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## Research Article

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# Tracking COVID-19 urban activity changes in the Middle East from nighttime lights

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## Abstract

In response to the COVID-19 pandemic, governments around the world have enacted widespread physical distancing measures to prevent and control virus transmission. Quantitative, spatially-disaggregated information about the population-scale shifts in activity that have resulted from these measures is extremely scarce, particularly for regions outside of Europe and the US. Public health institutions often must make decisions about control measures with limited region-specific data about how they will affect societal behavior, patterns of exposure, and infection outcomes. The Visible Infrared Imaging Radiometer Suite Day/Night Band (VIIRS DNB), a new-generation spaceborne low-light imager, has the potential to track short-term changes in human activity, but the capability has not yet been applied to a cross-country analysis of COVID-19 responses. Here, we show initial evidence of VIIRS-DNB-detected changes to societal behavior patterns from COVID-19 control measures. We examine multi-year (2015–2020) daily time-series data derived from NASA’s Black Marble VIIRS nighttime lights product (VNP46A2) covering 584 urban areas, in 17 countries in the Middle East. Our analysis specifically focuses on the first stage of the pandemic and the Ramadan period, to understand how communities have adhered to COVID-19 measures when they were contrary to long-standing socio-cultural practices. Nighttime lights capture the onset of national curfews and lockdowns well, but also expose the inconsistent response to control measures both across and within countries. In conflict-afflicted countries, lockdowns and curfews resulted in less change in activity, highlighting the compound health and security threats that fragile states face. Our findings show how satellite measurements can aid in assessing the public response to COVID-19 physical distancing policies and the socio-cultural factors that shape their success, especially in data-sparse regions.

# 1 Introduction

2           The Middle East faced unique challenges when responding to the COVID-19 pandemic  
3 in the first half of 2020. Several countries in the region entered the pandemic embroiled in political  
4 turmoil and conflict, with fractured governance, lack of transparency, and under-resourced public  
5 health systems, which complicated the response [71, 4]. Furthermore, Ramadan, which began  
6 in April, posed the risk of becoming a multi-national COVID-19 "super-spreader" event [64, 61].  
7 Traditional religious practices and communal gatherings, rooted in solidarity and sharing, were at  
8 odds with public health guidance to privatize activity, close markets and public spaces, and cancel  
9 iftars, a traditional nighttime shared meal. In some countries, this tension resulted in governments  
10 loosening restrictions, caving to economic and religious pressure [58, 91], while in other countries  
11 strict curfews and physical distancing directives were bolstered [17].

12           Physical distancing measures enacted to control COVID-19 transmission were varied  
13 across the region —both in their timing and their stringency —as were public responses to these  
14 measures. While there are now many databases that track the timing and details of COVID-19  
15 control measures (e.g. the Coronanet government measures database [8], HIT-COVID [90], Oxford-  
16 19 Government Response Tracker [33], etc.), there is not commiserate data on societal adherence to  
17 these measures. Data that indicates how societal behavior changed in response to control measures  
18 (i.e. adherence) is critical for forecasting the spread of viruses and for informing context-specific  
19 management for this and future epidemics.

20           Adherence to physical distancing measures have been captured through surveys [3, 34, 1],  
21 news reports [86], and through social media sentiment analysis [69]. While useful for understand-  
22 ing local factors that influence transmission behaviors, these data sources are not systematically  
23 collected, have limited geographic coverage, and are thus difficult to scale across space and time.  
24 They also most often measure public opinion towards physical distancing measures, which is im-  
25 portant for understanding the socio-cultural motivations that influence activity patterns, but is  
26 different than capturing activity itself.

27           The primary source for tracking activity is cell phone location data collected by private  
28 companies [6, 39]. When the COVID-19 pandemic began, Google and Apple began releasing  
29 mobility data derived from their mapping products (Google and Apple Maps)[51, 50]. The mobility  
30 data tracks cumulative daily trips, by geography, using different modes of transportation to reach  
31 destinations like retail and recreation, groceries and pharmacies, parks, transit stations, workplaces,  
32 and residential areas. Google and Apple mobility data are available for thousands of cities, but  
33 coverage is biased towards North American and European regions (80% for Apple; 53% for Google),  
34 and there are substantial data gaps over parts of Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. Regions with  
35 poor or opaque statistical collection systems and little testing of virus transmission are also most



57 regions.

58           Here, we assess the ability of NTL to track activity changes from COVID-19 physical  
59 distancing measures across 584 urban areas in 19 countries in the Middle East. Using time-  
60 series decomposition techniques applied to daily nocturnal satellite imagery (NASA’s Black Marble  
61 VNP46A2, derived from the VIIRS-DNB on Suomi-NPP), we explore NTL changes from before the  
62 start of the pandemic through June 25,2020, a month after the end of Ramadan. Data processing  
63 techniques used to aggregate NTL data within urban areas, construct each urban NTL time series,  
64 and control for quality observations are described in Methods 0.1. Using these time-series, we  
65 measure how well NTL signatures synchronize with mobility data, and explore the population-  
66 scale variation in activity change both across and within countries in the region. In addition, we  
67 compare Ramadan NTL patterns from 2015-2019 with those from 2020 to assess whether adherence  
68 to physical distancing directives changed when these directives were in conflict with traditional  
69 socio-cultural practices.

## 70 **Results**

### 71 **Comparison with Google Mobility data**

72           We performed a time-series cross correlation analysis between Black Marble NTL and  
73 Google mobility time-series on the 24 urban areas where there was an overlap in data coverage. We  
74 also ran a cross-correlation analysis at the national level in 8 countries that did not have urban-level  
75 Google data (see Methods 0.2).

76           Mobility and NTL had similar temporal signatures in a large majority of urban areas and  
77 countries tested (Figure 2). Both NTL and mobility data captured the initial decline in activity  
78 from COVID-19 control measures, which went in effect in late March. The time lagged cross  
79 correlation analysis confirmed a high degree of synchronicity in NTL and mobility records, with  
80 neither series leading or following (average offset=0,  $R^2 > .5$  in 21 out of the 24 urban areas, and  
81 7 out of the 8 countries). We also found that NTL time-series have a nearly equal correlation to  
82 both Google trips to workplaces and to retail.

83           While for the majority of cities and countries mobility and NTL proxy each other well,  
84 there was wide variation in the strength of the relationship across and within different countries.  
85 Within Turkey, there was  $>.9$  correlation for the cities of Iskenderun and Nizip, but a negative  
86 correlation in Tarsus. Similarly, in Haifa, Israel the two datasets were strong proxies, while in Tel  
87 Aviv they were not. At the national scale, we find no relationship between mobility data and NTL  
88 data for Iraq, an outlier when compared with the 7 other countries.

