d</sup>, David S. Matteson<sup>e</sup>, and Christopher B. Barrett<sup>f,g</sup>

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For many countries in the Global South traditional poverty estimates are available only infrequently and at coarse spatial resolutions, if at all. This limits decision-makers' and analysts' ability to target humanitarian and development interventions and makes it difficult to study relationships between poverty and other natural and human phenomena at finer spatial scales. Advances in Earth observation and machine learning-based methods have proved capable of generating more granular estimates of relative asset wealth indices. They have been less successful in predicting the consumption-based poverty measures most commonly used by decision-makers, those tied to national and international poverty lines. For a study area including four countries in southern and eastern Africa, we pilot a two-step approach that combines Earth observation, accessible machine learning methods, and asset-based structural poverty measurement to address this gap. This structural poverty approach to machine learning-based poverty estimation preserves the interpretability and policy-relevance of consumption-based poverty measures, while allowing us to explain over 70% of cluster-level variation in a pooled model and over 50% even when predicting out-of-country.

Keywords: assets — expenditures — machine learning — poverty maps — small area estimation

Accurate estimates of the number of people deprived of a minimum acceptable standard of living are available infrequently and only at the first- or second-level administrative unit, if at all, for many places in the Global South. These aggregate estimates can mask pockets of extreme poverty and quickly become outdated. This limits policymakers' ability to recognize and respond to the most urgent human needs, to study the processes that cause and perpetuate poverty, and to evaluate the effectiveness of interventions. The scarcity of poverty estimates in low-resource settings persists because high quality household surveys of income and consumption expenditures are difficult and expensive to administer, and therefore under-supplied. This gap is particularly stark in many African countries (1).

Recent research seeks to address this gap through modeling efforts that leverage advances in machine learning (ML) and Earth observation (EO)(1–10). Scientific progress in this space has focused on improving the out-of-sample predictive accuracy of asset-based poverty (or wealth) measures through advances in algorithms or in the feature sets used to explain outcomes. For these advances to translate into greater uptake and impact, however, the measures predicted must also be policy relevant. The maps of asset wealth indices prevalent in this literature do not readily translate to the consumption-based poverty measures more often used by policy makers, such as the share of people living below national or international poverty lines.

Our goal is to improve the relevance of the dependent variable, or object, for ML poverty mapping without compromising our ability to predict it. We do this using a two-stage modeling approach that first calibrates a model of 'structural' poverty (11). Structural poverty is defined as the expectation that a household will on average have a (non-)poor level of consumption expenditure given their durable characteristics, such as productive assets. We then train EO-based models on aggregates of the fitted structural poverty estimates from the first-stage, allowing us to predict into un-surveyed areas.

**Data fusion for micro-level poverty estimation.** Multiple data fusion methods have been developed to address gaps in the availability of survey-based poverty estimates. For decades, researchers and practitioners have used and refined techniques that leverage census data on the covariates of poverty to produce more precise and unbiased small area estimates (SAEs) (12–15). First, a model of household or area-level characteristics on poverty is estimated using sample-based survey data that includes consumption expenditures (or income). The resulting parameterized model is then used to predict poverty at more granular scales from the same

## Significance Statement

The first UN Sustainable Development Goals target is for all people to clear the expenditures-based extreme global poverty line (\$2.15/person-day in 2017 prices) by 2030. Yet survey estimates of when and where people fall below this poverty line are often unavailable. One strategy to fill that gap is to train machine-learning models to estimate poverty from Earth observations data. But most models train on asset data, generating maps of relative wealth that do not map to poverty lines. We pilot a two-step modeling procedure that harnesses the accuracy gains of prevailing methods, but then maps those predictions to more policy relevant poverty measures. This allows us to compute stable and forward-looking estimates of where people live in poverty.

Author affiliations: <sup>a</sup>Department of Economics, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14850; <sup>b</sup>Asian Development Bank, Mandaluyong, Metro Manila, Philippines; <sup>c</sup>Department of City and Regional Planning, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14850; <sup>d</sup>Harris School of Public Policy, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL 60637; <sup>e</sup>Department of Statistics and Data Science, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14850; <sup>f</sup>Charles H. Dyson School of Applied Economics and Management, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14850; <sup>g</sup>Cornell Jeb E. Brooks School of Public Policy, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY

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<sup>1</sup>To whom correspondence should be addressed. E-mail: ejt58cornell.edu

125 household or area-level characteristics available for the entire  
126 population in the census data. These SAEs offer insight into  
127 spatial patterns of poverty, but are published infrequently  
128 and often with long lag times.\* Further, such poverty maps  
129 are not designed for inter-country comparability and cannot  
130 be easily customized because of the proprietary nature of the  
131 underlying data.

132 Newer machine learning (ML) based methods that harness  
133 Earth observation (EO) and other geospatial ‘Big Data’  
134 have proved capable of generating more granular estimates  
135 of relative deprivation within as well as across low- and  
136 middle-income countries (1–3, 6, 8).<sup>†</sup> Instead of using census  
137 data, researchers derive area-level characteristics from cell  
138 phone records, satellite imagery, and various EO-based data  
139 products – including publicly available sources (1–3, 8). These  
140 data are used in concert with machine learning (ML) methods  
141 that are well suited to handle large feature sets and model  
142 non-linear relationships.

143 Amongst efforts to leverage geospatial data to interpolate  
144 and extrapolate into unsurveyed places, individual country  
145 studies in the SAE tradition have frequently retained flow-  
146 based monetary measures as their object or predictand. In  
147 contrast, multi-country studies have favored indices of asset  
148 holdings to proxy spatial patterns in poverty, with several  
149 advantages. Survey data collection of asset stocks is easier,  
150 cheaper, and less prone to substantial measurement error than  
151 of flow measures of well-being like expenditures or income.  
152 As a result, high-quality asset data are more often available  
153 to train ML models. Productive assets are the stocks that  
154 generate income flows that enable consumption expenditure.  
155 Thus the connection between asset-based wealth indicators  
156 and income- or expenditure-based poverty measures follows  
157 intuitively. Indeed, the literature on asset-based, structural  
158 poverty demonstrates that, especially in poor places subject  
159 to multiple market failures that impede consumption expend-  
160 iture smoothing, productive asset holdings reflect expected,  
161 permanent income (11, 19–21). Household assets and their  
162 correlates may also be more easily observed from EO. Satellite  
163 imagery can detect the size and quality of buildings, vehicles,  
164 and infrastructure but may overlook many short-term drivers  
165 of community-level consumption expenditures, such as disease  
166 outbreaks, labor market conditions, or price shocks. For these  
167 (and other) reasons, ML models trained on assets are more  
168 prevalent and consistently outperform models of monetary  
169 poverty and other well-being measures (2, 3, 22).

170 The result is that the poverty mapping literature has  
171 primarily produced maps of relative asset wealth. Meanwhile,  
172 practitioners predominantly use monetary poverty measures  
173 based on flows of income or consumption expenditures that  
174 can be anchored to interpretable normative thresholds, such  
175 as national and international poverty lines representing  
176 a minimum acceptable standard of living as defined by  
177 governments and multi-lateral institutions. For example,  
178 under the first Sustainable Development Goal to “end poverty  
179 in all its forms everywhere”, the first target is to bring  
180 all people above the \$2.15 (2017 purchasing power parity,  
181 PPP) per person per day extreme global poverty line by 2030

183 \* This is in part because contemporaneous censuses and household surveys are scarce. Methods  
184 for SAE with disjoint census and consumption surveys have been developed (16, 17). See (18) for  
185 a discussion of variations of the SAE approach suited to different data availability scenarios.

185 <sup>†</sup> Country-level work that uses geospatial data to build more directly on SAE methods is also gaining  
186 traction (7, 9, 10).

(23).<sup>‡</sup> Progress toward such a goal cannot be tracked using  
an asset wealth index, which has no direct conversion to  
monetary poverty. While asset wealth indices may seem an  
intuitive proxy for consumption-based poverty, this assumed  
correlation is not always empirically well supported (24).

187 Unlike unit-less asset indices, estimates of monetary  
188 poverty can be compared over place and time using PPP con-  
189 versions. Monetary measures are also flexible. For example,  
190 consumption expenditures data can be used to estimate the  
191 Foster-Greer-Thorbecke (FGT) class of distribution-sensitive  
192 poverty measures, including the ‘poverty gap’ and ‘poverty  
193 gap squared’ (25). The FGT measures take into account how  
194 far below the poverty line people’s incomes or consumption  
195 expenditures fall, and satisfy a range of desirable axiomatic  
196 properties (25, 26). The advantages of consumption-based  
197 poverty measures are balanced by the expense (and therefore  
198 scarcity) of high quality training data and the stochastic  
199 nature of consumption. Snapshots of monetary poverty may  
200 be dominated by transitory shocks or seasonality in income  
201 or expenditure patterns. This may obscure the chronic or  
202 structural deprivations of first-order humanitarian concern  
203 (11, 27–29).

204 As ML poverty mapping gains traction, it is a timely  
205 moment to consider these trade-offs in policy relevance,  
206 comparability, and accuracy that follow the choice of an  
207 asset- vs. consumption-based poverty map, as well as how  
208 they might be mitigated. One way forward, which we set forth  
209 in this paper, is to leverage *both* asset and consumption data  
210 to train the ML models that predict poverty from geospatial  
211 features. We propose a set of structural poverty measures  
212 – based on the expectation of consumption expenditures  
213 given household asset holdings (11) – as predictands for  
214 micro-level multi-country poverty estimation. This paper  
215 describes the conceptual advantages of these measures, and  
216 develops a two-stage approach to ML structural poverty  
217 mapping. We also evaluate this approach empirically using  
218 data from 13 Living Standards Measurement Studies (LSMS)  
219 household surveys conducted in Ethiopia, Malawi, Tanzania,  
220 and Uganda between 2008–2020, spatially and temporally  
221 matched to geospatial data on population density, building  
222 footprints, remoteness, night lights, elevation, slope, rainfall,  
223 temperature, and the Normalized Difference Vegetation  
224 Index.

## 225 Results

226 We propose a set of structural poverty measures with desirable  
227 properties as the object (or predictands) of ML poverty  
228 mapping. These structural poverty measures are stable  
229 and forward-looking because they are anchored to the stock  
230 of productive assets. They are also expressed in familiar  
231 flow-based units tied to a normatively meaningful standard  
232 of living (e.g., the share of people living below a poverty  
233 line). They can be compared across countries and over time.  
234 These attributes respond to the needs of humanitarian and  
235 development programming, which require an understanding  
236 of both absolute and relative levels of deprivation, and must  
237 be responsive to poverty now and into the future.

240 <sup>‡</sup> When the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development was released in 2015 this goal referenced  
241 the \$1.25 per person per day (2005 PPP) extreme poverty line. This was later updated to the \$1.90  
242 (2011 PPP) and most recently to \$2.15 (2017 PPP). These updates are implemented primarily to  
243 adjust for inflation. The empirical portion of this paper employs the \$1.90 (2011 PPP \$) poverty  
244 line, which was in effect at the start of this research.

249 To construct these structural poverty measures in the  
 250 training data, we begin by introducing and modeling a  
 251 more durable, asset-based analogue to flow-based monetary  
 252 measures: structural consumption (see Methodology).  
 253 Structural consumption is the expectation of consumption  
 254 expenditures for a given portfolio of household assets. We  
 255 use the household-level structural consumption estimates  
 256 from these models to construct the FGT poverty headcount  
 257 ( $P_s^{\alpha=0}$ ), poverty gap ( $P_s^1$ ), and poverty gap squared  
 258 ( $P_s^2$ ) aggregates for each survey cluster sampling unit, where  
 259 subscript  $s$  denotes *structural* and superscript  $\alpha = 0, 1, 2$   
 260 is the FGT poverty aversion parameter. These cluster-  
 261 level structural poverty measures become the training data  
 262 for the EO-based models. Because structural poverty is  
 263 a latent variable, the performance of our EO models is  
 264 validated against our estimates of structural poverty. These  
 265 estimates in turn rely on assumptions about the strength  
 266 and stability of the relationship between productive assets  
 267 and consumption expenditures, and the stochastic nature of  
 268 shocks to consumption.

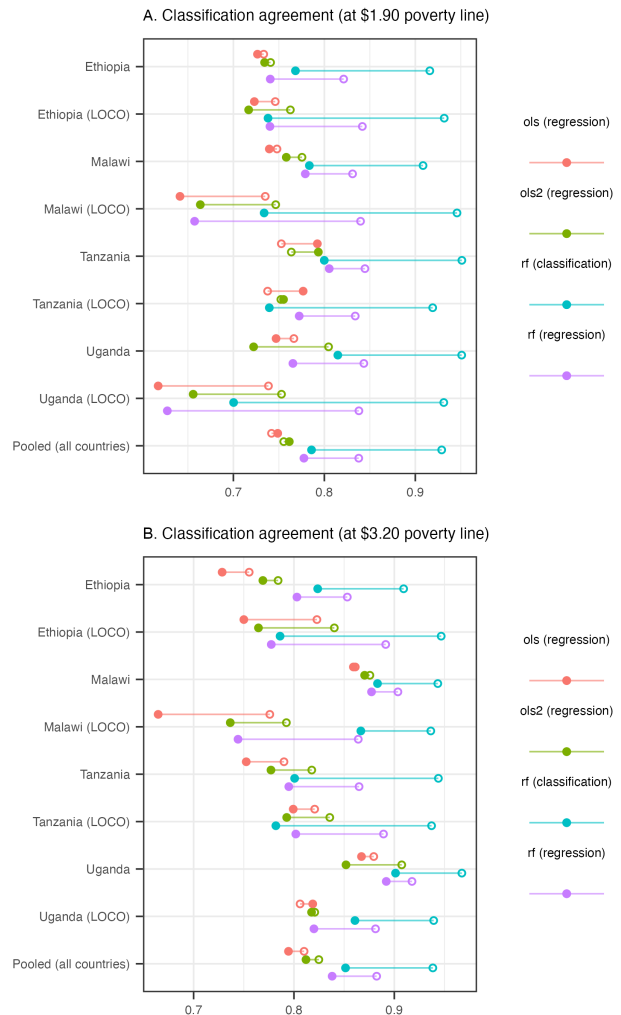
269 We evaluate the strength of these assumptions for our  
 270 study area prior to proceeding to train EO-based models from  
 271 our structural poverty estimates. Our empirical assessment  
 272 confirms the premise that productive assets are strong  
 273 predictors of consumption expenditures, but with some  
 274 limitations. In particular, we find that asset-expenditures  
 275 relationships vary even across our study countries, which  
 276 are geographically proximate and share many social and  
 277 economic characteristics. Differences in the distributions  
 278 of our structural estimates versus realized consumption,  
 279 which should be similar in expectation, emerge and model  
 280 fit declines when we predict structural consumption out-of-  
 281 country.

282 In addition to its conceptual advantages, we hypothesize  
 283 that structural poverty can be more accurately proxied than  
 284 realized consumption expenditures using ML models and  
 285 EO data. This is supported by the comparative success in  
 286 predicting assets over consumption in the literature (1, 2, 22).  
 287 Our empirical results corroborate this expectation. We find  
 288 that models of structural poverty consistently outperform  
 289 models of comparable realized poverty measures, by multiple  
 290 performance metrics and by a substantial margin. A multi-  
 291 country ML model predicts approximately 72% (50% out-of-  
 292 country) of cluster-level variation in the structural poverty  
 293 headcount, compared to 57% (12% out-of-country) for a  
 294 comparable realized poverty measure.<sup>§</sup>

295 Our results allow us to expound current limitations of  
 296 EO-based poverty mapping, in particular weaker model  
 297 performance at the bottom of the wealth distribution and  
 298 the risks of bias when predicting spatially out-of-sample. These  
 299 problems persist, but do not appear to be exacerbated by the  
 300 structural poverty estimation approach.

301 **Estimating structural poverty from productive assets.** As we  
 302 consider candidate structural consumption models, tradi-  
 303 tional performance metrics have the potential to mislead.  
 304 Perfect or near-perfect correlation between structural predic-  
 305 tions and realized consumption expenditures would signal  
 306 over-fitting. The advantage of a structural measure is that  
 307 it filters out the ‘noise’ of classical measurement error and  
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309 <sup>§</sup>This is based on standard cross-validation and a global extreme poverty line of \$1.90 per person  
 310 per day, 2011 PPP.



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Fig. 1. Comparison of realized versus structural (non-)poor classification. The circle indicates the share of households with the same classification in the training (open circle) and test (filled circle) data. The horizontal line is the difference between agreement in the training and the test set. Country models are based on training and test data from the same country, while leave-one-country-out (LOCO) models are trained on the pooled dataset excluding the test country.

stochastic shocks from which a household may have already recovered by the time data are published and an agency had time to assimilate and act upon the poverty estimates. We instead look for a balance of fit and stability, as well as evidence of unbiasedness as we compare regressions of consumption on assets, including parametric first- (OLS-1) and second-order (OLS-2) polynomials and a random forest (RF-)regression. We also consider an RF-classification model for (non-) poor status, suitable only for poverty headcount ( $P^0$ ) estimation. Separate sets of models are estimated for each individual country and for the pooled (all-country) data set, and compared to a test set of held-out EAs in the country or else the held-out country.

