

Causal inference basics  
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Non-linearity  
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Meta-learners  
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Heterogenous effects  
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Causal trees  
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Causal forest  
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# SIRCSS – Machine Learning for Social Science

## Lecture 3

Martin Arvidsson | Institute of Analytical Sociology, Linköping  
University

2025-12-03

Causal inference basics  
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Non-linearity  
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Meta-learners  
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Heterogenous effects  
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Causal trees  
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## Recap of yesterday

Causal inference basics  
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# Recap of yesterday

## Neural networks

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- 0 hidden layers + softmax → standard logit

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- Add hidden layer → learn new representations (linear combos of  $X$ )

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### Convolutional Neural Networks (CNN)

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### Convolutional Neural Networks (CNN)

- Specialized architecture for *image* prediction

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### Convolutional Neural Networks (CNN)

- Specialized architecture for *image* prediction
- *Convolutional layers* learn spatial patterns through *filters*

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### Convolutional Neural Networks (CNN)

- Specialized architecture for *image* prediction
- *Convolutional layers* learn spatial patterns through *filters*
- Early layers: *basic* features (edges); deeper layers: *complex* objects

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### Convolutional Neural Networks (CNN)

- Specialized architecture for *image* prediction
- *Convolutional layers* learn spatial patterns through *filters*
- Early layers: *basic* features (edges); deeper layers: *complex* objects
- Conv-outputs feed into *regular (dense)* layers for prediction

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# Today

- Recap causal inference basics + limitations of standard paradigm
- Machine learning for causal inference
  - Addressing non-linearity
  - Heterogeneous treatment effects

## Causal inference basics

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Non-linearity  
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Meta-learners  
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Heterogenous effects  
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## Causal trees

Causal forest  
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## Causal inference basics

Causal inference basics  
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## Non-linearity

Meta-learners  
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Heterogenous effects  
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## Causal trees

## Causal forest

## Causal inference basics

**Type of question:** What is the causal effect of  $X$  on  $Y$ ?



## Causal inference basics



Non-linearity  
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## Causal trees

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## Causal inference basics

**Type of question:** What is the causal effect of X on Y?



## Causal inference basics



Non-linearity  
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## Causal trees

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## Causal inference basics

**Type of question:** What is the causal effect of  $X$  on  $Y$ ?



## Causal inference basics



Non-linearity  
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Heterogenous effects  
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Causal trees  
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## Causal forest

## How to estimate the (causal) effect $X$ on $Y$ ?

Causal inference basics  
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Non-linearity  
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Heterogenous effects  
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## Causal trees

Causal forest  
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## How to estimate the (causal) effect $X$ on $Y$ ?

## Just regress $X$ on $Y$ ?

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X$$

Causal inference basics  
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## Non-linearity

Meta-learners  
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Heterogenous effects  
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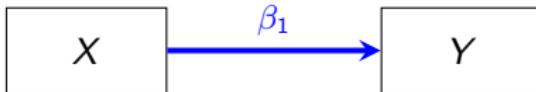
## Causal trees

Causal forest  
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## How to estimate the (causal) effect $X$ on $Y$ ?

## Just regress $X$ on $Y$ ?

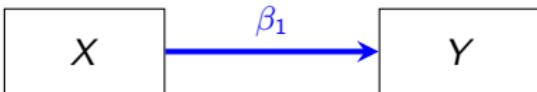
$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X$$



## How to estimate the (causal) effect $X$ on $Y$ ?

Just regress  $X$  on  $Y$ ?

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X$$



This can work — sometimes. When:

- No other variable  $Z$  that affects both  $X$  and  $Y$  (no confounder)
  - Or,  $X$  is randomized.

Causal inference basics  
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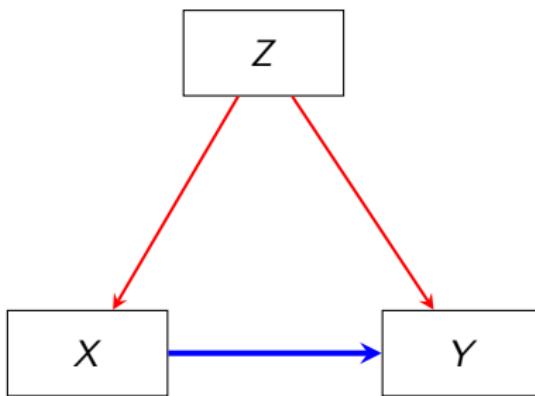
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## When we have confounders

Confounder



Causal inference basics  
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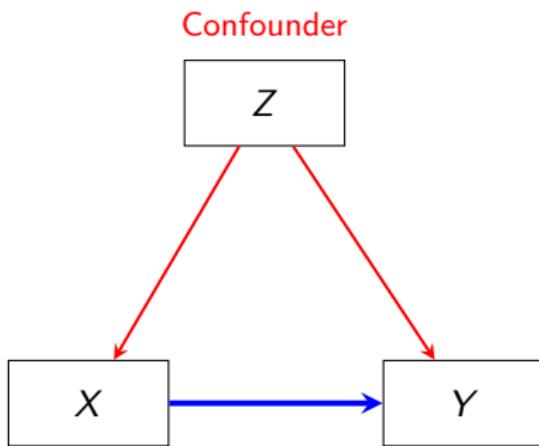
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## When we have confounders



- If we have a confounder ( $Z$ ), we must account for it somehow.
- Commonly — include as ‘control variable’ in regression.

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X + \beta_2 Z$$

Causal inference basics  
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Non-linearity  
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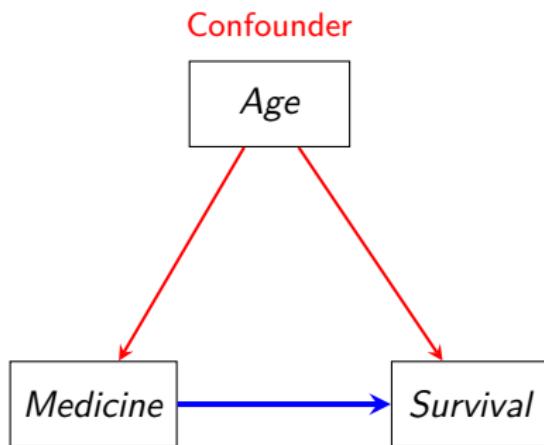
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## When we have confounders



Causal inference basics  
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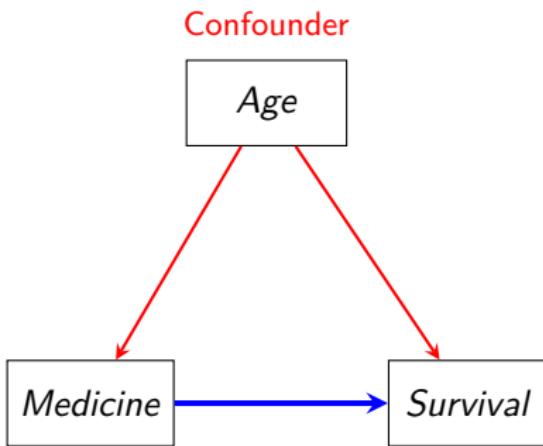
Meta-learners  
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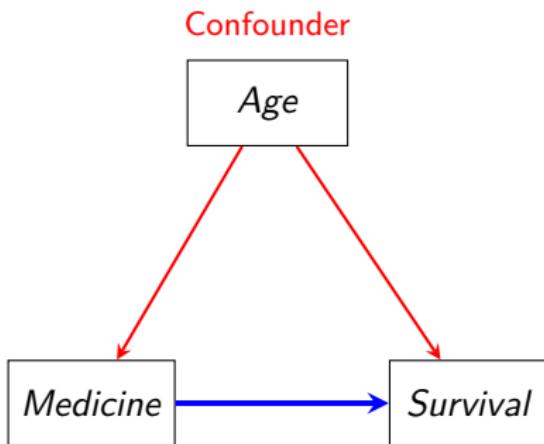
## When we have confounders



Older people:

- More likely to take medicine
- Lower survival rate

## When we have confounders



Older people:

- More likely to take medicine
- Lower survival rate

→ If we don't control for age, it may look like medicine hurts survival.

Causal inference basics  
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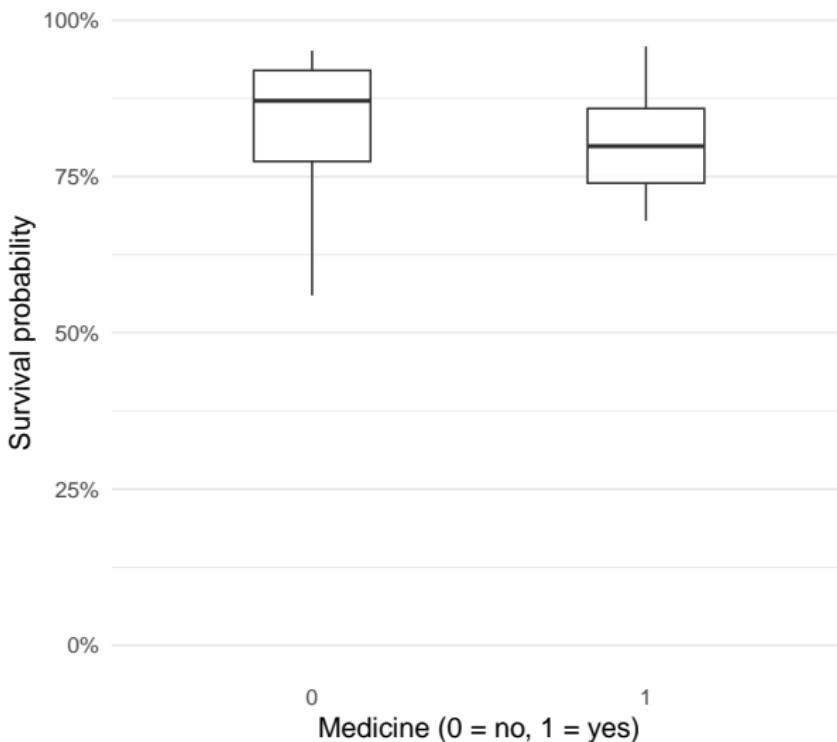
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## Illustration – not controlling for age

