

Making Causal Critiques

Day 1 - Deconstructing an Argument

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Causal Critiques

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Does democracy prevent war?	"Of course not, India and Pakistan were democracies and had a war in 1999"

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Do parliamentary systems last longer than presidential ones?	"No, Parliamentary systems last longer because they are in Europe, not because they are parliamentary"
Does development lead to democracy?	"No, democracy causes development"
Does democracy prevent war?	"Of course not, India and Pakistan were democracies and had a war in 1999"
Did voters support President Trump because of jobs lost to immigration?	"Obviously not, jobs were lost to technological change"

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 - ▶ Advice to a friend
 - ▶ A worry about your *own* research paper

What makes an Explanation Convincing?

- ▶ Explanation requires:
 1. Theory
 2. Evidence

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- ▶ No! We do not know if the laptop, the charger, the adapter or the socket is the problem. We do not have a *theory* to support our solution
- ▶ Next time the laptop fails to charge, our wiggling might not be enough and we won't know how to fix it

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- ▶ We can design other tests to check the laptop, charger, adapter etc.

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 - ▶ If your friend plugs their own laptop and charger into the socket and it charges fine, we can rule out the socket being a problem
 - ▶ But we still do not know if your own laptop or charger are the problem
- ▶ We need to design tests (produce evidence) that *distinguish between* specific theories

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 - ▶ The same evidence can be consistent with many possible mechanisms
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- ▶ A **Convincing Explanation** requires evidence that supports a *specific* theory
 - ▶ And *rejects other theories*

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 - If we test the charger to see if it fails in another socket
4. **Doubly Decisive Test:** Can confirm a hypothesis and reject all other hypotheses
 - If we test the charger with an entirely new socket and laptop that we have checked work

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 1. **Straw-in-the-Wind test:** If we turn the lights on to check if there is power to the building in general

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- ▶ What caused the reduction in price variation in Kerala's fishing industry?
- ▶ **Hypothesis:** The introduction of mobile phone service
- ▶ **Theory:** Mobile phones allowed people to quickly share the price of fish in different villages, so fishermen got the best prices more consistently
 - ▶ Jensen et al (2007)
 - ▶ A 'smoking gun' test

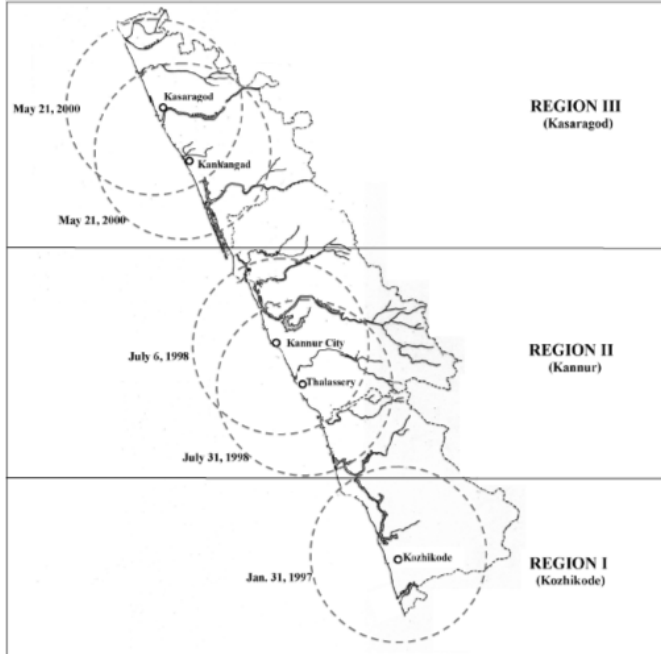


FIGURE II
Spread of Mobile Phone Coverage in Kasaragod, Kannur,
and Kozhikode Districts

