Leveraging the 'Black Box': Covariate Adjustment via Random Forests and a Replication of Aid Shocks as a Cause of Civil War

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Multiple regression is a workhorse method for adjusting for the confounding influence of covariates in political science. However, its reliability is sensitive to violations of its parametric functional form assumptions. This note demonstrates an alternative approach to multiple regression adjustment (MRA). By using a nonparametric ensemble machine learner (random forests) to first partial out the influence of covariates on a response and causal variable of interest, reliable estimates of the effect of the causal variable can be recovered. A simulation demonstrates the efficiency and reduced bias provided by random forest adjustment (RFA) relative to MRA, especially when dealing with nonlinear confounding. RFA is then applied to a replication of Nielsen et al. (2011) who assess the effect of foreign aid shocks on civil war onset. Variable importance metrics are used to identify which among 20 covariates pose the greatest source of confounding in testing the effect of aid shocks, and regression weights generated from random forests are used to characterize the effective relative to the nominal data sample used to identify the effect of aid shocks. These diagnostics highlight how RFA estimates, despite being facilitated via a "black box" method like random forests, can be made transparent and interpretable.

Keywords: random forests, multiple regression, covariate adjustment, foreign aid, civil war

Introduction

Multiple regression remains the covariate adjustment method of choice for political scientists. However, a major limitation of the approach is its imposition of an additive linear functional form on the confounding influence of model covariates. If more complex relationships exist between confounders and the response and causal variable of interest, multiple regression estimates are likely to be biased. I propose a simple, but innovative, approach to estimating the partial relationship between an explanatory variable of interest and a response: random forest adjustment (RFA).

RFA is a straightforward generalization of the multiple regression framework. Like multiple regression, the estimate of interest represents the residual relationship between some variable and a response after subtracting out the variation in each explained by model covariates. However, unlike multiple regression, RFA partials out confounding variation in the response and causal variable of interest using random forests prior to regressing the former on the latter.

As a series of simulations show, this approach is unbiased and efficient in the face of nonlinear confounding. Further, even in cases with linear additive confounding, RFA performs well; albeit with less efficiency than a correctly specified parametric multiple linear regression. Applications of random forest diagnostics are also demonstrated, highlighting the ways RFA can be used to identify which variables are the greatest source of confounding, and how it can be used to compare the nominal sample used for model estimation and the effective sample that regression estimates ultimately reflect (Aronow and Samii, 2016).

An application of the method is demonstrated using replication data from Nielsen et al. (2011). The authors examined the effect of sudden and sizable negative shocks in the foreign aid received by developing countries as a share of GDP on the likelihood of civil war onset. Unlike the original authors, RFA estimates suggest that *both* negative and positive shocks affect the likelihood of civil war—negative shocks increase, and positive shocks decrease, the probability of violence. RFA estimates further suggest that a continuous version of the measure for changes in aid per GDP also has a significant negative relationship with civil war onset.

Application of various diagnostics for RFA are also demonstrated to highlight the ease of demystifying random forest adjusted estimates. In particular, variable importance metrics reveal that average aid recipient country income, population size, and infant mortality are the greatest sources of confounding in estimating the effect of aid shocks on civil war onset. Further assessment of the effective versus nominal sample used to estimate this relationship uncovers the particular sample of developing countries that drive the results (Aronow and Samii, 2016)—namely, a sample that skews lower in income, higher

in infant mortality, and that is disproportionately undemocratic, among other characteristics.

This replication is primarily expository, and so care should be taken to avoid making too much of the divergence between results reported here and in Nielsen et al. (2011). More important to note is the relative ease by which diagnostics can be applied to random forest adjusted estimates, demonstrating that the approach is not at all a "black box." Rather, it supports a rich assessment of the nature of confoundingness in an observational dataset, and of the effective sample used to identify the relationship between a response and explanatory variable of interest.

The first section below summarizes random forest regression. The next discusses the logic of the multiple regression framework, limitations thereof, and how random forest regression can be used to surmount these limitations. The generic algorithm used to perform RFA is then summarized. Results from Monte Carlo experiments are presented, followed by a replication of Nielsen et al. (2011).