**Naïve comparison (not controlling for age):  
Survival appears higher without medicine**



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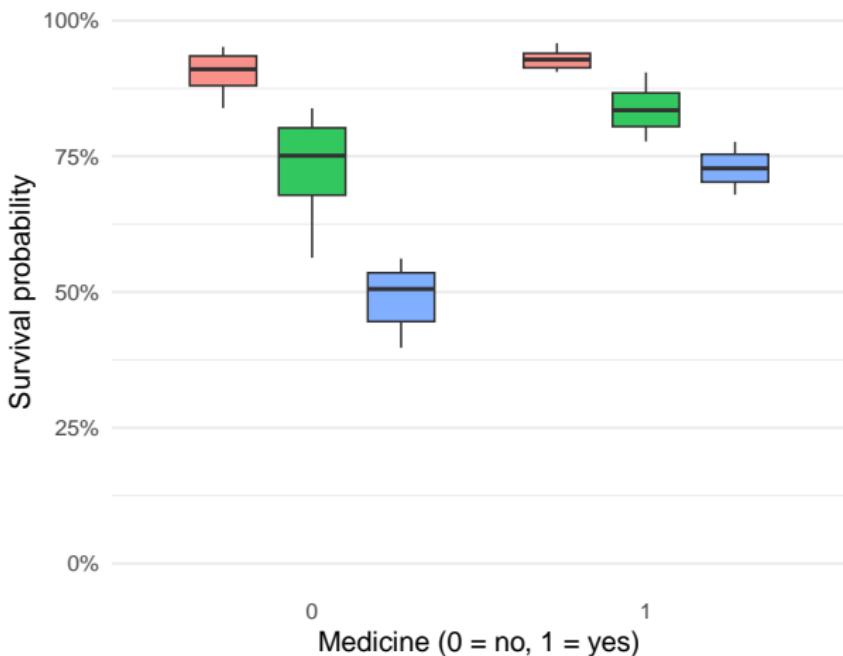
Causal trees  
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## Illustration – controlling for age

**Within-age-group comparison:  
Medicine improves survival**

Age group  21–40  41–60  60+



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# Why move beyond standard paradigm? Why this lecture?

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# Why move beyond standard paradigm? Why this lecture?

## The standard paradigm...

### (A) Assumes linearity.

- When  $Z \rightarrow X$  and/or  $Z \rightarrow Y$  is **non-linear**: biased estimates.

# Why move beyond standard paradigm? Why this lecture?

## The standard paradigm...

### (A) Assumes linearity.

- When  $Z \rightarrow X$  and/or  $Z \rightarrow Y$  is **non-linear**: biased estimates.

### (B) Assumes we know which variables that moderate effect beforehand.

- Often not the case.
- Especially when we have **many variables**.

# Why move beyond standard paradigm? Why this lecture?

## The standard paradigm...

### (A) Assumes linearity.

- When  $Z \rightarrow X$  and/or  $Z \rightarrow Y$  is **non-linear**: biased estimates.

### (B) Assumes we know which variables that moderate effect beforehand.

- Often not the case.
- Especially when we have **many variables**.

### (C) Struggles with 'complex' data like images, text, and networks.

- Often contain **rich latent structures**.
- Not accounted for by standard paradigm.

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## Non-linearity

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## Why is non-linearity a problem?

- Adjusting for a confounder is about comparing “like with like”.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>E.g., comparing two similarly aged people taking a medicine.

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## Why is non-linearity a problem?

- Adjusting for a confounder is about comparing “like with like”.<sup>1</sup>
- If  $Z \rightarrow X$  and  $Z \rightarrow Y$  are **curved**, but we adjust for a **straight line**; we don't actually compare like with like.

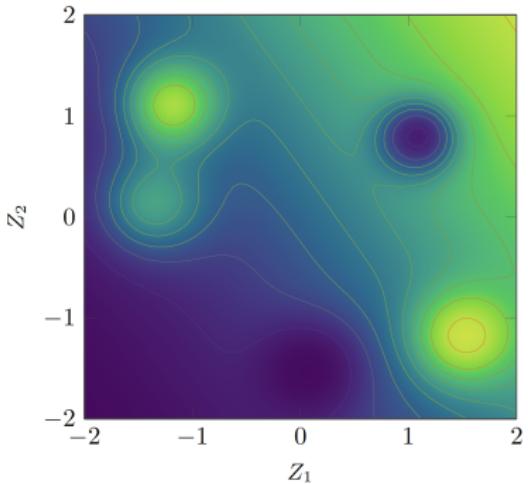
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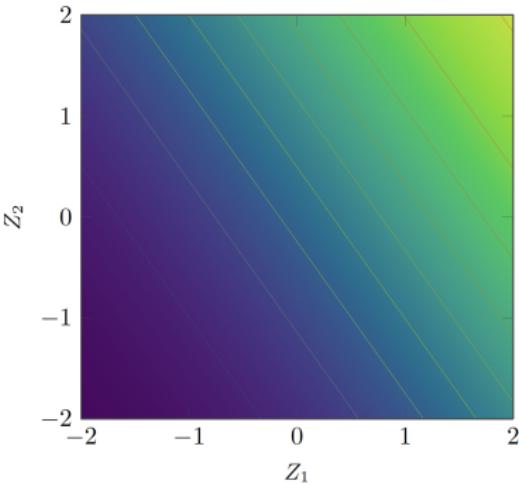
## Why is non-linearity a problem?

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## True propensity scores



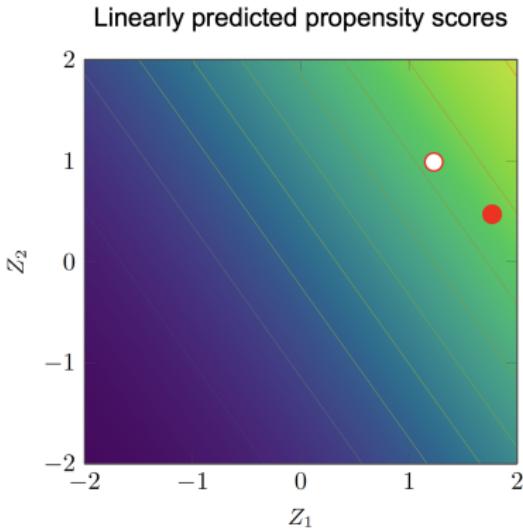
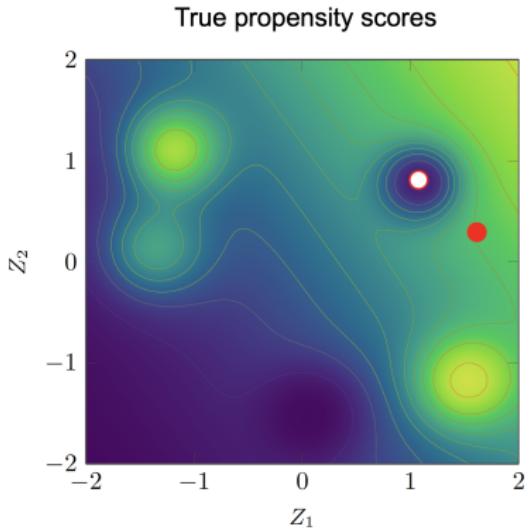
## Linearly predicted propensity scores



<sup>1</sup>E.g., comparing two similarly aged people taking a medicine.

## Why is non-linearity a problem?

- Adjusting for a confounder is about comparing “like with like”.<sup>2</sup>
  - If  $Z \rightarrow X$  and  $Z \rightarrow Y$  are **curved**, but we adjust for a **straight line**; we don't actually compare like with like.



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# How can machine learning help?

- **ML**: powerful for learning **non-linear mappings**:  $f(X) \approx Y$ .
  - In particular — *non-parametric models*.
  - Do not impose functional form on  $f$ ; learn from data.

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- But — we also said that these models were **bad at inference**...?
  - Not able to say: controlling for  $Z$ ,  $X$  affects  $Y$  in so and so way.
  - E.g., ridge penalty intentionally *adds bias to reduce variance*.

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## How can machine learning help?

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- But — we also said that these models were **bad at inference**...?
  - Not able to say: controlling for  $Z$ ,  $X$  affects  $Y$  in so and so way.
  - E.g., ridge penalty intentionally *adds bias to reduce variance*.
- Can ML still be useful?
  - Yes, by **reframing causal inference as prediction problems**.

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## Meta-learners

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# Meta-learners

## Class of models that:

- Reduce causal estimation to *prediction tasks*
- Are not tied to any particular prediction method
- Different learners (S,T,X,R) combine pred-models in different ways

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## Meta-learners

### Class of models that:

- Reduce causal estimation to *prediction tasks*
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- Different learners (S,T,X,R) combine pred-models in different ways

### Today, focus on two key ones:

- T-learner
- Orthogonal learner

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## T-learner

Builds on the classic **potential outcomes framework**:

$$\text{ATE} = \frac{1}{N} \sum_i^N Y_i^1 - Y_i^0$$

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## T-learner

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$$\text{ATE} = \frac{1}{N} \sum_i^N Y_i^1 - Y_i^0$$

- Where  $Y_i^1$ ,  $Y_i^0$  are the potential outcomes for individual  $i$ .

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- **Challenge:** we only observe *one potential outcome* per individual.

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- **Challenge:** we only observe *one potential outcome* per individual.