89           If NTL is to be used as a proxy for mobility data, future research must investigate

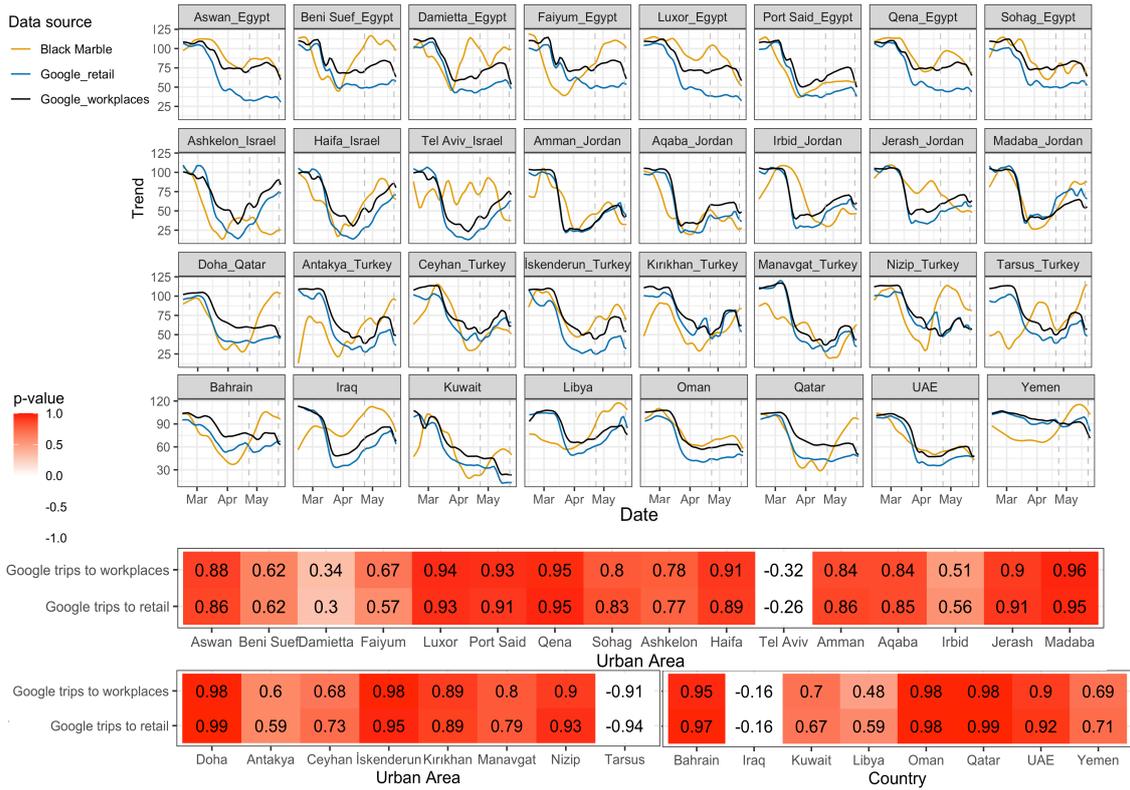


Figure 2: (top) Relative time-series of Google mobility compared against Black Marble data (scaled to overlap) for urban areas in the Middle East. Peaks occurring during Ramadan are captured more by NTL than Google mobility because most Ramadan activity occurs at night (when fasting has been broken). Ramadan period is framed by dashed grey lines). (bottom) P-values from a cross correlation analysis between the Black Marble time series and Google mobility time series show high correlation in most urban areas and countries.

90 the characteristics of a place that make this relationship reliably strong. Both trips and lights  
 91 are affected by the physical distancing measures enacted during the pandemic, but they capture  
 92 different, though related, kinds of behavior change. Within our sample of urban areas, one factor  
 93 that seems to affect the degree of correlation is the strength of a country’s Ramadan NTL signal.  
 94 During Ramadan, daily fasting pushes meals and family gatherings later into the night, which  
 95 disproportionately increases NTL. Black Marble and Google mobility time-series diverge during  
 96 Ramadan (April 23-May 23 in 2020) for several of the Egyptian cities, for Ashkelon, Israel and for  
 97 countries like Bahrain, Qatar, Kuwait, and Yemen. Ramadan activities were largely disrupted by  
 98 the pandemic, but Black Marble data still captured an increase for many cities and countries that  
 99 traditionally celebrate the holiday.

## 100 Comparison with policy data

101 Given the positive results from the cross-correlation analysis, we examined how well the  
 102 timing of decreases in Black Marble NTL corresponded to the enactment of COVID-19 restrictions.  
 103 We iteratively identified the largest 15 sustained increases or decreases in radiance in the November

104 2018-June 2020 Black Marble time-series for each urban area, and the corresponding dates of  
 105 change, magnitudes of change, and directions of change (Methods 0.3). We compared the dates of  
 106 changes detected from NTL to dates of national curfews and lockdowns recorded in the Coronanet  
 107 government measures database [8] for the countries in our study.

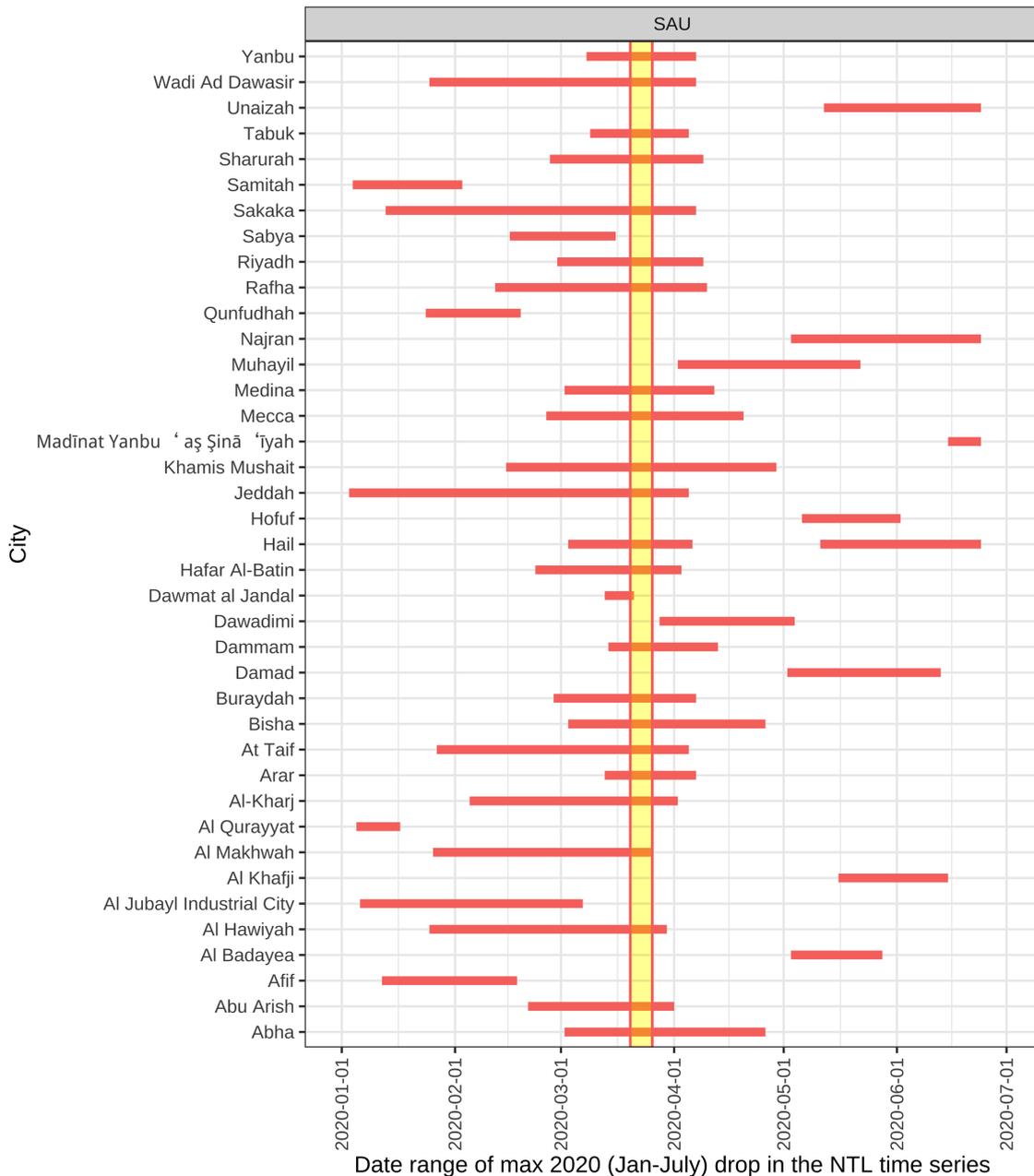


Figure 3: The date range of initialization of a national curfew in Saudi Arabia is depicted as a yellow rectangle, spanning a week, with the center falling on the day the lockdown began (3/23/20) for each urban areas in Saudi Arabia. The curfew initiation date is compared to the date range of the largest continuous decrease identified in the Black marble NTL time series, represented as a horizontal pink line. For 24 of the 39 sampled Saudi Arabian urban areas (62%), the largest continuous decrease overlapped with the date range of curfew initialization.