Our structural consumption models confirm our prior from the literature that productive assets are strongly predictive of consumption expenditures, using both linear and non-linear models. As depicted in Figure 1, structural predictions and realized consumption estimates agree on the (non-)poor



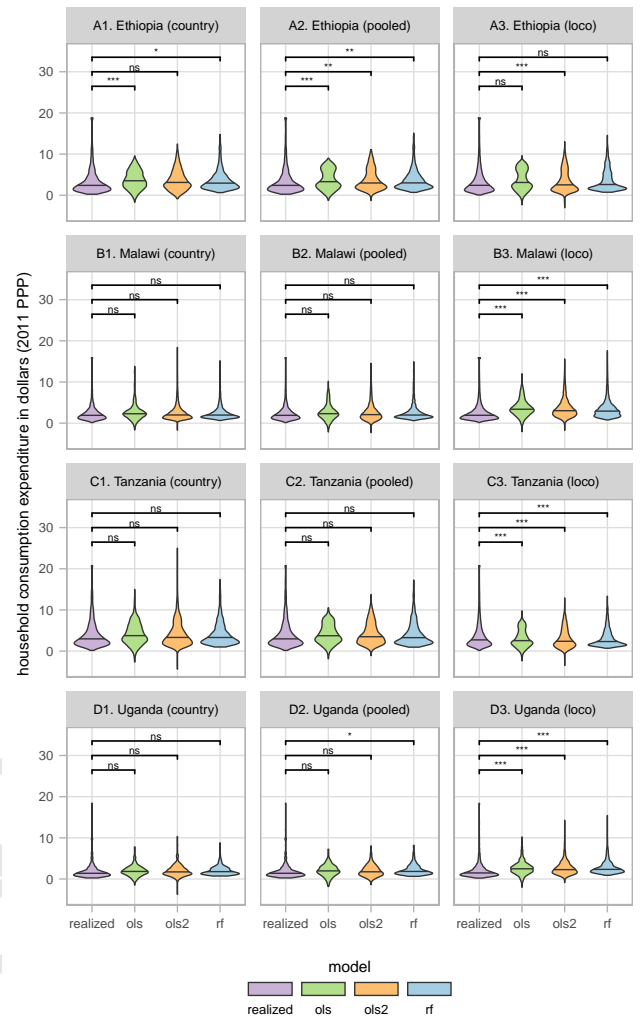
373 classification of 62-82% of households at the global extreme  
 374 poverty line ( $z = \$1.90$  a day in 2011 PPP), and 66-90%  
 375 for the global poverty line ( $z = \$3.20$  a day in 2011 PPP).<sup>†</sup>  
 376 The RF models for structural poverty have overall stronger  
 377 agreement with realized poverty estimates in the test set than  
 378 the OLS models (see SI Figure S10 for additional measures  
 379 of fit). However, while agreement with the test set is highest  
 380 in the RF models they are also less stable, with greater  
 381 differences in these statistics from training to test set.

382 In theory, our structural poverty models should produce  
 383 unbiased estimators of realized consumption. Thus, while  
 384 we anticipate lower variance in the structural versus realized  
 385 consumption distributions, we expect similar means at higher  
 386 levels of aggregation (e.g., at the country level). In Figure  
 387 2, we compare the realized and predicted distributions of  
 388 consumption expenditures by country and by model. For  
 389 the single country models (left column), we observe no  
 390 distinguishable difference in means for Malawi, Tanzania  
 391 and Uganda. In Ethiopia, predictions may be biased slightly  
 392 upwards (the mean of the RF predictions is \$3.66, versus \$3.48  
 393 for realized consumption). For the pooled models (middle  
 394 column), we still see no difference in means for Malawi and  
 395 Tanzania, but the Uganda RF model now predicts mean  
 396 consumption at \$2.04 compared to the realized \$1.87 and in  
 397 Ethiopia the difference is more pronounced compared to the  
 398 single country model. As we move to leave-one-country-out  
 399 (LOCO) validation (right column) we detect differences in  
 400 most models; the largest of these for Malawi (\$3.53-\$3.68  
 401 versus the realized \$2.70) and Tanzania (\$3.02-\$3.13 versus  
 402 the realized \$3.98).

403 Our approach assumes a stable relationship, across space  
 404 and over time, between productive assets and consumption  
 405 expenditure. Our empirical assessment suggests that this is  
 406 a strong assumption, more likely to hold when models are  
 407 trained on same-country data versus the data of neighboring  
 408 countries. This may reflect substantive differences across our  
 409 study countries: for example, the returns to land or livestock  
 410 depend on the asset quality as well as local agro-ecology,  
 411 labor and agricultural markets, the quality of institutions  
 412 and social safety nets, and other factors. Observed differences  
 413 may also reflect inconsistencies in measurement: how assets  
 414 and consumption are surveyed and aggregated by different  
 415 national statistical agencies.

416 Importantly, the quality and productivity of assets may  
 417 also vary systematically with poverty. Poor households  
 418 may have lower quality assets, or may live in places where  
 419 the productivity of those assets is lower due to lack of  
 420 access to markets, production technologies, institutions, or  
 421 physical infrastructure. If so, our models might over-predict  
 422 consumption for the poorest households and under-predict  
 423 consumption of the wealthiest. Empirically, we cannot  
 424 distinguish this heterogeneity in the asset-consumption  
 425 relationship from differences that arise due to stochastic  
 426 variation in consumption. For example, if the lowest and  
 427 highest realizations of consumption expenditures arise due to  
 428 classical measurement error or stochastic shocks, rather than  
 429 true structural poverty, we would expect to see a reduction in  
 430 the variance of the distribution. This reduction in variance  
 431 is observed (see SI Figure S11). The households with the

432 <sup>†</sup>For brevity, we refer to these simply as the \$1.90 and \$3.20 poverty lines or the global extreme and  
 433 global poverty lines henceforth. As previously noted, these thresholds have more recently been  
 434 updated to 2017 PPP values of \$2.15 and \$3.65, respectively, which are substantively similar.



471 **Fig. 2.** Distributions and comparison of means for realized consumption and structural estimates. The mirrored density plots represent the distribution of realized  
 472 consumption expenditures as well as structural estimates from OLS and RF models. Horizontal lines represent the mean of each distribution. The brackets at the top  
 473 of each plot indicate whether a t-test for the difference in means is statistically significant (statistical significance is indicated by *not significant* (ns), \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  
 474  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ ).

475 lowest realized consumption expenditures in our data are  
 476 predicted to be slightly better off in terms of structural  
 477 consumption. The reverse is also true: the households  
 478 with the highest realized consumption have relatively lower  
 479 structural consumption. One way forward, particularly in  
 480 settings where we have a sense of the magnitude of the  
 481 undesirable component of this difference, would be to adjust  
 482 predicted structural poverty estimates ex-post. However, here  
 483 we are unable to parse the desirable reduction in transient  
 484 shocks and noisy data offered by structural poverty estimation  
 485 from undesirable risk of bias due to model errors that correlate  
 486 with poverty. We thus proceed using un-adjusted estimates  
 487 from RF structural consumption models to build the training  
 488 data set for the EO models. However, we urge that this be  
 489 kept in mind when interpreting final estimates, particularly  
 490 for the distribution-sensitive  $P^1$  and  $P^2$  measures that will  
 491 be more affected by such biases.



497 **Predicting structural poverty from Earth Observation.** EO  
498 models trained on structural poverty ( $P_s^\alpha$ ) demonstrate  
499 consistently superior predictive performance over models  
500 trained on realized poverty ( $P_r^\alpha$ ), with higher out-of-sample  $r^2$   
501 values, lower Root Mean Squared Error (RMSE), and higher  
502 Spearman's rank correlation coefficients ( $\rho$ ). RF models  
503 consistently outperform comparable OLS specifications, but  
504 the main result is qualitatively similar for the linear models.  
505 Results from the RF models are summarized in Table 1 and  
506 results by geography and for the benchmark OLS models  
507 are reported in Figures S12-S17 and SI Table S1. To ensure  
508 that the superior performance of the structural models is not  
509 simply a product of the noisier consumption data (of concern  
510 particularly for the  $r^2$  metric), we also compare the EO-based  
511 model trained on realized consumption against the test set of  
512 structural poverty estimates. Our main result is robust to this  
513 alternative validation: the structural EO model consistently  
514 outperforms the realized EO model when both are evaluated  
515 against structural poverty. In other words, the EO-based  
516 model trained directly on consumption expenditures does not  
517 appear to be indirectly learning about structural poverty.

518 Our models consistently perform best when trained on  
519 data that spatially overlaps with the test set.<sup>||</sup> For example,  
520 using standard (vs. LOCO) cross-validation, our pooled  
521 model for the poverty headcount  $P_s^0$  at  $z = \$1.90$  has an  
522 average  $r^2$  of 0.72 (vs. 0.50), RMSE of 0.17 (vs. 0.23), and  $\rho$   
523 of 0.84 (vs. 0.73). To visualize this, Figure 3 plots the first  
524 and second-stage out-of-sample structural predictions for all  
525 three spatial approaches to cross-validation (see Materials and  
526 Methods: Data Splitting), as well as realized consumption  
527 expenditures (left-most panel) for comparison.

528 This result is consistent with the literature as well as  
529 expectations; what poverty 'looks like' from a satellite  
530 view varies somewhat across even neighboring countries  
531 as the natural, social, and economic systems differ across  
532 contexts. Measurement error may also be correlated by  
533 country, survey, and even spatially within surveys due to the  
534 enumerators or the way that people answer questions about  
535 consumption. In sum, we may have both true differences and  
536 differential ability to detect these relationships across settings.  
537 Accordingly, performance across our country-specific models  
538 is heterogeneous, with Uganda standing out for its weak  
539 performance across evaluation metrics and specifications. For  
540 the  $P_s^0$  at  $z = \$1.90$  predictand with standard cross-validation,  
541 Uganda (vs. other countries) has an average  $r^2$  value of 0.48  
542 (vs. 0.52-0.82), RMSE of 0.23 (vs. 0.16-0.17), and  $\rho$  of  
543 0.62 (vs. 0.68-0.86). It does especially poorly in spatial  
544 cross-fold validation, with one test fold predicted so poorly  
545 that the  $r^2$  is negative (see SI Figures S12-S17 for additional  
546 country-specific results). There may be several reasons for  
547 this, including the aforementioned issues of data quality or a  
548 fundamentally weaker correlation between our EO features  
549 and structural poverty in Uganda. However, we suspect that  
550 it at least in part reflects the small sample size for Uganda:  
551 with only 245 clusters, we may simply not have enough data  
552 to train a reliable model. We have substantially more data  
553 for the remaining study countries, with 1047 (Ethiopia), 1691  
554 (Malawi), and 1642 (Tanzania) unique clusters.

557 <sup>||</sup> Specifically, containing clusters from the same country and/or region; there is no test/train overlap  
558 of the clusters.

559 **Table 1. Summary out-of-sample performance for EO-based random**  
560 **forest models**

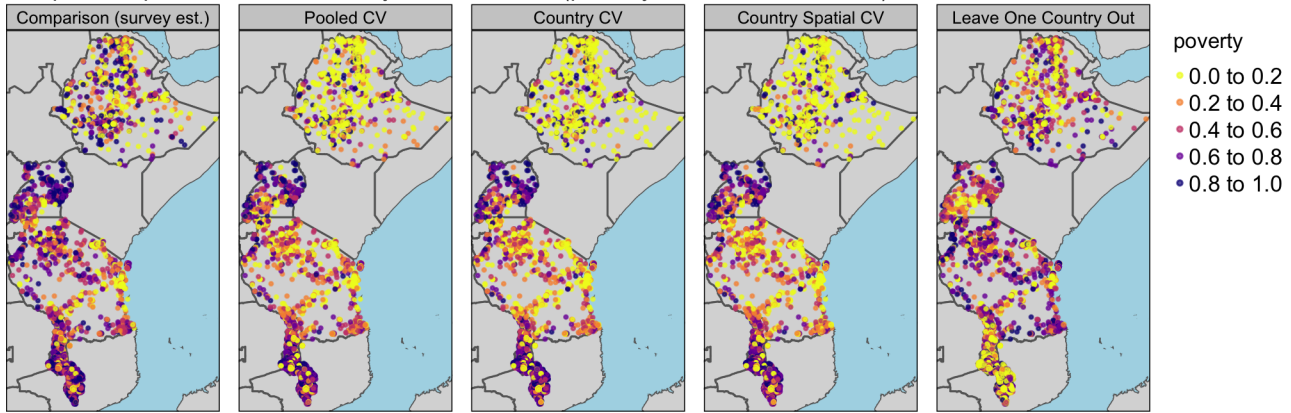
A. FGT Poverty Measures, extreme global poverty line ( $z = \$1.90$ )							
Validation	Average R-squared		Average RMSE		Average Spearman's $\rho$		
	$P_r$	$P_s$	$P_r$	$P_s$	$P_r$	$P_s$	
$P^0$	country cv	0.542	0.648	0.209	0.169	0.717	0.736
	country sp-cv	0.272	0.396	0.242	0.190	0.531	0.617
	pooled cv	0.565	0.716	0.210	0.174	0.736	0.837
	pooled loco	0.116	0.502	0.289	0.233	0.518	0.732
$P^1$	country cv	0.463	0.600	0.109	0.058	0.713	0.751
	country sp-cv	0.130	0.289	0.121	0.067	0.550	0.631
	pooled cv	0.520	0.661	0.106	0.054	0.746	0.858
	pooled loco	0.093	0.248	0.169	0.072	0.509	0.732
$P^2$	country cv	0.404	0.508	0.073	0.026	0.698	0.731
	country sp-cv	0.061	0.060	0.074	0.030	0.543	0.591
	pooled cv	0.459	0.592	0.069	0.024	0.730	0.850
	pooled loco	0.031	0.033	0.118	0.030	0.490	0.729
B. FGT Poverty Measures, global poverty line ( $z = \$3.20$ )							
Validation	Average R-squared		Average RMSE		Average Spearman's $\rho$		
	$P_r$	$P_s$	$P_r$	$P_s$	$P_r$	$P_s$	
$P^0$	country cv	0.655	0.762	0.189	0.166	0.693	0.719
	country sp-cv	0.383	0.617	0.193	0.175	0.557	0.602
	pooled cv	0.660	0.769	0.178	0.165	0.704	0.777
	pooled loco	0.256	0.569	0.251	0.214	0.528	0.696
$P^1$	country cv	0.607	0.759	0.119	0.081	0.761	0.814
	country sp-cv	0.317	0.591	0.145	0.092	0.594	0.650
	pooled cv	0.644	0.800	0.125	0.085	0.783	0.872
	pooled loco	0.135	0.577	0.191	0.114	0.534	0.763
$P^2$	country cv	0.523	0.695	0.097	0.053	0.746	0.813
	country sp-cv	0.241	0.470	0.113	0.059	0.557	0.633
	pooled cv	0.581	0.765	0.098	0.053	0.776	0.876
	pooled loco	0.131	0.474	0.158	0.071	0.526	0.764
C. Asset Wealth Index							
Validation	R-squared	RMSE	Spearman's $\rho$				
$\bar{A}$	country cv	0.707	7.446	0.780			
	country sp-cv	0.508	8.517	0.650			
	pooled cv	0.771	7.461	0.816			
	pooled loco	0.512	9.665	0.668			

595 *Notes:* Diagnostic statistics are averaged over folds  
596 and geographies. The corresponding disaggregated perfor-  
597 mance statistics are plotted in SI Figures S12-S17.

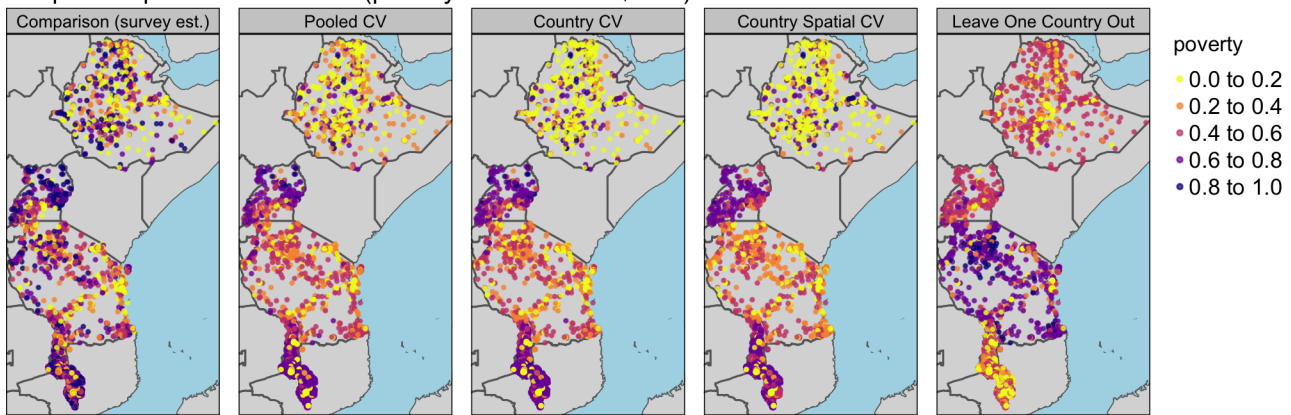
602 For comparison and to better situate our findings in  
603 the literature, we also predict asset wealth ( $\bar{A}$ ) using a  
604 comparable model and EO feature set. Results are reported  
605 in Part C of Table 1. However, while structural and realized  
606 estimates are for  $P^\alpha$  measures, the asset index is instead  
607 aggregated to the EA level using a simple mean. This limits  
608 comparability: to which poverty line and to which  $P^\alpha$  do we  
609 compare? We cannot compare RMSE across the dependent  
610 variable types and the  $r^2$  may also be sensitive to differences  
611 in the distribution, variance, and quality of different data  
612 sources. Still, it is encouraging that for the structural poverty  
613 headcount models ( $P_s^0$  at  $z = \$1.90$  and  $\$3.20$ ), the  $r^2$  and  
614  $\rho$  for  $\bar{A}$  are in the same general range: neither dependent  
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### Step 1: RF prediction from survey-based assets (poverty headcount at \$1.90)



### Step 2: RF prediction from EO (poverty headcount at \$1.90)



**Fig. 3.** Maps of Poverty Headcount ( $P_0$ ) at the \$1.90 extreme poverty line. For comparison, the leftmost panel for each row are EA poverty rates estimated directly from realized consumption in the survey data. The remaining panels on the top row are predictions from the asset-consumption models into the test sets (combining model results from cross-validation). The corresponding maps in the bottom row are predicted from EO data trained on the structural poverty estimates.

variable demonstrates a clear and consistent performance advantage vis-a-vis the other for all models.