Individual	$X_i$	$Y$	$Y_i^0$	$Y_i^1$	$Z_i$
1	1	7	?	7	13
2	1	9	?	9	9
3	1	6	?	6	16
4	0	3	3	?	8
5	0	4	4	?	12

## T-learner

Builds on the classic **potential outcomes framework**:

$$\text{ATE} = \frac{1}{N} \sum_i^N Y_i^1 - Y_i^0$$

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Individual	$X_i$	$Y$	$Y_i^0$	$Y_i^1$	$Z_i$
1	1	7	?	7	13
2	1	9	?	9	9
3	1	6	?	6	16
4	0	3	3	?	8
5	0	4	4	?	12

**T-learner:** predict potential outcomes (“fill the gaps”)

Causal inference basics  
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Meta-learners  
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## T-learner procedure:

1. Train prediction model  $f_1(Z) \approx Y$  on the **treated** ( $X = 1$ )

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## T-learner procedure:

1. Train prediction model  $f_1(Z) \approx Y$  on the **treated** ( $X = 1$ )
2. Train prediction model  $f_0(Z) \approx Y$  on the **untreated** ( $X = 0$ )

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## T-learner procedure:

1. Train prediction model  $f_1(Z) \approx Y$  on the **treated** ( $X = 1$ )
2. Train prediction model  $f_0(Z) \approx Y$  on the **untreated** ( $X = 0$ )
3. For each individual, **predict**  $\hat{Y}^1, \hat{Y}^0$  using  $f_1, f_0$

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## T-learner procedure:

1. Train prediction model  $f_1(Z) \approx Y$  on the **treated** ( $X = 1$ )
2. Train prediction model  $f_0(Z) \approx Y$  on the **untreated** ( $X = 0$ )
3. For each individual, **predict**  $\hat{Y}^1, \hat{Y}^0$  using  $f_1, f_0$
4. Compute ATE =  $\frac{1}{N} \sum_i^N \hat{Y}_i^1 - \hat{Y}_i^0$

## Causal inference basics

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## T-learner procedure:

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## What's neat is:

- Addressing non-linearity — we can use **highly flexible**  $f_1(Z)$ ,  $f_0(Z)$

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**What's neat is:**

- Addressing non-linearity — we can use **highly flexible**  $f_1(Z), f_0(Z)$
- No concern about **inference/interpretability** of  $f_1, f_2$  — they are only used to **predict components** of a well-defined, interpretable effect.

## T-learner procedure:

1. Train prediction model  $f_1(Z) \approx Y$  on the **treated** ( $X = 1$ )
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## **What's neat is:**

- Addressing non-linearity — we can use **highly flexible**  $f_1(Z)$ ,  $f_0(Z)$
  - No concern about **inference/interpretability** of  $f_1, f_2$  — they are only used to **predict components** of a well-defined, interpretable effect.

<sup>3</sup>Note: the name ‘T-learner’ stems from it learning two prediction models.

<sup>3</sup>There exists an S-learner which only learns a single prediction model.

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## T-learner applied to the toy data

Individual	$X_i$	$Y$	$\hat{Y}_i^0$	$\hat{Y}_i^1$	$Z_i$
1	1	7	5	7	13
2	1	9	8	10	9
3	1	6	4	5	16
4	0	3	3	5	8
5	0	4	4	6	12

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## T-learner applied to the toy data

Individual	$X_i$	$Y$	$\hat{Y}_i^0$	$\hat{Y}_i^1$	$Z_i$
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2	1	9	8	10	9
3	1	6	4	5	16
4	0	3	3	5	8
5	0	4	4	6	12

$$\text{ATE} = \frac{1}{5}[(7 - 5) + (10 - 8) + (5 - 4) + (5 - 3) + (6 - 4)] = 1.8$$

## Summary, T-learner

- Causal inference as prediction of potential outcomes.
- Makes use of supervised ML.
- Can *improve estimation* considerably when data is complex.
- But note: still relies on the assumption of no unobserved confounders.
- Limitation: splits data by *treatment status*  $\Rightarrow$  data inefficiency<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Less data to fit each model, and thus less able to learn patterns.

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# Orthogonal learner

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## Orthogonal learner

**Basic idea:** predict treatment ( $X$ ) and outcome ( $Y$ ) based on confounders ( $Z$ ) — and [extract residuals](#) to estimate causal effect.

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## Orthogonal learner

**Basic idea:** predict treatment ( $X$ ) and outcome ( $Y$ ) based on confounders ( $Z$ ) — and **extract residuals** to estimate causal effect.

1. Predict treatment  $X$  from  $Z$ :  $\hat{X} = f_X(Z)$

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## Orthogonal learner

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1. Predict treatment  $X$  from  $Z$ :  $\hat{X} = f_X(Z)$
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## Orthogonal learner

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1. Predict treatment  $X$  from  $Z$ :  $\hat{X} = f_X(Z)$
2. Predict outcome  $Y$  from  $Z$ :  $\hat{Y} = f_Y(Z)$
3. Calculate residuals:
  - $\bar{X} = X - \hat{X}$
  - $\bar{Y} = Y - \hat{Y}$

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2. Predict outcome  $Y$  from  $Z$ :  $\hat{Y} = f_Y(Z)$
3. Calculate residuals:
  - $\bar{X} = X - \hat{X}$
  - $\bar{Y} = Y - \hat{Y}$
4. Estimate ATE by regressing:  $\bar{Y} = \beta \bar{X}$

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## Orthogonal learner

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**Intuition for why this works:**

- Subtracting predictions based on  $Z \Rightarrow$  removes association with  $Z$

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## Orthogonal learner

**Basic idea:** predict treatment ( $X$ ) and outcome ( $Y$ ) based on confounders ( $Z$ ) — and **extract residuals** to estimate causal effect.

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**Intuition for why this works:**

- Subtracting predictions based on  $Z \Rightarrow$  removes association with  $Z$
- As a result,  $\hat{X}, \hat{Y}$  becomes **independent** of  $Z$ .

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## Orthogonal learner

**Basic idea:** predict treatment ( $X$ ) and outcome ( $Y$ ) based on confounders ( $Z$ ) — and **extract residuals** to estimate causal effect.

1. Predict treatment  $X$  from  $Z$ :  $\hat{X} = f_X(Z)$
2. Predict outcome  $Y$  from  $Z$ :  $\hat{Y} = f_Y(Z)$
3. Calculate residuals:
  - $\bar{X} = X - \hat{X}$
  - $\bar{Y} = Y - \hat{Y}$
4. Estimate ATE by regressing:  $\bar{Y} = \beta \bar{X}$

**Intuition for why this works:**

- Subtracting predictions based on  $Z \Rightarrow$  removes association with  $Z$
- As a result,  $\hat{X}, \hat{Y}$  becomes **independent** of  $Z$ .
- And the treatment **as good as random**.

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## Orthogonal learner

**Basic idea:** predict treatment ( $X$ ) and outcome ( $Y$ ) based on confounders ( $Z$ ) — and **extract residuals** to estimate causal effect.

1. Predict treatment  $X$  from  $Z$ :  $\hat{X} = f_X(Z)$
2. Predict outcome  $Y$  from  $Z$ :  $\hat{Y} = f_Y(Z)$
3. Calculate residuals:
  - $\bar{X} = X - \hat{X}$
  - $\bar{Y} = Y - \hat{Y}$
4. Estimate ATE by regressing:  $\bar{Y} = \beta \bar{X}$

**Intuition for why this works:**

- Subtracting predictions based on  $Z \Rightarrow$  removes association with  $Z$
- As a result,  $\hat{X}, \hat{Y}$  becomes **independent** of  $Z$ .
- And the treatment **as good as random**.

**Again, what's neat is:**

- Addressing non-linearity — we can use highly flexible  $f_X(Z), f_Y(Z)$
- No concern about inference/interpretability.

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## Orthogonal learner applied to toy data

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## Orthogonal learner applied to toy data

**Step 1:** Predict  $X$  and  $Y$  from  $Z$  using flexible ML models

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## Orthogonal learner applied to toy data

**Step 1:** Predict  $X$  and  $Y$  from  $Z$  using flexible ML models

Individual	$X_i$	$Y_i$	$\hat{X}_i$	$\hat{Y}_i$	$Z_i$
1	1	7	0.7	6.5	13
2	1	9	0.6	8.2	9
3	1	6	0.8	4.8	16
4	0	3	0.4	3.5	8
5	0	4	0.5	4.1	12

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## Orthogonal learner applied to toy data

**Step 2:** Compute residuals

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## Orthogonal learner applied to toy data

### Step 2: Compute residuals

Individual	$\tilde{X}_i = X_i - \hat{X}_i$	$\tilde{Y}_i = Y_i - \hat{Y}_i$	$Z_i$
1	$1 - 0.7 = 0.3$	$7 - 6.5 = 0.5$	13
2	$1 - 0.6 = 0.4$	$9 - 8.2 = 0.8$	9
3	$1 - 0.8 = 0.2$	$6 - 4.8 = 1.2$	16
4	$0 - 0.4 = -0.4$	$3 - 3.5 = -0.5$	8
5	$0 - 0.5 = -0.5$	$4 - 4.1 = -0.1$	12

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## Orthogonal learner applied to toy data

### Step 2: Compute residuals

Individual	$\tilde{X}_i = X_i - \hat{X}_i$	$\tilde{Y}_i = Y_i - \hat{Y}_i$	$Z_i$
1	$1 - 0.7 = 0.3$	$7 - 6.5 = 0.5$	13
2	$1 - 0.6 = 0.4$	$9 - 8.2 = 0.8$	9
3	$1 - 0.8 = 0.2$	$6 - 4.8 = 1.2$	16
4	$0 - 0.4 = -0.4$	$3 - 3.5 = -0.5$	8
5	$0 - 0.5 = -0.5$	$4 - 4.1 = -0.1$	12

### Step 3: Estimate effect by regressing $\tilde{Y}$ on $\tilde{X}$

Causal inference basics  
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## Overfitting and solution

**Problem:** ML models can [overfit](#), contaminating in-sample predictions.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Note: this problem applies to all meta-learners.

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## Overfitting and solution

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Causal inference basics  
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## Overfitting and solution

**Problem:** ML models can **overfit**, contaminating in-sample predictions.<sup>5</sup>

- **Orthogonal learner:** if  $f_Y(Z)$  is overfitted, it captures not only *confounding* ( $Z \rightarrow Y$ ) but also part of *treatment signal* ( $X \rightarrow Y$ ).