108 In most urban areas, physical distancing policies caused a significant abrupt reduction in  
 109 NTL and associated urban activities. For instance, across urban areas in Saudi Arabia, the largest

110 decreases in nighttime radiance consistently corresponded to the timing of the lockdown in late  
 111 March (Figure 3). The figure also shows a second group of Saudi Arabian urban areas that had  
 112 their largest reduction in NTL at the end of Ramadan (May 23-May 27), corresponding with the  
 113 Eid al-Fitr. During this time, the Saudi government strengthened the curfew, expanding it from  
 114 5pm-9am to a full 24 hours, to curtail any potential gatherings or celebrations that could have  
 115 exacerbated the outbreak [70]. Of the 584 urban areas sampled, nearly 70% had a significant (i.e.  
 116 top 15) decreases in radiance coinciding with the onset of physical distancing policies (Table 1).

Table 1: Prevalence of Urban Areas in each country with drops in NTL corresponding to physical distancing policies

Country	# of UAs	% UAs w/ NTL drop >1%	% UAs w/ NTL drop >5%	% of UAs w/ max NTL drop in 2020
Afghanistan	13	54	38	15
Bahrain	1	100	100	100
Egypt	77	83	73	53
Iran	157	76	73	50
Iraq	63	59	40	13
Israel	9	89	67	56
Jordan	8	88	75	75
Kuwait	1	100	100	100
Libya	6	0	0	0
Oman	8	88	75	13
Pakistan	43	79	79	56
Palestine	6	N/A	N/A	N/A
Qatar	2	100	100	100
Turkey	116	47	37	25
Saudi Arabia	39	90	82	62
United Arab Emirates	6	83	83	50
Yemen	21	38	38	24

\*Table statistics are based on the percentage of urban areas that had a disruption in the nightlights time series within 1 week of the onset of a COVID-19 national lockdown or curfew.

117 However, the effect of national curfews and lockdowns on urban activity was not uniform  
 118 across countries. Turkey, had uneven NTL decreases after COVID-19 policies were put in place,  
 119 with only 37% of its urban areas registering a drop bigger than 5% 1). Countries in on-going  
 120 conflicts (e.g. Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, Yemen)—all of which are in the top 20 fragile states  
 121 according to the Fragile States Index [57]—also had weak or inconsistent nightlight decreases in  
 122 response to national lockdown or curfews. Less than half of the urban areas sampled in these  
 123 countries had a NTL decrease of greater than 5%.

## 124 COVID-19 changes in Ramadan activity in the Middle East

125 Ramadan began almost two months after the first cases of COVID-19 in the Middle  
 126 East, ushering in a new wave of COVID-19 control measures. Past work using Black Marble has  
 127 shown that NTL radiance spikes for cities across the Muslim world during Ramadan, reflecting a

128 shift in shopping, iftars, and community gatherings to later in the night [66, 9]. To date there is  
 129 little quantitative, trans-national information about how and where Ramadan activity changed in  
 130 2020, as compared to previous years, as a result of public health guidance to avoid these communal  
 131 activities.

132 To measure changes during Ramadan, we calculated the "baseline" Ramadan increase  
 133 as a percentage of the total NTL radiance for each year between 2015-2020, and quantified the  
 134 change between this baseline and 2020 (Methods 0.4). We found that in some countries COVID-  
 135 19 eliminated the Ramadan increase traditionally seen in NTL records, while in other countries,  
 136 Ramadan remained nearly unchanged. Saudi Arabia's average Ramadan NTL radiance fell by  
 137 almost a third in 2020, from comprising 11.5% of the NTL radiance signal to comprising only  
 138 3.7%. Ramadan NTL radiance also shrunk significantly in cities in Egypt (Figure 5), Jordan,  
 139 Afghanistan, the United Arab Emirates, Palestine, and for Kuwait City, the only sampled urban  
 140 area in Kuwait. In contrast, there was no significant change for most other countries in the Middle  
 141 East (Figure 4), and in Qatar, Yemen, and Iraq, Ramadan NTL radiance even increased, on average,  
 142 in 2020.

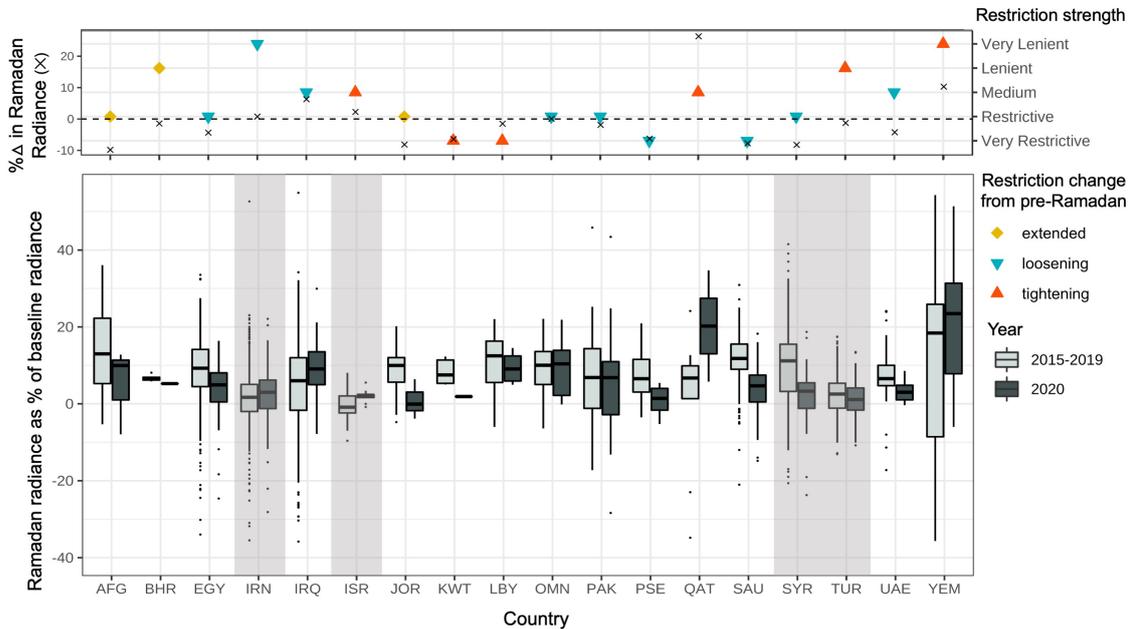


Figure 4: (top) Restriction markers indicate the strength and direction of change of national COVID-19 policies put into place during Ramadan. These markers are compared with the x's which indicate the change between 2015-2019 Ramadan NTL radiance and 2020 Ramadan NTL radiance. (bottom) Boxplot showing the 2015-2019 average Ramadan radiance vs 2020 average Ramadan NTL radiance for urban areas in Middle Eastern countries. Shaded countries indicate that country has few or no urban areas with a Ramadan nightlights increase, even in baseline years.

143 How well do these differences in the Ramadan change between countries correspond with  
 144 differences in the strength of COVID-19 policies and regulations? We classified the government

145 measures implemented in each country during Ramadan according to (1) whether they reflected  
146 a tightening, loosening, or merely an extension of pre-Ramadan COVID-19 measures and (2)  
147 how restrictive the new measures were during Ramadan according to the COVID-19 Government  
148 Response Stringency Index [33]. Restriction strength was defined by the average of the stringency  
149 index on April 23 and May 23, the beginning and end of Ramadan.