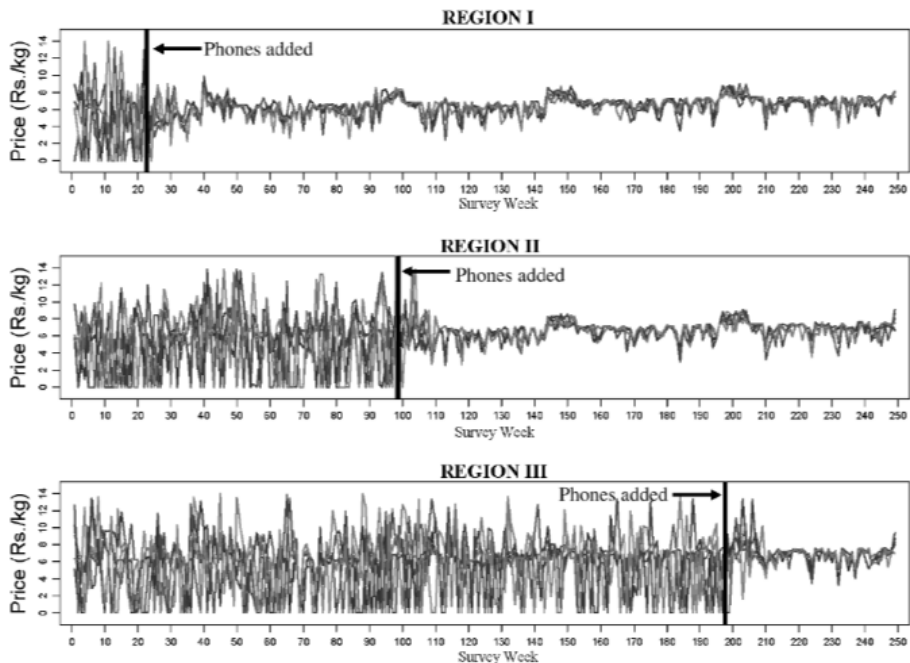


FIGURE IV
Prices and Mobile Phone Service in Kerala

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 5. Political explanations in one place may not work in another

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 - ▶ But raises the probability of an outcome
- ▶ For example, a left-wing party in government may not guarantee the passage of social welfare legislation
- ▶ But it can make it more likely

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7. **Granger Causation** - If D causes Y , D must be before Y

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10. **Policy-relevance** - Can the argument help us design better policy?

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7. **Replicability** - Can we take the same (or similar) data and reach the same conclusion?

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 - ▶ Formally: $\forall p : h, p \Rightarrow h$

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 - ▶ $\forall p: h, h \Rightarrow p$
 - ▶ This is logically inconsistent

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3. **Circular reasoning:** The conclusions just restate the premises
 - Eg. "Abortion should be legal because women have the right to an abortion."

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4. **Over-generalization:** Extending the conclusions beyond the scope of the evidence

- Eg. "All of my friends support party X so of course they will win the election"

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 - Eg. "All of my friends support party X so of course they will win the election"
5. **Post hoc Fallacy:** Just because something happened earlier does not mean it was the cause
 - Eg. "You moved into this apartment yesterday and now the cooker is broken. It must be your fault."

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6. **Appeal to Authority:** Assuming the author is right because they are senior
 - Eg. Assuming that political science professors know what they are doing!

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Consistent Theories

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7. **Fallacy of Composition:** Extending what is true of part to being true of the whole

- Eg. "If someone stands up at a football match, they can see better. Therefore, if everyone stands up, they can all see better."

Consistent Theories

- ▶ Some political science arguments are logically inconsistent:
 - ▶ Voters are rational - they choose the politician that is best for them. Therefore we always elect the best politicians.

Deconstructing a Political Science Paper

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 - ▶ What is the **scope** of the argument's application?

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 - ▶ **Role of Variables** - Which is the outcome variable and which the explanatory? What controls are used?

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 - ▶ **Evidence** - What evidence does the methodology produce?

Title:			
Authors:		Year:	
Research Question: Answer/Causal Argument: Scope of Argument (in Time, Space, Demographics etc.):			
Concept/Variable	Measure	Unit of Analysis	Role (DV, XV, Control)

Theory: 	Methodology: <input type="checkbox"/> Case Study, Process Tracing <input type="checkbox"/> Comparative Cases <input type="checkbox"/> Regression with Controls <input type="checkbox"/> Matching <input type="checkbox"/> Field Experiment <input type="checkbox"/> Lab/Survey Experiment <input type="checkbox"/> Natural Experiment <input type="checkbox"/> Instrumental Variable <input type="checkbox"/> Regression Discontinuity <input type="checkbox"/> Difference-in-Differences
Evidence: 	