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Causal inference basics  
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## Overfitting and solution

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- **Orthogonal learner:** if  $f_Y(Z)$  is overfitted, it captures not only *confounding* ( $Z \rightarrow Y$ ) but also part of *treatment signal* ( $X \rightarrow Y$ ).
- This leads to *residuals* (variation in  $Y$  due to  $X$ ) becoming *too small*, biasing effect towards 0.

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<sup>5</sup>Note: this problem applies to all meta-learners.

Causal inference basics  
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## Overfitting and solution

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- This leads to *residuals* (variation in  $Y$  due to  $X$ ) becoming *too small*, biasing effect towards 0.

**Solution:** Cross-fitting — [predict out-of-fold](#) to block contamination.

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<sup>5</sup>Note: this problem applies to all meta-learners.

## Overfitting and solution

**Problem:** ML models can **overfit**, contaminating in-sample predictions.<sup>5</sup>

- **Orthogonal learner:** if  $f_Y(Z)$  is overfitted, it captures not only *confounding* ( $Z \rightarrow Y$ ) but also part of *treatment signal* ( $X \rightarrow Y$ ).
- This leads to *residuals* (variation in  $Y$  due to  $X$ ) becoming *too small*, biasing effect towards 0.

**Solution:** Cross-fitting — **predict out-of-fold** to block contamination.

- **Orthogonal learner:** residuals in hold-out not made smaller.

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<sup>5</sup>Note: this problem applies to all meta-learners.

Causal inference basics  
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## Orthogonal learning procedure — with cross-fitting

- 0) Split data into  $K$  folds.

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Causal forest  
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# Orthogonal learning procedure — with cross-fitting

- 0) Split data into  $K$  folds.
- 1) For each fold  $i$ :
  - Train model  $f_X(Z) \approx X$  on folds  $\neq i$
  - Train model  $f_Y(Z) \approx Y$  on folds  $\neq i$
  - For every individual in fold  $i$ , predict & compute residuals:
    - $\tilde{X}_i = X_i - f_X(Z_i)$
    - $\tilde{Y}_i = Y_i - f_Y(Z_i)$

Causal inference basics  
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## Orthogonal learning procedure — with cross-fitting

- 0) Split data into  $K$  folds.
- 1) For each fold  $i$ :
  - Train model  $f_X(Z) \approx X$  on folds  $\neq i$
  - Train model  $f_Y(Z) \approx Y$  on folds  $\neq i$
  - For every individual in fold  $i$ , predict & compute residuals:
    - $\tilde{X}_i = X_i - f_X(Z_i)$
    - $\tilde{Y}_i = Y_i - f_Y(Z_i)$
- 2) Stack residuals from all folds

Causal inference basics  
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## Orthogonal learning procedure — with cross-fitting

- 0) Split data into  $K$  folds.
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    - $\tilde{X}_i = X_i - f_X(Z_i)$
    - $\tilde{Y}_i = Y_i - f_Y(Z_i)$
- 2) Stack residuals from all folds
- 3) Estimate ATE by regressing:  $\tilde{Y} = \beta \tilde{X}$

Causal inference basics  
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Non-linearity  
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Meta-learners  
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Heterogenous effects  
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Causal trees  
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Causal forest  
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## Demonstration using simulated data

To examine whether we can get improvements using ML  $\Rightarrow$  simulate “ground truth” data and try to recover true effect.

Causal inference basics  
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Non-linearity  
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Meta-learners  
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Heterogenous effects  
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Causal forest  
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## Demonstration using simulated data

To examine whether we can get improvements using ML  $\Rightarrow$  simulate “ground truth” data and try to recover true effect.

### Basic setup

- Simulate data varying two dimensions:
  - Complexity: (1) *linear*, (2) *non-linear*
  - Size: (1) *small*, (2) *large*

Causal inference basics  
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Non-linearity  
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Meta-learners  
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Heterogenous effects  
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Causal forest  
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- Simulate data varying two dimensions:
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  - Size: (1) *small*, (2) *large*
- Compare: OLS, PS-matching, and the Orthogonal learner.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Using random forest.

Causal inference basics  
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Non-linearity  
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Causal trees  
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Causal inference basics  
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  - Complexity: (1) *linear*, (2) *non-linear*
  - Size: (1) *small*, (2) *large*
- Compare: OLS, PS-matching, and the Orthogonal learner.<sup>6</sup>
- Repeat 50 times, and examine closeness to ground truth.

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<sup>6</sup>Using random forest.

Causal inference basics  
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Non-linearity  
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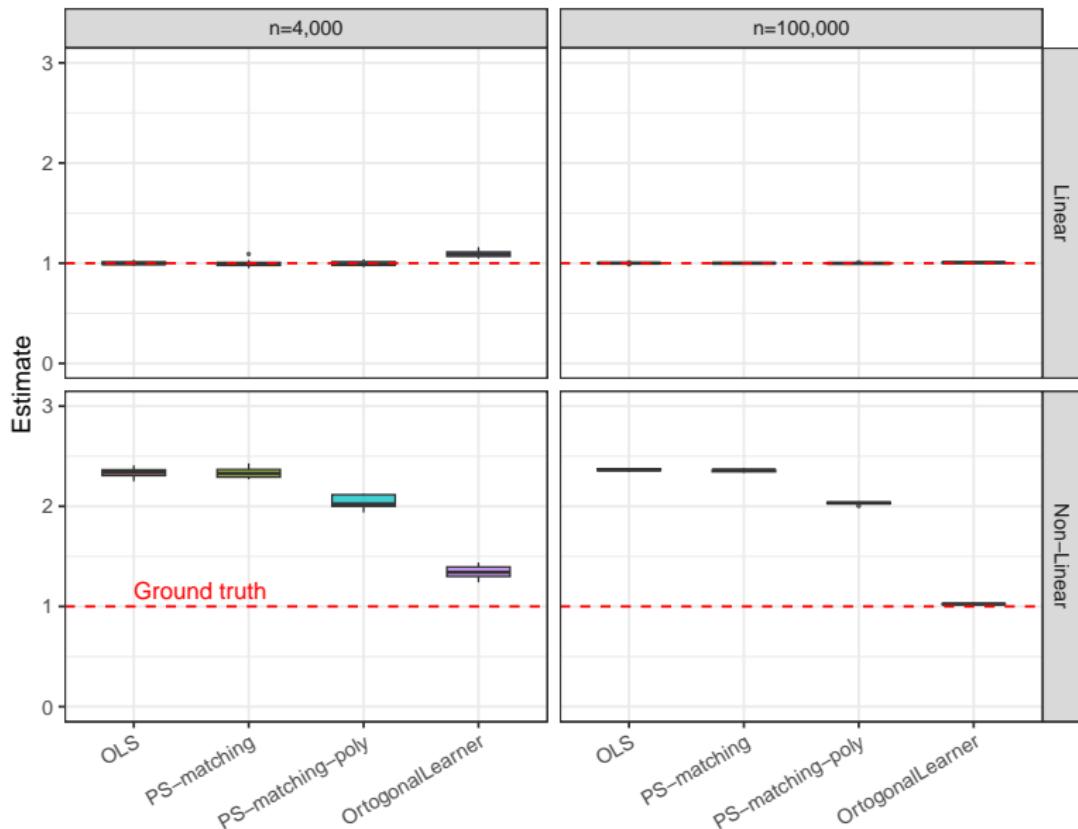
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Heterogenous effects  
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Causal trees  
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Causal forest  
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## Simulation results



## Summary, orthogonal learners

- Like the T-learner:
  - Reframes causal inference as a prediction task.
  - Enables the use of supervised ML and account for non-linearities.
  - Can improve estimation of causal effects substantially.
  - Assumes all confounders accounted for.
- But instead of predicting potential outcomes — it predicts the treatment ( $X$ ) and the outcome ( $Y$ ) based on confounders ( $Z$ ) in order to remove their influence.
- More robust than the T-learner<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup>Uses all data; connects with classic analytical results in economics

Causal inference basics  
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## Heterogenous effects

Causal inference basics  
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Non-linearity  
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Meta-learners  
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Causal forest  
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## Heterogenous effects

Research frequently find that the effect of *events, exposures, policies* (etc) [vary across individuals](#).

Causal inference basics  
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## Heterogenous effects

Research frequently find that the effect of *events, exposures, policies* (etc) **vary across individuals**.

### Examples:

- A *medical drug's effectiveness* often vary by *health condition*.
- *Returns to college* often vary by *social background*.
- *Policy interventions* often have varying impacts across *demographics*.

Causal inference basics  
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Non-linearity  
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## Traditional approach

- Include interactions representing subgroups of interest:

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X + \beta_2 Z + \beta_3 X \times Z$$

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- Selection of subgroups usually based on theory or convention.

## Traditional approach

- Include interactions representing subgroups of interest:

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X + \beta_2 Z + \beta_3 X \times Z$$

- Selection of subgroups usually based on theory or convention.

### Limitations:

- Assumes we know moderators beforehand.
- We can do exploratory analysis—trying out interactions—but this (1) creates risk of p-hacking<sup>8</sup>, and (2) is not feasible when data contain many variables.

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<sup>8</sup>Unprincipled search for significance  $\Rightarrow$  false positives.

Causal inference basics  
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Can we use ML to address these limitations?

Causal inference basics  
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## Can we use ML to address these limitations?

- Any supervised learning method that **discovers important, interpretable interactions?**

Causal inference basics  
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Causal forest  
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## Can we use ML to address these limitations?

- Any supervised learning method that **discovers important, interpretable interactions?**
- Yes! Recall **Decision trees**.

Causal inference basics  
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Non-linearity  
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Meta-learners  
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Causal trees  
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Causal forest  
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## Can we use ML to address these limitations?

