La revolución de la credibilidad y la política basada en evidencia: Raíces históricas

Francesco Bogliacino

Una historia no contada

➢ Existe una historia que ha reunidos dos ríos
  ➢ Lo que ha pasado en la relación entre evidencia y política pública
  ➢ La historia del pensamiento económico reciente (revolución de la credibilidad y economía del desarrollo [+behavioral economics])

➢ Hoy ha producido:
  ➢ Por larga parte una manera nueva de hacer economía
    ➢ Más empírica
    ➢ Más creíble metodológicamente
    ➢ (contra) a veces pierde contacto con grandes preguntas
    ➢ (contra)
  ➢ Un nuevo mainstream en la política pública que es la Evidence Based Policy (que es algo diferente de la "nueva" economía y que va juzgada mirando la realidad del quehacer)

Evidencia y política pública (1)

- Campbell y el programa popperiano;
- La importancia conceptual: validez interna y externa
- La importancia práctica (ej. RDD)

THE United States and other modern nations should be ready for an experimental approach to social reform, an approach in which we try out new programs designed to cure specific social problems, in which we learn whether or not these programs are effective, and in which we retain, imitate, modify, or discard them on the basis of apparent effectiveness on the multiple imperfect criteria available. Our readiness for this

Pos-positivismo

- K Popper (1902-1994) *racionalismo crítico*:
  - Búsqueda de un criterio de demarcación (sobre admisibilidad no sobre verdad) entre proposiciones científicas y especulación
  - Mientras que Wittgenstein distingue entre lo que tiene o no significado, para Popper «Dios existe» no es sin significado, sino que no es científica
  - «No se confirma, se refuta» el criterio es la *falseabilidad,* la posibilidad de descartar una hipótesis (Freud o Marx tienen evidencia empírica *ad hoc*)
  - No se requiere una fundamentación última
    - Regresión *ad infinitum*
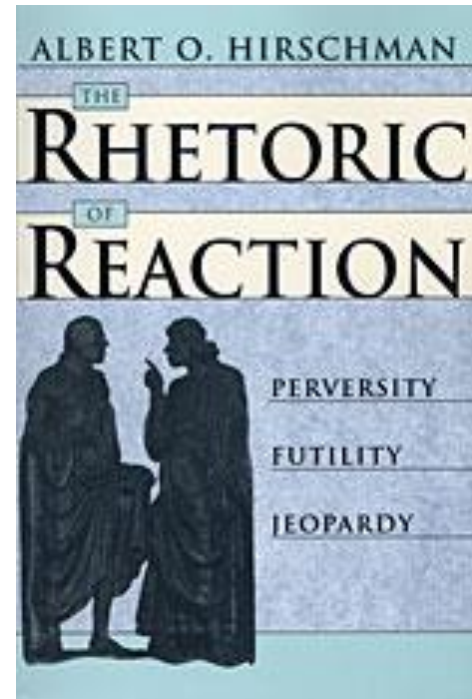   - Corte arbitrario
    - Circularidad

El debate Adorno-Popper

- Popper postula que existe una relación entre el conocimiento científico y la idea de sociedad *(La sociedad abierta y sus enemigos)*
- El debate con Adorno:
  - Si aceptamos la sociedad como un dato, nunca podremos cambiarla (Adorno), Positivismo es posición *conservadora*
  - Popper rechaza dialéctica (explica todo o es tautológica): posición gradualista y reformista
    - La historia no tiene sentido
    - No nos justifica
    - No hay leyes de desarrollo

	Experimentalism (foundationalist)	Pragmatism (utilization focussed)	Constructivism (stakeholders focussed)
Epistemology	Successionist causation	Knowledge validity depends on its pragmatic acceptability (falling into the policy setting framework)	Relativism as truth is not external to the beliefs of any group
Method	Experimental and quasi-experimental	enlighten policy using information structured with best of breed techniques and toolbox	Qualitative analysis of stakeholders' meanings to reach consensual constructions
Ontology	Social complexity coped with by controlling for covariates	Social world as 'power-play' and chain of influence that research tries to penetrate to promote change	Theory of social world as constituted in everyday meanings formed in social interaction
Objects	Programmes as reforms to solve social problems	programs as institutional realities such as 'services', ''targets', 'bargaining processes', 'clients', 'opponents'	programs as flexible ensemble of constructions by (policy makers, providers, subjects etc.)
Progress	Replication to accumulate evidence on what works	Incremental cost effectiveness within the political feasibility of policy development	Constructions as 'findings' open to further negotiations in an on going process
Utility	Inform policy making for rational choices amongst alternatives on the basis of robust evidence	Evaluation geared to advancing the practical goals of policy making	enlarging the collaborative process in a way which seeks to empower and educate all stakeholders

