FLS 6441 - Methods III: Explanation and Causation

Week 3 - Field Experiments

Jonathan Phillips

April 2019

Rest of the Course

- ► The rest of the course is mostly about:
 - ► **Design-Based Solutions** to the Fundamental Problem of Causal Inference:

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 - ► **Design-Based Solutions** to the Fundamental Problem of Causal Inference:
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 - ► How much can we learn with better research design?

Implementation

- ► The rest of the course is mostly about:
 - Design-Based Solutions to the Fundamental Problem of Causal Inference:
 - Finding treatment assignment mechanisms that avoid biases and provide plausible counterfactuals
 - ► How much can we learn with better research design?
 - ► Model-Based Solutions: Not so much.

Implementation

	Independence of Treatment Assignment?	Researcher Controls Treatment Assignment?
Controlled Experiments	\checkmark	✓
Natural Ex- periments	√	
Observational Studies		

Implementation

Rest of the Course

		Independence of Treatment Assignment	Researcher Controls Treatment Assignment?
Controlled Experiments	Field Experiments	√	✓
	Survey and Lab Experiments	√	√
Natural Experiments	Randomized Natural Experiments	√	
	Instrumental Variables	√	
	Discontinuities	√	
Observational Studies	Difference-in-Differences		
	Controlling for Confounding		
	Matching		
	Comparative Cases and Process Tracing		

Section 1

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- ► The Treatment Assignment Mechanism depends on Potential Outcomes

Critiquing

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Independence

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► Treatment Assignment Mechanisms that ARE independent of potential outcomes

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Assumptions

Implementation

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Analysis

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Independence

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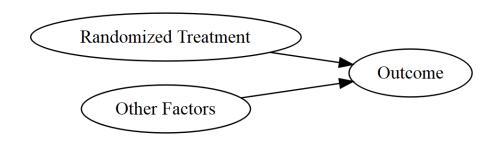
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 - ► No self-selection is possible
 - ► No reverse causation is possible

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Independence

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Implementation

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► This works for observable *and* unobservable influences

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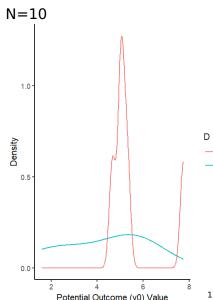
- ► But this logic works only based on **expectations** (averages)
 - On average, potential outcomes will be balanced
 - ► That's more likely in larger samples
 - Less likely in small samples; by chance, potential outcomes may be biased
 - ▶ We have no way of *verifying* if potential outcomes are biased

 Balance on potential outcomes is unlikely in small samples Critiquing

 Balance on potential outcomes is unlikely in small samples

Independence

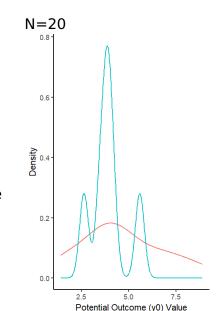
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Independence

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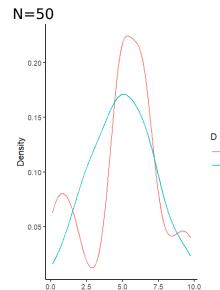


Independence

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small samples

 But the Law of Large Numbers helps us in large samples

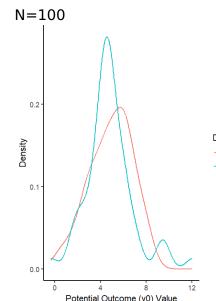


Potential Outcome (v0) Value

 Balance on potential outcomes is unlikely in small samples

Independence

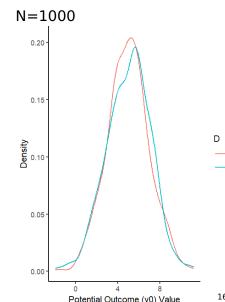
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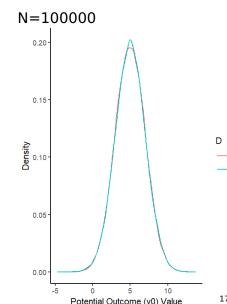
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Independence

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Section 2

Analysis

Implementation

Analyzing Field Experiments

▶ If treatment is random we know that:

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

$$= E(Y_1) - E(Y_0)$$

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Implementation

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- ▶ What is $E(Y_0|D=0)$?
- ► This is easy!
- ► Just the difference in outcome means between treatment and control units
 - ► And a simple T-test for statistical significance
 - ▶ NO modelling assumptions ("non-parametric")

Independence

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- ► By definition:

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► So:

$$\hat{\beta} = E(Y_{1i} - Y_{0i})$$

- ► Simple Regression is **identical** to a Difference-in-means T-test
- ▶ T-test Results:

	estimate	statistic	p.value
1	0.27065	2.69475	0.00706

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► Regression Results $(Y_i = \alpha + \beta D_i + \epsilon_i)$:

	term	estimate	std.error	statistic	p.value
1	(Intercept)	0.03459	0.07110	0.48647	0.62664
2	treatment	0.27065	0.10044	2.69472	0.00706