Our goal is to improve the relevance of the dependent variable for ML poverty mapping without compromising our ability to predict it. To usefully compare and contrast across predictands and samples requires a model and feature set with good predictive performance, which we achieve using an RF model and a suite of EO-derived variables. When predicting the structural poverty measures we achieve an average  $r^2$  value (the most commonly reported metric in this literature) of 0.72 for the pooled cross-validation and 0.50 for the LOCO validation (and a slightly higher  $r^2$  for the comparable asset index models). In comparison, a previous effort using satellite imagery and deep learning to predict consumption and assets using a LOCO approach for a very similar study area achieved  $r^2$  for consumption (and assets) of 0.36 (0.46) for Malawi, 0.39 (0.63) for Nigeria, 0.52 (0.54) for Tanzania, and 0.44 (0.62) for Uganda (2). Another study that trained ML models on asset wealth data from 23 African countries achieved an average  $r^2$  of 0.70 for held

out country-years (1). An asset-wealth model trained on data from 56 low- and middle-income countries (LMICs) achieved an average  $r^2$  of 0.70 using basic cross-validation and 0.59 using LOCO cross-validation (6). Using an approach that combines inference from interpretable features and satellite imagery from 25 countries in Africa, another recent study achieved an average  $r^2$  of 0.85 for country-level CV and 0.88 for LOCO prediction of an asset wealth index (8).

In sum, it appears that our models and feature set offer solid performance despite the comparative simplicity and accessibility of our data and methods. We suspect that the small size of the clusters in the LSMS data (from 6-16 households) is also a limiting factor for model performance (7). While it is useful to situate our performance within the literature and  $r^2$  is an intuitive metric, we caution that differences in the data, study areas, and approaches to validation complicate comparison of these values across studies. The  $r^2$  may also not be the most important metric. For example, the relative ordering of clusters (as captured by metrics like the rank correlation coefficient) might matter

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745 more for targeting the distribution of a limited aid budget. 807  
746 Further, all three of the performance metrics considered 808  
747 thus far ( $r^2$ , RMSE, and  $\rho$ ) are agnostic to heterogeneity in 809  
748 predictive performance. Previous studies have shown that 810  
749 performance at the low end of the wealth distribution tends to 811  
750 be the weakest; a promising average  $r^2$  statistic may reflect 812  
751 the ability to distinguish “wealthier clusters from poorer 813  
752 clusters rather than in separating the poor from the near 814  
753 poor” (1). To investigate this important issue, we consider 815  
754 heterogeneity as well as how model performance changes when 816  
755 predicting the more distributionally sensitive  $P^{1\&2}$  measures. 817

756 We find that our models systematically under-predict 818  
757 the poverty headcount and over-predict asset wealth for the 819  
758 poorest clusters. Consider again our benchmark pooled EO- 820  
759 models for  $P_r^0$  and  $P_s^0$  at  $z = \$1.90$  and the model predicting 821  
760 average asset wealth  $\bar{A}$ . All three of these models have good 822  
761 overall predictive performance and appear to be relatively 823  
762 unbiased estimators, with predicted means similar to the 824  
763 reference test sets. Yet the realized, structural, and asset 825  
764 models all predict that the poorest clusters are better off, in 826  
765 an absolute sense, than in the reference data. For the bottom 827  
766 quintile, the EO-model of realized consumption predicts (vs. 828  
767 the ‘ground-truth’) a poverty rate of 66% (vs. 89%), the 829  
768 structural model predicts a poverty rate of 67% (vs. 84%), 830  
769 and the asset model predicts a wealth index of 16.6 (vs. 831  
770 10.7).\*\* 832

771 Our findings across measures also suggest that these 833  
772 models’ ability to predict the magnitude of the gap below an 834  
773 extreme poverty line is weak. The proportion of the variation 835  
774 that we can predict out-of-sample ( $r^2$ ) declines as we move 836  
775 from the poverty headcount ( $P^0$ ) to the poverty gap ( $P^1$ ) and 837  
776 poverty gap squared ( $P^2$ ) measures, especially for the \$1.90 838  
777 poverty line and for the spatially out-of-sample predictions 839  
778 (spatial CV and LOCO). This is not unique to the structural 840  
779 poverty estimates;  $r^2$  also declines for the realized poverty 841  
780 measures. 842

781 In contrast, the rank correlation coefficients are relatively 843  
782 stable across the  $P^{0-2}$  predictands. This may arise because 844  
783 in our data relative poverty rankings appear to be relatively 845  
784 stable across the  $P^{0-2}$  measures: in the realized survey data 846  
785 the rank correlation coefficient ( $\rho$ ) between  $P_r^{0\&1}$  is 0.95 and 847  
786 between  $P_r^{0\&2}$  is 0.91. Rank correlations are similarly high 848  
787 for the structural estimates. Arguably, these rank correlation 849  
788 coefficient estimates are the most salient for policymakers or 850  
789 program managers in geographic targeting of the distribution 851  
790 of scarce resources. 852

## 791 Discussion 853

792 We argue that structural poverty holds promise as a policy 854  
793 relevant and predictable object for machine learning poverty 855  
794 mapping. It is expressed in the same units as national and 856  
795 global policy objectives such as “[e]radicating extreme poverty 857  
796 for all people everywhere” under the first UN Sustainable 858  
797 Development Goal (23). Structural poverty is stable and 859  
798 forward-looking by construction; it is less sensitive to the 860  
799 classical measurement error and stochastic shocks that may 861  
800 quickly render maps based on realized consumption outdated. 862  
801 This interpretability and durability makes structural poverty 863  
802 estimates well-suited to inform development agendas that 864  
803 require medium- and long-term planning. They also have 865  
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potential for measuring the geography of progress, but further 807  
research is needed to understand the dynamics of structural 808  
poverty mapping. 809

810 Of course, for applications such as the targeting of 811  
812 humanitarian aid in response to shocks policy makers need 813  
814 to understand *both* patterns of chronic deprivation and short- 815  
816 term impacts. We do not argue for structural poverty 817  
818 mapping to the exclusion of other efforts, especially important 819  
820 recent progress on mapping and forecasting shocks to con- 821  
822 sumption, food insecurity, or undernutrition (30, 31). Maps 823  
824 of asset wealth indices can be predicted quasi-globally and 825  
826 are useful complements to consumption-based poverty maps, 827  
828 even if they are imperfect substitutes. Human flourishing 829  
830 and deprivations are multidimensional and contextual, and 831  
832 pursuing a rich landscape of data products can eventually 833  
834 help us to understand the geographic intersections and 835  
836 discontinuities across measures. 837

838 In addition to its conceptual advantages, for a sample 839  
840 of four countries in southern and eastern Africa, we find 841  
842 that structural poverty is more easily predicted than realized 843  
844 poverty from an EO-based feature set. These differences are 845  
846 substantial. In our benchmark pooled multi-country model for 847  
848 the \$1.90 poverty headcount, the structural poverty measure 849  
850 has a higher  $r^2$  (0.716 vs. 0.565), a lower RMSE (0.174 851  
852 vs. 0.210), and a higher rank correlation coefficient (0.837 853  
854 vs. 0.736) compared to models predicting realized poverty. 855  
856 In some specifications, asset indices may maintain a slight 857  
858 predictive advantage over structural poverty, but at the cost 859  
860 of interpretability and relevance to anti-poverty policy.†† 861

862 The predictive accuracy of our models fall within the range 863  
864 of recently published multi-country poverty mapping efforts, 865  
866 but short of recent work that combines interpretable features 867  
868 and image-based deep learning (8). Our approach prioritizes 869  
870 accessibility: we use open-source data and models that can be 871  
872 run on a personal computer.‡‡ Combining structural poverty 873  
874 and deep- and transfer-learning could be a productive avenue 875  
876 for future research. 877

878 Our results suggest that bias in our structural poverty 879  
880 estimates is likely modest in the context of interpolation: 881  
882 for example, when we are predicting poverty using models 883  
884 trained on survey data from adjacent communities in the 884  
885 same country. But the likelihood of bias increases when 885  
886 we extrapolate, for example, into another country that is 886  
887 not represented in the training data. This has potential 887  
888 implications for the coverage of structural poverty estimation, 888  
889 as well as for other methods of FGT poverty estimation. The 889  
890 type of data we utilize to train the structural consumption 890  
891 models is of limited availability, while asset indices are 891  
892 available for more countries. 892

893 In theory, we could leverage our trained asset-consumption 894  
895 models to predict structural poverty in settings where *only* 895  
896 asset data are available. But our results give us pause about 896  
897 undertaking such extensions, given the substantial issues of 897  
898 bias that emerge even predicting into a neighboring country 898  
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†† The benchmark pooled multi-country model for average asset wealth has an  $r^2$  of 0.771. However, comparative performance of asset vs. structural models varies across models, and measures such as  $r^2$  and RMSE are sensitive to the scale and distributions of the respective data. 862

‡‡ With the possible exception of the grid searches used to tune the household structural consumption models. It is therefore worth noting that the performance of these models is not highly sensitive to the choice of hyperparameters. Models still perform well with simpler (including software default) approaches to model tuning. For those interested in further reducing computation time, we note that first-stage models using second-order polynomial OLS regression achieve good performance in the first-stage structural poverty estimation. 863  
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\*\*The values for the asset wealth index range from approximately 1 to 80. 869



with many shared attributes. Going beyond the southern and eastern Africa context it will be necessary to adapt and re-calibrate the structural poverty model. For example, incorporating savings and liabilities may be important in countries where these are more common.

All three sets of models – for realized poverty, structural poverty, and asset wealth – underestimate poverty in the poorest places. That this occurs across all three predictands suggests a fundamental limitation of current methods to predict extreme poverty from EO features. The same constraint appears to affect performance at the low end of the wealth distribution for imagery-based deep learning approaches (1, 2). This may arise because local labor markets, social safety nets, health, and other factors that are difficult to capture from satellite imagery or other geospatial features play a disproportionate role in the well-being of the poorest households. It likely also reflects noise or bias in the training data.

Even before we layer in data fusion and machine learning, survey-based consumption and poverty measurement is a topic of lively debate. Household consumption estimates are known to suffer from measurement errors, and those errors may inversely correlate with consumption or other markers of household welfare such as literacy and asset holdings (32). This has been shown to bias and decrease the accuracy of proxy means testing (33), and could similarly affect our first-stage structural poverty estimates. Long-standing questions around how best to adjust poverty measures for local consumption patterns and economies of scale within households have yet to be resolved (34, 35), and may affect geographic comparisons particularly between urban and rural populations, or across settings with different livelihoods or cultural norms regarding household structure. The small size of the household clusters in the LSMS data introduces random sampling error that will negatively impact our model performance (7). Sample bias is also a concern, particularly if there are fundamental differences between places that are and are not surveyed (36).

In time, improvements in algorithms or the availability of EO and other geospatial data products may improve our ability to detect the features of extreme poverty. But for now, high quality household surveys and survey-based research are needed to accurately understand the depth of deprivation amongst the poorest households and communities. Such data and analyses are similarly critical to the progression of ML micro-level poverty mapping in the future (4, 5).

## Materials and Methods

**Methodology.** A household is defined as structurally (non-)poor if in expectation their portfolio of assets is associated with a (non-)poor consumption expenditure level (11). Here, we are interested in the continuous analogue to this binary concept of structural poverty, which we will refer to as structural consumption and denote by  $\{C^A\}$  for household  $i$  in period  $t$ :

$$C_{it}^A = E[C_{it}|A_{it}] = f(A_{it}), \quad [1]$$

where  $\{A_{it}\}$  is a vector of household productive assets. Unlike with a binary (poor and non-poor) classifier, a continuous  $\{C^A\}$  measure allows us to assess the depth of a household's structural deprivations and to later construct aggregate poverty measures that capture the magnitude of any such shortfall.

If we assume that the differences between a household's structural consumption and realized consumption are stochastic,

due to random shocks and/or classical measurement error, we can estimate a regression model that relates household assets and consumption expenditures to identify the function  $f$ :

$$C_{it} = C_{it}^A + \epsilon_{it} = f(A_{it}) + \epsilon_{it}, \quad [2]$$

where  $\{\epsilon_{it}\}$  are the idiosyncratic errors. The best function  $f$  for prediction is unknown, so we test the comparative performance of parametric (first- and second-order polynomial regressions) as well as non-parametric RF models. We also evaluate a RF classification model, which predicts households' (non-)poor status. In our preliminary analysis we consider the bias-variance (or approximation v. overfit) trade-off between parametric and non-parametric models. We then use the most promising (RF-regression) model to construct estimates of structural poverty at the household level:

$$\widehat{C}_{it}^A = \widehat{f}(A_{it}). \quad [3]$$

Next, we construct the FGT (25) poverty measures  $\{P_s^\alpha\}$ ,  $\alpha = 0, 1, 2$ , for the survey cluster  $s$  of interest. Specifically, we calculate the estimated share of individuals<sup>§§</sup> with consumption expenditures that fall below a national or international poverty line, or poverty headcount  $\{P_s^0\}$ ; the average shortfall, or poverty gap  $\{P_s^1\}$ ; and the average squared poverty gap  $\{P_s^2\}$ :

$$P_s^\alpha = \frac{1}{n_s} \sum_{\{j: \widehat{C}_j^A < z\}} \left( \frac{z - \widehat{C}_j^A}{z} \right)^\alpha \quad [4]$$

where  $\{n_s\}$  is the total number of individuals in the sample and  $\{j: \widehat{C}_j^A < z\}$  denotes the sampled households  $j$  at location  $s$  estimated to be below the poverty line  $z$ , and  $\alpha$  is the FGT 'poverty aversion' parameter. These are the poverty measures we wish to map; these estimates serve as the training data in the subsequent step.

Next we consider how to project these estimates of structural poverty into areas (that we simulate are) not covered by household surveys. We train OLS and RF regression models to predict structural poverty  $\{P_s^\alpha\}$  using open-source EO and other geospatial data  $\{Z_s\}$  as:

$$P_s^\alpha = g(Z_s) + \epsilon_s. \quad [5]$$

All RF models are fit to minimize RMSE. The household structural consumption models use a shared set of hyperparameters based on results of grid search (see SI Figures S1-S9), with the number of *trees* = 1000, the minimum size of terminal nodes *min\_n* = 30, and the maximum number of variables sampled as candidates at each split *mtry* = 8. For the cluster level models, the number of *trees* = 200 and the model hyperparameters are instead tuned individually using a 10 (*min\_n*) by 10 (*mtry*) grid search. Model tuning is further described in SI Section .

We evaluate model performance using the coefficient of determination, or  $r^2$ , the Root Mean Squared Error (RMSE), and a rank correlation coefficient, Spearman's  $\rho$ . The  $r^2$  is the most commonly cited performance measure in the poverty mapping literature, and offers an intuitive measure of the degree of variation in the dependent variable that is explained by the model. However, it is sensitive to features of the data (e.g., variance and measurement error) used for validation (37). RMSE may be a more reliable indicator of performance, except (as in our case) if we wish to compare across different types of dependent variables. Finally, rank correlation coefficients may be a particularly useful diagnostic for applications such as the geographic targeting of humanitarian or development aid, when we are most interested in the relative ordering of communities rather than their absolute levels of deprivation.

**Data splitting.** We use three complementary nested cross-validation approaches that allow us to assess performance in reference to different use cases:

- **k-fold cross-validation** First, we split the data for each country into five folds based on a random draw of the enumeration areas. We also implement a multi-country, or

<sup>§§</sup>Consumption expenditures are estimated at the household level, then weighted based on household size.

993 pooled, version of the k-fold cross-validation. This approach  
994 simulates predictive performance for interpolation in surveyed  
995 areas. For example, if we have cluster-sampled household  
996 survey data for the country or countries of interest, this  
997 approach simulates performance predicting into the un-  
surveyed clusters.

998 • **Spatial k-fold cross-validation:** We also implement a  
999 spatially stratified variation of the k-fold cross-validation.  
1000 Here, the test fold is geographically distinct from the training  
1001 data to avoid overestimating performance due to spatial auto-  
1002 correlation (6, 38). This would be analogous to a use case  
1003 where we have survey data for the country of interest, but  
1004 not for all regions, and therefore need to spatially extrapolate  
within the same country.