150 Not surprisingly, we found that countries that enacted stringent control measures during  
151 Ramadan often had the largest decreases in Ramadan NTL radiance. Afghanistan, Egypt, Jordan,  
152 Kuwait, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, and Syria were all classified as "restrictive" —with daily curfews,  
153 cancellation of mass gatherings, and business closures. Conversely, in the countries with the weakest  
154 Ramadan restrictions —Iran, Turkey, Bahrain, and Yemen —we observed stable or increased  
155 Ramadan NTL radiance in 2020.

156 Countries with low societal adherence to control measures would theoretically show up  
157 as outliers or deviations in the relationship between policy stringency and NTL decrease. Pakistan  
158 and Oman are two such outliers, both of which had "restrictive" control measures but showed  
159 no significant difference in Ramadan NTL radiance. In Iraq and Qatar, which are classified as  
160 "medium", we observed an average increase in Ramadan NTL radiance (6.3% and 26%). Similarly  
161 in Libya, one of the most restrictive countries, Ramadan NTL radiance only declined 1.5% in 2020,  
162 much less than would be expected by looking at peer countries with "very restrictive" policies.

163 However, interpreting COVID-19 responses based on simple historical and 2020 Ra-  
164 madan season comparisons is difficult because of the longer term, simultaneous non-COVID re-  
165 lated changes occurring in the region. For example, the increase in Ramadan radiance for Qatar  
166 shown in Figure 4 is driven by the small sample size (2 cities) and the longer term trend of ur-  
167 banization within those two cities. From 2015-2018, the population of Doha grew at an average  
168 2.5% annual growth rate, resulting in a 14% increase in NTL radiance. Conversely, Iraq and Libya  
169 were both sites of significant conflict in previous years. The War in Iraq (2013-2017) and the  
170 Second Libyan Civil War (2014-2020) dampened Ramadan signals in the baseline years, muddling  
171 the 2020 COVID-19 impact (theoretically a decrease) with the post-war recovery (theoretically an  
172 increase). Changes in Ramadan activity are intermixed with general (non-Ramadan) COVID-19  
173 related behavioral changes and other long term trends like conflict, which can dampen the NTL  
174 baseline, or urbanization and electrification.

## 175 **National and urban variations in response to COVID-19 restrictions**

176 To disentangle COVID-19 and longer term effects, we use an additive time-series decom-  
177 position, to detrend the urban NTL time-series and separate seasonality. Pre- and post- COVID-19  
178 trend and seasonal radiance levels are compared, and the percent change for each urban area is

179 computed (Methods 0.5).

180 Our results highlight where and how much urban activity levels decreased during Ra-  
181 madan and generally during the sampled pandemic period. Four different typologies of COVID-19  
182 responses emerged: (1) *full responders*: urban areas that had consistent decreases in activity, both  
183 during Ramadan and generally during the pandemic (e.g. Ibri, Oman and Dammam, Saudi Arabia  
184 in Figure 5), (2) *general responders*: urban areas where activity levels decreased in response to  
185 the pandemic generally, but without a commiserate flattening in Ramadan seasonal activity (e.g.  
186 Al-Minya, Egypt in Figure 5), (3) *Ramadan responders*: urban areas with a decrease in Ramadan  
187 activity, but little activity change in the post-COVID-19 era generally (e.g. Amman, Jordan in  
188 Figure 5), (4) *full non-responders*: urban areas that showed little COVID-19 activity decrease  
189 during Ramadan and generally during the pandemic (e.g. Khuzdar, Pakistan and Dhamar, Yemen  
190 in Figure 5). There are also urban areas that do not have a pronounced Ramadan signal pre-2020  
191 (non-seasonal urban areas), which are classified solely according to their general change in activity.

192 These four typologies are represented as the four quadrants in figure 6. *Non-responders*  
193 (full and non-seasonal) occupy quadrant 1, with the post-COVID era having equal or increased  
194 trend and seasonal radiance as the pre-COVID era. Quadrant 2 and 4 host *Ramadan responders*  
195 and *general responders* respectively, with directionally opposite changes in seasonal and trend  
196 radiance. *Full responders* occupy quadrant 3, with both seasonal and trend decreases in radiance  
197 during the pandemic. The country plots in figure 6 are colored according to the predominant  
198 typology of the constituent urban areas.

199 Countries where a large majority of sampled urban areas were *full responders* included  
200 Afghanistan, Egypt, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia. Each of these countries had widespread consistent  
201 responses to the pandemic, with a large majority (85% or more) of urban areas having both  
202 decreased Ramadan and general activity during the pandemic (Table 2). Predictably, all of these  
203 countries, imposed and enforced strict nationwide curfews, business closures, and limitations on  
204 mass gatherings—both during Ramadan and throughout the early stages of the pandemic. Qatar  
205 was also labelled a *full responder*, though its sample only included two urban areas, and Doha’s  
206 general decrease was quite mild (-2%).

207 A second group of countries had consistent activity decreases (in 75% or more of the con-  
208 stituent urban areas) during Ramadan or generally, but not both. Three-quarters of Oman’s urban  
209 areas sustained decreased activity during the pandemic period (Table 2), but the decrease during  
210 Ramadan was less consistent, especially in the capital area of Muscat/Seeb. In Palestine, both  
211 Hebron and Jenin, the two sampled seasonal urban areas, showed strong reductions in Ramadan  
212 activity, but there was with little commiserate change generally in the post-pandemic era, across  
213 urban areas (figure 6). Similarly, the UAE showed more consistent Ramadan decreases (67% of

