Jonathan Phillips

January 29, 2024

Introduction

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Introduction

What do political scientists know?

Now we know the benchmarks for a convincing explanation and strong evidence

Treatment Assignment

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- But which methodologies can achieve these?

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- ► Focus on **variation**-based methodologies

What do political scientists **know**?

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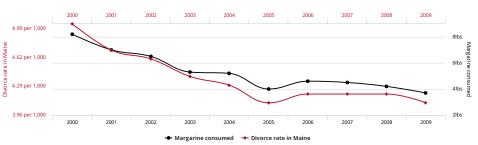
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- ▶ Due to complex social patterns...
- ▶ But we cannot conclude that there is a causal effect of *D* on *Y*
- ► More data will not help
- ► The problem is the *type* of data; it does not allow us to answer the causal question

Divorce rate in Maine

correlates with

Per capita consumption of margarine

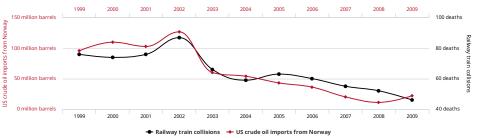


tylervigen.com

US crude oil imports from Norway

correlates with

Drivers killed in collision with railway train



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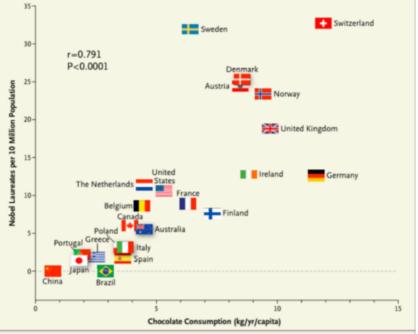


Figure 1. Correlation between Countries' Annual Per Capita Chocolate Consumption and the Number of Nobel Laureates per 10 Million Population.

Introduction

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 - ► But for **intervention**, correlation does not help: forcing people to eat more chocolate does nothing on its own to produce more Nobel Laureates
 - ► For **explanation**, correlation also fails it is no *explanation* to say that Switzerland has the most Nobel Laureates because it has the highest chocolate consumption

Introduction

Section 2

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- ► A focus on a single explanatory variable *D* requires us to clearly define this 'treatment'
- ► AND to clearly define a control
 - ▶ What is the opposite of investing \$1bn in education?
 - ► No investment, or investing it elsewhere?
- ► Define treatment:

$$D_i = \begin{cases} 1, & \text{if treated} \\ 0, & \text{if not treated} \end{cases}$$

Treatment Assignment

Causal Inference

Introduction

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- ▶ Defining our outcome is also crucial:
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 - Tempting to look at many outcomes, but the risk of cherry-picking
 - ► If we study 20 outcomes, on average one will show a significant effect even with no real causal effect

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$$Y_{Di} = \begin{cases} Y_{1i} \text{ GDP Growth of Brazil in 2010 if a Democracy} \\ Y_{0i} \text{ GDP Growth of Brazil in 2010 if NOT a Democracy} \end{cases}$$

► Individual Treatment Effect for unit *i*: $\alpha_i = Y_{1i} - Y_{0i}$

Introduction

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Introduction 0000

Potential Outcomes are just another Variable for each Unit

	GDP Growth if		
	Democracy	NOT Democ-	Effect
		racy	
	Y ₁	Y ₀	$Y_1 - Y_0$
Brasil	6	3	3
Argentina	8	5	3
Uruguay	3	3	0
Bolivia	0	2	-2
Colombia	4	4	0
Peru	4	2	2

Introduction

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Introduction

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3 Critiques

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Average Treatment Effect

We want to calculate an Average Treatment Effect

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Average Treatment Effect

We want to calculate an Average Treatment Effect

$$ATE = E(\alpha_i) = E(Y_1 - Y_0) = E(Y_1) - E(Y_0) = \frac{\sum_i (Y_{1i} - Y_{0i})}{N}$$

Potential Outcomes are just another Variable for each Unit

	GDP Growth if Democracy	GDP Growth if NOT Democ-	Treatment Effect
		racy	
	Y ₁	Y ₀	$Y_1 - Y_0$
Brasil	6	3	3
Argentina	8	5	3
Uruguay	3	3	0
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Peru	4	2	2
Average Treatment Effect	4.17	3.17	1