1005 • **Leave-one-country-out cross-validation:** Finally, we test  
1006 the validity of a pooled model for predicting into a country  
1007 for which (we simulate that) there are no household survey  
1008 data available. Here, we leave out each country in the data  
1009 set in turn, training the model on all other countries' data.  
1010 Extrapolation into un-surveyed countries requires stronger  
1011 assumptions, but also has the advantage of more training  
data.

1012 **Household survey data.** Our approach requires data on consumption  
1013 expenditures (or income) and productive assets, geo-referenced at  
1014 the micro-level. These are obtained from from 13 LSMS surveys:  
1015 for Ethiopia (2011-2012, 2013-2014, 2015-2016 & 2018-2019),  
1016 Malawi (2010-2011, 2016-2017 & 2019-2020), Tanzania (2008-2009,  
2010-2011, 2012-2013, 2014-2015 & 2019-2020) and Uganda (2011-  
2012). We use the published consumption expenditure aggregates  
1018 from the respective datasets, which have been constructed by  
1019 aggregating across several categories of consumption and then  
1020 adjusting for regional cost-of-living differences. According to survey  
1021 documentation, these are broadly consistent in their construction  
1022 across countries and surveys. We convert all values to 2011  
1023 purchasing-power-parity US dollars. Our asset index, which is  
1024 not pre-constructed in the LSMS data, is calculated following  
1025 the data reduction techniques used to consolidate and harmonize  
1026 asset data across Demographic and Health Surveys (39–42). We  
1027 implement a broad definition of productive assets: the stocks that  
1028 generate the income that enables consumption expenditure. This  
1029 includes human capital, land, livestock, capital equipment and  
buildings, and water and sanitation. Details of the procedure and  
specific assets are described in the SI.

1030 **Geo-spatial features.** Our geo-spatial predictors consist of inter-  
1031 pretable features, known to correlate with poverty and/or wealth,  
1032 derived from publicly available data sources. Because our data are  
1033 geo-referenced at the cluster level with some random displacement  
1034 to preserve anonymity, we extract survey-year averages of our  
1035 geo-spatial variables for a 2km buffer radius in urban areas and a

5km buffer radius in rural areas (unless otherwise noted). Feature  
1055 values are contemporaneous to the survey data unless otherwise  
1056 noted; we include lags for some variables based on the expected  
1057 temporal relationship. Large datasets were pre-processed in Google  
1058 Earth Engine, with dataset construction in R.

1059 Several of our features relating to geography and demography  
1060 are time-invariant or slow-moving. We include building footprints,  
1061 obtained from the Open Buildings Project Version 2 (43), which  
1062 are a reliable indicator of human settlement and socioeconomic  
1063 conditions on the ground (7, 10, 44). Average slopes and elevations  
1064 are computed via Google Earth Engine based on data from the  
1065 NASA Shuttle Radar Topography Mission (SRTM) to capture  
1066 geophysical constraints on economic development (45). We also  
include travel time to the nearest urban centre, a known correlate  
of prosperity, from the Malaria Atlas Project (MAP) (46).

1067 We draw on time-series data for features that vary substantively  
1068 over the study period. Population count and density, which have  
1069 been shown to be predictive of asset wealth in previous studies  
1070 (6, 8), are derived from data by WorldPop (47, 48). A three-year  
1071 average of nighttime lights is included as a proxy for economic  
1072 activity (49). Given the time span of our dataset (2008-2020),  
1073 we use a nighttime lights product that harmonizes data from the  
1074 Defense Meteorological Satellite Program (1992–2013) and the  
Visible Infrared Imaging Radiometer Suite (2012–2018) (50, 51).

1075 Climatic conditions and episodes of heat and water stress may  
1076 impact people's well-being through multiple avenues, especially  
1077 via conditions for agriculture and livestock. We use the Climate  
1078 Hazards group Infrared Precipitation with Stations (CHIRPS)  
1079 to construct variables for long-term rainfall patterns, annual  
1080 rainfall, and rainfall z-scores (52). Binned temperature variables  
1081 reflecting the hours above 30 degrees Celsius are constructed  
1082 from the Modern-Era Retrospective analysis for Research and  
1083 Applications version 2 (MERRA-2) 2-meter air temperature (53).  
1084 The Normalized Difference Vegetation Index (NDVI) is derived  
1085 from the NOAA Climate Data Record (CDR) of Advanced Very  
1086 High Resolution Radiometer (AVHRR) Surface Reflectance (54).  
1087 The NDVI is an indicator of greenness that has been shown to  
1088 correlate with poverty in rural, agriculturally dependent settings  
(3, 38).

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# PNAS



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## 2 **Supporting Information for**

### 3 **Micro-level structural poverty estimates for southern and eastern Africa**

4 **Elizabeth Tennant, Yating Ru, Peizan Sheng, David S. Matteson, Christopher B. Barrett**

5 **Corresponding Author: Elizabeth Tennant.**

6 **E-mail: [ejt58@cornell.edu](mailto:ejt58@cornell.edu)**

#### 7 **This PDF file includes:**

8 Supporting text

9 Figs. S1 to S18

10 Table S1

11 SI References

## 12 Supporting Information Text

### 13 Data Supplement

14 **Household data cleaning and pre-processing.** Household surveys suffer from missing data and measurement error, and these  
15 data quality issues may vary systematically with the country and specific survey. Uganda has the highest prevalence of missing  
16 values; approximately half of the sample households have at least one missing data field, often consumption expenditure, land,  
17 livestock, or other agricultural assets. For Ethiopia, Malawi, and Tanzania 4% - 14% of households are missing necessary data  
18 fields. We do not detect patterns of imbalance across households with or without missing data. Observations with missing data  
19 are dropped. We also use winsorization to replace extreme values, truncating at the 99th percentile. This removes outliers,  
20 especially those that appear erroneous (e.g., owning 124 computers or 111 bicycles). Some rare assets are converted to dummy  
21 variables, such as: irrigated land, boats, ploughs, tractors, harvesters, and sprayers.

22 **Asset wealth.** We construct our asset wealth index from a common set of assets surveyed in the Living Standards and Measurement  
23 Surveys (LSMS). These include tropical livestock units, total land area, irrigated land area, number of rooms per person,  
24 number of ploughs, radios, TVs, bicycles, motorcycles, and cellphones, as well as access to electricity, improved drinking water,  
25 improved toilet facilities, and improved materials for roof, wall, and floor. Several of these variables are recoded following the  
26 relevant literature. For example, tropical livestock units convert all livestock to common units based on (an assumed, based  
27 on species) live weight of 250kg per TLU (1). Designations of improved or unimproved facilities or materials are based on  
28 DHS standards (2). These same re-coding procedures are used to process the asset variables prior to use in the structural  
29 consumption modeling.

30 To construct a single continuous asset index from these variables, we draw on procedures used to calculate the Demographic  
31 and Health Surveys Relative Wealth Index (RWI) (3, 4) and the International Wealth Index (IWI) (5). A common wealth  
32 score across the full study area is first calculated, as well as separate urban and rural wealth scores. The common scores,  
33 which exclude assets that may have divergent relationship with wealth in rural vs. urban areas, are then used to calibrate the  
34 separate urban and rural models.

35 **Consumption expenditures.** Consumption expenditure aggregates are pre-computed in the LSMS surveys, but typically provided  
36 in nominal local currency values. We convert these values to a common currency and equalize their purchasing power over  
37 countries and years using purchasing power parity (PPP) adjustments.\* We adjust all consumption expenditures to 2011 PPP  
38 dollars per capita per day as follows:

$$39 \quad \text{Real consumption (\$/day/person)} = \frac{\text{Consumption in local currency}}{\text{PPP conversion factor} \times \text{hhsz} \times 365} \quad [1]$$

### 40 Asset to Consumption Modeling

41 **Model tuning.** The structural consumption models utilize a shared set of hyper-parameters: an  $mtry = 8$ , a  $min\_n = 30$ , and  
42 the number of  $trees = 1000$ . These were selected based on grid search using nested re-sampling of the training data for a  
43 single 80%-20% split of each permutation of the study area (individual country, pooled, and LOCO). Re-tuning the household  
44 models for every data-split of the cluster-level analysis, as we do in the second stage of the analysis, would be computationally  
45 untenable. Based on the generally small differences in model performance across the hyperparameter grids (see Appendix  
46 Figures S1-S9) we anticipate that this would not substantially aid model performance. For those interested in replicating this  
47 approach but without the computational resources for a similar grid search, we note that performance does not appear to be  
48 highly sensitive to the hyperparameters and that solid performance is achieved with software defaults.

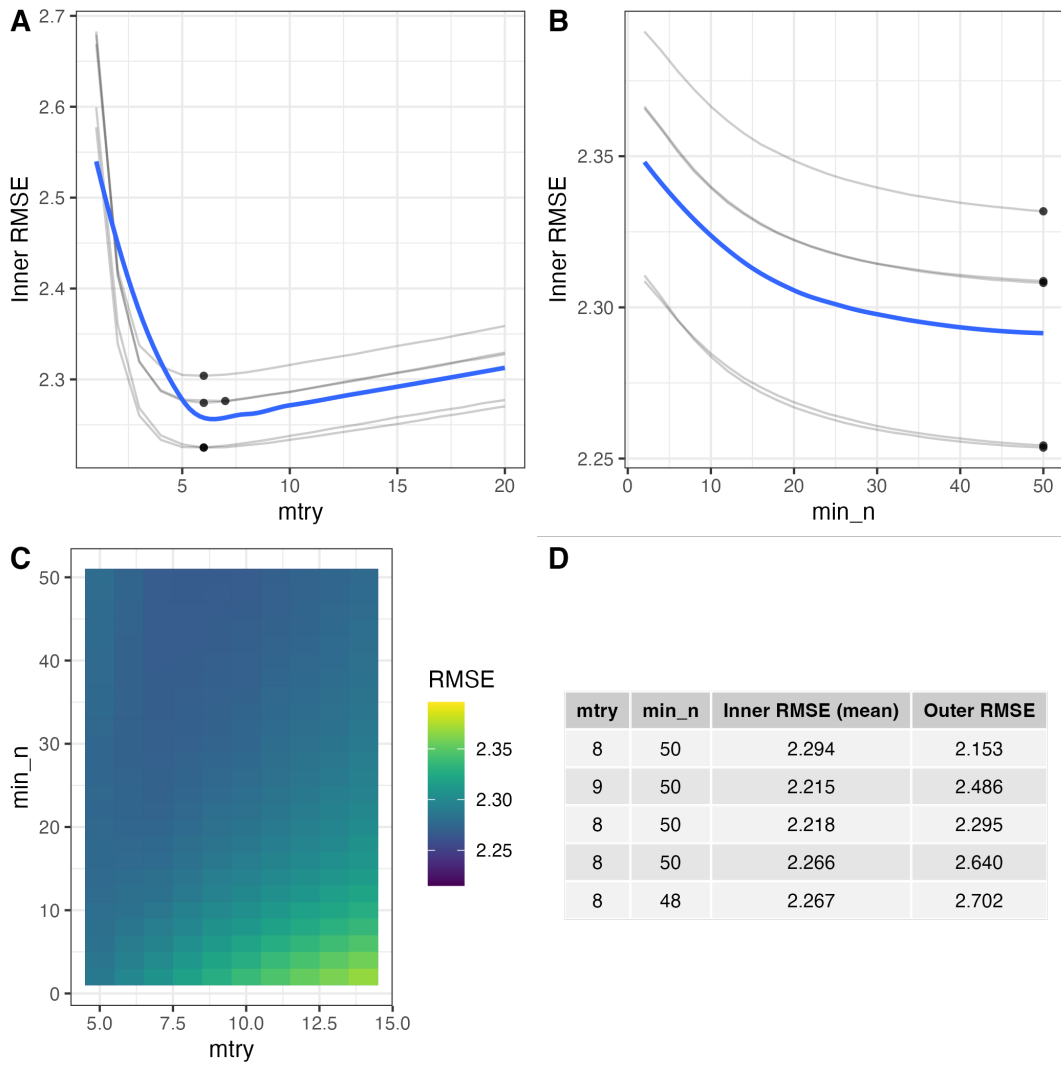
\*We use the World Bank's PPP conversion factor, private consumption (LCU per international \$), available at: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/PA.NUS.PRVT.PP>

**Table S1. Summary out-of-sample performance for EO-based OLS-1 models**

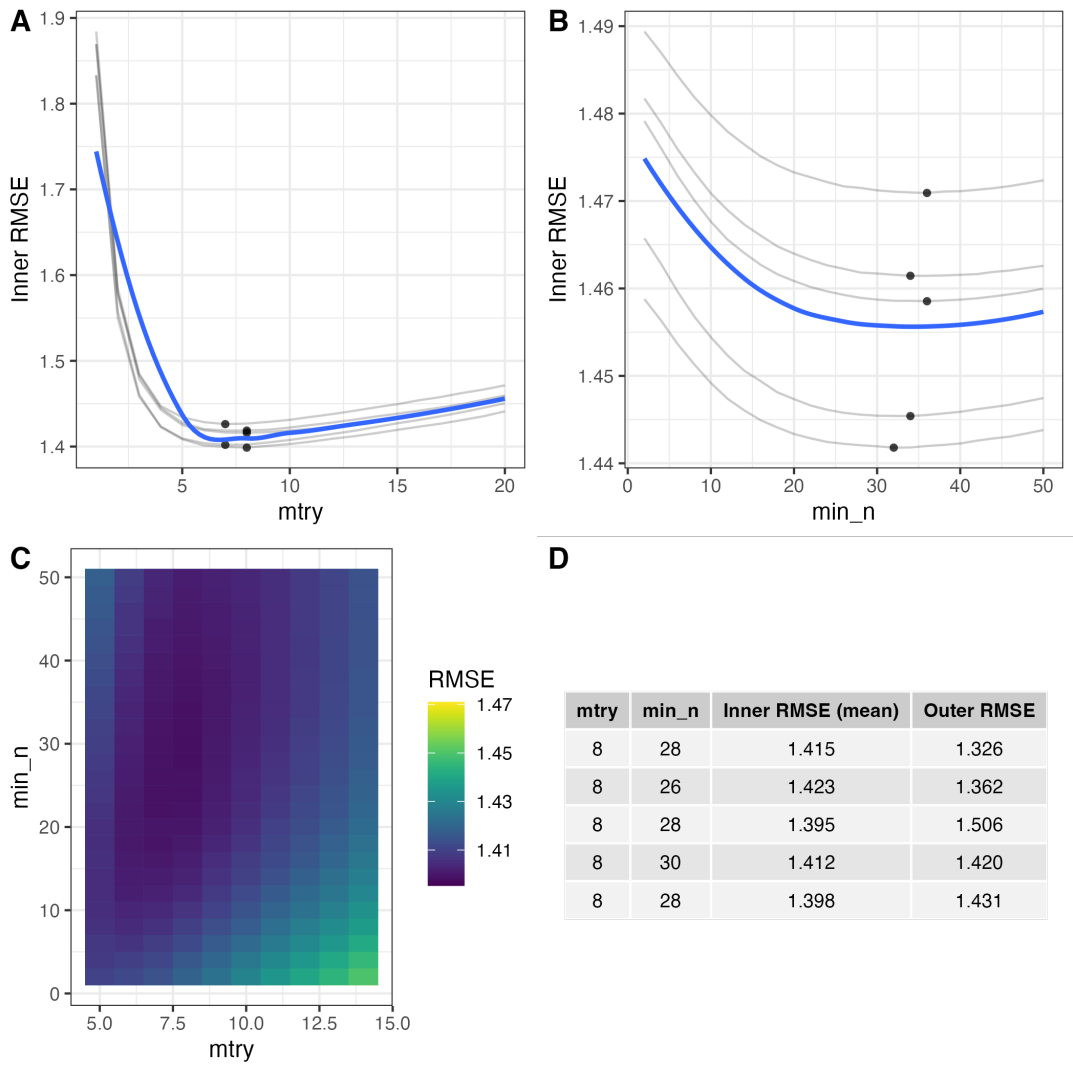
<b>A. Poverty Measures</b>							
Predictand	Validation	Average R-squared		Average RMSE		Average Spearman's $\rho$	
		$P_r$	$P_s$	$P_r$	$P_s$	$P_r$	$P_s$
$P^0 z = \$1.90$	country cv	0.453	0.565	0.231	0.198	0.641	0.680
	country spatial cv	0.161	0.358	0.255	0.216	0.457	0.533
	pooled cv	0.486	0.591	0.229	0.212	0.672	0.774
	pooled leave-country-out	0.025	0.309	0.310	0.255	0.518	0.691
$P^1 z = \$1.90$	country cv	0.360	0.387	0.114	0.070	0.657	0.674
	country spatial cv	-0.011	0.216	0.123	0.072	0.418	0.510
	pooled cv	0.390	0.533	0.119	0.065	0.657	0.788
	pooled leave-country-out	-0.014	0.160	0.167	0.081	0.541	0.650
$P^2 z = \$1.90$	country cv	0.270	0.264	0.072	0.031	0.624	0.667
	country spatial cv	-0.055	0.059	0.079	0.034	0.427	0.496
	pooled cv	0.317	0.437	0.077	0.027	0.632	0.772
	pooled leave-country-out	0.007	0.039	0.109	0.032	0.527	0.587
$P^0 z = \$3.20$	country cv	0.603	0.739	0.200	0.181	0.627	0.690
	country spatial cv	0.302	0.548	0.209	0.181	0.490	0.578
	pooled cv	0.607	0.745	0.192	0.171	0.653	0.743
	pooled leave-country-out	0.250	0.510	0.260	0.207	0.524	0.707
$P^0 z = \$3.20$	country cv	0.603	0.741	0.200	0.182	0.627	0.691
	country spatial cv	0.302	0.549	0.209	0.180	0.490	0.582
	pooled cv	0.607	0.747	0.192	0.172	0.653	0.742
	pooled leave-country-out	0.250	0.517	0.260	0.207	0.524	0.710
$P^1 z = \$3.20$	country cv	0.517	0.693	0.131	0.097	0.685	0.750
	country spatial cv	0.152	0.478	0.165	0.107	0.494	0.602
	pooled cv	0.551	0.715	0.140	0.101	0.705	0.815
	pooled leave-country-out	0.012	0.443	0.197	0.129	0.539	0.718
$P^2 z = \$3.20$	country cv	0.441	0.592	0.104	0.066	0.677	0.726
	country spatial cv	0.050	0.415	0.116	0.069	0.442	0.601
	pooled cv	0.461	0.652	0.111	0.065	0.685	0.820
	pooled leave-country-out	0.000	0.344	0.157	0.083	0.562	0.711
<b>B. Asset Wealth Index</b>							
Predictand	Validation	R-squared		RMSE		Spearman's $\rho$	
$\bar{A}$	country cv	0.646		8.240		0.753	
	country spatial cv	0.409		8.588		0.588	
	pooled spatial cv	0.719		8.249		0.769	
	pooled leave-country-out	0.614		9.349		0.709	

*Notes:* Diagnostic statistics are averaged over folds and geographies.