- Any supervised learning method that **discovers important, interpretable interactions?**
- Yes! Recall **Decision trees**.
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Causal inference basics  
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Non-linearity  
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Meta-learners  
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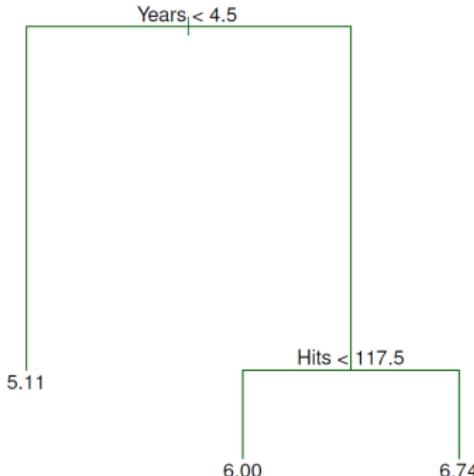
Heterogenous effects  
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Causal trees  
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Causal forest  
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Causal inference basics  
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- Any supervised learning method that **discovers important, interpretable interactions**?
- Yes! Recall **Decision trees**.
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- But — not good at *inference* (also: leaves are about  $Y$ , not  $X$ ).

Causal inference basics  
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**Causal trees**  
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Causal forest  
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## Causal trees

Causal inference basics  
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## From “decision trees” to “causal trees”

**Clever idea** (Athey et al): [change the splitting criterion.](#)

Causal inference basics  
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## From “decision trees” to “causal trees”

**Clever idea** (Athey et al): change the splitting criterion.

- Standard tree: Splits to minimize *variance in outcomes* in leaves

Causal inference basics  
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Non-linearity  
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Causal trees  
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Causal forest  
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## From “decision trees” to “causal trees”

**Clever idea** (Athey et al): change the splitting criterion.

- Standard tree: Splits to minimize *variance in outcomes* in leaves
- Causal tree: Splits to maximize *difference in treatment effects* across leaves

Causal inference basics  
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- Standard tree: Splits to minimize *variance in outcomes* in leaves
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**Of course:**

- We do not *observe* treatment effects in our data  $\Rightarrow$  need to *estimate*.

Causal inference basics  
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## From “decision trees” to “causal trees”

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- Causal tree: Splits to maximize *difference in treatment effects* across leaves

**Of course:**

- We do not *observe* treatment effects in our data  $\Rightarrow$  need to *estimate*.

**So, more precisely, causal trees:**

- Identify splits that *maximize across-leaf variation* in the *within-leaf treated–untreated outcome difference*.

Causal inference basics  
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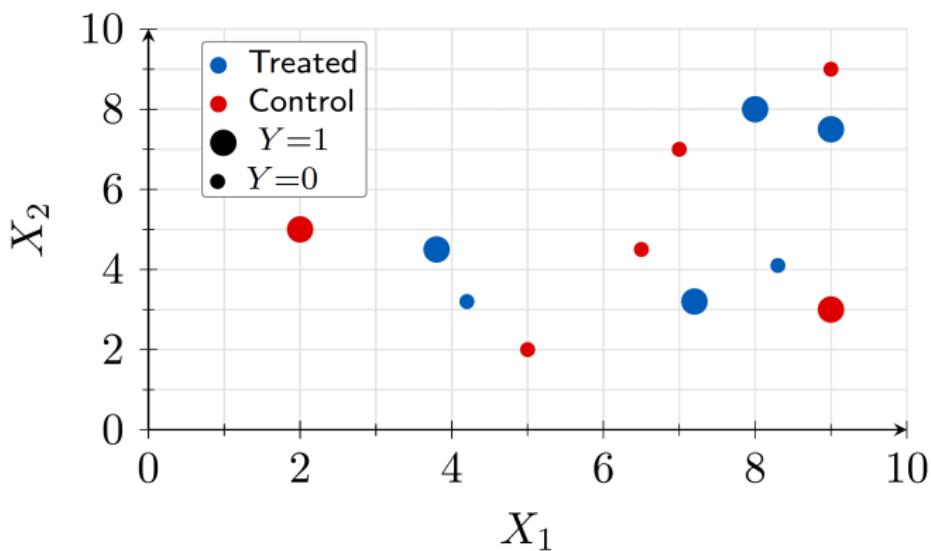
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Causal forest  
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## Illustration: causal tree splitting



Suppose we have the following dataset:

- 12 observations
- 2 variables:  $X_1, X_2$

Causal inference basics  
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Non-linearity  
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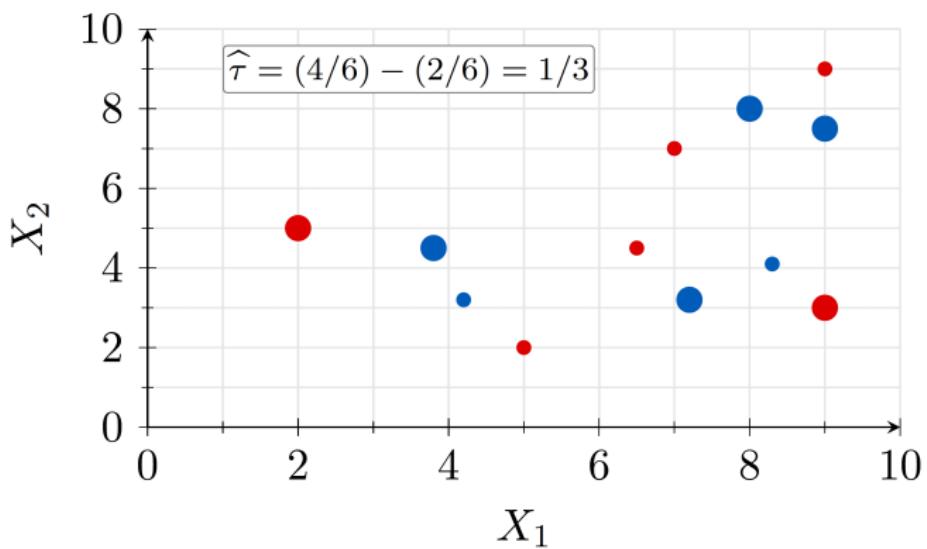
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Causal trees  
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## Illustration: causal tree splitting



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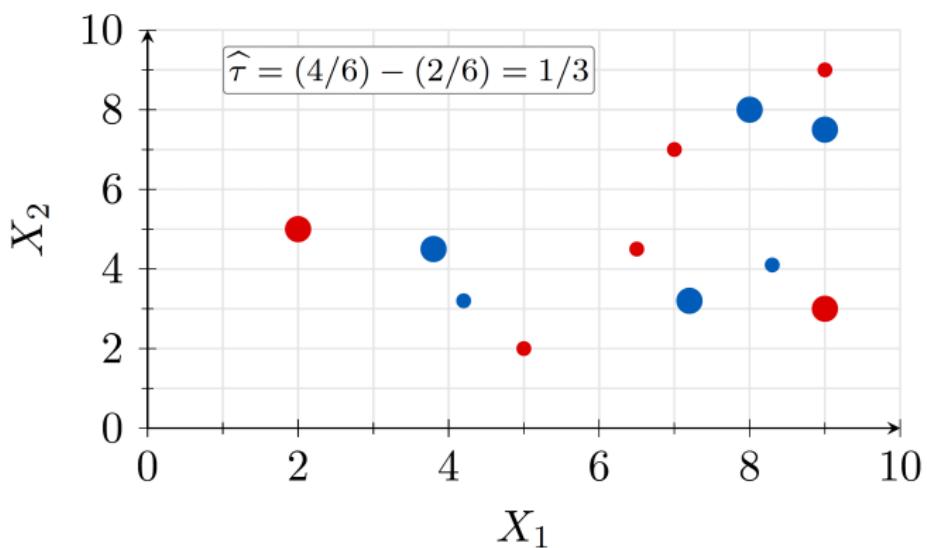
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## Illustration: causal tree splitting



- Average treatment effect:  $1/3$

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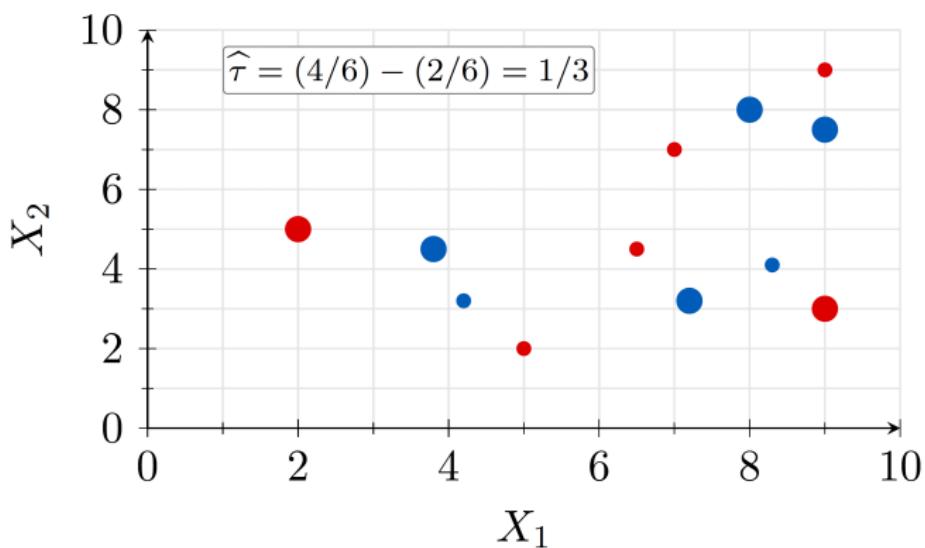
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## Illustration: causal tree splitting



- Average treatment effect:  $1/3$
- How can we split this data space  $(X_1, X_2)$  to maximize *difference treatment effect across regions?*