The Fundamental Problem of Causal Inference

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$$Y_{i}^{obs} = \begin{cases} Y_{1i} \text{ if } D_{i} = 1\\ Y_{0i} \text{ if } D_{i} = 0 \end{cases}$$
$$Y_{i}^{obs} = D_{i} \cdot Y_{1i} + (1 - D_{i}) \cdot Y_{0i}$$

Introduction

Causal Inference

Potential Outcomes Example

	Democracy?	GDP Growth if Democ-	GDP Growth if NOT Democ-	Treatment Effect
		racy	racy	
	Di	Y ₁	Y ₀	$Y_1 - Y_0$
Brasil	0	?	3	?
Argentina	0	?	5	?
Uruguay	0	?	3	?
Bolivia	1	0	?	?
Colombia	1	4	?	?
Peru	0	?	2	?

Potential Outcomes Example

	Democracy?	Observed GDP Growth
	Di	Yobs
Brasil	0	3
Argentina	0	5
Uruguay	0	3
Bolivia	1	0
Colombia	1	4
Peru	0	2

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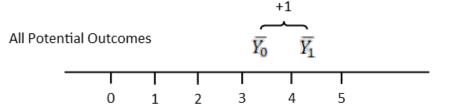
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Argentina	0	?	5	?
Uruguay	0	?	3	?
Bolivia	1	0	?	?
Colombia	1	4	?	?
Peru	0	?	2	?
Average Treatment Effect		2	3.25	-1.25

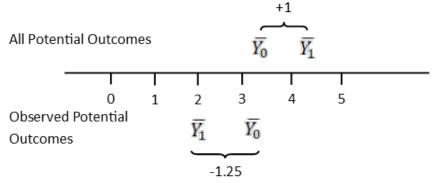
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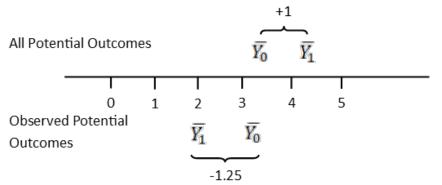


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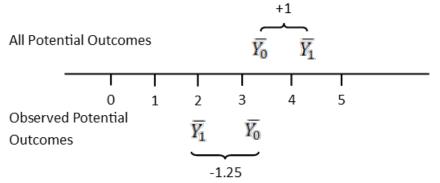
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- \blacktriangleright $E(Y_1)$ values are **biased lower** in the observed data
- $ightharpoonup E(Y_0)$ values are **biased higher** in the observed data
- ► So $E(Y_1) E(Y_0)$ is **biased**

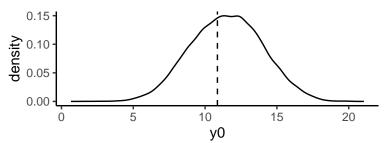
Introduction

If potential outcomes are biased in our observed data:

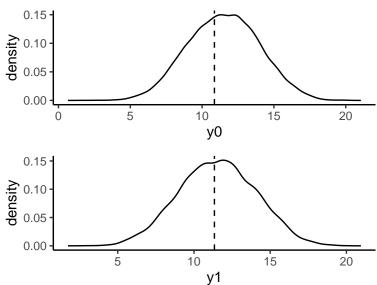
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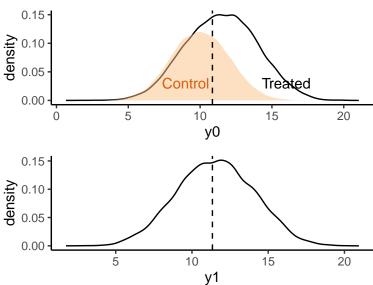
- ▶ If potential outcomes are biased in our observed data:
 - ► Our **counterfactual case** *j* does not represent what would have happened to *i* in the absence of treatment
 - ► Counterfactuals are not plausible
 - ► Causal effects are biased