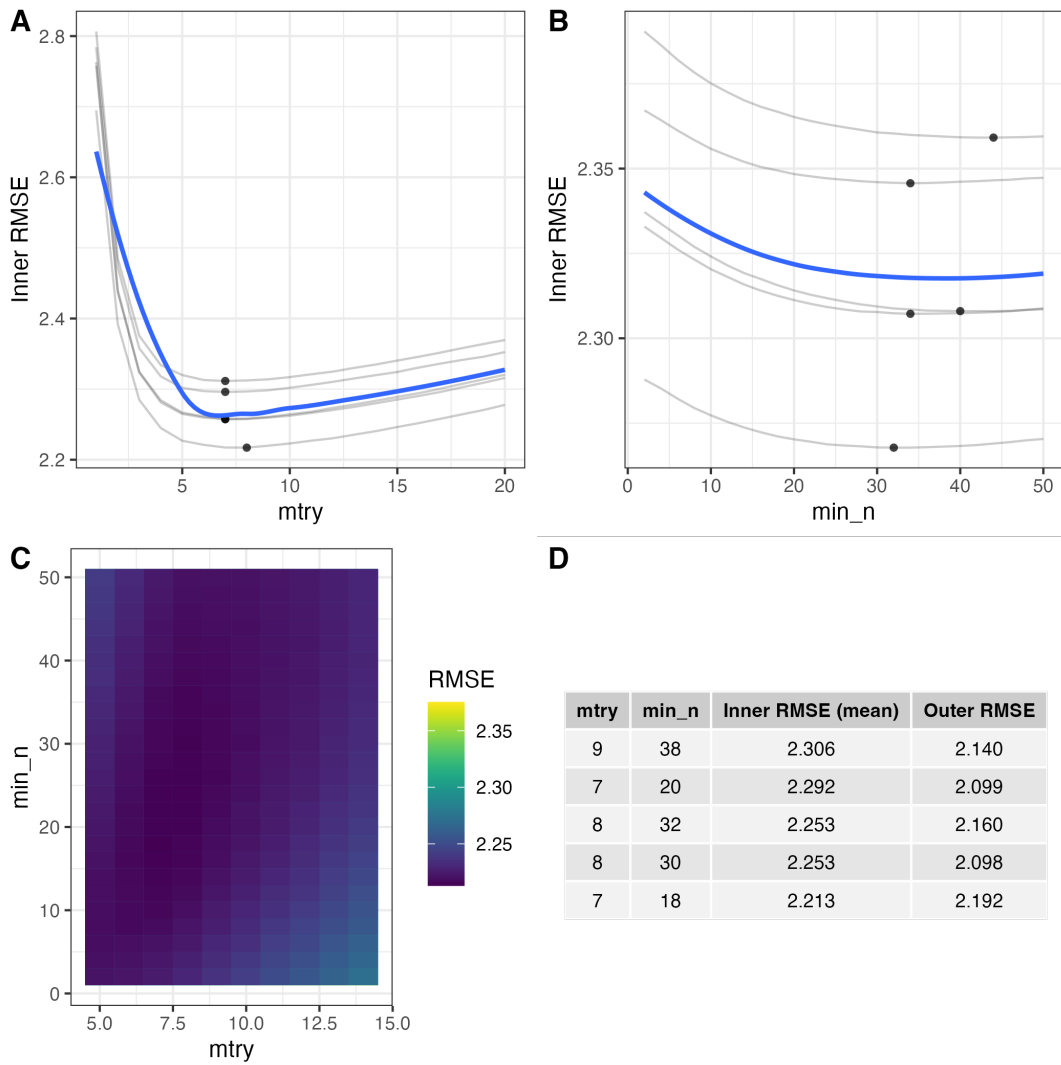




**Fig. S1.** Results of grid search of hyperparameters for random forest structural poverty estimation for **Ethiopia**.

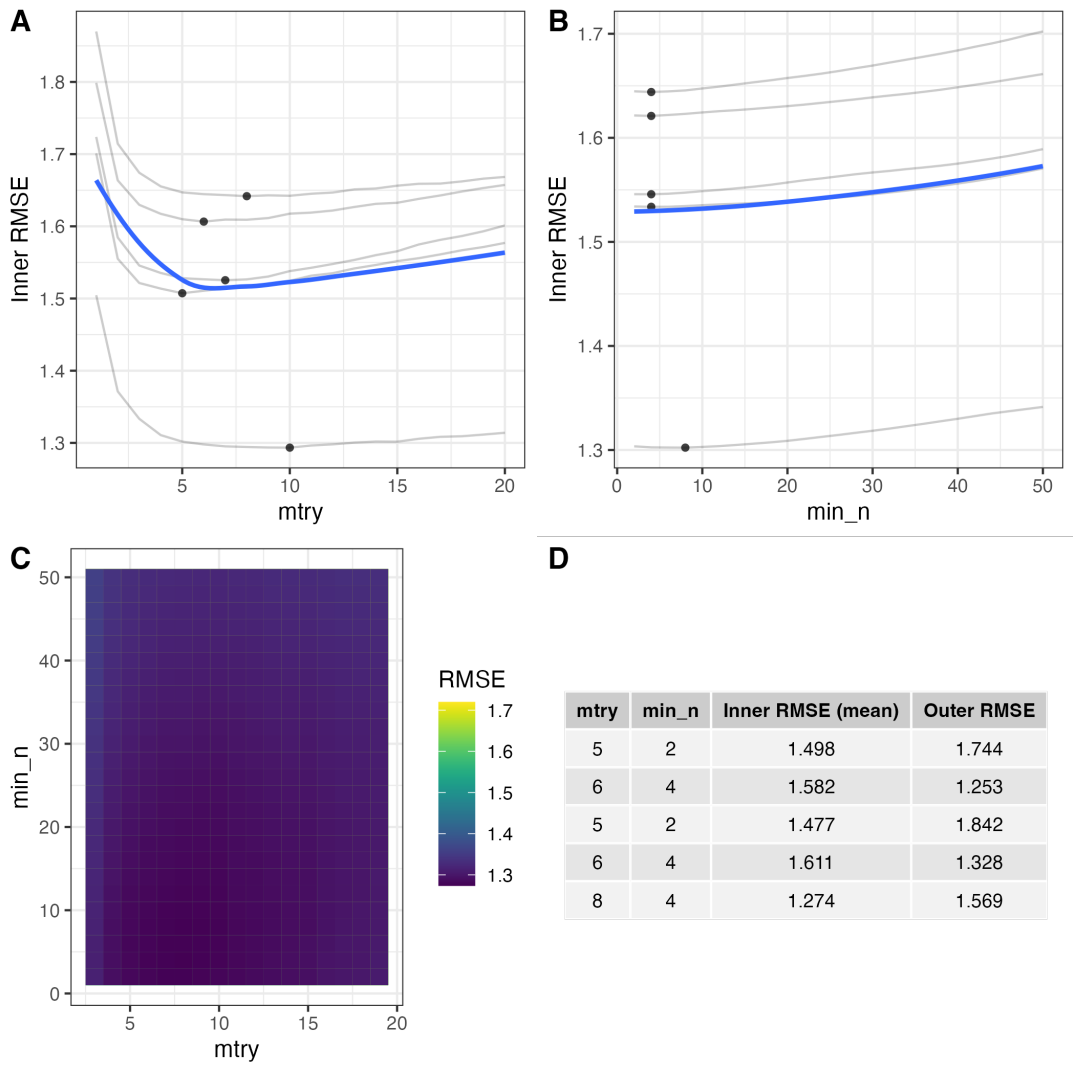


**Fig. S2.** Results of grid search of hyperparameters for random forest structural poverty estimation for **Malawi**.

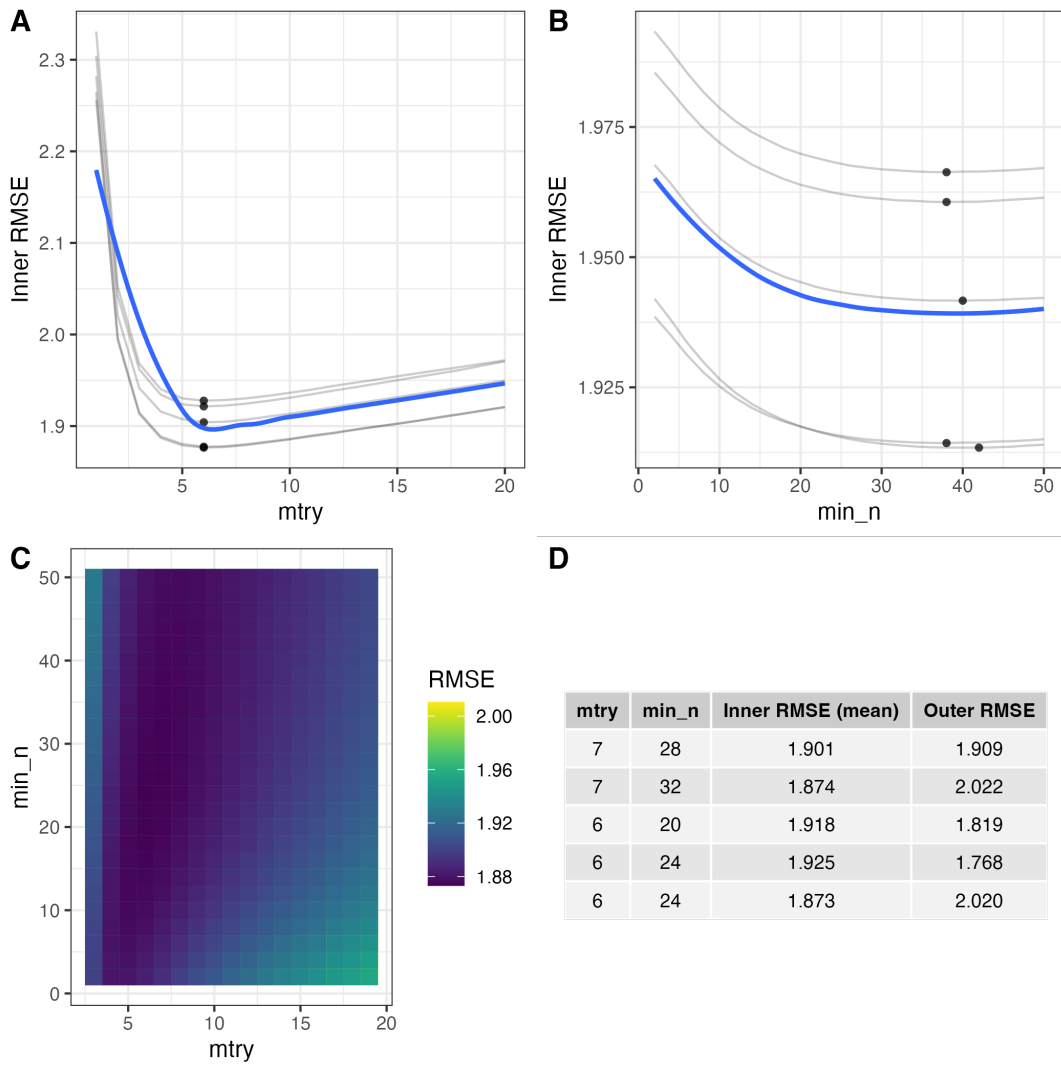


**Fig. S3.** Results of grid search of hyperparameters for random forest structural poverty estimation for Tanzania.

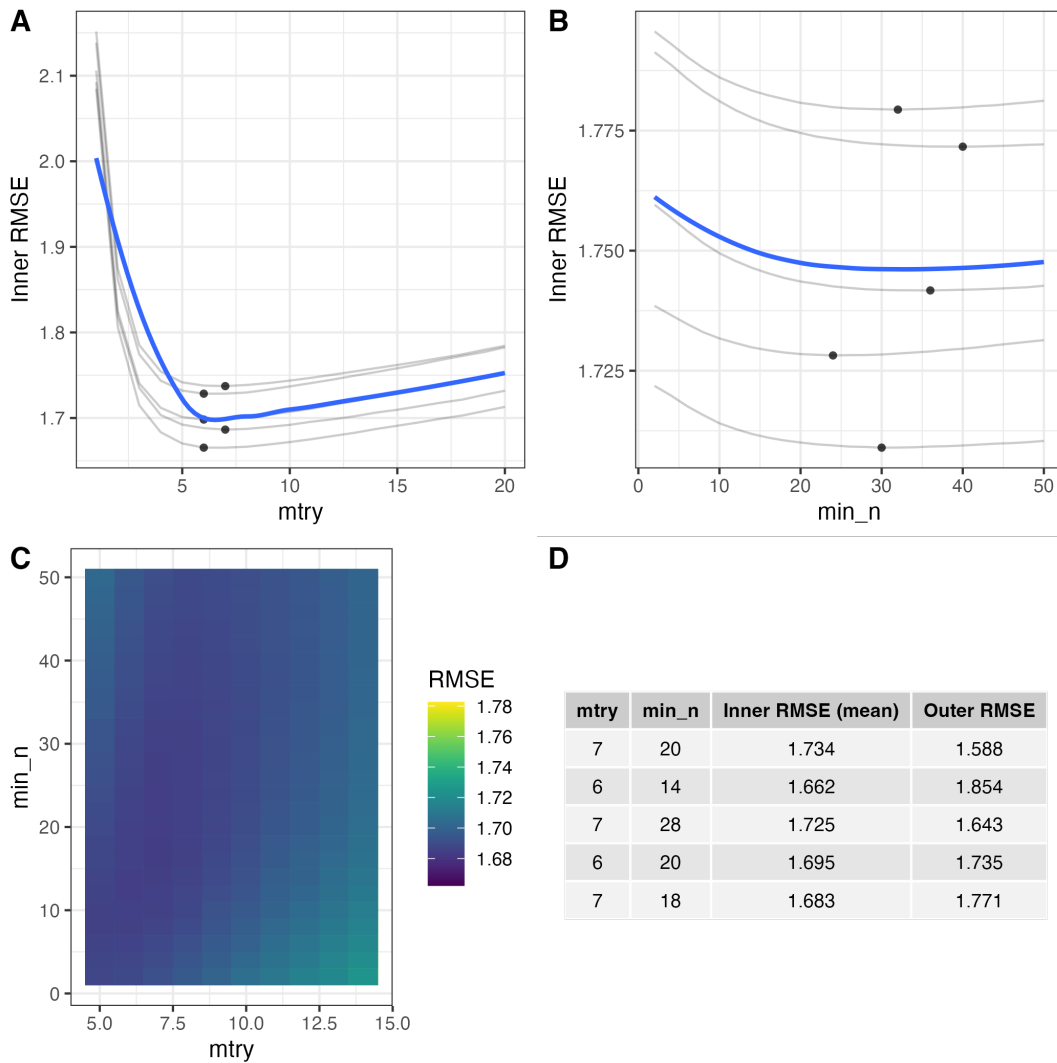




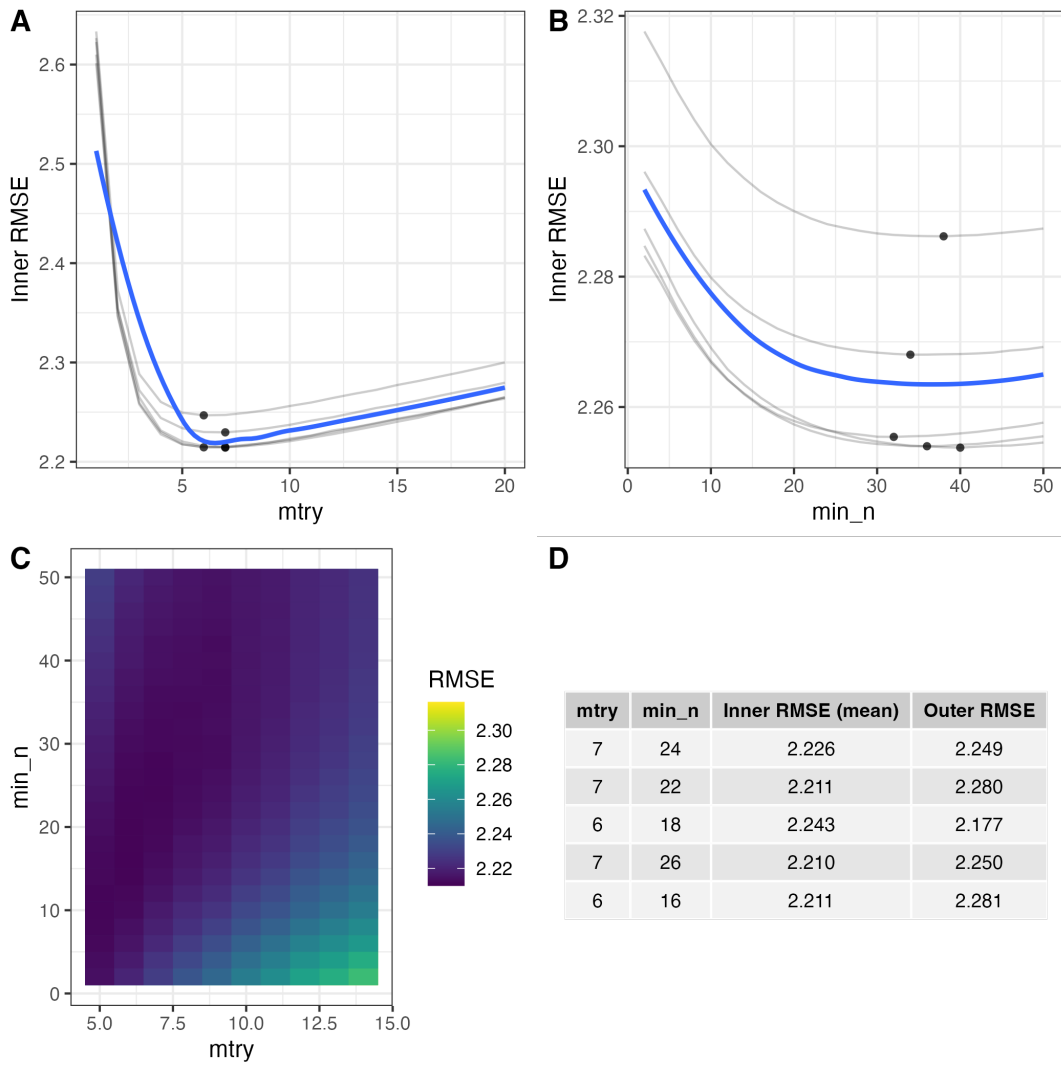
**Fig. S4.** Results of grid search of hyperparameters for random forest structural poverty estimation for **Uganda**.



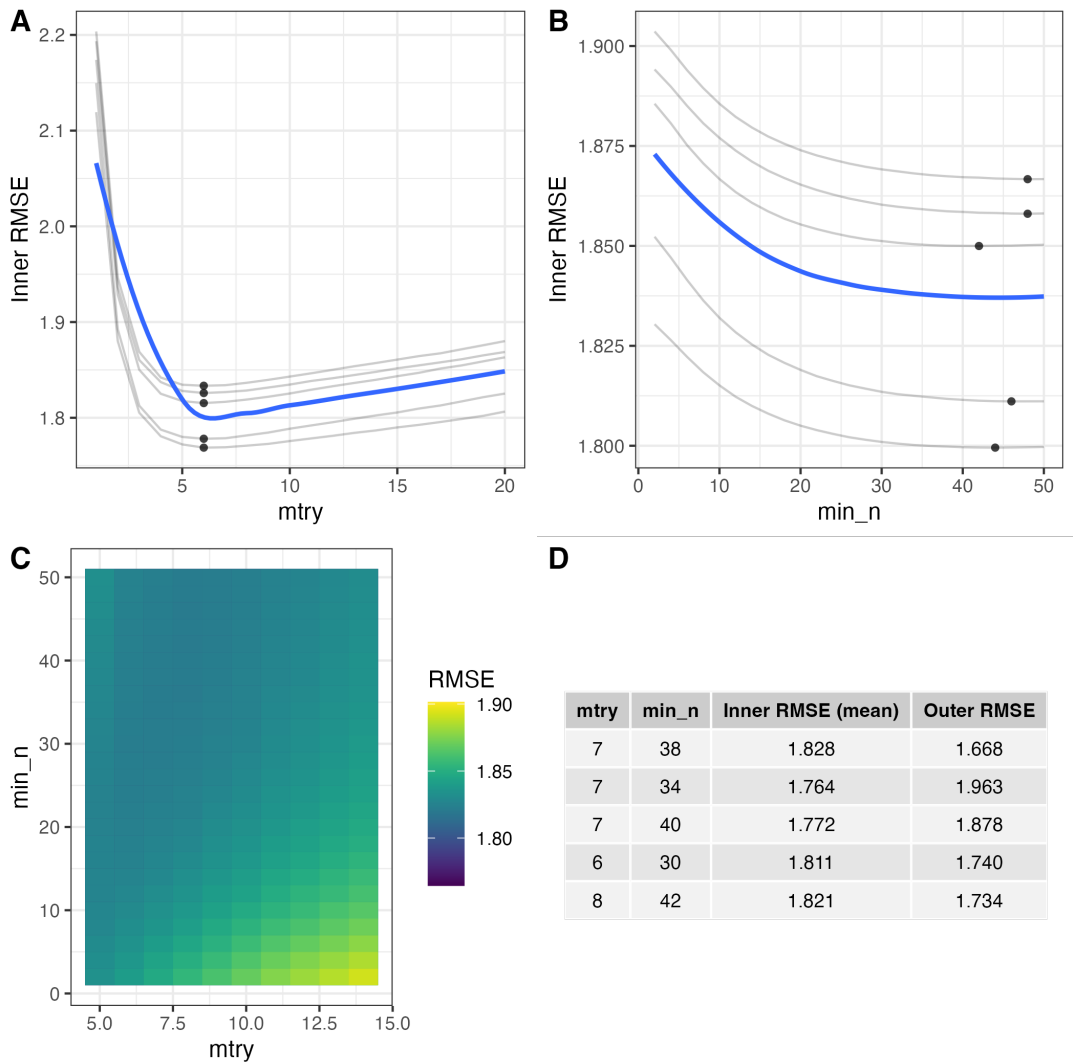
**Fig. S5.** Results of grid search of hyperparameters for random forest structural poverty estimation for **Pooled model (all countries)**.



**Fig. S6.** Results of grid search of hyperparameters for random forest structural poverty estimation for **Leave-one-country-out (Ethiopia)**.

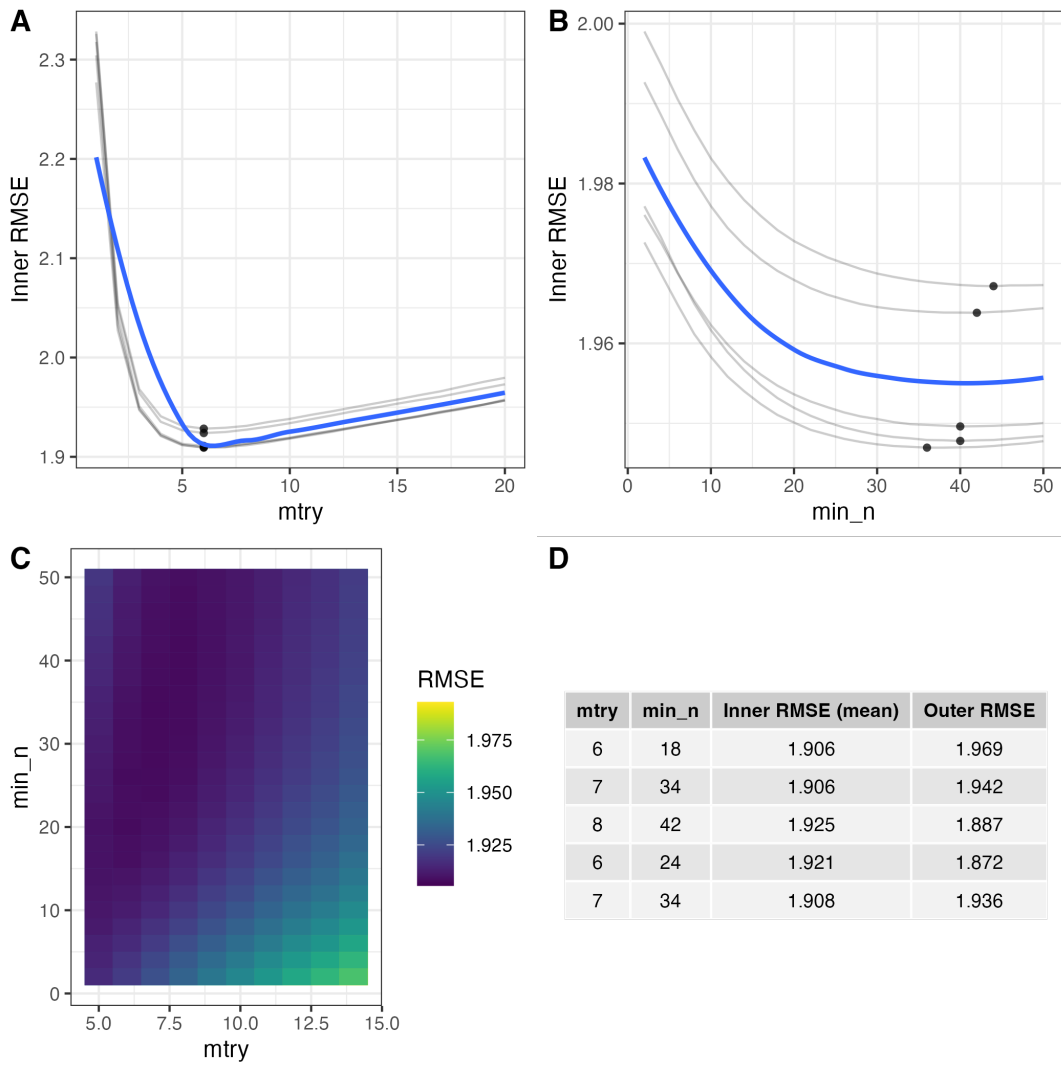