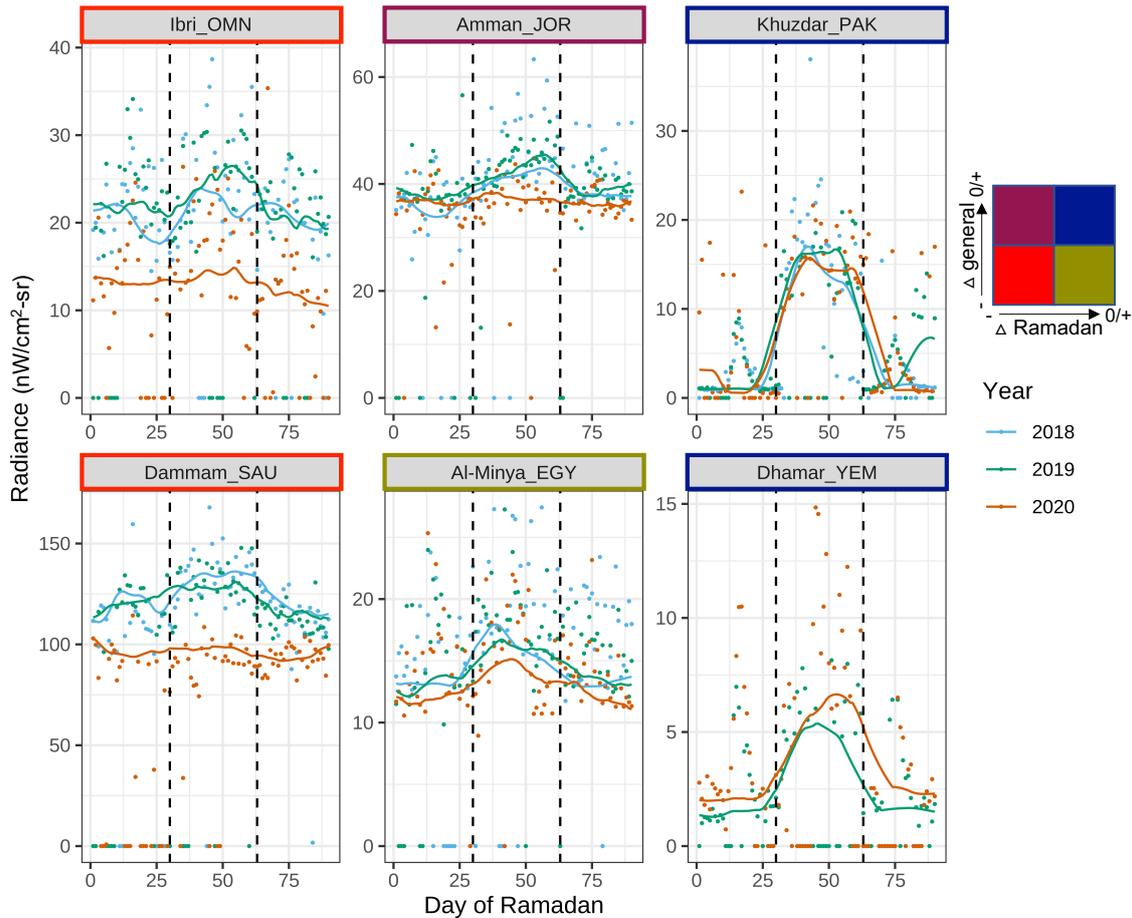


Figure 5: Historical and 2020 radiance for a sample of urban areas: (column 1), Ibri, Oman and Damman, Saudi Arabia are full responders, (column 2, top) Amman, Jordan is a Ramadan responder, (column 2, bottom) Al-Minya, Egypt exemplifies a seasonal city that is a general responder, (column 3) Khuzdar, Pakistan in the Balochistan province and Dhamar, Yemen are examples of full non-responders. The name boxes of urban areas are colored based on where they would fall on a two dimensional grid showing change in activity during Ramadan and generally during the pandemic.

214 seasonal urban areas) than general decreases in activity (50% of urban areas).

215 *Non-responder* dominant countries were those with inconsistent changes amongst their  
 216 urban areas, which resulted from province-based approaches (e.g. Pakistan, Turkey, Iran) 6.  
 217 Turkey’s results (46% of urban areas with a general decrease) match its control measures, which  
 218 were not national in extent, but limited to 31 selected cities [26, 14]. In Pakistan, the urban areas  
 219 of Karachi, Hyderabad, Kandhkot, and Mehar —all of which lie in the Sindh province —had large  
 220 decreases in their Ramadan signal (-71% on average). Conversely, in Khuzdar and Quetta, in the  
 221 Balochistan province, NTL radiance levels stayed level or increased (+49% on average), as com-  
 222 pared with pre-pandemic Ramadan activity. Our results show only 1/3 of Iran’s seasonal urban  
 223 areas showed decreased Ramadan activity in 2020. On average, radiance in Iran decreased very  
 224 little during the pandemic (by 1.5%), and only in less than half of the sampled urban areas.

225 States in conflict were most often *non-responder* countries. Iraq, Libya, Syria, and Yemen

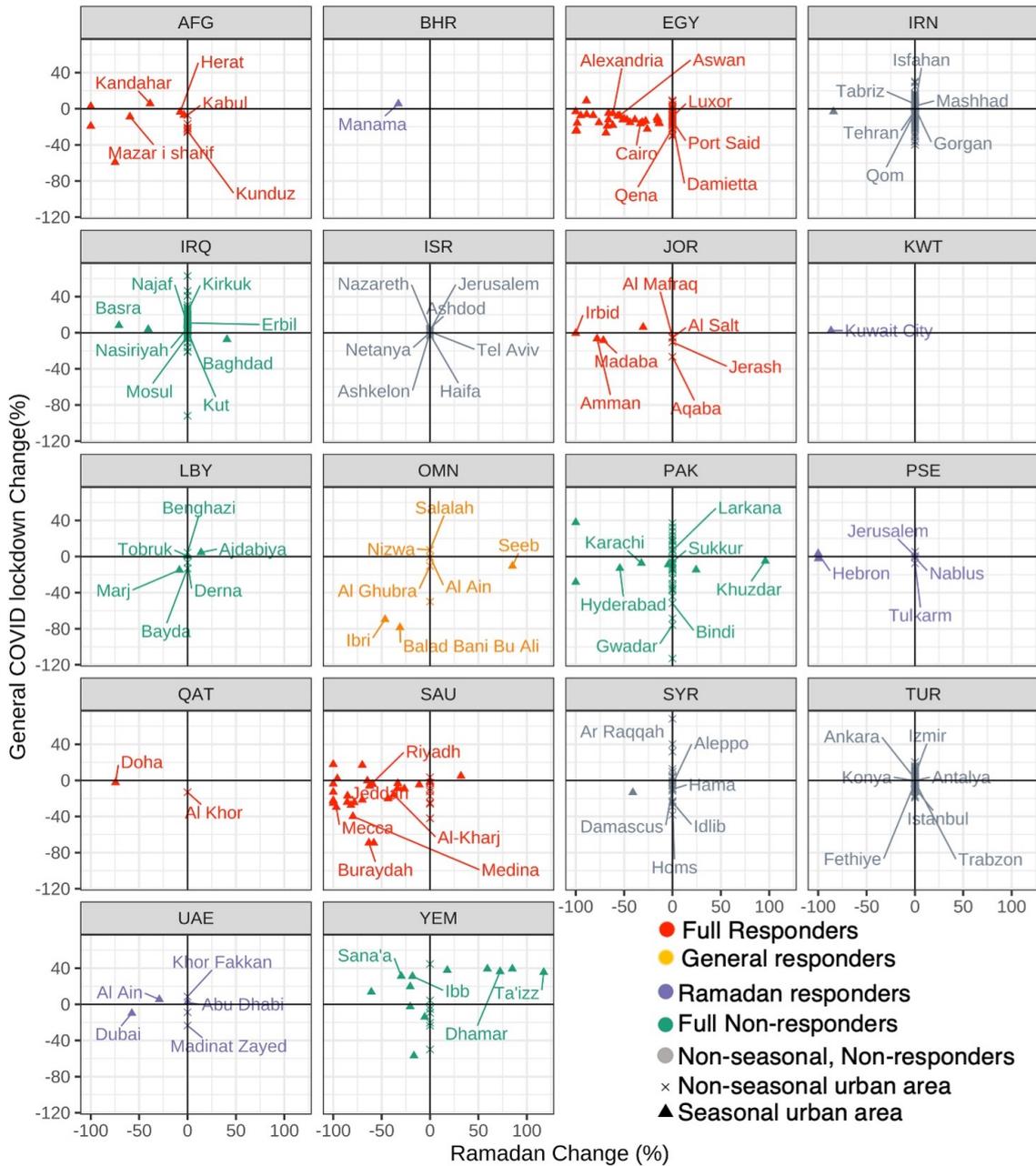


Figure 6: Percent change in Ramadan (seasonal) radiance is shown on the x-axis, while percent change in radiance generally during the remaining COVID-19 period (trend) is shown on the y axis. Country-plots are colored by the dominant typology of constituent urban areas. Seasonal urban areas (those with a consistent Ramadan increase, are represented as triangles, while non-seasonal urban areas are represented as an x.

226 all had wide variation in their general and Ramadan responses. Yemen, in particular, was the only  
 227 Middle Eastern country to celebrate Ramadan more in 2020 than in 2019, with an average increase  
 228 in both general (6%) and Ramadan (9%) radiance (Table 3). In Libya and Iraq, only 1/3 of urban  
 229 areas had reduced Ramadan activity in 2020, and less than half had decreased radiance generally  
 230 during the the study period.