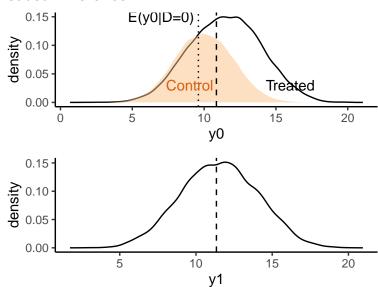


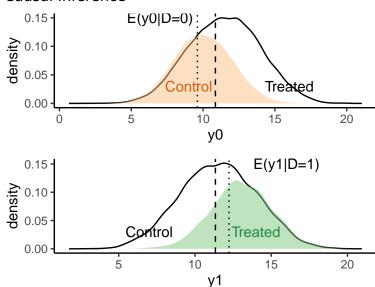
Causal Inference



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Section 3

Treatment Assignment

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- ► If we 'treated' an outlier like the Galapagos Islands, could we find a comparable control unit?
- ► Comparisons are 'better' where the **Treatment**Assignment Mechanism is independent of potential outcomes
 - ► I.e. Whether you got treatment had **nothing** to do with how much the treatment affects you
 - ► This makes it more likely that potential outcomes are 'balanced'/'representative'

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- ► And we do not know what the treatment assignment mechanism was
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 - Except in an experiment
- So we do not know which units might be appropriate counterfactuals

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- ightharpoonup E(Y|D=1) = E(Y|D=0) = E(Y)

3 Critiques

Introduction

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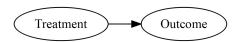
Introduction

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- ► Why are potential outcomes biased in our data?
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- ▶ In all of these cases the potential outcomes are distorted

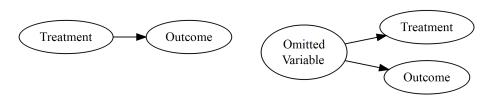
- Why are potential outcomes biased in our data?
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- In all of these cases the potential outcomes are distorted
- ► So basic regression is **biased**

A real causal relationship:



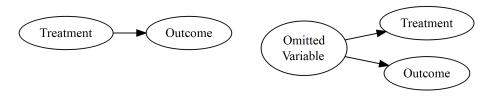
A real causal relationship:

Being misled by omitted variable bias:



A real causal relationship:

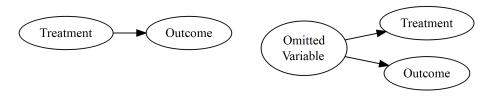
Being misled by omitted variable bias:



► A third variable causes some units to have different values of potential outcomes, AND for those same units to be treated

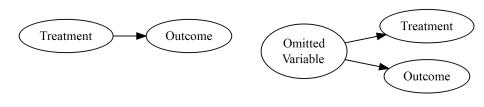
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- A third variable causes some units to have different values of potential outcomes, AND for those same units to be treated
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A real causal relationship: Being misled by omitted variable bias:

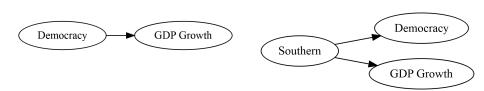


- ► A third variable causes some units to have different values of potential outcomes, AND for those same units to be treated
- ► So treated units have non-representative Y₁
- ► And control units have non-representative Y₀

A real causal relationship:

Being misled by omitted variable bias:

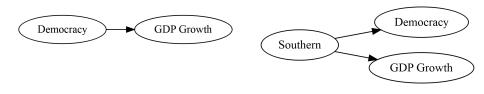
Treatment Assignment



A real causal relationship:

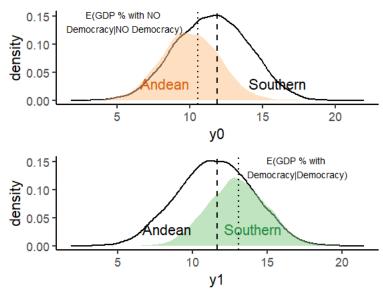
Being misled by omitted variable bias:

Treatment Assignment



 Southern Cone countries faced conditions that encouraged both democracy and rapid GDP growth

Omitted Variable Bias



Introduction

	Andean?	Democracy?	GDP Growth if Dem	GDP Growth if NOT Dem	Treatment Effect
	Xi	Di	<i>Y</i> ₁	Y ₀	Y_1-Y_0
Brasil	1	1	6	?	?
Argentina	1	1	8	?	?
Uruguay	1	1	3	?	?
Bolivia	0	0	?	2	?
Colombia	0	0	?	4	?
Peru	0	0	?	2	?
Average Treat- ment Effect			5.7	2.7	3

