

# A Taste of Problems and Fixes in Program Evaluation

## Causality Worries for Economists

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Data Science for Social Good Summer Fellowship, 2013

# Outline

- 1 Preliminaries
- 2 Problems
- 3 Math on Problems
- 4 Some Fixes
- 5 Summary

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- Leading projects on education and motherhood?
- Don't you have something better to do?
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- I'm a microeconomist. We deal with data and empirics.
  - Unlike macroeconomists
- I don't deal with money
  - Turns out that the human beings economists have been studying *are the same ones that sociologists and psychologists have been studying!*
- Economists still differ from sociologists and statisticians are distinguished by our toolkit
  - Many important questions do not come/can't be put in an experimental framework
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- There are phenomena that we care about, and want to improve – crime, poverty, poor educational attainment
- Question is: what's effective in changing them?
- Causes are complex, and the data only partially reflects all the things that matter

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# Some things that we do

- Plot variables, run correlations, calculate conditional averages
- Bivariate comparisons are interesting, but correlation  $\neq$  causation
- Graduation rates differ by race. If minority kids...
  - ...go to bad schools, reform the schools;
  - ...have unstable families, support them;
  - ...are bad at school, forget about them.
- Can only close the door on incorrect hypotheses when we have data
- Big danger when we're missing important data, and don't sweat over what that is.

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- Let's add explanatory variables
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# Bias due to unobserved factors

- Suppose that the truth is:

$$y_i = \beta' x_i + \alpha d_i + \varepsilon_i$$

Where:

- $y_i$  is the outcome that we're interested in (for simplicity, a continuous variable), observed for individuals  $i = 1, \dots, N$
- $x_i$  is a vector of information about individuals - gender, race, neighborhood, prior school attendance patterns
- $d_i$  is a binary variable reflecting whether  $i$  received some treatment ( $d_i = 1$ ) or not ( $d_i = 0$ )
- $\varepsilon_i$  is everything else not in our data that influences  $y_i$  - e.g. motivation, family stability, socio-emotional stability, high quality relationships, positive outlook
- $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  are parameters that measure the rates at which  $d_i$  and  $x_i$  transfer into  $y_i$ .

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# Bias due to unobserved factors

- Resources:  $\{x_i, d_i, y_i\}_{i=1}^N$
- Interests:  $\{\alpha, \beta\}$
- We've got a linear setup—how about a linear projection of  $y_i$  on the space defined by  $(x_i, d_i)$  to recover the slope parameters?

$$\mathbf{E}[y_i | x_i, d_i] = \beta' x_i + \alpha d_i + \mathbf{E}[\varepsilon_i | \mathbf{x}_i, \mathbf{d}_i]$$

- Oops.  $\varepsilon_i$  isn't orthogonal to  $x_i$  and  $d_i$ .
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# Bias due to unobserved factors

- There's a theoretical relationship between what we don't observe and what we do:

$$\varepsilon_i = \pi'_x x_i + \pi_d d_i + \eta_i$$

where  $\pi$  are projection parameters, and  $\eta_i$  represents unobserved factors that truly are orthogonal to  $(x_i, d_i)$ .

- $\pi \neq 0$  means that there's some relationship between what we don't observe and what we do observe
  - Unobserved neighborhood processes will hang with indicators of neighborhood of residence
  - Delinquency and disengagement will hang with (low) attendance
  - $\pi_d < 0$  means that program participation is associated with negative unobservables

• Were likely underrepresented targets of the population

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# Bias due to unobserved factors

- Linear regression gets us clumps of parameters:

$$y_i = (\beta + \pi_x)' x_i + (\alpha + \pi_d) d_i + \eta_i$$

- We're no longer in the world of *ceteris paribus*
- When we vary  $d_i$ , we switch on other stuff
  - An effective program ( $\alpha > 0$ ) ...
  - ...that targets kids who are at-risk in ways we can't account for ( $\pi_d < 0$ ) ...
  - may look ineffective (if  $\alpha + \pi_d \leq 0$ )
- We have data, ran stats that other people can't do. We're very smart. Shouldn't we close programs that look ineffective?
  - Good lord.
  - Loaded question.

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- We need to return to a *ceteris paribus* world
- **Instrumental Variables** methods remove the portion of  $d_i$  that is associated with unobserved factors
  - Instead, rely only on what known (i.e., are in the data), unproblematic factors explain program participation
  - Regress  $y_i$  on  $x_i$  and  $E[d_i|x_i, z_i]$  where  $z_i$  are “unproblematic” variables that explain participation in treatment (the “instrumental variables”)
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