Causal inference basics  
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Non-linearity  
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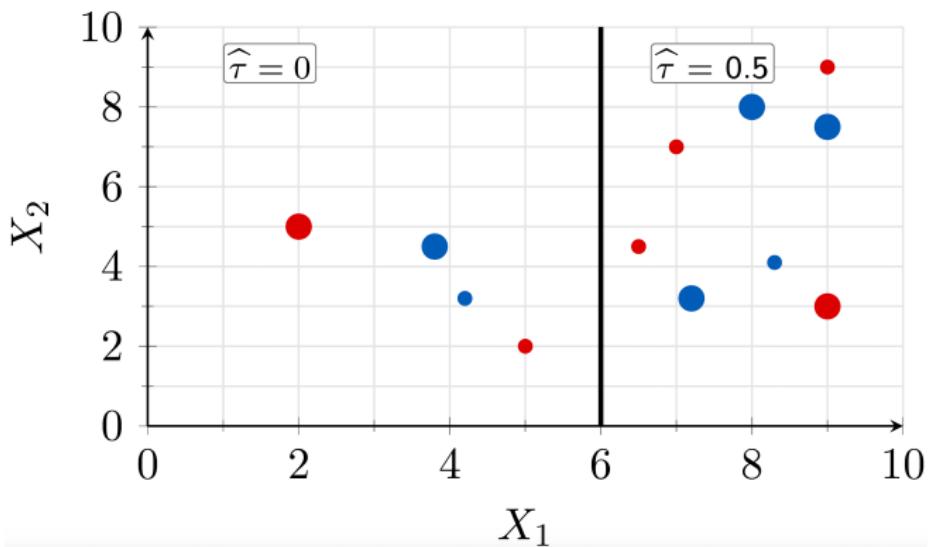
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## Illustration: causal tree splitting



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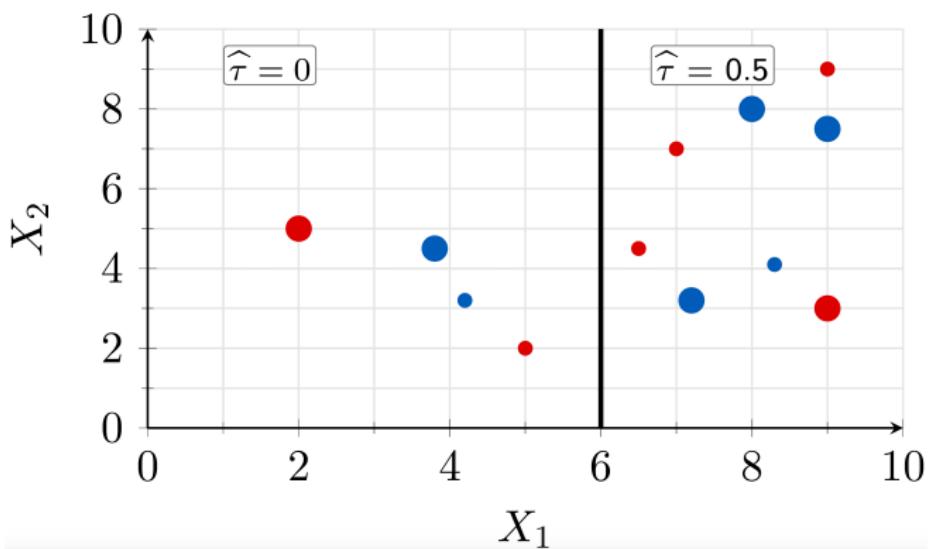
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## Illustration: causal tree splitting



- Splitting at  $X_1 = 6$  divides up the data into a “no effect” and “moderate effect” region.

Causal inference basics  
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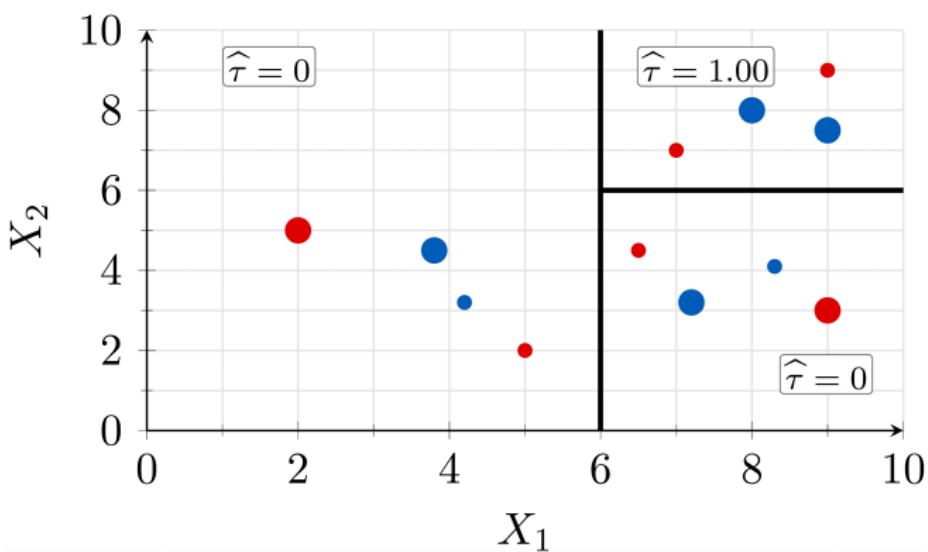
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## Illustration: causal tree splitting



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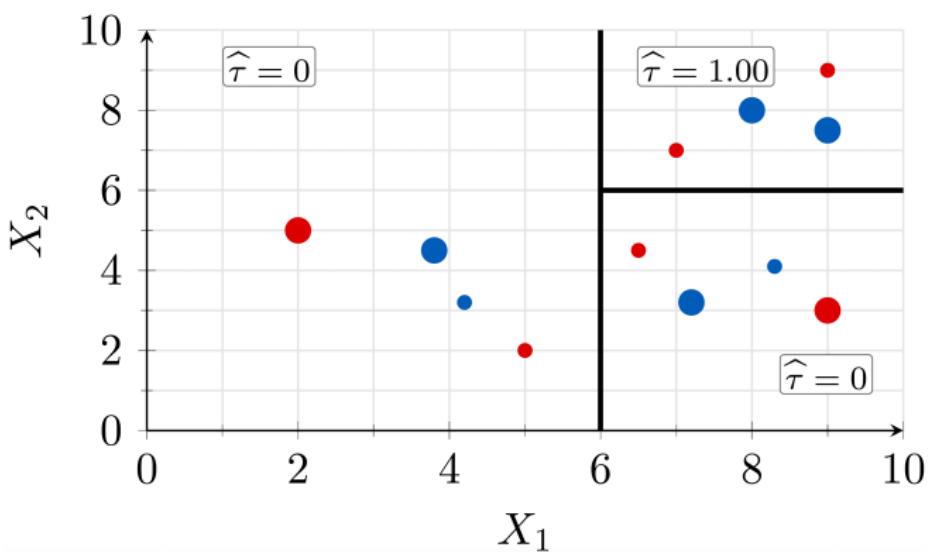
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## Illustration: causal tree splitting



- If we additionally split the right region ( $X_1 > 6$ ) at  $X_2 = 6$ , we further refine the regions, getting an even stronger treatment effect in the top-right corner, and 0 in the rest.

Causal inference basics  
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## What about “overfitting”?

- We want the tree to reflect **robust causal patterns**.

Causal inference basics  
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## What about “overfitting”?

- We want the tree to reflect **robust causal patterns**.
- But—trees are known **high-variance learners**, tending to *overfit*.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>The structure learned depending on which data point in sample it was trained on.

Causal inference basics  
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**Causal trees use several strategies to mitigate overfitting:**

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Causal inference basics  
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1. **Minimum leaf size** — e.g., 10 treated and 10 control.

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Causal inference basics  
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2. **Penalty for variance** (within treatment categories) within leaves.<sup>10</sup>

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Causal inference basics  
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3. 'Honest estimation'—learn tree on 50% of data; estimate on rest.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Which also is dependent on the *number of obs in the leaves*.

<sup>11</sup>Ensuring that any overfitting does not spillover to estimates.

Causal inference basics  
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Causal inference basics  
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3. 'Honest estimation'—learn tree on 50% of data; estimate on rest.<sup>11</sup>
4. Pruning — sufficient gain by split to justify increased tree size?

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Causal inference basics  
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## What about confounding?

- The *original causal tree* (Athey & Wager, 2016) assumes randomized treatments.

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## What about confounding?

- The *original causal tree* (Athey & Wager, 2016) assumes **randomized treatments**.
- Brand et al. (2021) proposed an *extension* using **inverse probability weighting (IPW)**.

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  - IPW: weights observations by their *propensity score* of being treated.
  - This “balances” the data across treated and untreated.
- Brand et al. (2021): **check balance** of confounders within leaves.

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## Variable selection

Brand et al. (2021):

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## Variable selection

Brand et al. (2021):

- Input variables should be **pre-treatment**.

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## Variable selection

Brand et al. (2021):

- Input variables should be **pre-treatment**.
- **Include** all vars used in estimation of the *propensity of treatment*
  - Variables presumed to **cause the treatment, the outcome, or both.**

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- **Exclude** known **instrumental** variables.

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## Variable selection

Brand et al. (2021):

- Input variables should be **pre-treatment**.
- **Include** all vars used in estimation of the *propensity of treatment*
  - Variables presumed to **cause** the treatment, the outcome, or both.
- **Exclude** known **instrumental** variables.
- **Exclude** non-significant predictors of  $p(\text{treatment})$ .