Table 2: Consistency of general and Ramadan decreases amongst sampled urban areas (UAs) within Middle Eastern countries

Country	% UAs w/ sustained general decrease	% UAs w/ Ramadan decrease	# of UAs sampled	# of Seasonal UAs sampled
Afghanistan	85	100	13	7
Bahrain	0	100	1	1
Egypt	92	85	77	31
Iran	46	33	157	3
Iraq	24	33	63	6
Israel	22	NA	9	0
Jordan	87	100	8	4
Kuwait	0	1	1	1
Libya	50	33	6	3
Oman	75	67	8	3
Pakistan	67	71	43	7
Palestine	50	100	6	2
Qatar	100	100	2	1
Saudi Arabia	87	96	39	28
Syria	65	100	15	1
Turkey	46	0	116	3
United Arab Emirates	50	67	6	3
Yemen	48	58	21	12

Table 3: Ramadan and general percent change in NTL in urban areas

Country	# of UAs	trend $\delta\%$	stdev	seas. $\delta\%$	stdev
Afghanistan	13	-16	17	-22	35
Bahrain	1	5	NA	0	NA
Egypt	77	-12	8	-19	30
Iran	157	-1.5	12	0	0
Iraq	63	8	20	-1	9
Israel	9	1	3	0	0
Jordan	8	-7	9	-31	44
Kuwait	1	2.4	NA	0	NA
Libya	6	-4	9	0	0
Oman	8	-26	35	-4	11
Pakistan	43	-11	30	-4	18
Palestine	6	0	5	-33	52
Qatar	2	-7	7	-37	53
Saudi Arabia	39	-16	19	-41	41
Syria	23	-1	23	-2	9
Turkey	116	0	7	0	0
United Arab Emirates	6	-4	12	-14	24
Yemen	21	6	30	9	42

\*

## 231 Discussion

232 For directly transmitted infectious diseases, human to human contact shaped by daily  
 233 activity patterns, plays a major role in shaping the dynamics of transmission in an epidemic.  
 234 Increasingly, public health studies have pointed to the lack of social epidemiological data describing  
 235 population dynamics as one of the biggest challenges to accurately characterizing the spread of

236 pathogens [6, 22, 24]. In the case of COVID-19, physical distancing (e.g., avoiding travel and  
237 crowded public spaces, and limiting physical contact with others) has been an important strategy  
238 for containing transmission, though it is often not practiced uniformly across and within countries.  
239 There is little existing data that can capture the heterogeneous adherence to control measures  
240 across time, which are needed to forecast the effectiveness of these measures [39, 6].

241 Cell phone mobility data is increasingly being used to evaluate societal adherence to  
242 physical distancing measures [39, 45], but publicly-available data is patchy in coverage and nonex-  
243 istent in many of the poorest, most fragile regions or in lower-resource settings, where use of  
244 smartphones is less common. It also often comes pre-aggregated so differences in local mobility  
245 patterns (towns or even neighborhoods) can not be examined. Currently when mobility data is not  
246 available, models are trained to predict activity patterns based on government policies alone [87],  
247 a critical shortcoming in their applicability in regions where the divide between control measures  
248 and adherence to those measures is large.

249 Our results highlight the possibilities and limitations of NTL for providing context-  
250 specific information about how physical distancing control measures have changed human behavior  
251 on a societal scale. Unlike mobility data, global nightlights data is openly-available, collected con-  
252 tinuously at 500m resolution, and can be easily aggregated to describe changes in neighborhoods,  
253 cities, provinces, or countries, matching the spatial units of reported policy data, case and death  
254 count data. We find that NTL time-series during the first four months of the pandemic had high  
255 synchronicity with Google mobility data during the same time period ( $R^2 > .5$  in 88% of the cities  
256 and countries sampled). This indicates that NTL can act as complement for mobility data when  
257 there is sparse coverage or a substitute when there is no availability. NTL also corresponded well  
258 with the timing and severity of governmental measures. Drops in radiance in the NTL time-series  
259 matched the onset of national control measures in 70% of the sampled cities, and stronger measures  
260 were associated with larger decreases in radiance. This confirms that the activities captured in  
261 NTL dynamics (e.g. business operations, traffic) indirectly capture the transmission causes that  
262 control measures target (e.g. mixing, human to human contact).

263 Equally important are differences between NTL time-series and mobility data. First,  
264 while NTL has global spatial coverage and higher spatial resolution, it is more limited temporally.  
265 Cell phones track activity throughout the day, but existing Lower Earth Orbiting (LEO) satellites,  
266 like those that collect NTL data, overpass only once per night. Second, unlike trip destinations, the  
267 different activities that contribute to nightlights can not be easily differentiated. NTL is primarily  
268 associated with downtown centers, commercial areas, manufacturing, public service areas, and  
269 transportation [43, 32, 53]. As such, communal gatherings in residential areas are largely invisible  
270 to nightlights data, even though they may drive increased transmission. Furthermore, how much

271 each sector contributes to nightlight radiance differs across cities and between countries, making  
272 it difficult to identify or compare the causes of decreased urban activity. Third, as with mobility,  
273 NTL dynamics are impacted by several socio-cultural and technical processes that are not related  
274 to COVID-19 transmission —e.g. conflict, urbanization, electricity insecurity and electrification.  
275 To measure adherence reliably, care must be taken to control for these processes and to establish  
276 a reliable baseline.

277 In parts of the Middle East, there is little understanding of numbers of cases, or even  
278 deaths, since such statistics are dependent on testing capacity and reporting policies. Recent studies  
279 estimate that only 1.25% of COVID-19 deaths in Damascus [87] and 7.7% of deaths in Egypt have  
280 been reported [42], spotlighting the Middle East as a region where COVID-19 transmission rates,  
281 and the activities that impact them, have been largely untracked. Activity patterns derived from  
282 nightlights provide insights into how the Middle East responded to control measures meant to slow  
283 the transmission of COVID-19, during Ramadan, and more generally across the first four months  
284 of the pandemic.

285 Our results show, on average, NTL decreases tracked restriction stringency for most  
286 countries during Ramadan in the Middle East. Not surprisingly, in countries with lenient restric-  
287 tions (e.g. Yemen), we found little change in activity between pre-pandemic years and 2020. The  
288 inverse was true for countries with "restrictive" or "very restrictive" policies (e.g. Kuwait, Pales-  
289 tine, Saudi Arabia). Outliers included Iraq, which saw an average increase in Ramadan activity  
290 over 2020 despite a national curfew, and Libya, Oman, and Pakistan which all had "restrictive"  
291 or "very restrictive" control measures, but little Ramadan change. Within countries, we identified  
292 a highly heterogeneous response to COVID-19 restrictions, apparent in the degree of dispersion in  
293 the scatterplots in Figure 6 and the standard deviations in Table 2, calling into question whether  
294 nationally-aggregated data on mobility or activity is even meaningful for local disease transmission  
295 forecasts.

296 Changes in nightlights are the result of behavioral changes influenced by both top-down  
297 policy, but also the values and decision-making apparatus of civil society. In some cases, like in  
298 Turkey, Pakistan, and Iran, the heterogeneity in responses reflects the balkanized application of  
299 top-down control measures across provinces. Turkey stood out from the rest of the region by  
300 not ordering a full national lockdown or curfew until April 2021 [82]. The national government in  
301 Pakistan, under pressure both economically and from religious leaders, is widely considered to have  
302 had an inconsistent response early in the pandemic, sending mixed messaging and misinformation,  
303 backtracking on Ramadan restrictions, and downplaying the pandemic's health risks [30, 86]. This  
304 left many of the provinces to enact their own measures. Sindh province, which is run by the  
305 national government's opposition party, took an early position on the pandemic in mid-March,

306 ordering all public transport, markets, offices, shopping malls, restaurants, and public areas to be  
307 shut down [37]. These restrictions were consistently extended through the Ramadan holiday [13].  
308 We observed significantly larger reductions in activity in Sindh urban areas during Ramadan than  
309 in non-Sindh urban areas. Similarly, Iran’s national government reversed proposed restrictions  
310 during Ramadan to appease conservative religious clerics [52]. The information apparatus in Iran  
311 was been widely regarded as unreliable [5], which may have stifled activity decreases that otherwise  
312 would have been initiated by individuals or civil society.

