Jonathan Phillips

Week 7 - Discontinuities

Close Elections

May 2019

Independence Researcher Conof Treatment trols Treatment Assianment Assianment? Field Experiments Controlled **Experiments** Survey and Lab Experiments √ Natural Experiments √ Natural Instrumental Variables ./ **Experiments** Discontinuities 1 Difference-in-Differences Controlling for Confounding Observational Studies Matching Comparative Cases and Process Tracing

Discontinuities

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Natural Experiments

Discontinuities

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- ► Natural Experiments
- ► Where the 'as-if' random treatment assignment comes from discontinuities in rules

Discontinuities

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- ► Natural Experiments
- ► Where the 'as-if' random treatment assignment comes from discontinuities in rules
 - ► Rules that treat similar people differently

Discontinuities

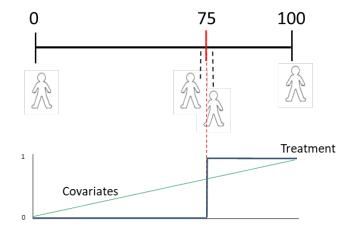
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- ► Natural Experiments
- ► Where the 'as-if' random treatment assignment comes from discontinuities in rules
 - Rules that treat similar people differently
 - ► Small differences on a **continuous** variable create big differences on a **binary treatment** variable

Discontinuities

- ► Example thresholds:
 - ► Exam cutoffs
 - ► Age cutoffs
 - ► Policy eligibility rules
 - ► Close elections
 - ► Adminsitrative boundaries

Discontinuities



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- Why do discontinuities assign treatment 'as-if' random?
- ► Maybe they don't! It depends on how much **control** people have over their 'scores'
 - Could you get a score of exactly 10 in naming the Brazilian states?
 - ► Could you get a score of exactly 150 on the GRE?
- We need qualitative evidence that people cannot 'choose' their score perfectly
- ► Then the factors that influence *small* changes in score should be independent of potential outcomes
 - ▶ Weather
 - ► Chance
 - ▶ Mistakes

- ► Regression Discontinuity
 - ► Treatment assignment is 'as-if' random only really close to the threshold

Discontinuities

- Regression Discontinuity
 - ► Treatment assignment is 'as-if' random only **really close to** the threshold

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 - ► Their covariates are almost the same
 - ► Their potential outcomes are (on average) almost the same
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Discontinuities

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 - ► **Treatment** D_i : Binary 0/1 depending on whether the running variable is above or below the threshold $(x_i >= \bar{x})$
 - ▶ **Outcome** *Yi*: Any subsequent outcome you have measured

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Discontinuities

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Close Elections

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 - 1. Potential outcomes vary continuously (are independent of treatment) at the threshold
 - 2. Units cannot precisely control their score and sort either side of the threshold
 - The threshold is not chosen strategically
 - 4. No compound treatments
 - No spillovers (SUTVA)

Discontinuities

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Discontinuities

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 - ► The threshold is decided after units make choices
 - ► The running variable is hard to manipulate precisely
- ▶ We need qualitative evidence to support these assumptions

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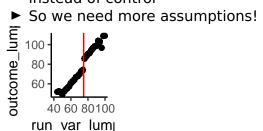
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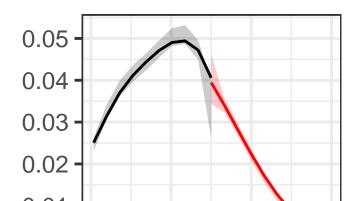
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- So to make comparisons we have to extrapolate to guess what the potential outcomes would be if unit i was treated instead of control



- ▶ We can check for sorting with a density test
- ► If units are bunched just above the threshold, this suggests manipulation



- ► Three Regression Discontinuity Methodologies:
 - Difference-in-means: Define a small window either side of the threshold and compare average outcomes in this window
 - ► But can be biased since we're ignoring the confounding effect of the running variable on the outcome

Estimating Discontinuities

- ► Three Regression Discontinuity Methodologies:
 - 1. **Difference-in-means:** Define a small window either side of the threshold and compare average outcomes in this window
 - ► But can be biased since we're ignoring the confounding effect of the running variable on the outcome
 - 'Full data' regression discontinuity: Uses all the data and estimates:

$$Y_i = \alpha + \beta_1 Running_Variable_i + \beta_2 Treatment_i + \epsilon_i$$

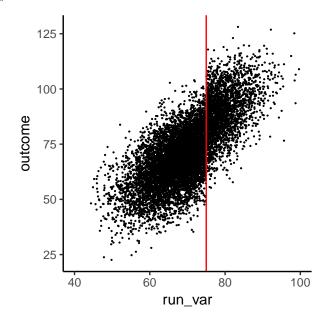
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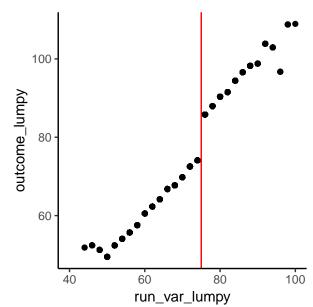
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- ► We just control for the 'smooth' variation in the running variable and estimate the 'jump' impact of treatment with a binary variable (dummy)
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- 3. 'Limited-bandwidth' regression discontinuity: Focus on values close to the threshold, but use a regression
 - What bandwidth around the threshold do we use?