**Fig. S7.** Results of grid search of hyperparameters for random forest structural poverty estimation for **Leave-one-country-out (Malawi)**.

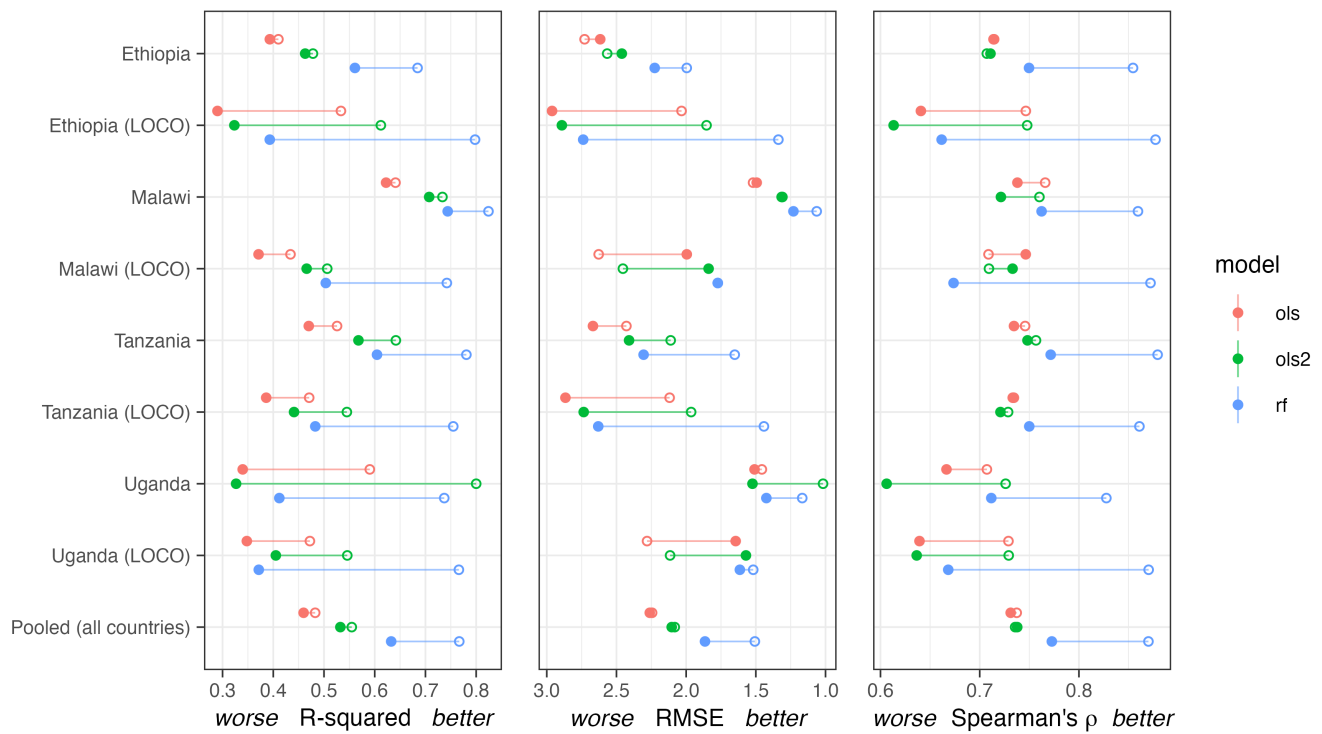


**Fig. S8.** Results of grid search of hyperparameters for random forest structural poverty estimation for **Leave-one-country-out (Tanzania)**.





**Fig. S9.** Results of grid search of hyperparameters for random forest structural poverty estimation for **Leave-one-country-out (Uganda)**.



**Fig. S10.** Comparison of measures of fit for continuous models of structural poverty. The solid circle indicates the fit statistic in the test data, the open circle in the training set, and the line is the difference between these. Wider lines therefore indicate larger differences in fit between the training and test data. Country models are based on training and test data from that country. Leave-one-country-out (LOCO) models are trained on the pooled dataset excluding that country (which serves as the test set).