313 In other cases, highly heterogeneous responses may reflect differences in the reaction of  
314 civil society to control measures. Our results expose a significant divide between control measures  
315 and activity changes in conflict countries. Fragile and conflict-afflicted countries, such as Syria,  
316 Iraq, Libya, and Yemen, had weak responses to COVID-19 restrictions and the lowest, least consis-  
317 tent decreases in nightlights for both Ramadan and generally. Yemen was the most lenient country  
318 in the Middle East, with few control measures in place. In contrast, Syria, Iraq, and Libya closed  
319 borders and suspended flights, shut down schools, imposed curfews, banned public gatherings,  
320 implemented a mandatory lockdowns, and imposed strict social distancing, however NTL records  
321 indicate that little changed in the way of urban activity.

322 There is little available ground-truth data about changes in activity patterns in fragile  
323 states, however the data that exists validates the NTL records. Crowd-sourced photo submissions  
324 from Yemen, have also indicated that markets in larger cities (e.g. Sana’a and Ibb) appear to be  
325 as busy as they were before COVID-19 restrictions were put in place [31]. Journalistic accounts  
326 describe Yemen as one of the only Muslim countries to celebrate Ramadan as usual in 2020 [89].  
327 In phone surveys conducted by the International Organization for Migration in Iraq in April and  
328 June, a majority of respondents said half or less of the population stays at home during curfews  
329 [23].

330 Three hypotheses exist for why countries in conflict had smaller or inconsistent changes  
331 in activity, despite strict curfews. First, conflict zones often already have existing curfews in place  
332 and limits on freedom of movement and assembly, making COVID-19-specific behavior change less  
333 significant from baseline activity levels [62, 38]. Second, residents living in fragile states must often  
334 prioritize safety, security, and economic concerns over complying with public health restrictions.  
335 In Iraq, a considerable percentage of the population resisted COVID-19 restrictions on movement,  
336 because of the need to protect livelihoods [36]. In Syria, restrictions were reversed out of fear  
337 of economic collapse [55]. Across the Middle East, armed conflict increased during governmental  
338 COVID-19 lockdowns, presenting residents with a security-public health compound threat [56].  
339 Third, given the fractured governance and public distrust of policing in conflict zones, there may  
340 be fewer resources available for education and enforcement of public health measures [2, 29]. In



374 to be averaged each day, for each year. Urban boundaries were defined by the Global Human  
375 Settlement Functional Urban Areas (GHS-FUA) dataset [72], which delineates the commuting  
376 areas of urban centers globally in 2015, based on objective characteristics like travel time to central  
377 business districts, population and population density, and country GDP.

378 Second, we filtered out low-quality daily urban radiance averages using a majority quality  
379 flag. The majority quality flag was based on the percentage of pixels in the urban area that are  
380 high quality (QA flag 0 or 1), low quality (QA flag 2), or no data (QA flag 255). If the majority  
381 pixels in the urban area were low quality or no data, that date’s urban average was excluded and  
382 the radiance value was interpolated. A 14 day rolling window was then used to smooth each of the  
383 urban time series and remove spurious measurements.

384 Finally, we filtered for reliable *urban time-series* based on the number and distribution  
385 of high quality observations. We created quality assessment summary statistics  $E$  and  $\varepsilon$  for each  
386 time-series, where  $E$  is the proportion of high quality observations over the entire assessment  
387 period, and  $\varepsilon$  is the proportion of rolling 7 day weeks with at least one high quality estimate.  $E$   
388 and  $\varepsilon$  are calculated as:  $E = \frac{\sum_{i=0}^n w_i}{n}$   $\varepsilon = \frac{\sum_{j=0}^n w_j}{j}$  where  $j = n/7$

389 Urban areas with  $E < .08$  or  $\varepsilon < .7$  were excluded. These thresholds were tuned to  
390 balance the trade-off between keeping a high proportion of urban areas in the sample (65%) while  
391 ensuring the the time-series is stable, complete, and without multiple week gaps. 582 urban areas  
392 in 19 countries were included in the final sample.

## 393 0.2 cross-correlation analysis

394 To compare the similarity between nightlights signal and mobility signals, we first iden-  
395 tified the overlapping subset of cities and countries included in both the Black Marble sample and  
396 the Google mobility dataset release. Metropolitan area data was only available for Egypt, Israel,  
397 Jordan, and Turkey, and Qatar, and 24 shared urban areas were identified in these countries. We  
398 also ran a cross correlation analysis for 8 other countries that had Google mobility data available  
399 at the national level.

400 Google’s mobility data is provided originally as % change from baseline, with baseline  
401 represented as 0. We add 100 to all google mobility time series so that baseline is represented  
402 as 100. Black marble time series, from 1/01/2020-6/25/20, is rescaled to match the range of the  
403 Google mobility data, with the baseline, defined as the average of January 2020. We use a 7 day  
404 moving average to smooth out weekday/weekend perturbations in both series. Using a time-lagged  
405 time-series cross correlation, the mobility and Black Marble variables were determined to neither  
406 lead nor lag one another, with the best correlations occurring without a time shift in nearly all  
407 urban areas. We report out the cross correlation coefficient as a measure of similarity between the

408 two datasets in each city/country in Figure 2.

### 409 0.3 time series disturbance analysis

410 To identify major breaks and decreases in NTL, we first apply a 30 day moving average to  
411 the 11/7/18-6/25/20 Black Marble time-series to smooth out all minor perturbations and identify  
412 the most prominent features. Using run length encoding, we divide each time-series into segments  
413 that continuously rise or fall, and require that the segments are at minimum 5 days in length, to  
414 rule out short-term anomalies like power outages. The largest 15 sustained changes are recorded,  
415 along with the corresponding dates of change, magnitudes of change, and directions of change for  
416 each urban area. Sustained increases are discarded, to leave a dataset with the largest decreases  
417 for each urban area.

418 This dataset is merged with information about the date range of national lockdowns and  
419 curfews for each country included in the Coronanet government measures database [8]. Yemen,  
420 Palestine, Pakistan, Bahrain, Iran, and Qatar had no data, so information about measures in these  
421 countries were sourced from news articles. In Pakistan, provinces were primarily responsible for  
422 early lockdown, which varied, so the authors chose lockdown dates for the Sindh province, matching  
423 the location of the majority of urban areas in our sample. Yemen and Bahrain avoided a curfews,  
424 so the implementation of restrictions were used as a policy dates. Iraq and Lebanon both started  
425 with partial lockdowns and escalated to full lockdowns, so both dates were included—the date range  
426 of initialization and date range of intensification.

427 We identify the overlap between COVID-19 measures in each country and identified  
428 sustained COVID-19 decreases in each urban area. Table 1 is reports the the percent of overlap:  
429 urban areas that had a 1%, 5% and maximum NTL decrease while COVID-19 measures were  
430 implemented.

### 431 0.4 Ramadan signal as a percentage of the NTL baseline

432 For figure 4, we calculated the Ramadan increase as a percentage of the baseline NTL  
433 radiance for each year between 2015-2020. Radiances were averaged for days during Ramadan and  
434 days not during Ramadan (considered baseline) separately. We then calculated the percentage of  
435 the Ramadan mean that was an increase over baseline:

$$436 R\% = 100 * \frac{\overline{Ramadan} - \overline{baseline}}{\overline{Ramadan}}$$

437 The figure compares the distribution of  $R\%$  for all urban areas in each country for the  
438 years 2015-2019 (pre-pandemic) with the distribution in 2020.

## 439 0.5 seasonal decomposition

440 We use an additive time-series decomposition to disaggregate changes in radiance from  
441 COVID-19 during Ramadan and generally throughout the pandemic period. The decomposition  
442 splits the time series into trend, seasonal, and remainder components. We create a discontinuous  
443 time series to input into the decomposition created from the 90 days before during and after  
444 Ramadan each year from 2015-2019 (540 days total, 6 periods). The trend is computed as a step  
445 function from the average of the data for each year. After detrending, the seasonal component  
446 is extracted by taking the median radiance value of each of the 90 days across the first 5 years.  
447 The remainder is the leftover when the trend and seasonal component (repeated each year) is  
448 subtracted from the original time-series.