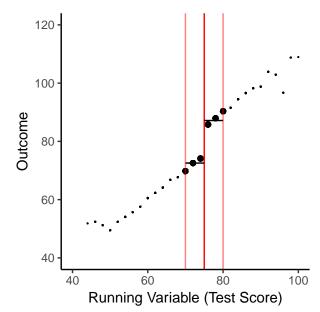
Raw Data



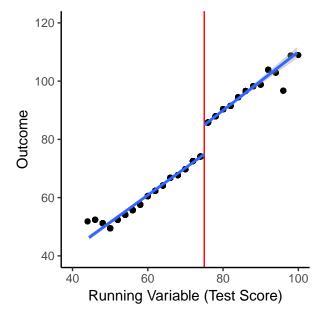
'Binned' Data



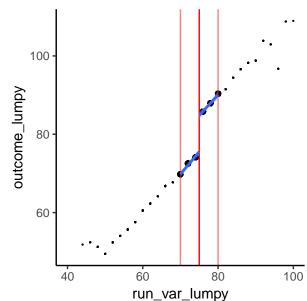
1. Difference-in-Means



2. Full Data Regression - Linear



3. Limited-bandwidth Regression - Local Linear



► Which method?

- ▶ Which method?
 - ▶ Difference-in-means is probably biased, and we can easily do better

Close Elections

▶ Which method?

Discontinuities

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Close Elections

► The parametric approach uses more data (+precision) but depends on the right model: linear, quadratic, etc. (+risk of bias)

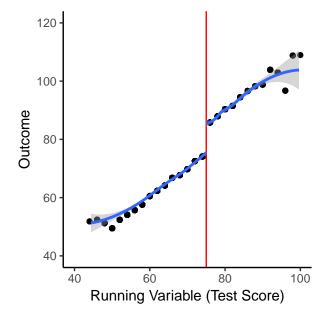
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- ► In practice, apply all three as robustness checks

2b. Full Data Regression - Non-linear



Discontinuities

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- ▶ Why does RD estimate a **Local** Average Treatment Effect?
 - Treatment assignment is only random at the threshold
 - Our estimates only apply to units close to the threshold
 - ► Units far from the threshold are very different for a reason, and causal effects are likely to be different

Limitations:

Discontinuities

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Close Elections

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Close Elections

► Risk of sorting/manipulation

Discontinuities

► Close elections are one type of regression discontinuity in which political office is 'as-if' randomized

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Close Elections

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Particularly useful for understanding the effects of political power

Close elections are one type of regression discontinuity in which political office is 'as-if' randomized

Close Flections •0000000

- Particularly useful for understanding the effects of political power
 - Running Variable: Margin of victory
 - ► **Treatment:** Winning a close election
 - ► Control: Losing a close election
 - ▶ Outcome: Anything that happens later...

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Discontinuities

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 - Politicians (incumbents, the wealthy) can control whether they win, even when it's a tight race
 - ► They have extremely detailed information to predict vote results

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- Politicians (incumbents, the wealthy) can control whether they win, even when it's a tight race
- ► They have extremely detailed information to predict vote results
- So potential outcomes are not balanced
- ▶ But no other case (9 countries) has this problem

Discontinuities

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- How does incumbency affect control of the media?
 - Radio licencing process depends on ability to lobby the Ministry and Congress
 - ► Local radio systematically used to favour specific politicians
 - Incumbents better placed to initiate exchange between Mayors and legislators
- ▶ What is the challenge to causal inference here?

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Discontinuities

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- ► Population: Brazilian councillors
- ► **Sample:** Brazilian councillors in close elections that made radio licence applications in 2000/2004
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- ▶ Population: Brazilian councillors
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- ► Running Variable: Vote margin
- ► Treatment: Just winning close election
- **►** Control:

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- ► Running Variable: Vote margin
- ► Treatment: Just winning close election
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- ► Treatment Assignment:

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- **▶** Outcome:

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- ➤ **Sample:** Brazilian councillors in close elections that made radio licence applications in 2000/2004
- ► Running Variable: Vote margin
- ► Treatment: Just winning close election
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- ► Treatment Assignment: 'As-if' random in close elections
- ▶ Outcome: Approved radio licence application rate

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Close Elections

Discontinuities

Boas and Hidalgo (2011) Methodology:

Close Elections

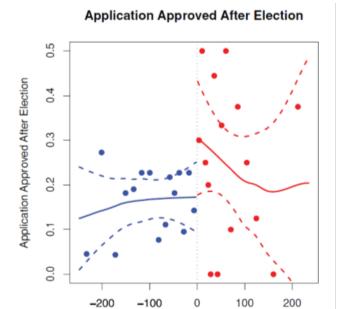
Discontinuities

- Boas and Hidalgo (2011) Methodology:
- Local Linear regression within bandwidth of 165 votes
- Difference-in-Means within 10-40 vote bandwidth