Random Forest Regression

The past two decades witnessed the development and evolution of numerous machine learning techniques for causal inference. Among these methods, random forest regression has gained especial popularity. Since its development by Brieman (2001), random forest regression has been widely used across a range of industries and scientific fields, due in no small part to its high level of predictive performance and simultaneous resistance to overfitting (Wager, 2016).

However, political science has been slow to adopt the approach. Its predictive performance notwithstanding, random forest regression's nonparametric approach to model fitting leads to the understandable conclusion that the approach is a "black box"—though numerous methods for interpreting random forest outputs now exist. Nonetheless, sev-

eral scholars have used the approach to answer various questions of importance to political science. Hill and Jones (2014), for instance, use random forests to test the predictive power of various political, economic, and social conditions on state repression. Bonica (2018) uses it to assess the predictive power of campaign contributions on roll call votes in the U.S. Congress. Meanwhile, Carroll and Kenkel (2019) use the approach, in addition to other machine learning algorithms, to generate a proxy for relative military power among states.

Beyond political science, social scientists across fields and disciplines have applied RF in their research—e.g., Athey and Imbens (2015) and Foster, Taylor and Ruberg (2011). These studies are joined by a broader literature that has developed creative applications of other machine learning techniques for causal inference (for examples see Wager 2016).

Random forest regression is a powerful predictive learner for a number of reasons. Random forests are an ensemble machine learner—so called because random forests are an ensemble of individual regression trees. These individual trees, or base learners, are "grown" on either random subsamples, or bootstrapped samples, of the full dataset. For each sample, a random set of predictors is then selected. Among this set of predictors, the variable that best predicts the response is partitioned such that it maximally predicts the response (this is the first set of "branches" in the tree). Within these partitions, a new subset of variables is sampled, the best predictor of the response within this subset is identified, and a new optimal partition is made. This process continues until some criterion is reached.

By repeating this process multiple times, a "forest" of these base tree learners is produced. The random forest prediction for an individual observation is then generated by a "voting" process, whereby the average of the regression tree predictions for a given observation is used to generate an overall forest prediction.¹

¹This process is slightly modified when the response is a discrete category. Random forests can be used both for categorization and regression—in the latter case, the base learners are optimized to predict the conditional mean of the response.

The combination of using regression trees as base learners, bootstrapping samples and subsampling predictors, and bagging predictions makes random forest regression robust to various forms of nonlinearity and variable interactions. At the same time, these features confer resistance to overfitting and the influence of outlier observations. As is argued in the next section, these features make random forests a powerful ally in adjusting for the confounding influence of covariates in observational data.

A Covariate Adjustment Framework

The Problem

A typical multiple regression analysis for identifying the effect of some variable $z_i \in \mathbb{R}$ on some response $y_i \in \mathbb{R}$, given a set of $k \geq 1$ confounding covariates $x_i \in \mathbb{R}^k$, requires specifying the linear regression model

$$y_i = \alpha + \delta z_i + x_i^{\top} \beta + \epsilon_i.$$

In the above, δ is the parameter of interest to be estimated. The ordinary least squares (OLS) solution for this parameter is:

$$\hat{\delta}_{\text{MRA}} = \frac{\sum_{i} \left[z_{i} - x_{i}^{\top} (x_{i}^{\top} x_{i})^{-1} x_{i}^{\top} z_{i} \right] \left[y_{i} - x_{i}^{\top} (x_{i}^{\top} x_{i})^{-1} x_{i}^{\top} y_{i} \right]}{\sum_{i} \left[z_{i} - x_{i}^{\top} (x_{i}^{\top} x_{i})^{-1} x_{i}^{\top} z_{i} \right]^{2}}.$$

