

# RESEARCH STATEMENT

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My research has two distinct focal points: a methodological one centered on data quality, and a substantive one centered on the political economy of development and civil society. My methodological research focuses on identifying and addressing issues of data quality, in particular with respect to surveys. Data quality issues are often assumed away or overlooked in applied statistical analysis, but associated measurement error can influence our results, leading to incorrect conclusions. I conceptualize four main sources for survey data quality issues – 1) respondents, 2) enumerators/implementers, 3) instruments, and 4) interactions of the previous three sources — and my work engages with all four sources. I am particularly interested in *assessing* data quality in actionable ways. Our ability to extract causal implications from our analyses relies on the quality of the underlying data, and researchers need to pay more attention to the ways data quality concerns shape our work. Incorporating uncertainty about data quality in our analyses should be a key analytical step. While considerable attention has been paid to the ways instruments affect data quality, less attention has been paid to the other sources of data quality issues. My dissertation project explores ways in which enumerators and the interaction between respondents and instruments can impact data quality. Another set of projects looks at conjoint survey experiments. In all of these projects, I use a diverse array of methods, including machine learning, Bayesian statistics, and developing novel probabilistic models.

Substantively, I study the political economy of development. I am particularly interested in the role that civil society organizations such as NGOs and grassroots organizations play in development and how development support from donors — both private and from other states — affects civil society organizations and civil societies in recipient countries. Development funding by donors has led to a proliferation of civil society organizations. It is important to study not only the efficacy of this funding with respect to development outcomes, but also what side-effects and consequences it has had for individuals in these countries. I use survey experiments, field experiments, and other causal inference methods in these projects. I innovate methodologically in my applied work as well. For example, as part of this research, I am particularly interested in developing better measures for civil society and regime types.

## **Methods-Oriented Research: Data Quality**

In my dissertation, I tackle three sources of data quality concerns related to surveys and develop methods to incorporate uncertainty about data quality into analysis. In the social sciences, we know that data quality can be an issue, not only with observational data, but also in survey experiments and lab-in-field experiments. Poor quality data can lead to concerns about the generalizability and accuracy of results. We often deal with data quality issues by assuming them away as trivial or by discarding data. My research will be useful to any scientist who collects data – we need to incorporate uncertainty about data quality more directly into our analyses.

In the first paper, “QualMix: Using Mixture Models to Assess Survey Quality,” I develop a new probabilistic model to diagnose and address data quality issues in cross-sectional and panel data. Researchers can use this model to assess respondent, enumerator, and instrument data quality issues. Using parametric unsupervised machine learning, I estimate uncertainty about survey data in cases where two sets of information exist for respondents, but where

there is uncertainty about whether the two sets of information actually correspond to the same individual. The model allows us to estimate how likely it is that two sets of responses for an individual match or not. In this project, I apply this model to the case of re-interviews (also called field audits or backchecks), which are done to assess survey quality. In the case of re-interviews, the model parameter estimates can be used to assess interviewer performance. The estimation procedure also provides the probability that the original survey observation matches the second set of responses. I test the model and its utility using simulation studies built on real-world data from a survey project in Malawi with which I am involved and also apply it to the actual backcheck data from this Malawi study. The model is flexible; it is easily adjustable and can be applied to other cases, such as panel surveys — in the case of panel surveys, the model would allow us to estimate how certain we are that the correct individuals were re-interviewed in a subsequent wave. This is especially critical for in-person surveys in developing countries, where it can be difficult to contact the same individuals. I am also exploring the possibility of using the probability that a response is accurate as weights in subsequent analysis. The aim is to decrease measurement error by down-weighting observations of whose quality we are less sure.

The second paper, “Implementers as treatment versions: sources and implications of implementer-induced treatment effect heterogeneity,” co-authored with Jim Qian (Princeton) and Brandon de la Cuesta (Stanford), presents and tests a new theory of how enumerator-level characteristics affect bias and accuracy in interpreting experimental treatment effects. In this work, we directly engage with the understudied role enumerators can play in data quality. We theorize that different experiment implementers can lead to distinct treatments, beyond those desired by the researcher. We investigate whether certain interviewer characteristics, such as age, experience, and quality, shape enumerator-level treatment effects. Preliminary analysis of several lab in field experiments from Uganda shows that treatment effects are impacted by interviewer characteristics. Given that enumerator characteristics are not randomly assigned, this presents problems for inference. We are developing a more expanded survey of interviewers who worked on a set of surveys for which we have access to the data. In this new survey, we will ask interviewers a series of questions that allow us to assess their quality, experience, and psychological attitudes. We aim to see how interviewer treatment effects vary by these factors and to develop a way of diagnosing this issue.

In the third paper, I examine data quality issues that can arise from a mismatch between respondents and instrument. I test the efficacy and examine the implications for data quality of using images in the presentation of conjoint versus using spoken word vignettes in low-literacy environments. Conjoint are survey experiments in which respondents view randomly created profiles and are asked questions about them. The suggested best practice for doing research with conjoint in low-literacy contexts is to use pictures instead of words when showing profiles to respondents, even when the survey is enumerator-implemented. However, the utility of this strategy has not been empirically tested. There are also additional external validity concerns with an image based conjoint – how does this map onto how respondents would receive similar information in the real world? In this project, I experimentally vary how conjoint profiles are presented to respondents and assess how this affects responses.

I also am working on a project using double/debiased machine learning to make marginal structural models more flexible with Santiago Olivella (UNC-Chapel Hill) and Matt Blackwell (Harvard). Marginal structural models allow researchers to limit post-treatment bias

when there are time-varying confounders. We combine marginal structural models with machine learning. However, machine learning results in biased parameter estimates — machine learning allows for some bias in parameter estimates, but gains with respect to prediction by reducing the variance of the estimates. Therefore, we use debiased or double machine learning to recover unbiased estimates of causal quantities of interest. In the future, I plan to use the logic of marginal structural models to assess the compounding effect of measurement error in successive waves of panel surveys.