Discontinuities

- Boas and Hidalgo (2011)
- Results

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- ▶ Results
 - ► Incumbent Vereadores are twice as likely (14-27 % points) to have their radio licence applications approved



Close Elections

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Discontinuities

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Discontinuities

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- ► Boas and Hidalgo (2011)
- ► Critique:
 - Municipalities that are competitive are unusual, so we learn nothing about media control in dominated places
 - ► No real discussion of whether they're correctly modelling the relationship between vote margin and the outcome
 - ► Is it necessarily wrong that incumbents are more likely to get approval? Perhaps they learn valuable information or professionalism as soon as they come to office

► Phillips (2017)

Discontinuities

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 - But has top-down reform changed how politics works?
 - Are voters exposed to reform more likely to avoid clientelism, trust the state and vote for reformers?

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 - Bihar is one of the poorest places on the planet and one of the worst goverened
 - ► 'Jungle raj': Clientelism, violence, corruption, caste bias
 - ► Bihar is a programmatic reform success case since 2005 under Nitish Kumar
 - ▶ But has top-down reform changed how politics works?
 - ► Are voters exposed to reform more likely to avoid clientelism, trust the state and vote for reformers?
- ▶ What is the challenge to causal inference?



Discontinuities

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Close Elections

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 - ► Families have lived in their villages for decades
 - ► The two states were only created in 2001; before that they experienced the same relationship with government
 - The border was set according to old district borders, and not politically
 - ► Jharkhand did not experience the same governance improvements as Bihar

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Close Elections

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- ▶ **Sample:** Bihari and Iharkhand citizens within 4km of the border
- **►** The Running Variable:

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Close Elections

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 - ► Population: Bihari citizens
 - ► Sample: Bihari and Jharkhand citizens within 4km of the border
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 - **►** Treatment:

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 - ► Population: Bihari citizens
 - ► Sample: Bihari and Jharkhand citizens within 4km of the border
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 - Sample: Bihari and Jharkhand citizens within 4km of the border
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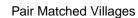
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 - ► Treatment Assignment:

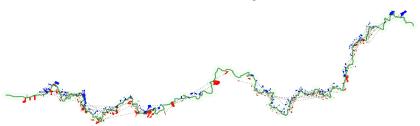
Close Flections

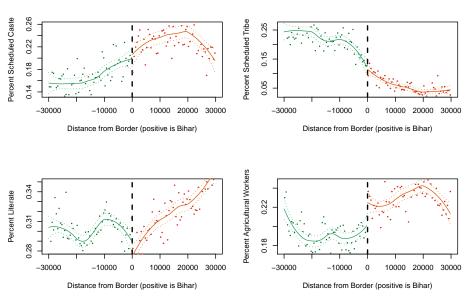
- Geographic Regression Discontinuity Design
 - Exactly the same as a normal regression discontinuity, but in two dimensions (longitude and latitude)
 - ► **Population:** Bihari citizens
 - ▶ **Sample:** Bihari and Iharkhand citizens within 4km of the border
 - ► The Running Variable: Longitude and latitude
 - ▶ **Treatment:** Residents on the Bihar side of the border
 - ► **Control:** Residents on the Jharkhand side of the border
 - ► Treatment Assignment: Family history, state separation in 2001, and migration

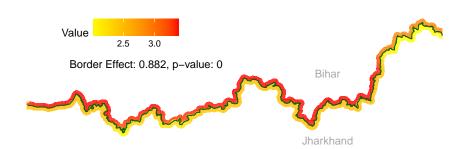
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 - ▶ Outcome: Political attitudes and behaviour





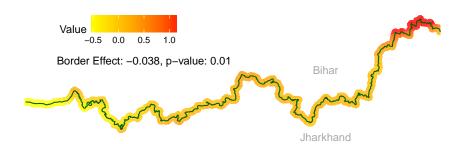




Predicted Value Plot of Likelihood of Incumbent Providing Public Goods if Reelected

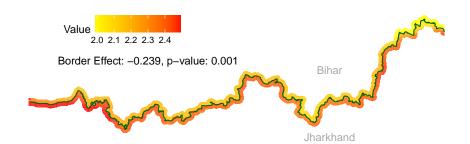


Predicted Value Plot of Likelihood of Corrupt Elite being Caught



Predicted Value Plot of Estimated Government Contacts Network Size

Predicted Value Plot of Gram Sabha Attendance



Predicted Value Plot for Trust in the Civil Service

Interpretation:

Discontinuities

Programmatic policy has changed voters' attitudes and expectations

Close Elections

► Interpretation:

- Programmatic policy has changed voters' attitudes and expectations
- ► Incumbents' policy has political feedback effects

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Close Elections

- Interpretation:
 - Programmatic policy has changed voters' attitudes and expectations
 - ► Incumbents' policy has **political feedback effects**
 - Coordination among voters has helped re-elect the reformer twice
 - ▶ But no fundamental change in vulnerability or aversion to clientelism
 - ► A reduction in clientelism may also have reduced political participation/trust