449 The time-series decomposition separates seasonal changes (COVID-19's impact on Ra-  
450 madan), from 2019-2020 trend changes (COVID-19's impact on activity patterns generally). We  
451 only use 2019 and 2020 trend means when calculating the percent change in trend radiance from  
452 COVID-19, in order to diminish the impact of longer term trends like electrification and urban-  
453 ization. For the seasonal change in radiance, we subtract the seasonal component (derived from  
454 2015-2019 medians) from the detrended 2020 data. For this analysis, any urban area where the  
455 seasonal component is not at least two times greater than the remainder component is designated  
456 "non-seasonal", and seasonal change is recorded as zero.

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## 656 Author contributions statement

657 E.C.S. and M.O.R. conceived the research question and design. M.O.R. conducted the  
658 nightlights processing. E.C.S. analyzed the results and wrote the manuscript. All authors reviewed  
659 the manuscript.

## 660 Additional information

661 **Competing interests** The authors declare no competing interests.

## 662 1 Supplementary information

### 663 1.1 Description of data availability

664 Satellite data supporting this research (VNP46A2) are available from the NASA LAADS  
665 DAAC (<https://ladsweb.modaps.eosdis.nasa.gov/missions-and-measurements/products/VNP46A2/>).

666 Processed data used to produce the results in this study are included as file attachments.  
667 Time series data for each FUA for each year are included in the FUA file, with headings as described  
668 below:

- 669 • SITE: Site ID based on the FUA indexing used in the GHS-FUA dataset [72].
- 670 • MONTH, DATE, YEAR: The month, day, and year of NTL observation
- 671 • TOA: Top of atmosphere radiance
- 672 • L3 DAILY: Lunar BRDF-Adjusted Nighttime Lights Daily Level 3 radiance
- 673 • L3 DAILY EXTRAPOLATED: Lunar BRDF-Adjusted Nighttime Lights Daily Level 3 radi-  
674 ance extrapolated so that no data values are ignored
- 675 • L3 DAILY 7DAY WINDOW: Level 3 radiance extrapolated and smoothed over a 7 day  
676 window
- 677 • L3 DAILY 14DAY WINDOW: Level 3 radiance extrapolated and smoothed over a 14 day  
678 window

- 679 • L3 DAILY 30DAY WINDOW: Level 3 radiance extrapolated and smoothed over a 30 day  
680 window
- 681 • MOONFRAC: Moon phase fraction (new moon to full moon)
- 682 • PERC URB: percent urban pixels within the FUA
- 683 • COUNT: number of pixels within the FUA
- 684 • %QA LE 1: Percent of pixels within the FUA with a quality flag less than or equal to 1 (high  
685 or good quality)
- 686 • %QA EQ 2: Percent of pixels within the FUA with a quality flag equal to 2 (poor quality)
- 687 • %QA EQ 255: Percent of pixels within the FUA with a quality flag equal to 255 (no retrieval)
- 688 • MAJORITY QA FLAG: Quality flag of majority of pixels within the FUA (255, 1 or 0; 2 is  
689 considered 255)
- 690 • E(X): E as defined in Methods.01
- 691 • EPSILON(X):  $\varepsilon$  as defined in Methods.01
- 692 • BM AOD: Black Marble aerosol optical depth
- 693 • STAT LABEL: High

694 We provide the analyzed results used to create Figure 6 in the csv file named "urban areas season  
695 general change". Headings in this csv are as follows:

- 696 • Cntry ISO: Country 3 letter ISO abbreviation
- 697 • SITE: Site ID based on the FUA indexing used in the GHS-FUA dataset [72].
- 698 • trendperchange: trend (general) percent change
- 699 • seasonperchange: season (Ramadan) percent change
- 700 • trendchange: NTL radiance trend change
- 701 • seasonchange: NTL radiance season change
- 702 • trendmean: NTL radiance trend mean
- 703 • seasonmean: NTL radiance season mean
- 704 • remaindermean: NTL radiance remainder mean
- 705 • eFUA name: FUA name

- 706 • Cntry name: Country name
- 707 • FUA area: FUA land area
- 708 • Lon: longitude
- 709 • Lat: latitude
- 710 • numcits: number of urban areas in specified country

## 711 1.2 R Code for drops and falls identification

712 The following R code was used to identify rises and falls in the NTL time series for Figure  
 713 3 and Table 1, and was derived from Stack Overflow: [https://stackoverflow.com/questions/63226725/find-](https://stackoverflow.com/questions/63226725/find-the-biggest-drops-rises-in-a-time-series-without-a-loop-preferably-using-t)  
 714 [the-biggest-drops-rises-in-a-time-series-without-a-loop-preferably-using-t](https://stackoverflow.com/questions/63226725/find-the-biggest-drops-rises-in-a-time-series-without-a-loop-preferably-using-t)

```

715 rise_and_falls <- function(value, time, gap_width = 5, top = 15, type = "fall") {
716   type <- match.arg(type, c("fall", "rise"))
717   if (type == "fall") {
718     rle <- rle(sign(diff(value)) == -1)
719   } else {
720     rle <- rle(sign(diff(value)) == 1)
721   }
722   rle$values <- !rle$values & rle$lengths <= gap_width | rle$values
723   rle <- rle(inverse.rle(rle)) # Clean up changed runs
724   df <- data.frame(
725     start = cumsum(rle$lengths) - rle$lengths + 1,
726     end = cumsum(rle$lengths),
727     len = rle$lengths,
728     drop = rle$values
729   )
730   df <- transform(
731     df,
732     start_value = value[start],
733     end_value = value[end],
734     start_time = time[start],
735     end_time = time[end]
736   )
737   df$diff <- df$start_value - df$end_value

```

```

738 df <- df[order(df$diff),]
739 if (type == "fall") {
740   tail(df, top)
741 } else {
742   head(df, top)
743 }
744 }

```

### 745 1.3 Table of Country level policy measure strength

Table 4: COVID-19 Policy Measure Strength

country	direction	strength	index	curfew	hours	businesses	Eid	source
Afghanistan	extended	Restrictive	4	yes	24	closed	eased	[68]
Bahrain	extended	Lenient	2	no	0	closed	same	[81]
Egypt	loosening	Restrictive	4	yes	9	closed	tightened	[44], [10]
Iran	loosening	Very Lenient	1	no	0	open	same	[40]
Iraq	loosening	Medium	3	yes	11, 24 (S/S), 24 (Eid)	closed	tightened	[65]
Israel	tightening	Medium	3	no	9 (muslim towns)	closed	tightened	[11]
Jordan	extended	Restrictive	4	yes	16, 24 (Eid)	closed	tightened	[54]
Kuwait	tightening	Very Restrictive	5	yes	16, 24 (Eid)	closed	tightened	[59]
Libya	tightening	Very Restrictive	5	yes	24 (1 wk), 12 (3 wks)	closed	eased	[16]
Oman	loosening	Restrictive	4	partial	0	in Muscat	tightened	[60]
Pakistan	loosening	Restrictive	4	partial	varies by province	closed	eased	[20], [78], [28]
Palestine	loosening	Very Restrictive	5	yes	14.5	partial	eased	[80]
Qatar	tightening	Medium	3	no	0	partial	tightened	[25]
Saudi Arabia	loosening	Very Restrictive	5	yes	16	closed	tightened	[35]
Syria	loosening	Restrictive	4	yes	12	closed	tightened	[77]
Turkey	tightening	Lenient	2	partial	24 (S/S), 24 (Eid)	partial	tightened	[21]
UAE	loosening	Medium	3	yes	8	partial	tightened	[83], [85], [84]
Yemen	tightening	Very Lenient	1	no	0	open	same	[41]