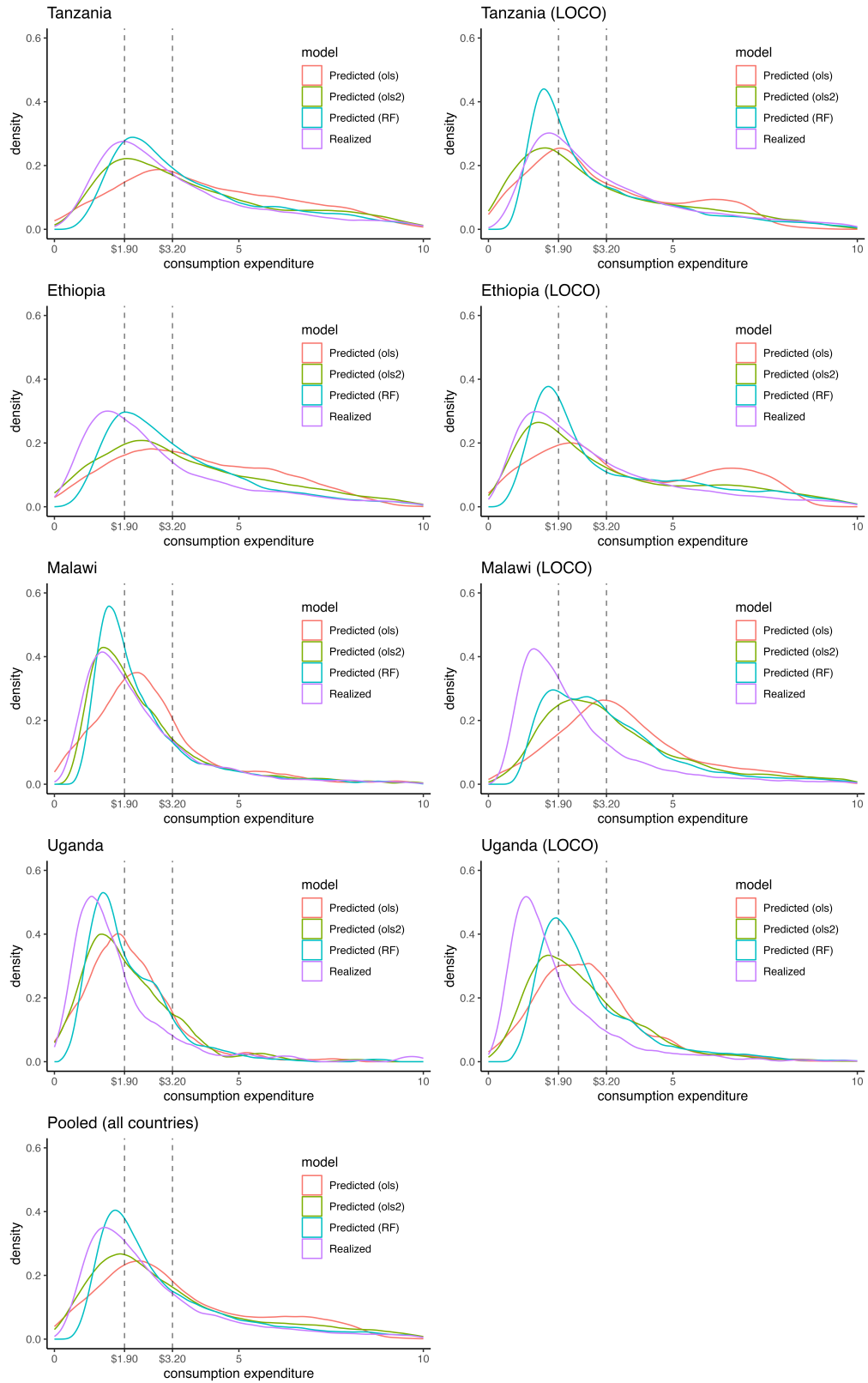
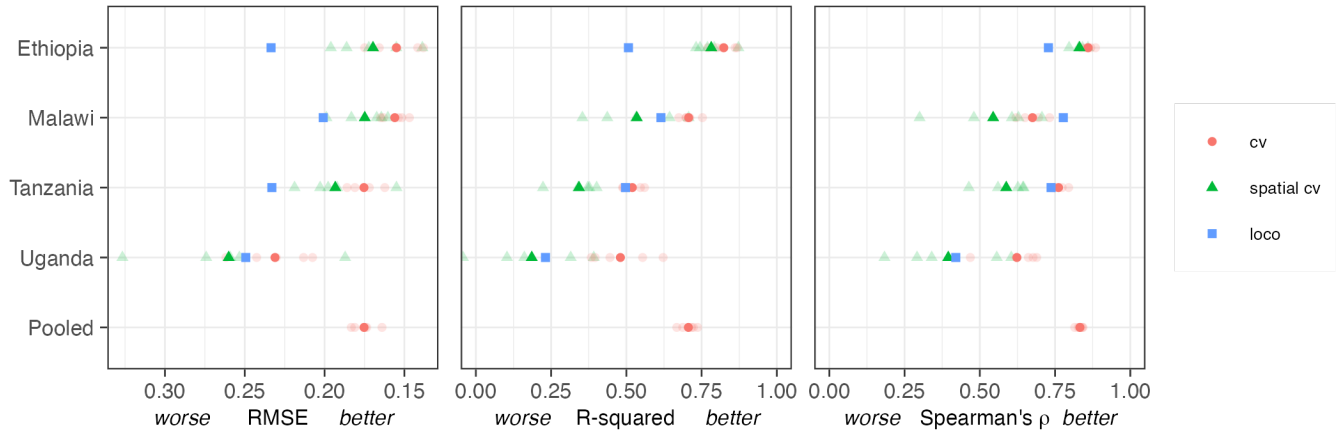
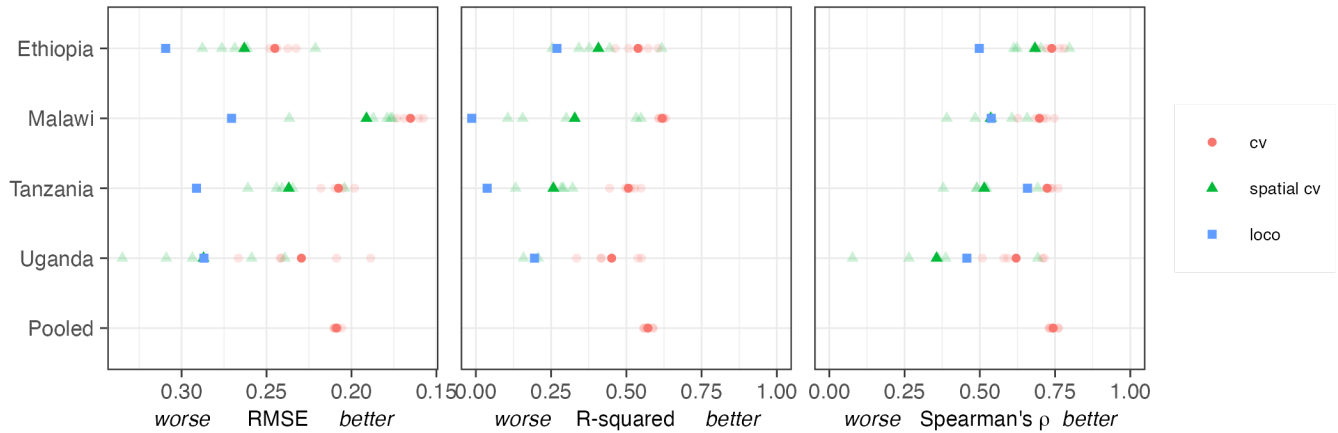


Fig. S11. Kernel density plots of predicted versus realized consumption expenditures.

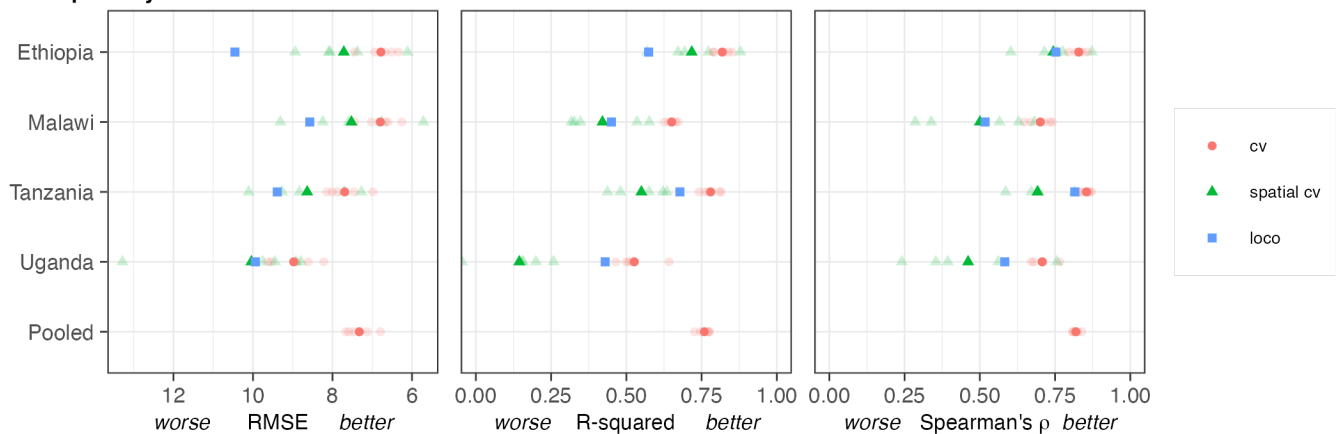
### Structural poverty headcount at \$1.90



### Realized poverty headcount at \$1.90

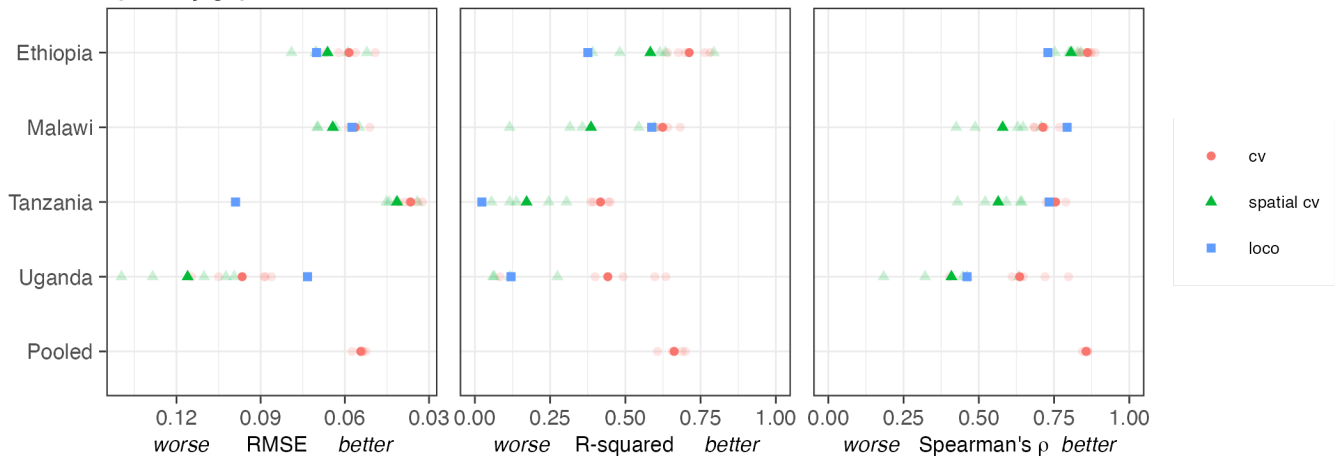


### Asset poverty index

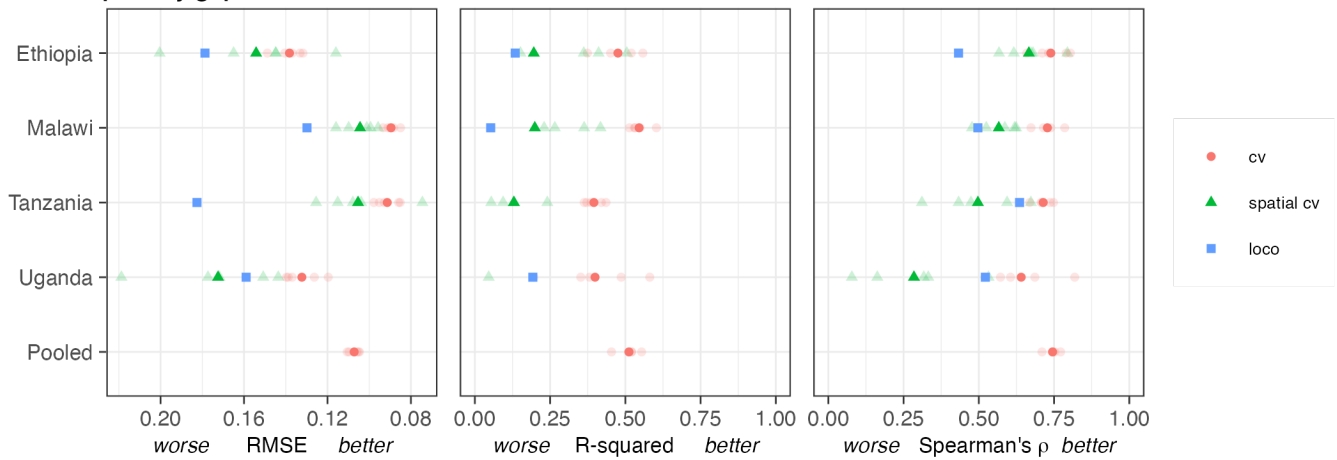


**Fig. S12.** Performance of EO-Structural Poverty models in test set, for the: Poverty Headcount ( $P^0$ ) at a poverty line of  $z = \$1.90$ . For cross-validated models, the bold symbol indicates mean performance of the shown folds. Country models are based on training and test data from that country. Leave-one-country-out (LOCO) models are trained on the pooled dataset excluding that country, which serves as the test set.

### Structural poverty gap at \$1.90



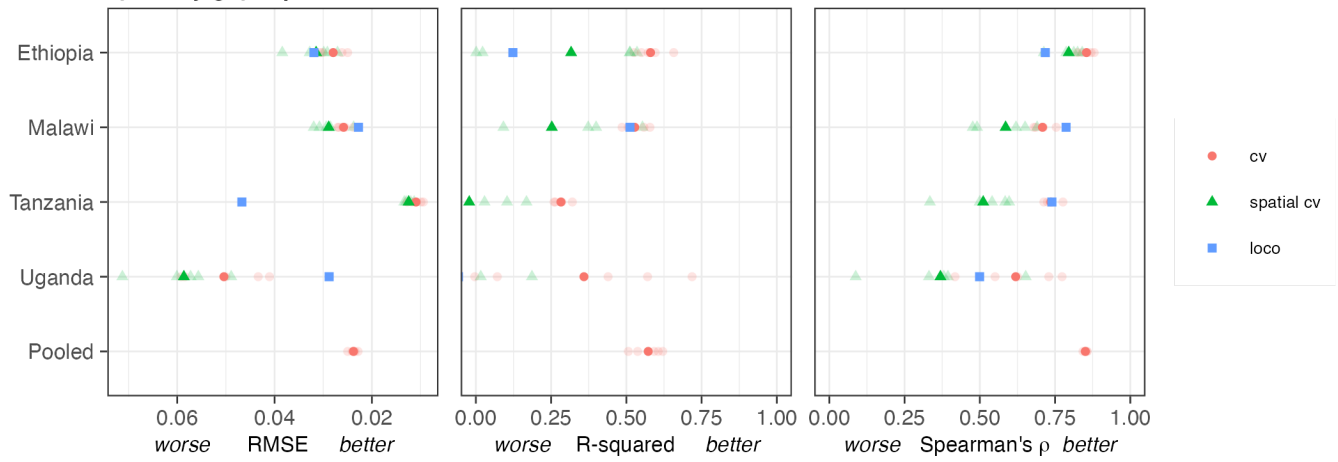
### Realized poverty gap at \$1.90



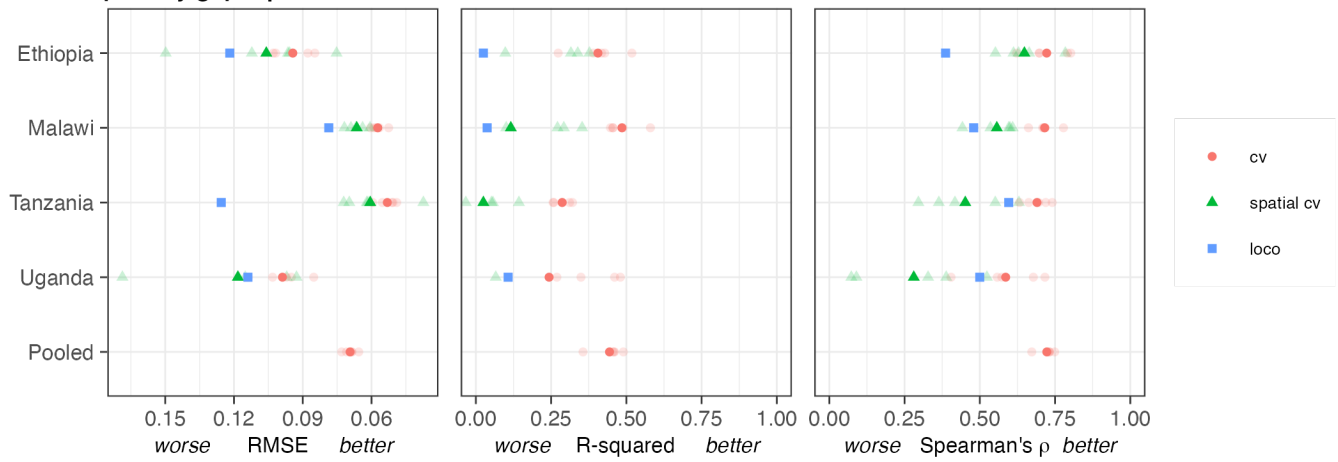
**Fig. S13.** Performance of EO-Structural Poverty models in test set, for the: Poverty Gap ( $P^1$ ) at a poverty line of  $z = \$1.90$ . For cross-validated models, the bold symbol indicates mean performance of the shown folds. Country models are based on training and test data from that country. Leave-one-country-out (LOCO) models are trained on the pooled dataset excluding that country, which serves as the test set.