Evidencia y Política Pública (2)

- Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation & Department of Health and Human Services

- El experimento del welfare state (Great Society de Lyndon B. Johnson)

- Las criticas y la ola conservatorismo que se estaba gestando

La historia del MDRC

Table 1 Percentage working 2 years after random assignment: supported work evaluation

Hard-to-employ group	Treatment group	Control group	Difference (impact)
Long-term Aid to Families with Dependent Children recipients	49.1	40.6	8.5[a]
Ex-addicts	56.5	53.0	3.5
Ex-offenders	56.5	53.3	3.2
Young high school dropouts	62.6	62.6	0.0

[a]Statistically significant at the 5% level.
Author's compilation based on MDRC Board of Directors, 1980. Summary and Findings of the National Supported Work Demonstration. Ballinger, Cambridge, MA, Tables 9-1 to 9-4.

- Los inicios y el NSW;
- La clave del éxito:
  - *Te contesto tu pregunta;*
  - *Creíble-> methodological debate kills the attention of the policy circle*
- La capacidad de implementar *multi-arm studies*
- Una nueva agenda
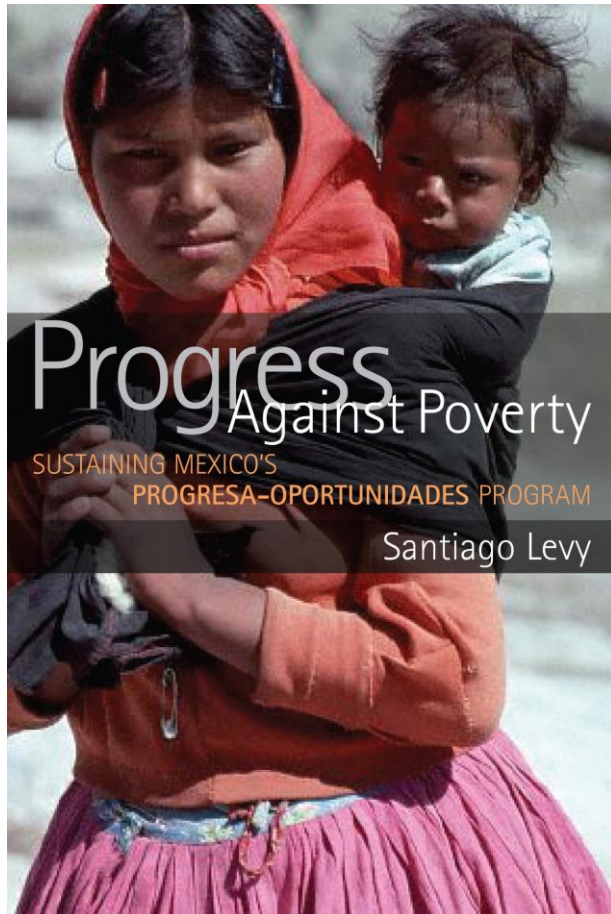 - Reagan, la reforma del welfare y la cost Benefit análisis

Existe una apéndice latinoamericana

Progress Against Poverty
SUSTAINING MEXICO'S
PROGRESA-OPORTUNIDADES PROGRAM
Santiago Levy

- Reformas contra grupos fuertes
- Cancelación de subsidios regresivos pero populares
- Que no fuera percibido como del gobierno en carga (fracasó, mismo pasó con Colombia)
- Evaluación rigurosa

Evidencia y política pública (3): El What Works y Blair

- El contexto de la transformación del laburismo post Tatcher

- Hay un ingrediente particular aquí que el la revolución de la economía del comportamiento y el BIT

- *We will be a radical government. New Labour is a party of ideas and ideals but not of outdated ideology. What counts is what works. The objectives are radical. The means will be modern. Britain will be better with new Labour* (Cabinet Office, 1999)

Back to economics (1)

La Revolución de la Credibilidad

Gregg v. Georgia, 428 U.S. 153 (1976)

Opinions   Audio & Media

Syllabus   **Case**

[Footnote 31]