Causal inference basics  
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## Causal tree pipeline (Brand et al. 2021)

Input data with selected covariates

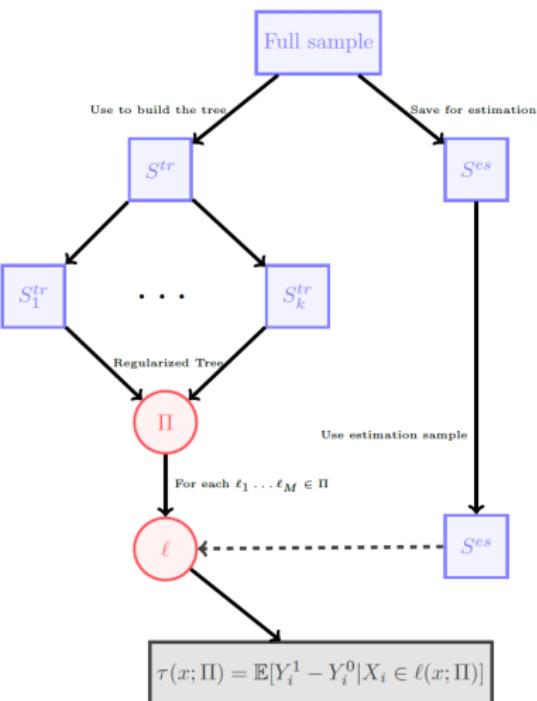
Sample splitting for honest estimation

Sample splitting for K-fold cross validation

Resulting partitions from the Causal Tree

Feed estimation sample into terminal leaves

*CATE*( $\Pi$ ) estimation for observations within leaves with adjustment for confounding



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## Empirical illustration (Brand et al. 2021)

- **Data:** US longitudinal survey data (NLSY79)
- **Treatment:** college attendance
- **Outcome:** amount of low-wage work over a career.
- **Objective:** explore treatment effect heterogeneity
- **Method:** causal trees with IPW.

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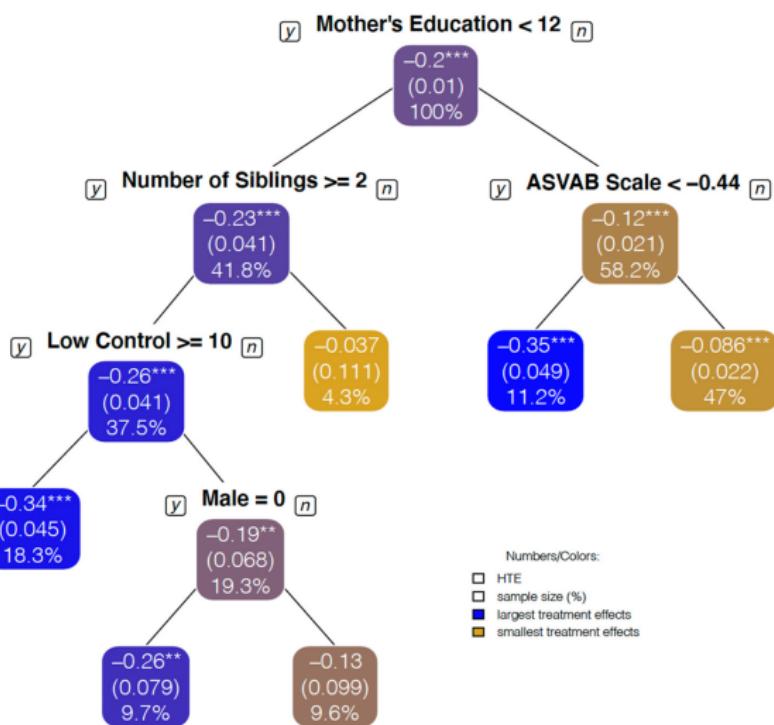
Causal forest  
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# Empirical illustration (Brand et al. 2021)

## Average treatment effect

Wage Outcome	Unadjusted	IPW
Proportion of time in low-wage work	-.223*** (.013)	-.189*** (.016)

# Empirical illustration (Brand et al. 2021)



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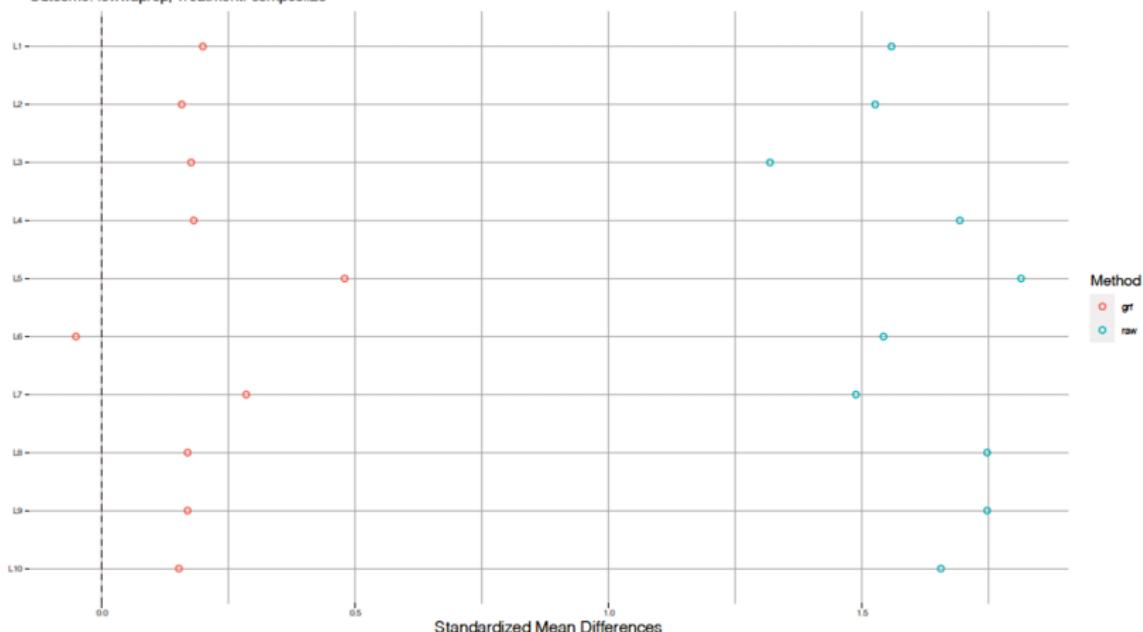
Causal forest  
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# Empirical illustration (Brand et al. 2021)

## Balance in the different leaves:

- *Std mean difference in propensity of treatment — by leaf.*

Balance Metrics by College Completion for Tree-Based Partitions  
Outcome: lowwaprop, Treatment: compool25



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## Summary, causal trees

### Pros

- Rigorous framework for discovering varying treatment effects<sup>12</sup>
- Highly interpretable tree-structure.<.->Consider leaves in terms of all variables, not just splits.
- Analytic guarantees for standard errors/CIs.

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<sup>12</sup>For social science: potential identification of new, important moderators.

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## Summary, causal trees

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## Summary, causal trees

### Pros

- Rigorous framework for discovering varying treatment effects<sup>12</sup>
- Highly interpretable tree-structure.<sup>13</sup>
- Analytic guarantees for standard errors/CIs.

### Cons

- Causal trees, like decision trees, are high-variance estimators.
- Tree-structure can be sensitive to the sample used to train it.

---

<sup>12</sup>For social science: potential identification of new, important moderators.

<sup>13</sup>Consider leaves in terms of all variables, not just splits.

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## Causal forest

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## Causal forest

**Causal forest** is the [random-forest-equivalent](#) of (causal) trees.

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## Causal forest

**Causal forest** is the [random-forest-equivalent](#) of (causal) trees.

- It learns a [collection of \(decorrelated\) causal trees](#).

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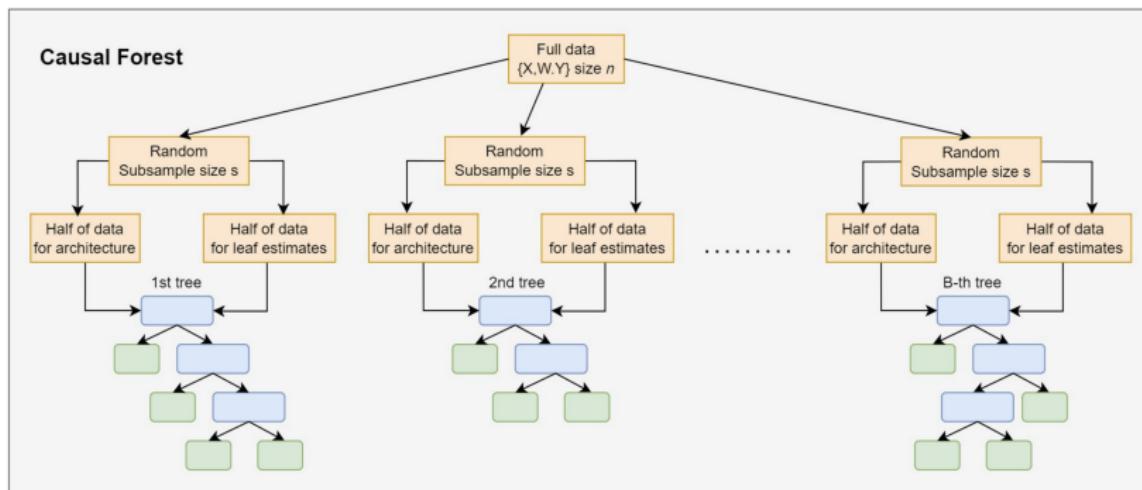
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## Two notable tweaks/additions

1. Incorporates orthogonal learning to remove confounding bias.

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## Two notable tweaks/additions

### 1. Incorporates orthogonal learning to remove confounding bias.

- Before learning the trees, it estimates  $f_Y(Z) \approx Y$  and  $f_X(Z) \approx X$

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## Two notable tweaks/additions

### 1. Incorporates orthogonal learning to remove confounding bias.

- Before learning the trees, it estimates  $f_Y(Z) \approx Y$  and  $f_X(Z) \approx X$
- Subtract predictions to attain “residualized”  $\bar{X}$ ,  $\bar{Y}$

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### 2. Uses forest-defined neighbors to estimate CATE

- To estimate a **CATE** for a target profile  $z$  (e.g., age=20 & income>100K), we identify observations “close” to  $z$  in the forest.

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  - Closeness is captured by a weight  $\alpha_i(z)$ —how often observation  $i$  and  $z$  fall in the same leaf *across trees*.
  - The CATE for  $z$  is obtained by a *weighted* regression of the residualized outcome on the residualized treatment (weights  $\alpha_i(z)$ ).

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## What can do with the output?

**Two basic questions we can investigate are:**<sup>14</sup>

- Which vars account for most heterogeneity? Variable importance.
- How do they moderate the treatment effect? CATE by subset.