Or, more concisely, the solution is:

$$\hat{\delta}_{\text{MRA}} = \frac{cov(z_i - \hat{z}_i|x_i, y_i - \hat{y}_i|x_i)}{var(z_i - \hat{z}_i|x_i)},$$

where $\hat{z}_i|x_i$ and $\hat{y}_i|x_i$ are equivalent to the conditional expected values of z_i and y_i as estimated via the following linear models:

$$z_i = \eta + x_i^{\top} \gamma + v_i,$$

$$y_i = \zeta + x_i^{\top} \varphi + \mu_i.$$

This is the basic multiple regression adjustment (MRA) framework. In essence this approach is equivalent to regressing the residual variation in y_i on the residual variation in z_i after partialing out variation in each explained by x_i :

$$\hat{v}_i = z_i - \hat{\eta} - x_i^{\top} \hat{\gamma},$$

 $\hat{\mu}_i = z_i - \hat{\zeta} - x_i^{\top} \hat{\varphi},$
 $\hat{\mu}_i = \delta_0 + \delta \hat{v}_i + \varepsilon_i.$

While this *multiple regressions* approach is not how multiple regression estimates are generated in practice, in principal this equivalent solution reminds us that in the conventional multiple regression framework, the estimate identified for an explanatory variable of interest is identified by partialing out variation in an outcome and explanatory variable explained as linear additive functions of covariates.

This framework for understanding regression adjustment also reveals an important limitation: that it imposes functional forms on the relationship between x_i and y_i and z_i . If the identified conditional means of the response and the variable of interest are biased or incorrectly specified, this means that the least squares estimate for δ may be incorrect.

Of course, there is no issue if the nature of the confounding influence of x_i is in fact additive and linear. In this case, the standard parametric multiple regression approach should be unbiased. But, if confounding is nonlinear and/or nonadditive, then in principal the conditional means of y_i and z_i given x_i will be biased, and thus so will $\hat{\delta}_{MRA}$. In "the wild," assuming additive and linear relationships is heroic, to say the least. More

often it will be the case that one or both of these assumptions will be violated, begging for a more flexible approach.

Random Forest Adjustment as a Generalized Form of Regression Adjustment

Regression adjustment via random forest regression innovates on the above multiple regression framework by generalizing the process of identifying the appropriate conditional means of the response and the variable of interest given variation in the set of confounders x_i . It does so by, first, explicitly calculating $\hat{y}_i|x_i$ and $\hat{z}_i|x_i$ as generic functions of x_i :

$$z_i = f_z(x_i) + v_i,$$

$$y_i = f_y(x_i) + \mu_i.$$

Unlike with multiple regression adjustment, which prespecifies that f_z and f_y are linear additive functions of x_i , random forest adjustment permits considerable flexibility in the functional forms of both f_z and f_y .

Next, with the fitted conditional values of each variable, δ is then estimated as

$$\hat{\delta}_{RFA} = \frac{\sum_{i}^{n} (z_{i} - \hat{f}_{z}(x_{i}))(y_{i} - \hat{f}_{y}(x_{i}))}{\sum_{i}^{n} (z_{i} - \hat{f}_{z}(x_{i}))^{2}} \equiv \frac{cov(z_{i} - \hat{f}_{z}(x_{i}), y_{i} - \hat{f}_{y}(x_{i}))}{var(z_{i} - \hat{f}_{z}(x_{i}))}.$$

Specified formally, the regression model implied by this approach is equivalent to

$$y_i - \hat{f}_y(x_i) = \delta_0 + \delta \left[z_i - \hat{f}_z(x_i) \right] + \varepsilon_i.$$

This is essentially the same regression of residuals on residuals approach detailed in the previous section, where the residual variation in y_i is regressed on the residual variation

in z_i :

$$\hat{v}_i = z_i - \hat{f}_z(x_i),$$
 $\hat{\mu}_i = y_i - \hat{f}_y(x_i),$
 $\hat{\mu}_i = \delta_0 + \delta \hat{v}_i + \varepsilon_i.$

In theory, provided the fitted RF values for the response and predictor of interest are better able to account for nonlinearity and nonadditivity in the confounding influence of x_i , the estimate $\hat{\delta}_{RFA}$ returned by this approach promises reduced bias relative to multiple regression. This is due in no small part to some of the desirable properties of random forests, as enumerated in the previous section. In numerous applied settings, the approach has been shown to outperform even the most advanced methods, can handle high-dimensional data with ease, and is, relatively speaking, computationally easy to implement and robust.² Its most salient property, though, is that it is nonparametric—thus imposing no *ex ante* functional form on relationships in the data.