See, e.g., Peck, The Deterrent Effect of Capital Punishment: Ehrlich and His Critics, 85 Yale L.J. 359 (1976); Baldus & Cole, A Comparison of the Work of Thorsten Sellin and Isaac Ehrlich on the Deterrent Effect of Capital Punishment, 85 Yale L.J. 170 (1975); Bowers & Pierce, The Illusion of Deterrence in Isaac Ehrlich's Research on Capital Punishment, 85 Yale L.J. 187 (1975); Ehrlich, The Deterrent Effect of Capital Punishment: A Question of Life and Death, 65 Am.Econ.Rev. 397 (June 1975); Hook, The Death Sentence, in The Death Penalty in America 146 (H. Bedau ed.1967); T. Sellin, The Death Penalty, A Report for the Model Penal Code Project of the American Law Institute (1959).

Credibility Revolution

- Mejores y más datos *(recolectar datos según un diseño)*
- Menos distracciones (, robust)
- Diseño de investigación
  - RCT como referente ideal
  - RDD
  - Diferencias in diferencias
  - *Identification strategy*

- What's your identification strategy?
  More transparency
  Better communication
  More multidisciplinarity
  recovery of RDD and other literature

- A lot of rethorical battle
  Funding
  Macho culture at seminars

- Ethics?
  Theory?
  Non results?

Back to economics (2): Thinking big and small

Thinking big

- The early big push in foreign aid;
- Structural adjustment (also known as the Washington Consensus) in the 1980s and 1990s;
- "Shock therapy" in the former Communist countries;

Thinking big

- Causality?

- Instruments:
  - Population, OPEC
  - Arellano Bond

- Data mining
  - Law of Small Numbers

Thinking small

- When we talk of hard evidence, we will therefore have in mind evidence from a randomized experiment, or, failing that, evidence from a true natural experiment, in which an accident of history creates a setting that mimics a randomized trial" (Banerjee 2007, 12)

- "Creating a culture in which rigorous randomized evaluations are promoted, encouraged, and financed has the potential to revolutionize social policy during the 21st century, just as randomized trials revolutionized medicine during the 20th" (Duflo, 2004)

RCT (Cohen & Dupas, 2007)

- 20 clínicas pre-natales

- 5 grupos
  - 0-0,6 USD + control
  - Controlan la toma y el uso
  - Controlan si son las mujeres a mayor riesgo (nivel de hemoglobina)

- Resultados
  - Si nos movemos de 0 toma baja significativamente y el uso no cambia
  - El *cost sharing* no selecciona (mismo riesgo malaria en las mujeres)

¿Fin?

Rodrik, 2008

- Kenya Occidental: focalizado desde años para actividades de promoción de mosquiteras;

- Mujeres embarazadas que visitan clínicas: sujeto a riesgo, interesado, y sensibilizado al tema

- Se llevaban a las clínicas, así que se resuelve el tema de sostenibilidad;

- No puede haber costo hundido porque el delta precio era muy contenido

Validez externa

- One example is the drug benoxaprophen (trade name: Opren), a nonsteroidal inflammatory treatment for arthritis and musculo-skeletal pain. This passed RCTs (explicitly restricted to 18 to 65 year olds) with flying colours. It is however a fact that musculo-skeletal pain predominately afflicts the elderly. It turned out, when the (on average older) `target population' were given Opren, there were a significant number of deaths from hepato-renal failure and the drug was withdrawn." (Worrall 2007, p.995)

¿Qué es la Evidence Based Policy?

- Es la etiqueta con la cual se quiere denotar el uso de un particular enfoque de medición en el informar el diseño, monitoreo y ajuste de las políticas públicas;