**Structural poverty gap squared at \$1.90**

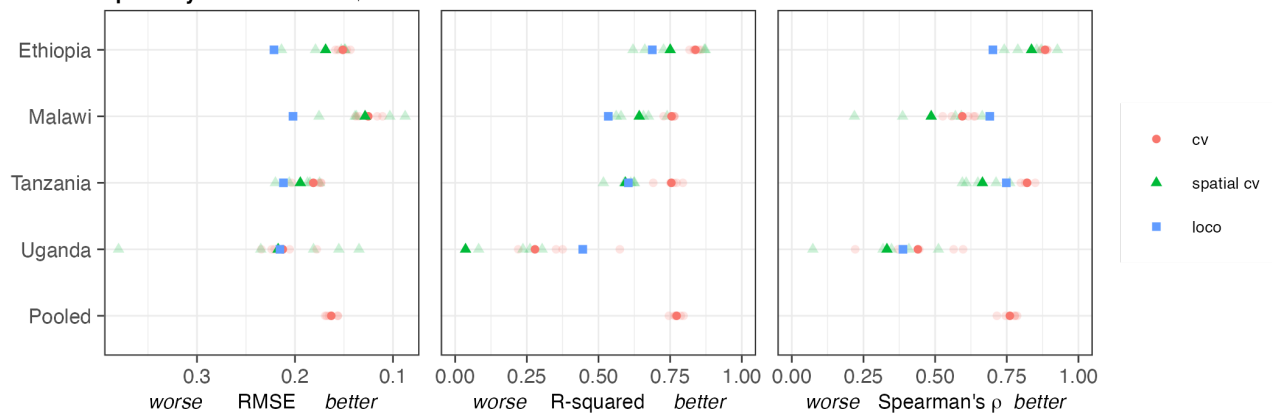


**Realized poverty gap squared at \$1.90**

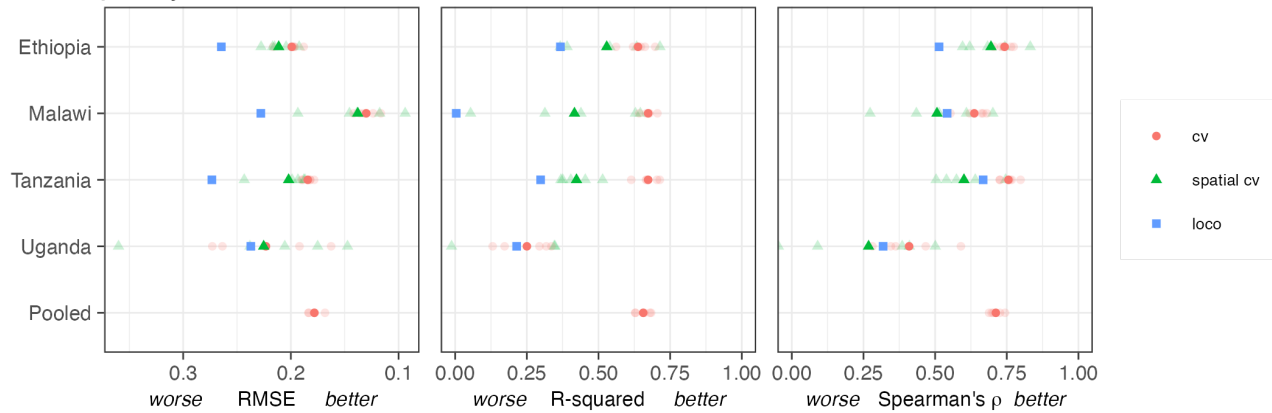


**Fig. S14.** Performance of EO-Structural Poverty models in test set, for the: Poverty Gap Squared ( $P^2$ ) at a poverty line of  $z = \$1.90$ . For cross-validated models, the bold symbol indicates mean performance of the shown folds. Country models are based on training and test data from that country. Leave-one-country-out (LOCO) models are trained on the pooled dataset excluding that country, which serves as the test set.

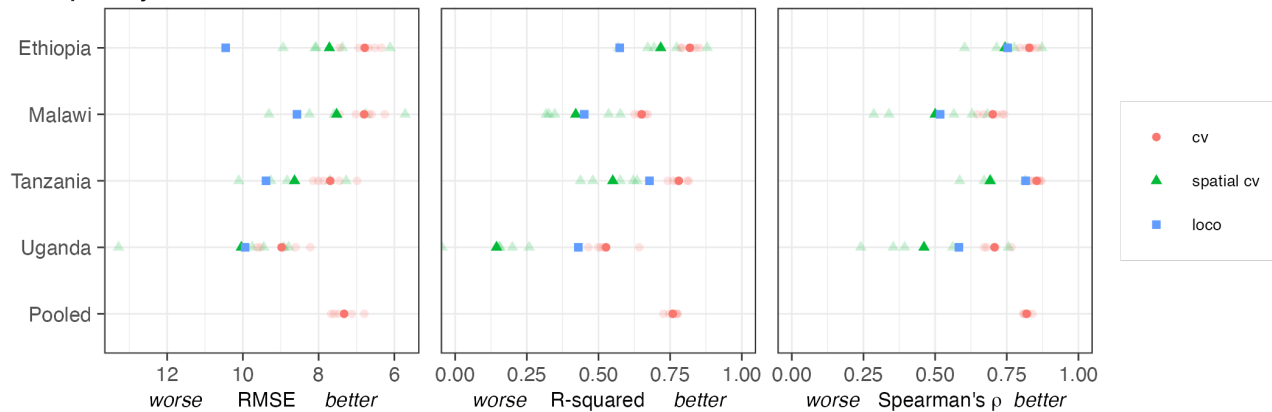
### Structural poverty headcount at \$3.20



### Realized poverty headcount at \$3.20

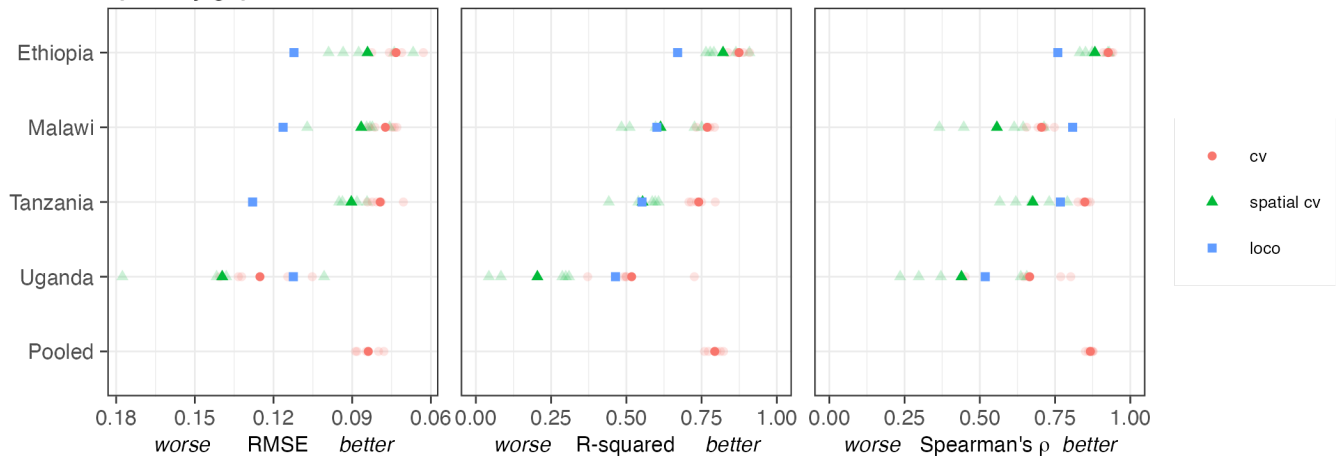


### Asset poverty index

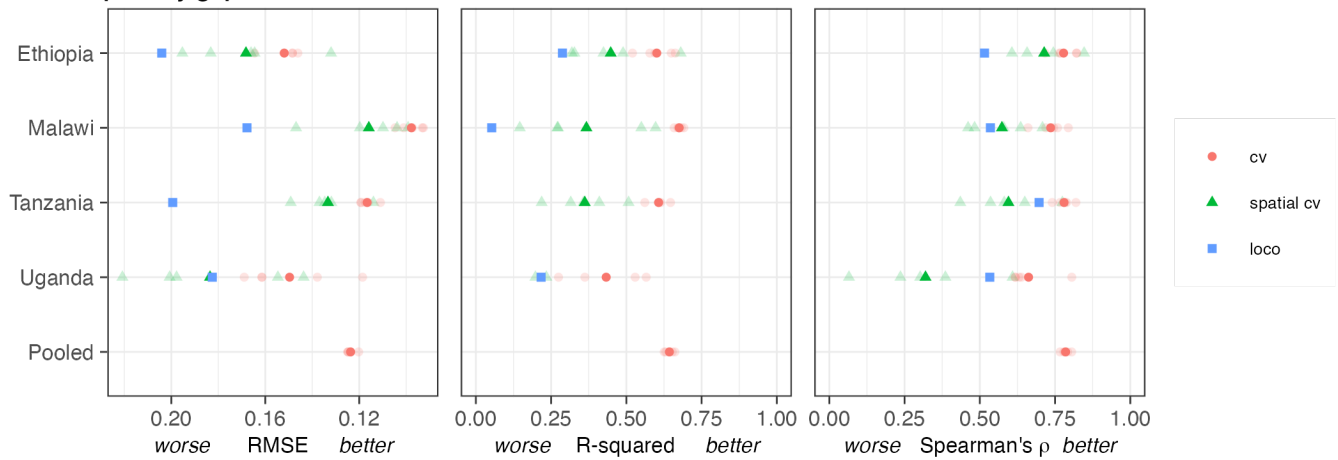


**Fig. S15.** Performance of EO-Structural Poverty models in test set, for the: Poverty Headcount ( $P^0$ ) at a poverty line of  $z = \$3.20$ . For cross-validated models, the bold symbol indicates mean performance of the shown folds. Country models are based on training and test data from that country. Leave-one-country-out (LOCO) models are trained on the pooled dataset excluding that country, which serves as the test set.

### Structural poverty gap at \$3.20

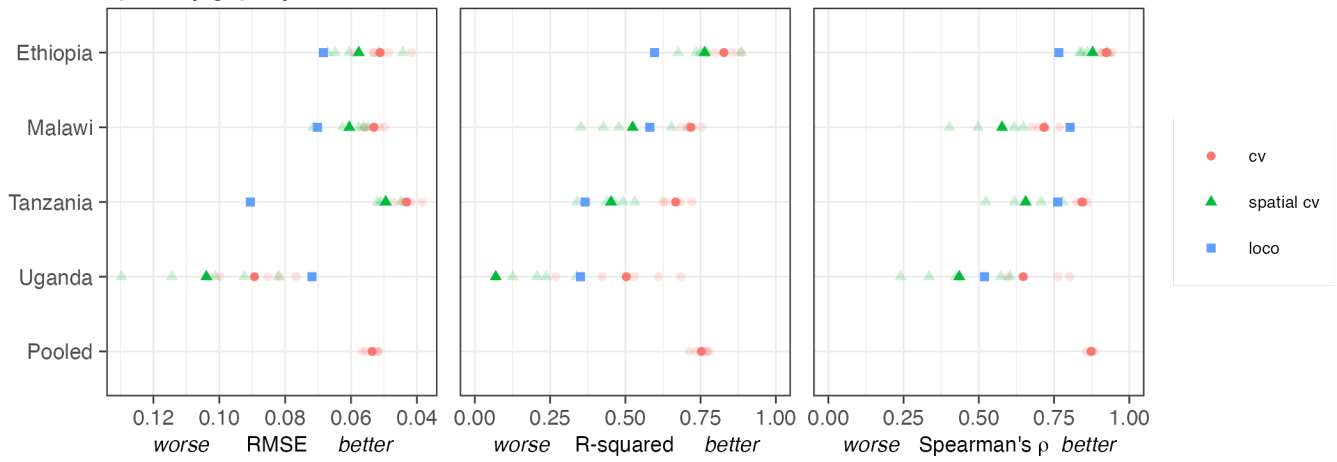


### Realized poverty gap at \$3.20

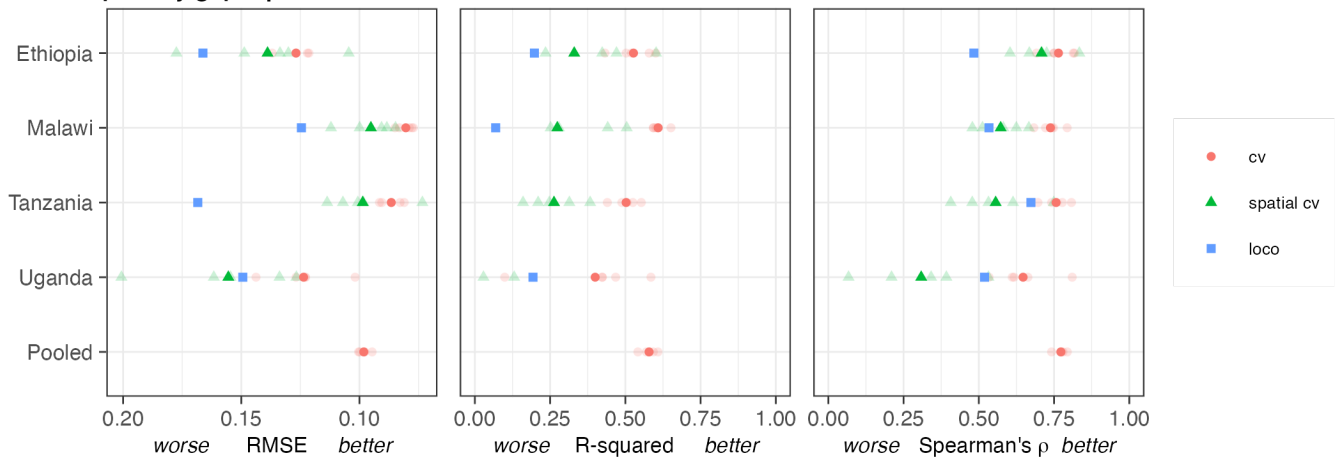


**Fig. S16.** Performance of EO-Structural Poverty models in test set, for the: Poverty Gap ( $P^1$ ) at a poverty line of  $z = \$3.20$ . For cross-validated models, the bold symbol indicates mean performance of the shown folds. Country models are based on training and test data from that country. Leave-one-country-out (LOCO) models are trained on the pooled dataset excluding that country, which serves as the test set.

**Structural poverty gap squared at \$3.20**

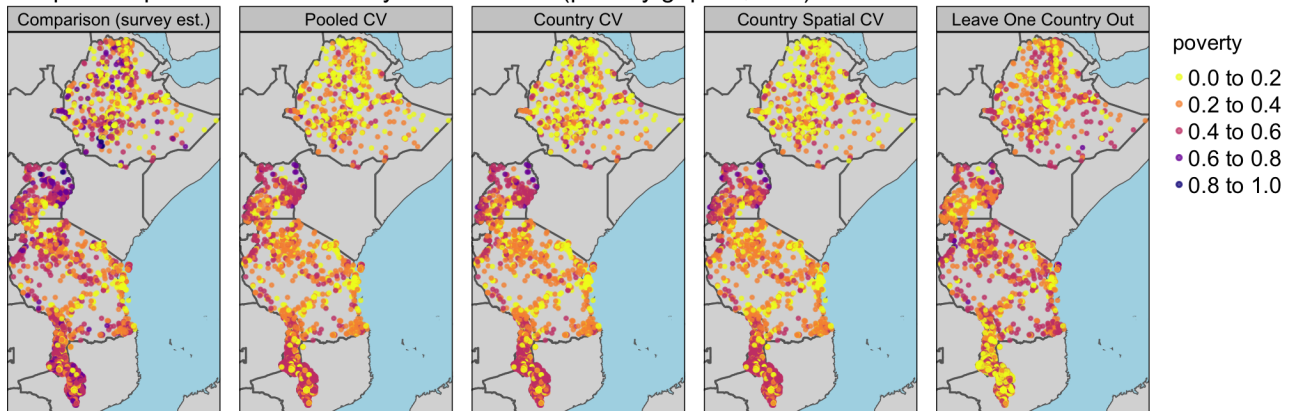


**Realized poverty gap squared at \$3.20**

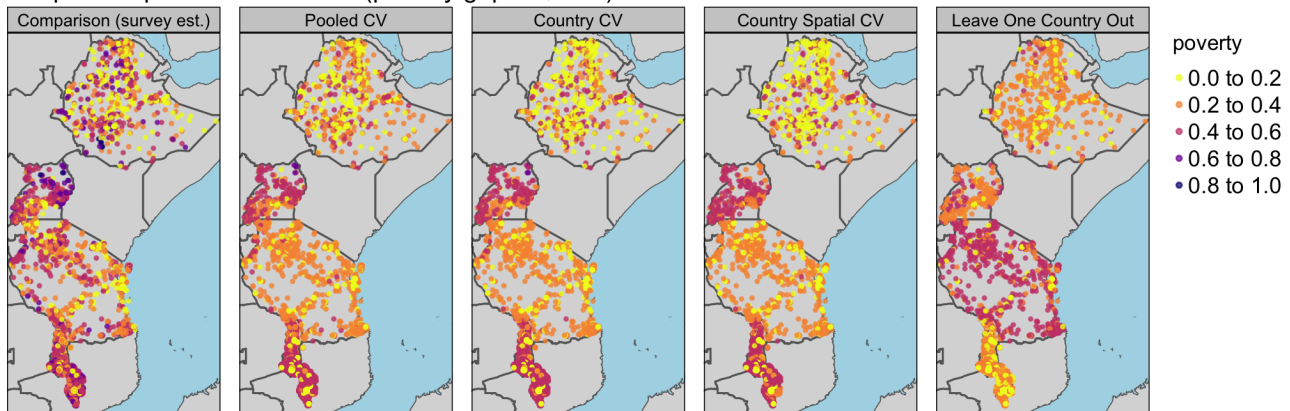


**Fig. S17.** Performance of EO-Structural Poverty models in test set, for the: Poverty Gap Squared ( $P^2$ ) at a poverty line of  $z = \$3.20$ . For cross-validated models, the bold symbol indicates mean performance of the shown folds. Country models are based on training and test data from that country. Leave-one-country-out (LOCO) models are trained on the pooled dataset excluding that country, which serves as the test set.

Step 1: RF prediction from survey-based assets (poverty gap at \$3.20)



Step 2: RF prediction from EO (poverty gap at \$3.20)



**Fig. S18.** Maps of Poverty Headcount ( $P_0$ ) at the \$3.20 poverty line. For comparison, the leftmost panel for each row are EA poverty rates estimated directly from realized consumption in the survey data. The remaining panels on the top row are predictions from the asset-consumption models into the test sets (combining model results from cross-validation). The corresponding maps in the bottom row are predicted from EO data trained on the structural poverty estimates.



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