This feature of random forests as an approach to regression adjustment has special relevance when dealing with confounding relationships in observational data of unknown form. Unlike the standard multiple regression framework, which requires implicitly specifying the precise form of confounding, random forest adjustment is in principal agnostic. Now, this agnosticism does not come without potential costs. One understandable criticism of random forests is its atheoretical approach to model fitting. However, since its inception by Brieman (2001), there have existed methods of lifting the lid on random forests. Indeed, it could be argued that the method is, today, much closer to a "white" than a "black" box.

Some of the most useful features of random forest regression include its amenability to identifying the relative importance of predictors. In settings where RFA is applied, this means it is possible to diagnose which covariates are most prognostic of the response and the explanatory variable of interest—thus shedding light on which variables are the

²A nice summary is given in Scornet (2016).

greatest source of confounding. Further, though not unique to random forests, it is also possible to apply the approach laid out by Aronow and Samii (2016) for summarizing differences between the nominal and effective samples used to identify causal effects. As the authors note, controlling for covariates often localizes the estimated marginal effect to observations that are not well predicted by confounders. Following their simple technique it is possible to recover summary statistics for the effective sample used to generate $\hat{\delta}_{RFA}$.

Random Forest Adjustment Assumptions

The proposed strength of RFA as a method for covariate adjustment is its robustness to nonlinear, nonadditive confounding relationships in the data. Assumptionless though it may be with respect to covariate adjustment, the approach itself is not entirely free of other assumptions. Specifically, for recovered RFA estimates to be unbiased, it must be the case that z_i has a linear relationship with the response y_i , once the confounding influence of x_i has been properly accounted for. Moreover, it must be the case that the effect of z_i is constant with respect to the values of x_i —that is, the variable of interest does not interact with any of the confounding variables.

Whether such assumptions are justified is wholly subject to the better judgment of the individual analyst—a judgment that must made on the basis of theory or subject matter expertise. In the event that one or both of these assumptions is thought to be violated, the RFA framework obviously requires some modification. However, for the sake of introducing RFA here, no violations of the above will be considered.

Monte Carlo Analysis

The Simulation

To assess the performance of RFA in comparison to multiple regression adjustment (MRA), I perform a Monte Carlo analysis using two different data-generating processes. For the first, I simulate a simple linear d.g.p. For 1, ..., N observations where $i = \{1, ..., N\}$, I specify:

$$y_i \sim \mathcal{N} (\mu_i = 1 + \delta z_i + 0.5x_i, \sigma = 10),$$

 $z_i \sim \mathcal{B}(n = 1, p = 1/(1 + \exp\{2 - 0.05x_i\})),$
 $x_i \sim \mathcal{N} (\mu_i = 50, \sigma = 10).$

For three different possible Ns (N=100;1,000;10,000), I iteratively simulate the d.g.p. 10,000 times. For each iteration, I recover an estimate of δ using both MRA and RFA. For the sake of this exercise, the true value of $\delta=5$.

I further simulate a nonlinear d.g.p., specified as

$$y_i \sim \mathcal{N}\left(\mu_i = 1 + \delta z_i + 0.5x_i + x_i^2, \sigma = 10\right),$$

 $z_i \sim \mathcal{B}(n = 1, p = 1/(1 + \exp\{2 - 0.05[1.15x_i - \bar{x}]^2\})),$
 $x_i \sim \mathcal{N}\left(\mu_i = 50, \sigma = 10\right).$

As before, for N of 100, 1,000, and 10,000 I iteratively simulate the d.g.p. 10,000 times and for each iteration I recover estimates of δ via MRA and RFA.

After running the simulations, I summarize the performance of each approach according to the average percent bias in parameter estimates, the percent coverage of 95% confidence intervals³ the average size of the standard errors, and the root mean squared error (RMSE) of the parameter estimates.

³Based on HC1 robust estimates of parameter variance.