- No es un *general quest for evidence*

- Características:
  - Rol preponderante de organizaciones internacionales que tienen que compensar su carencia de legitimidad *tradicional*
  - Funciona con la lógica de la burocracia no de la academia (y no podría ser diferente)
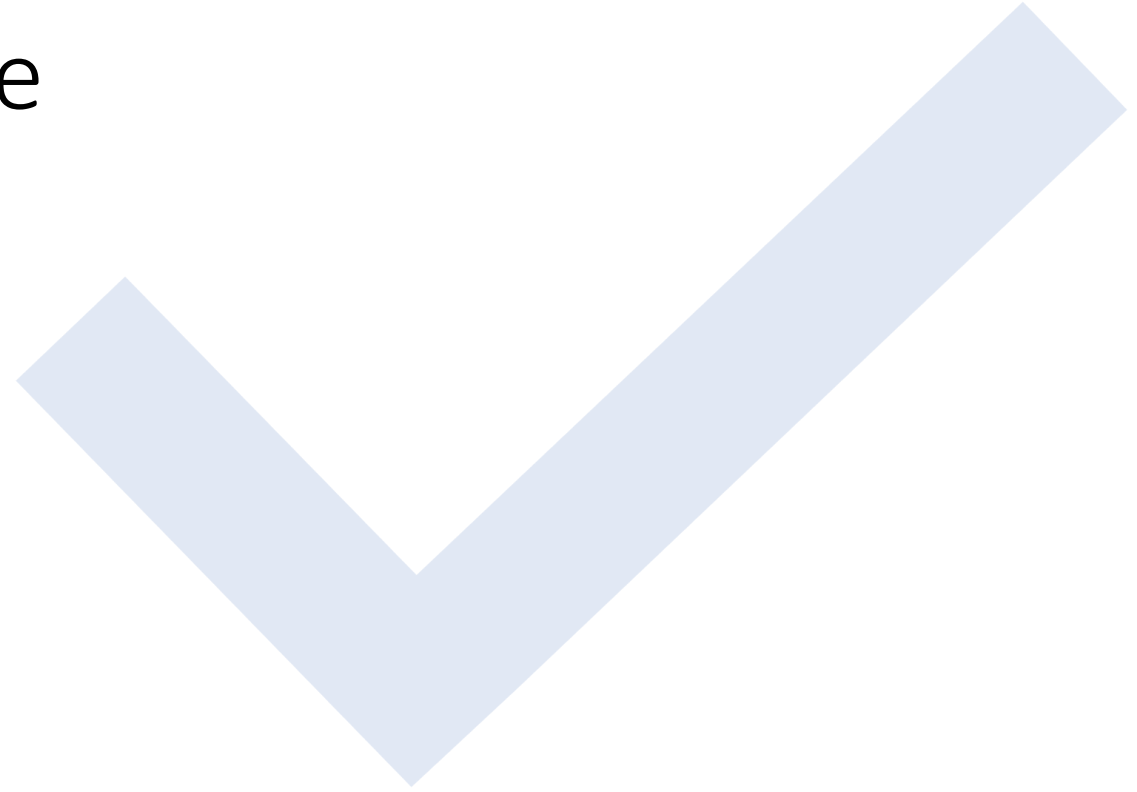 - Implica involucramiento cada vez mayor de académicos en la política pública

Puede la evidencia garantizar legitimidad?

Rol preponderante de organizaciones internacionales que tienen que compensar su carencia de legitimidad *tradicional*

- OECD: best practices

- IADB

- Unión Europea

Funciona con la lógica de la burocracia no de la academia (y no podría ser diferente)

Whereas Progresa was a success, some bad example

- "Plenty. The eyeglass example is not hypothetical. Three followers of the Nobelists, the economists Glewwe, Park and Zhao, reported in 2012 on its success for 19,000 school children with bad sight. With financing from the World Bank, thousands were given glasses at $2 a pair, and did learn Chinese characters. Thousands were not given glasses, and didn't" (D. McKloskey, 2019)

Easterly (2009)

- What are you doing experimenting on humans?
- Can you really generalize from one small experiment to conclude that something "works"?
- Can you find out "what works" without a theory to guide you?
- Can RCTs be manipulated to get the "right" results?
- Are RCTs limited to small questions?

- Política y academia funcionan con lenguajes y tiempos diferentes (outcome vs impact, Gueron, 2019)
- Normative-positive

Policy Based Evidence Making

Selectivity mode	Asymmetry in epistemic and political authority relations	
	Actor-related asymmetries	Instrument related asymmetries
Cognitive selectivity	Knowledge monopolisation	Blame avoidance
Normative selectivity	Black-boxing	Over-simplification

Implica involucramiento cada vez mayor de académicos en la política pública

Intereses

- Rent seeking y la demanda de evidencia: Islandia y la crisis financiera (Mishkin & Herbertsson, 2011)

- La alineación de los intereses y la comunidad de la *élite* (McDonald, 2017)
  - El caso de Harvard Business School y la Law and Economics

- Conflictos de intereses: Project 226 (Kearns et al. 2016)

- La evidencia como instrumento de una agenda política (*Bocconi Boys,* Helgadóttir, 2016 y la austeridad expansiva, Alesina Ardagna & Reinhart-Rogoff)