Independence

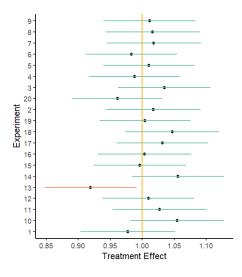
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 - But there is usually a cost trade-off

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- ► Three reasons to include controls:
 - 1. **Small sample**, but note causal inference is now model-dependent
 - 2. Chance/residual imbalance on a specific variable which we want to adjust for
 - 3. **To improve precision**, i.e. reduce the standard errors on β
 - ▶ The more variation in Y we can explain with covariates, the more certain we can be on the effect of D

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Average Treatment Effects are just one summary statistic

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- ► Treatment effects are not normally constant
- Averages can be influenced by outliers
- ▶ What if an average effect of +5% income leaves half the population hugely rich and half very poor?
- ► Average treatment effects are easiest (difference-in-means equals mean-difference)

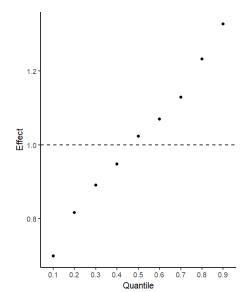
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- Average treatment effects are easiest (difference-in-means equals mean-difference)
- ▶ But we can also estimate Quantile treatment effects, eg. the effect of treatment on the bottom 10% of the distribution

Independence

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- ► Interpretation: Does neighbourhood poverty cause health centres to have a negative impact?
 - We cannot interpret the 'moderator' variable as having a causal effect, the different treatment effects could be due to omitted variables or selection
 - Only the health centre was randomly assigned, not neighbourhood income!

Assumptions

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1. Compliance with Randomization procedure

 Randomization is unpopular, political, and sometimes resisted

Critiquing

Implementation

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- Randomization is unpopular, political, and sometimes resisted
- ► Need to verify treatment allocation

Independence

► Transparency, documentation

1. Compliance with Randomization procedure

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- Need to verify treatment allocation
 - Transparency, documentation
- And treatment compliance
 - Did anyone assigned to control manage to get treatment?
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1. Compliance with Randomization procedure

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- **Design:** Double-blind assignment
- ► Checks: Qualitative fieldwork
- ► Analysis: More on how to respond to non-compliance next week

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Implementation

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- ► Check: Normally a difference in means T-test of covariates between treatment and control groups
- ► Check: Or a Kolmogorov-Smirnov (KS) Test of identical distributions

▶ What if a balance test comes back with a p-value < 0.05?

Implementation

2. Randomization Produced Balanced Potential Outcomes

- ▶ What if a balance test comes back with a p-value < 0.05?</p>
- ▶ It probably will!

Independence

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SUTVA

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- ► But spillovers are common! If you get an award, I might feel more motivated or less motivated
- ► What should we do?
 - ▶ **Design:** Limit risk of spillovers, eg. leave 20 miles between each unit in sampling
 - ► Check: Qualitative fieldwork
 - ► Analysis: Try to *measure* spillovers

Independence

Nothing else correlated with treatment affects potential outcomes

Independence

- ► Nothing else correlated with treatment affects potential outcomes
- ► Assignment to treatment causes a 'parallel' treatment

Critiquing

Independence

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 - ► Eg. We decide to share information about specific politicians on the radio, but the politicians find out and counter with their own broadcasts
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- ...Or do we want to measure these additional effects?

Independence

 Distinguish between the downstream consequences of treatment and 'parallel' treatments

Independence

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Downstream ('net') Consequences

Independence

Distinguish between the downstream consequences of treatment and 'parallel' treatments

Assumptions

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Downstream ('net') Consequences

► Eq. We give a cash handout to families, and then they also start paying taxes; which explains their changing attitudes to government?

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Downstream ('net') Consequences

- Eg. We give a cash handout to families, and then they also start paying taxes; which explains their changing attitudes to government?
- ► We find zero effect of government investing \$1000 in healthcare on health outcomes, because households responded by reducing their spending by exactly \$1000

Parallel Treatments

4. Excludability

Independence

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Design: Careful specification of treatment and control

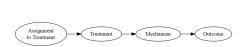
Downstream Consequence of Treatment



Independence

Downstream Consequence of Treatment

Parallel Treatment





Section 4

Implementation

Implementing Field Experiments

► How do we randomize?

Independence

► Hard! We can't just 'pick' treated units off the top of our heads

Critiquing

Implementing Field Experiments

► How do we randomize?

- ► Hard! We can't just 'pick' treated units off the top of our heads
- ► Computers are deterministic

Implementing Field Experiments

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Implementation

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 - ► Pressure to help the most needy

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 - Pressure to help the most needy
 - ► Political pressure
 - ► We don't want to be guinea pigs!

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- ► Three options to assign treatment and control 'independent' of potential outcomes:

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- Three options to assign treatment and control 'independent' of potential outcomes:
 - ► We have N units and want equal probability of treatment for each:
 - 1. Flip a coin for every unit so every unit has probability 0.5 of treatment

How do we randomize?