Table 1: Performance of RFA vs. MRA

Method	N	Metric Linear		Nonlinear
MRA	500	% Bias	2.615	1859.273
MRA	1,000	% Bias	0.195	1887.387
MRA	2,000	% Bias	-0.147	1864.277
RFA	500	% Bias	3.645	-2.484
RFA	1,000	% Bias	-0.088	-5.801
RFA	2,000	% Bias	0.307	-0.359
MRA	500	% Coverage	95.000	0.000
MRA	1,000	% Coverage	97.000	0.000
MRA	2,000	% Coverage	95.000	0.000
RFA	500	% Coverage	85.000	91.000
RFA	1,000	% Coverage	91.000	84.000
RFA	2,000	% Coverage	93.000	96.000
MRA	500	Mean S.E.	1.004	14.747
MRA	1,000	Mean S.E.	0.707	10.807
MRA	2,000	Mean S.E.	0.501	7.736
RFA	500	Mean S.E.	1.000	1.597
RFA	1,000	Mean S.E.	0.710	1.084
RFA	2,000	Mean S.E.	0.501	0.761
MRA	500	RMSE	0.980	93.861
MRA	1,000	RMSE	0.671	94.724
MRA	2,000	RMSE	0.518	93.487
RFA	500	RMSE	1.290	1.916
RFA	1,000	RMSE	0.827	1.365
RFA	2,000	RMSE	0.602	0.786

Results

A summary of the performance of RFA and MRA is shown in Table 2. For each metric used to assess the approaches, results are shown for the different samples sizes (N = 500; 1,000; 2,000), and for the linear (left) and nonlinear (right) d.g.p.s.

Upon examination of the results, it is immediately apparent that RFA confers a substantial advantage with respect to the nonlinear d.g.p. The average percent bias of RFA estimates are -2.48, -5.8, and -0.36 for *N* of 500, 1,000, and 2,000 respectively. For MRA, the average percent bias is orders of magnitude worse: 1,859.27, 1,887.39, and 1,864.28 for

each successive *N*. With respect to coverage, for each sample size in ascending order, RFA 95% confidence intervals contain the true estimate 91, 84, and 96 percent of the time. For MRA, none contain the true effect.

RFA estimates are also more efficient, and less prone to error in general. The average standard error for RFA estimates for each sample size is 1.6, 1.08, and 0.76 in ascending order. Meanwhile, on average the standard errors of MRA estimates are several times wider: 14.75, 10.81, and 7.74 respectively. Further, RMSE for the RFA estimates for each sample size are 1.92, 1.37, and 0.79; while for MRA, RMSE is 93.86, 94.72, and 93.49.

While RFA performs better in terms of both bias and efficiency when dealing with a nonlinear d.g.p., as the results shown in the left panel show, MRA is moderately less biased and prone to slightly less error if the d.g.p. is linear. The average percent bias of RFA estimates are 3.65, -0.09, and 0.31 for N of 500, 1,000, and 2,000 respectively. For MRA, the average percent bias is moderately improved: 2.61, 0.19, and -0.15 for each N. With respect to coverage, for each sample size in ascending order, RFA 95% confidence intervals contain the true estimate 85, 91, and 93 percent of the time. For MRA, they contain the true estimate 95, 97, and 95 of the time.

Further, RFA estimates, while no more or less efficient than MRA estimates, tend to be slightly more prone to error. The average standard error for RFA estimates for each sample size is 1, 0.71, and 0.5 in ascending order. Meanwhile, on average the standard errors of MRA estimates nearly identical: 1, 0.71, and 0.5 respectively. However, RMSE for the RFA estimates for each sample size are 1.29, 0.83, and 0.6; while for MRA, RMSE is 0.98, 0.67, and 0.52.

The finding that RFA is slightly more prone to error and bias when the true d.g.p. is linear makes a good deal of sense. The nonparametric approach of random forests, though powerful and capable of detecting a wide array of relationships, is just not as efficient as a parametric linear regression model when dealing with a linear d.g.p. It is nonetheless encouraging that RFA does not perform *much* worse than parametric regres-

sion adjustment when dealing with linear confounding. Further, as suggested by the variation in each estimator's performance with increasing sample sizes, RFA's error converges to that of MRA given a sufficient number of observations. However, while RFA performs only moderately worse than MRA in the face of a linear d.g.p., it is far and away superior when dealing with nonlinear confounding in the data.

The reason for this result is simple. A correctly specified parametric regression model is more efficient than the nonparametric approach taken by random forests. However, random forests is generally a robust method of approximating the form of confounding in the data absent an appropriately specified parametric model.