Omitted Variable Bias

► Let's say that $Y_{1i} = Y_{0i} + \alpha$, where α is the real constant treatment effect

$$A\hat{T}E = E(Y_1|D=1) - E(Y_0|D=0)$$

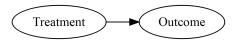
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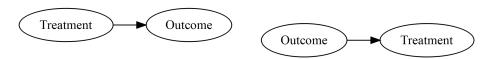
$$A\hat{T}E = \alpha + E(Y_0|D=1) - E(Y_0|D=0)$$
Real ATE

A real causal relationship:



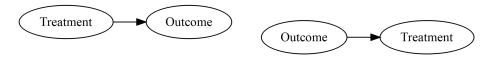
A real causal relationship:

Being misled by reverse causation:



A real causal relationship:

Being misled by reverse causation:



► D does not affect Y, but higher Y makes treatment (D) more likely

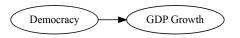
A real causal relationship: Being misled by reverse causation:

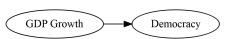
Treatment Outcome Outcome Treatment

- ► D does not affect Y, but higher Y makes treatment (D) more likely
- ► So the two variables are correlated

A real causal relationship:

Being misled by reverse causation:





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Being misled by reverse causation:

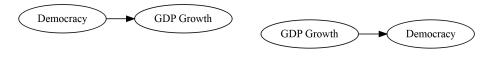
Treatment Assignment



► GDP Growth encourages democratization

A real causal relationship:

Being misled by reverse causation:



- ► GDP Growth encourages democratization
- ➤ So democracies are more likely to have experienced high growth rates

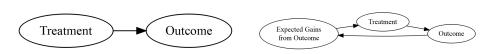
Introduction

	Democracy?	GDP Growth if Dem	GDP Growth if NOT Dem	Treatment Effect
	Di	Y ₁	Y ₀	$Y_1 - Y_0$
Brasil	1	6	?	?
Argentina	1	8	?	?
Uruguay	0	?	3	?
Bolivia	0	?	2	?
Colombia	1	4	?	?
Peru	0	?	2	?
Average Treat- ment Effect		6	2.3	3.7

A real causal relationship:

Being misled by Selection Bias:

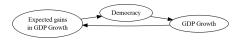
Treatment Assignment



Introduction

A real causal relationship: Being misled by Selection Bias:





A real causal relationship: Being misled by Selection Bias:

Treatment Assignment



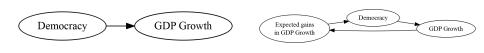
▶ The units which benefit most from treatment (largest $y_1 - y_0$) choose treatment

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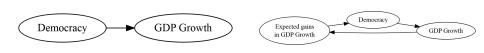
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Ex. Mexico? Poland?

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Self-Selection Bias

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Peru	1	4	?	?
Average Treat- ment Effect		6	3	3

Introduction

► Selection Bias occurs where our data sample does not tell the complete story:

Self-Selecion Bias

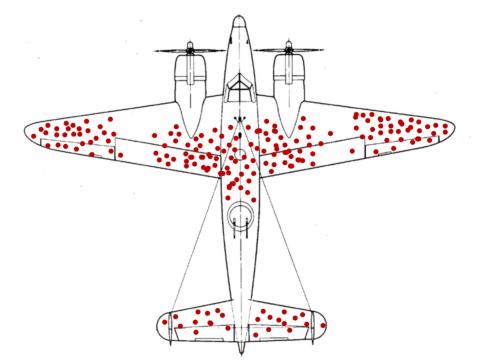
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 - 1. **Self-selection Bias:** Units that benefit most from treatment choose to receive treatment
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 - ► For reasons related to the treatment and potential outcomes

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 - 3. Survival Bias: Some types of units drop out of our sample
 - ► For reasons related to the treatment and potential outcomes



Problems with Observational Data

Depending on the treatment assignment mechanism we get a range of Average Treatment Effects:

Comparing Average Treatment Effects

Treated Units	ATE
Real Effect for all units	1
Bolivia and Colombia treated	-1.25
Omitted Variable Bias (Southern Cone)	3
Reverse Causation	3.7
Self-selection (Biggest GDP gains)	3

3 Critiques

► ANY time you see a paper based on observational data, you should try to make the three critiques:

- ► ANY time you see a paper based on observational data, you should try to make the three critiques:
 - 1. Omitted Variables
 - 2. Reverse Causation
 - 3. Selection Bias
- In all these cases, treatment assignment is not independent of potential outcomes