Independence

Three options to assign treatment and control 'independent' of potential outcomes:

Assumptions

- We have N units and want equal probability of treatment for each:
- 1. Flip a coin for every unit so every unit has probability 0.5 of treatment
- 2. Randomize the order of the units and assign the first $\frac{N}{2}$ units to treatment

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- Three options to assign treatment and control 'independent' of potential outcomes:
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 - Pair similar units and flip a coin to assign one from each pair to treatment

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 - Pair similar units and flip a coin to assign one from each pair to treatment
- ▶ What's the difference between these three options?
- What % treated? 50:50 is usually most efficient
- ► To actually randomize, use the 'randomizr' package

▶ Blocking

Critiquing

- **▶** Blocking
- Randomization is inefficient and risky

▶ Blocking

Independence

- ► Randomization is *inefficient* and risky
- ► We know we need balance on key covariates, eg. gender, so why leave this to chance??

Critiquing

▶ Blocking

- Randomization is inefficient and risky
- ► We know we need balance on key covariates, eg. gender, so why leave this to chance??
 - ightharpoons
 - ► We can measure these variables and *enforce* balance (50% female in both treatment and control)

Blocking

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- ▶ We can measure these variables and *enforce* balance (50%) female in both treatment and control)
- ▶ Blocking means randomizing within fixed groups

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- ▶ We can measure these variables and *enforce* balance (50%) female in both treatment and control)
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- ▶ Eq. We have a sample size of 4000, half male, half female

Blocking

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Without Blocking:

3		
	М	F
Treated	1042	958
Control	972	1028

With Blocking:

3			
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- ► "Block what you can; randomize what you cannot"
- ▶ We focus on within-block variation: $Y_i = \alpha + D_i + B_i + \epsilon_i$

► Random treatment vs. Random samples

Random Treatment

► Random treatment vs. Random samples

Random Treatment

 Representative potential outcomes Critiquing

► Random treatment vs. Random samples

Random Treatment

Random Samples

- Representative potential outcomes
- ► Causal Inference

Critiquing

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Random Samples

 Sample representative of larger population

► Random treatment vs. Random samples

Random Treatment

- Representative potential outcomes
- ► Causal Inference

Random Samples

- Sample representative of larger population
- ► Statistical Inference

► Random treatment vs. Random samples

Random Treatment

- Representative potential outcomes
- ► Causal Inference

Random Samples

- Sample representative of larger population
- ► Statistical Inference
- Both work in the same way randomization avoids selection (into the data/treatment)

Independence

Section 5

Critiquing

Critiquing Field Experiments

Independence

Field experiments are easy to evaluate. What can go wrong??

Critiquing 000000

▶ We know that *D* causes *Y* in this population.

Independence

► We know that *D* causes *Y* in this population. So what? What did we learn about political science?

Critiquing

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- ▶ What theory is this testing? Does it reject any theory?
- ▶ We want to test theories, not treatments

Independence

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Independence

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Assumptions

- ► Income makes attitudes to redistribution more negative in the USA
 - What is the effect in Angola?
- Secondary school education leads to more conservative voting
 - What is the effect of university education?

Independence

Our causal conclusions are restricted to the population we drew our sample from

Assumptions

- ► Income makes attitudes to redistribution more negative in the USA
 - What is the effect in Angola?
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- Yes, you randomly sampled and randomly assigned treatment, but not in the full population we want to learn about

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 - ► What is the effect in Angola?
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 - ► What is the effect of university education?
- Yes, you randomly sampled and randomly assigned treatment, but not in the full population we want to learn about
 - ► The places that agree to field experiments are not representative

Independence

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- 3. Generalizability of Treatment
 - ► The effect of an education intervention in an experiment in Butantã raised test scores by 20%, and was evaluated and verified by USP
 - ► The government expands the program nationwide. Do Brazilian students' scores improve on average by 20%?
 - ► Three problems:

Independence

 Implementation Varies: Implementing at scale is hard, costly and requires delegation to less motivated and skilled actors.

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- 2. Ownership and Excludability:
 - Telling someone to implement an intervention is different from working with a self-motivated actor who designed the intervention.

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 - ► Telling someone to implement an intervention is different from working with a self-motivated actor who designed the intervention.
 - Knowing you were randomly assigned to treatment rather than choosing treatment changes political ownership, perceptions and motivation.
- General Equilibrium Effects: Average test scores went from 70% to 90%, so the exam board readjusted the test and made it harder.

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- ▶ WB/UN/Columbia University tried to invest USD\$120 per person in 14 African villages

Independence

- ► Eq. The Millennium Villages Project
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Assumptions

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- 1. Sites were not representative (close to main roads and cities so they're easy to visit)
- 2. Treatment could not be scaled (Every village cannot get visits from Columbia professors twice a year)
- 3. And politics was ignored (No implementation unless you give locals responsibility, but then you lose control)

4. Skewed Learning

Independence

 Research focuses on where experiments are most possible, not where it is most needed

4. Skewed Learning

- Research focuses on where experiments are most possible, not where it is most needed
- Selection bias in research findings