Random Forest Adjustment, Aid Shocks, and Civil War

To demonstrate how RFA might be used with real-world data, I apply it to replication data made publicly available by Nielsen et al. (2011). In their study, the authors assess the impact of negative aid shocks on the likelihood of civil war onset in developing countries that regularly receive foreign aid from industrialized donor countries. Theirs is an ideal dataset to use due to the potential for myriad violations of linearity and additivity in the confounding influence of covariates. In their study, Nielsen et al. (2011) control for some 20 variables in estimating the effect of aid shocks—providing ample opportunity for complex forms of confounding.

This dataset is also useful for demonstrating how various diagnostics can be applied to demystify the random forest adjusted estimates. Using variable importance metrics for random forests, it is possible to uncover which of the numerous covariates is the greatest source of confounding in the data. Further, using the method outlined by Aronow and Samii (2016), it is possible to assess how the effective sample produced via random forest adjustment compares to the nominal sample used at the outset.

Background: Aid Shocks and Civil War

Before diving into the analysis, it first will be helpful to summarize Nielsen et al.'s (2011) motivation for assessing the link between aid shocks and civil war. The authors note the underexamined role of aid instability in the onset of intra-state conflict. They posit that sudden changes in aid received by developing country governments can upset the balance of power between rebels and the state. Many countries rely on aid flows for a sizable share of their total outlays, and thus their budgets are subject to substantial windfalls or shortfalls as a consequence of fluctuations in total aid received. In their own words, the authors contend "that rapid changes in aid flows—aid shocks—can grow large enough to materially affect the balance of power between a government—the sovereign recipient of aid flows—and potential rebels, which we define as individuals or groups that might use violence to oppose the government" (Nielsen et al. 2011, 221).

Their contention is that sudden and sizable declines in aid flows can diminish a government's capacity to deter would-be rebels and to continue side-payments to rebels to keep them appeared. The sudden shift in power that ensues generates a commitment problem between rebels and the state. Reduced deterrence increases rebel's assessment of their likelihood of victory, thus leading insurgents to demand greater side-payments in exchange for peace. At the same time, the government faces a shortfall in funds due to the decline in aid flows, making it harder to afford the necessary side-payments to keep rebels at bay.

The converse of negative aid shocks—positive aid shocks—according to the authors has more ambiguous implications. There are reasons to anticipate a sudden windfall in revenue would strengthen the government's position relative to insurgents, thus enhancing deterrence. However, the increase in resources might also invoke its own kind of commitment problem, namely, that rebels will demand larger side-payments from the government to keep the peace. Given these competing logics, Nielsen et al. (2011) leave

Table 2: List of Confounding Variables

- (1) Ethnic Fractionalization; (2) Religious Fractionalization; (3) Oil Exportation;
- (4) Political Instability; (5) Population; (6) Territorial Contiguity;
- (7) Mountainous Terrain; (8) Human Rights Violations; (9) Assassinations;
- (10) General Strikes; (11) Riots; (12) Antigovernment Demonstrations;
- (13) Infant Mortality; (14) Neighboring Countries Experiencing Civil or Ethnic Conflict;
- (15) The Cold War; (16) Democracy (Goldstone et al. 2010); (17) GDP per capita.

the effect of positive aid shocks an open question.

To test whether aid shocks influence the probability of conflict the authors compiled a time-series, cross-sectional dataset of up to 139 aid recipient countries from 1981 to 2005. The outcome variable in the dataset is a binary indicator of armed conflict onset drawn from the UCDP/PRIO database (Gleditsch et al., 2002). The dataset codes a conflict as "1" ("0" otherwise) if at least 25 battle deaths occurred in a given year in a conflict between two or more actors, where at least one of the combatants was government forces. In their primary specification, subsequent years of civil war are dropped from the analysis, but any subsequent resumptions of conflict are kept.

