Why experiment? | Requêtes et stratégies de réponse



#### Key points for this lecture | Points clés de cette conférence

- What is a policy experiment?
- ▶ Who uses experiments?
- What are experiments good for (and not)?



#### Policy experiments | yy

#### A method for:

- Putting beliefs about what works to the test
- Enabling policy decisions based on data



# What is an experiment | yy

- Question: are programmatic policies or clientelistic policies more effective at mobilizing voters?
- Why we care: Programmatic policies can be more equitable, pro-poor
- ► Idea: politicians believe clientelistic policies are more effective — and maybe they would change campaigns if they knew they were wrong

# What is an experiment? | yy

- Research partner: four main parties in Benin
- Intervention: programmatic policy or clientelistic policy promoted by party at election rallies in a district
- Experimental design: campaign randomly assigned to districts
- Outcome: vote share for the party
- Results: on average voters prefer clientelistic campaigns, but women more likely to prefer programmatic policies



# Why an experiment? | yy

Random assignment  $\rightarrow$  highly credible evidence that the change to messages at rallies led to a change in vote share

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If politicians believe results  $\rightarrow$  decide to change campaigns

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#### Long history of the method | yy

- ► Late 1700s, early 1800s: early double-blind experiments with comparison group (not randomized)
- ► 1920s: first randomized experiments in agriculture, education, and political yy science
- ▶ 1965: first clinical randomized trial (Streptomycin for TB)
- 2019: Nobel prize for popularizing randomized experiments in economics



#### Widespread use | yy

- Clinical trials required by regulators for vaccines, medicines, and treatments
- Political campaigns test mobilization and persuasion strategies
- Tech companies test website features to find most lucrative ("lean startup")
- Governments test policies in "nudge units"



#### Use in social science | yy

Despite recent introduction in social science, big impacts already

- Proved long-held beliefs wrong
- Demonstrated practices that work in US don't work yy in Global South
- Proved new ideas right
- Led to scaling up good policies
- Led to discovery that policies do not scale well



# Proving beliefs wrong I | yy

- Belief: providing information about incumbent politicians will change votes
- Intervention: information about politicians' corruption, job attendance
- Experimental design: randomly assign districts to receive information or not
- Outcome: vote share for incumbent (administrative data)
- Result: no effect



#### Proving beliefs wrong II | yy

- Belief: local democratic institutions improve delivery of development aid
- Partner: International Rescue Committee.CARE
- Intervention: two years of democratic institutions and development program
- Experimental design: randomly assign village clusters to treatment or not
- Outcomes: corruption, government practices chosen after intervention
- ► Result: no change



# Proving beliefs wrong III | yy

- Belief: engagement between police & citizens improves trust, lowers crime
- Partner: Police agencies in six countries
- Intervention: "community policing" (townhalls, beat patrols, etc.)
- Experimental design: randomly assign police beats to receive/not
- Outcomes: citizen trust in and cooperation with police, crime
- Result: no change in any main outcome



# Proving beliefs right | yy

- Belief: conditional cash transfers change behavior, improve welfare
- Partner: Mexico public health ministry
- Intervention: cash to mothers conditioned on children attending school, going to health clinics
- Experimental design: first phase of rollout randomly assigned to communities
- Outcomes: poverty, school attendance, health
- Result: improvements in every outcome



# Proving beliefs right | yy

Incomplete list of places with CCTs following the Progresa study:

Argentina, Bangladesh, Brazil, Cambodia, Chile, Colombia, Egypt, Guatemala, Honduras, Indonesia, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Turkey, US



# Scaling up successes | yy

- Belief: deworming medication affects only patient's health
- Intervention: deworm all children in a community at once
- Experimental design: randomly assign communities to receive/not mass deworming
- Outcomes: health, but also school attendance
- Results: effects much larger than believed; cost effective way to improve school attendance. health



#### Failures to scale | yy

- Belief: opportunity to contact legislators flattens access (based on personal recruitment)
- Intervention: scale up to an affordable recruitment mechanism. radio
- Experimental design: randomly-assign constituencies to radio invitations to contact program

- Outcomes: contact rates, who contacts
- Results: vastly smaller use rate, doesn't flattens access (most people wealthy, male)

# Limitations to experiments | yy

Some questions don't need an experiment

- Does smoking cause poor health?
- Do parachutes help when you jump out of a plane?

Some questions shouldn't have yy an experiment

- Does changing the interest rate affect inflation?
- What is the poverty rate?

Important role for descriptive research, qualitative investigation



#### Why experiments | yy

Put beliefs about effects of policies to the test

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What policies works?

 $\rightarrow$  let's find out