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<sup>14</sup>There is a lot more one can do; see reading list.

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## Demonstration via simulation

### Setup

- Simulate data:
  - $n = 10,000$ ,
  - 10 features  $X_1, \dots, X_{10}$
  - Binary treatment  $W$ .
- True heterogeneity:

$$\tau(X) = 1.2 \sin(1.5 X_1) + 0.8 \mathbf{1}\{X_2=1\} + 0.2 X_8.$$

### Objectives

- Identify key moderators.
- Quantify CATE by value ranges of top variables:

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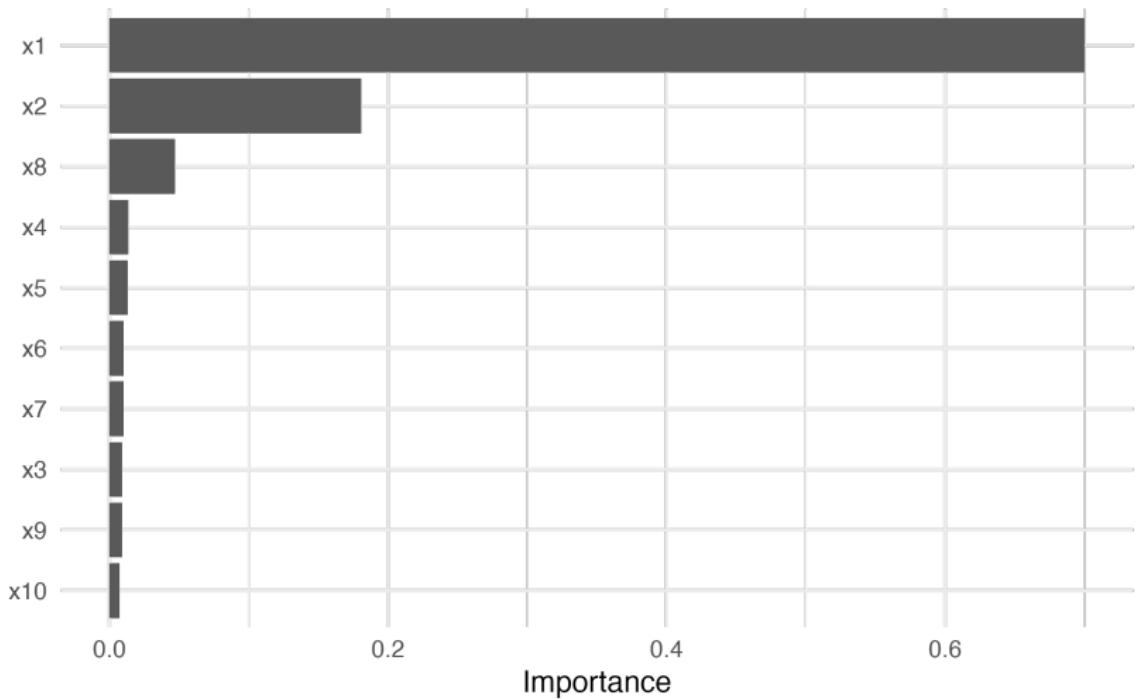
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## Variable importance

Feature importance for treatment-effect heterogeneity



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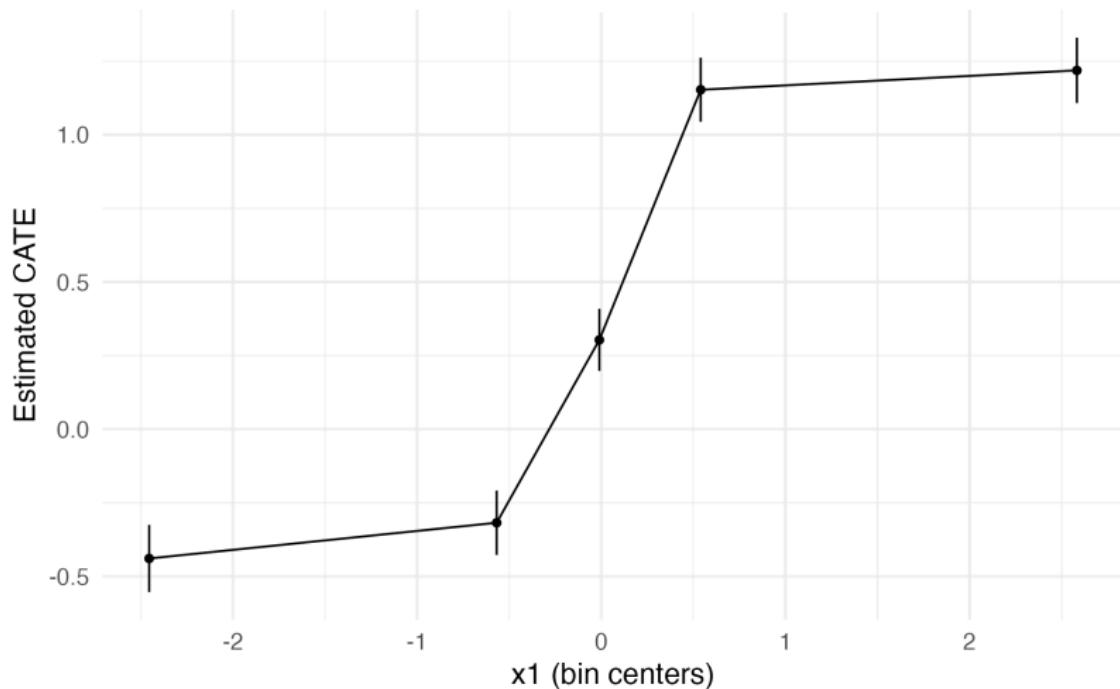
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# CATE for $X_1$

CATE by  $x_1$  (quantile bins)



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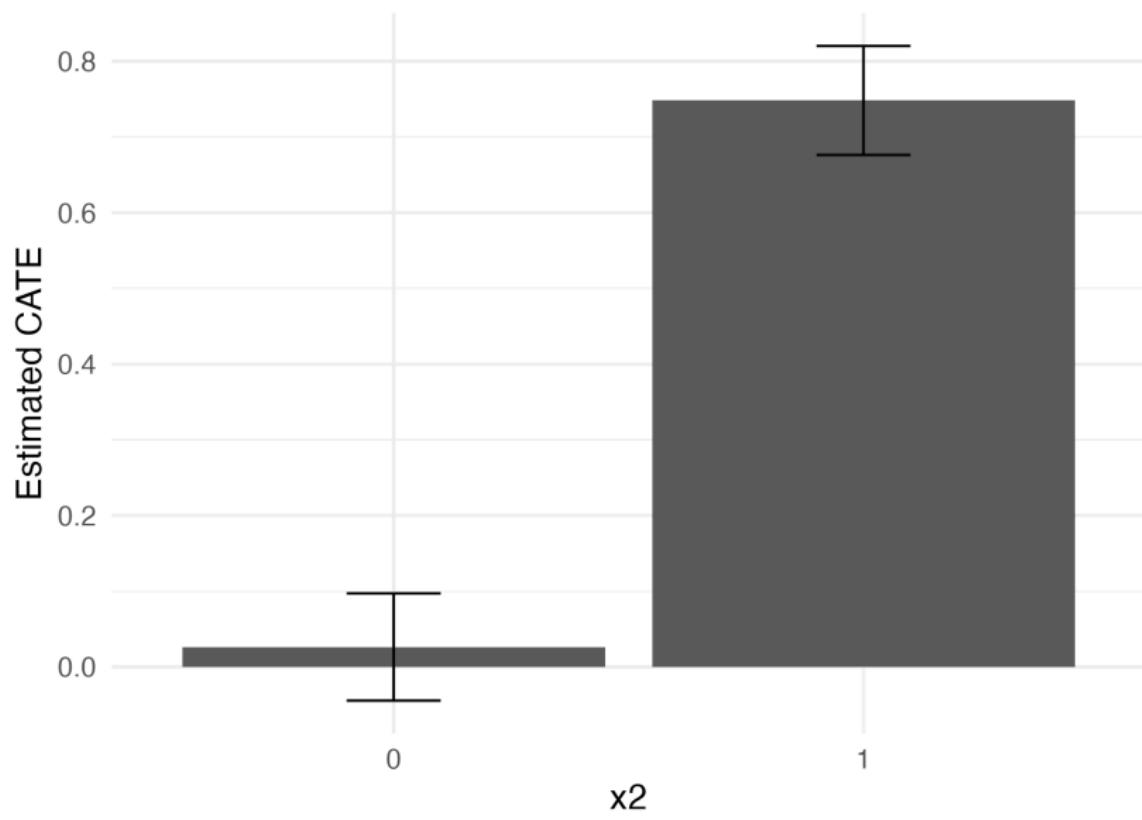
Heterogenous effects  
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## CATE for $X_2$

### CATE by $x_2$ (categories)



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# Summary

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## Further readings

### Main:

- Brand, J. E., Xu, J., Koch, B., & Geraldo, P. (2021). Uncovering sociological effect heterogeneity using tree-based machine learning. *Sociological Methodology*, 51(2), 189-223.
- Chapter 22 in Alves, M. F., (2022) “Causal Inference for The Brave and True”. <https://matheusfacure.github.io/python-causality-handbook/22-Debiased-Orthogonal-Machine-Learning.html> ([until "CATE Estimation with Double-ML"](#))
- Daoud, A., & Dubhashi, D. (2021). Melting together prediction and inference. *Observational Studies*, 7(1), 1-7.

### Extra:

- Chapter 21 in Alves, M. F., (2022) “Causal Inference for The Brave and True”. <https://matheusfacure.github.io/python-causality-handbook/21-Meta-Learners.html>
- Rehill, P. (2025). How Do Applied Researchers Use the Causal Forest? A Methodological Review. *International Statistical Review*.
- <https://chenxing.space/blog/a-walkthrough-of-how-causal-forest-works/>
- [https://grf-labs.github.io/grf/articles/grf\\_guide.html](https://grf-labs.github.io/grf/articles/grf_guide.html)