As part of this strand of my research, I am planning future work on conjoint survey experiments in addition to the paper in my dissertation. Related to my dissertation paper are two projects that seek to expand on the research being done into how the conjoint instrument impacts data quality. In the first, I will see if there is a drop-off in data quality the more outcome questions are asked after each profile pair. In the second, I will see how expanding the number of profiles seen in a conjoint task impacts data quality. Typical conjoints show respondents two profiles at a time, but in the real world, individuals are not usually presented with only two choices.

Methodological innovation is not useful if it cannot be brought to the wider attention of the field. Therefore, part of my methodological agenda involves bringing methods used in other disciplines to political science and improving existing methods. In a future paper, I will re-examine the mainly visual use of predicted quantities in political science and propose clearer ways to do inference using predicted quantity plots. In another, I aim to explain double machine learning and its utility for questions of interest in political science. I also plan to apply the logic behind ANOVA to clarify inference around conjoint attributes in conjoint survey experiments. Researchers mostly look at attribute-levels when employing conjoints, but sometimes we are agnostic about the impact of attribute-levels and are actually hypothesizing about the importance of whole attributes.

### **Development Research**

The core thrust of my substantive research looks at how donor interventions shape civil society by examining when individuals are more likely to engage with organizations. Understanding how and when individuals engage with organizations is important for understanding organizational dynamics in civil society. At same time, finding out more about citizen engagement can help organizations looking to improve development outcomes. I theorize that individuals are more likely to want to engage with organizations when they are closer to them in a latent values space, which I term congruence, and that individuals take cues from organizational attributes about potential congruence. In the first paper in this research track, “Why Join? How Civil Society Organizations’ Attributes Signal Congruence and Impact Community Engagement,” which is forthcoming at the *Journal of Experimental Political Science*, I find support for this theory using a conjoint survey experiment. In the follow-up project, I am testing the theory as directly as possible by developing a novel way to analyze conjoint survey experiments. I use an IRT model to place organizations and individuals in the same latent space, and then see what effect the distance between them has on engagement using a GLM. I have run an initial pilot study in the United States of America, which finds that students prefer organizations that are closer to them in a latent space defined by organizational attributes. Additionally, I am planning a lab-in-field experiment to study how the presentation of information at meetings of a CSO affects subsequent attendance at meetings. This project will test how “NGO-speak” affects citizen engagement with civil

society organizations.

In a continuation of this research agenda, I am also currently gathering data for a project quantitatively assessing how donor pressure shapes organizations and civil society. The mainly qualitative and case study-oriented development literature has argued that donors have changed how organizations in developing countries operate and present themselves. I seek to test this argument quantitatively and to see how organizations have changed how they engage with citizens and other organizations.

Related to this project, I am working on developing better measures of civil society and regime types. We know that regime type is important for civil society and development. Yet, existing measures of civil society can present endogeneity concerns or do not really assess civil society strength. There are many regime typologies, but they often involve seemingly arbitrary decisions. In one project, “Reconceptualizing Civil Society and its Strength,” I argue that many of the ways in which researchers have measured civil society strength, both qualitatively and quantitatively, suffer from endogeneity issues and misunderstand how civil society works. I develop a theoretical model for measuring civil society strength. The approach I lay out can be used by quantitative and qualitative researchers alike when assessing civil society strength. In another project, “Democracy vs Dictatorship or Something More?: Using Unsupervised Learning to Cluster Regimes,” I use machine learning – in particular unsupervised clustering – to create regime typologies, using the Varieties of Democracy indicators as inputs. The Varieties of Democracy project measures a considerable number of regime characteristics; applying a clustering algorithm to these data allows us to identify patterns. In political science, we have many different categorical regime typologies. While such typologies are very useful for understanding and studying regimes, deciding where states fall on these typologies can involve many sometimes arbitrary decisions. We can see what regime types naturally occur in the data using machine learning.

I am also collaborating with Lucy Martin (UNC-Chapel Hill), Brigitte Seim (UNC-Chapel Hill), and Luis Camacho (NORC) on a project, “Marketing Taxation? Experimental Evidence on Enforcement and Bargaining in Malawian Markets,” that analyzes the impact of a USAID-funded intervention in Malawi. The intervention tested whether citizen or state empowering strategies were more successful at increasing tax compliance in Malawian markets. We have workshopped the paper extensively including via EGAP and at APSA 2020 and are in the process of finalizing the paper for journal submission. With Lucy Martin and Brigitte Seim, I am also working on a paper titled “Investigating Tax Policy Preferences Among Citizens in Weak-State Contexts,” that analyzes Malawian citizen attitudes toward tax plans using a conjoint survey experiment. We test whether the kinds of taxes citizens support seem to be different from the kind of taxes citizens report being willing to pay.

Finally, I am working with Jeremy Springman (Duke), Erik Wibbels (Duke), Maria Nagawa (Duke), Sam Greene (Kings’s College London), and Graeme Robertson (UNC-Chapel Hill) on a project titled “The Effect of Government Repression on the Operational Decisions of Local NGOs.” This project looks at how non-governmental organizations change their behaviors and endeavors in response to government repression, and whether this depends on whether an NGO focuses on service delivery or advocacy and interest aggregation. We will use a conjoint survey experiment to answer this research question, as a conjoint survey experiment allows us to emphasize different aspects of repression. We will field surveys of NGOs in Russia, Ukraine, and Uganda, with a target of 150 responses in each country.