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Critiquing Measures

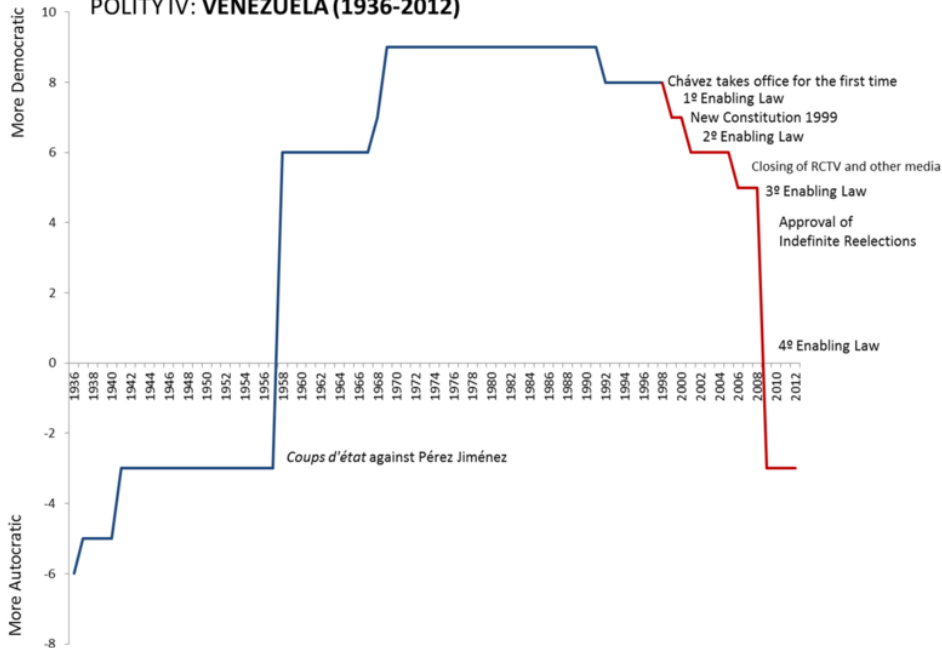
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Critiquing Measures

► **Measurement Validity**

- When scores "meaningfully capture the ideas contained in the corresponding concept"
 - Does the scale make sense?
 - Is democracy binary or continuous? Positive or negative?
 - Are the cases (units) scored correctly? How reliable is the scoring?

POLITY IV: VENEZUELA (1936-2012)



Methodology

- Where did the dataset come from?

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 - ▶ Statistics/statistical model chosen
- ▶ What was the "Data Generating Process"?
- ▶ How does this data help us answer the question?

Methodology

- ▶ Methodologies for gathering evidence:

Methodology

- ▶ Methodologies for gathering evidence:
- ▶ Observational Studies:
 - ▶ Comparative Cases

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Methodology

► Small-N Studies:

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Methodology

- ▶ Small-N Studies:
 - ▶ Comparative cases
 - ▶ Case Study, Process Tracing

Title: Making Democracy Work			
Authors: Robert Putnam		Year: 1993	
Research Question: Why are some parts of Italy governed better than others?			
Answer/Causal Argument: Places with more civic social interactions have better government			
Scope of Argument (in Time, Space, Demographics etc.): Advanced Democracies			
Concept/Variable	Measure	Unit of Analysis	Role (DV, XV, Control)
Civil Society	Density of sports clubs, newspapers, electoral turnout	Region	Explanatory Variable
Government Performance	12 Indicators, eg. Budget on time, number of day care centres per child	Region	Dependent Variable
Wealth	GDP per capita	Region	Control Variable
Theory: Civic interactions between people and groups create trust and more ‘horizontal’ relationships that prevent government from being predatory		Methodology:	
		<input type="checkbox"/> Case Study, Process Tracing	
		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Comparative Cases	
		<input type="checkbox"/> Regression with Controls	
		<input type="checkbox"/> Matching	
		<input type="checkbox"/> Field Experiment	
		<input type="checkbox"/> Lab/Survey Experiment	
Evidence: Regions of Italy with similar institutional rules and similar wealth but with more civil society have, on average, better performing government		<input type="checkbox"/> Natural Experiment	
		<input type="checkbox"/> Instrumental Variable	
		<input type="checkbox"/> Regression Discontinuity	
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Causal Theory

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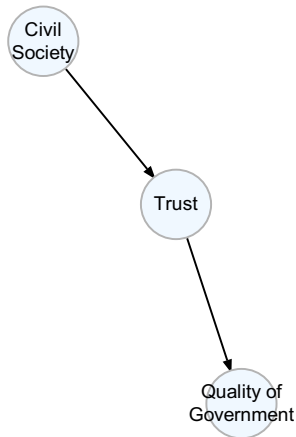
Causal Theory

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- ▶ Technically, "Directed Acyclical Graphs" (DAGs)
 - ▶ Write all the variables on the paper
 - ▶ Connecting them with arrows to represent the author's **causal** argument
 - ▶ And also the *threats* to the author's argument
 - ▶ Even if they can't be measured

Causal Theory

```
## Warning: Prefixing 'UQ()' with the rlang
namespace is deprecated as of rlang 0.3.0.
## Please use the non-prefixed form or '!i' instead.
##
## # Bad:
##   rlang::expr(mean(rlang::UQ(var) * 100))
##
## # Ok:
##   rlang::expr(mean(UQ(var) * 100))
##
## # Good:
##   rlang::expr(mean(!!var * 100))
##
## This warning is displayed once per session.
```

Causal Theory



Causal Theory