The primary explanatory variable of interest is the incidence of an "aid shock," coded as "1" for the bottom 15% of observations in changes in aid flows per recipient GDP. Aid flows are measured as the total of Official Development Assistance (ODA) as grants and loans received by a developing country in a given year, as recorded in the AidData database (Tierney et al., 2011). The authors consider additional thresholds for aid shocks beyond being below the 15th percentile. A positive aid shock, conversely, is coded as "1" ("0" otherwise) for any changes in aid per GDP at or above the 85th percentile. To adjust for possible time delays in the effect of aid shocks, values are lagged by one year.

The authors adjust for a wide range of possible confounding covariates. These are listed in Table 3. Each of these has been used elsewhere in the civil war literature to predict armed conflict.

In their original analysis, the authors estimated a rare-events logit model (King and

Table 3: Instances of Civil War Onset

Civil War	N	Proportion
No	2,535	0.96
Yes	93	0.04

Zang, 2001) using the pooled country-year data, and used robust standard errors clustered by aid recipient country. After imputing missing values, and cutting subsequent years of conflict from the data, the final dataset consisted of 2,627 observations. The choice of rare-events logit was made given the relatively small number of occurrences of civil war onset in the data. As Table 4 summarizes, the sample contained only 93 instances of civil war onset—only 4% of observations. Since the focus here is on demonstrating an application of random forest adjustment, for the sake of space a replication of the authors' method will not be considered here.

Results

RFA estimates are shown in Table 5. Entries denote estimated coefficients, with robust standard errors, clustered by aid recipient, shown in parentheses. The first column denotes the effect of negative aid shocks, with the same 15th percentile cutoff used by Nielsen et al. (2011). Unlike the effect identified by the authors, the RFA estimate falls short of statistical significance. The same is true for the effect of a positive shock (defined according to the 85th percentile).

To assess whether alternative percentile cutoffs yielded different results, the third and fourth columns of Table 5 show the effects of negative and positive aid shocks, defined in terms of the 25th and 75th percentiles respectively. Recovered RFA estimates for these versions of the variable are statistically significant. The first suggests that a negative aid shock increases the likelihood of civil war onset by 2.7 percentage points (p < 0.05), while the second suggests that a positive aid shock decreases the likelihood of civil war onset by 2.5 percentage points (p < 0.05).

Table 4: Random Forest Adjusted Estimates

			,	
	Negative	Positive	Negative (25th)	Positive (75th)
Shock	0.009	-0.020	0.027*	-0.025^*
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.012)	(0.011)
Num. obs.	2,627	2,627	2,627	2,627
N Clusters	139	139	139	139

^{***} p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; *p < 0.05

Figure 1 shows the range of alternative RFA estimates recovered by applying alternative percentile cutoffs for aid shocks. Unlike Nielsen et al. (2011) who find that only negative aid shocks, and only within a limited range of cutoffs, effect the likelihood of civil war, the results shown in Figure 1 suggest that aid shocks defined over a range of cut-points have a significant relationship with civil war onset after adjusting for covariates.

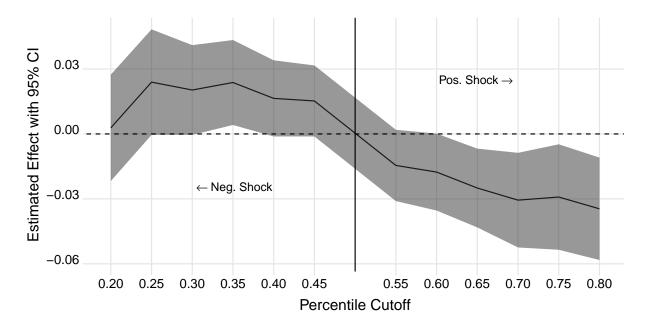


Figure 1: The estimated effect of aid shocks on civil war onset.

These results go so far as to suggest a monotonic relationship between changes in aid per GDP and civil war. To test the monotonicity of this relationship, I further applied RFA to assess the relationship between three continuous versions of the explanatory variable

Table 5: Random Forest Adjusted Estimates (Continuous Predictor)

	Aid/GDP	Rank	Percentile
Change	-0.199	-0.010*	-0.016**
_	(0.178)	(0.004)	(0.005)
Num. obs.	2,627	2,627	2,627
N Clusters	139	139	139

^{***}p < 0.001; **p < 0.01; *p < 0.05

of interest and the response. Table 6 shows the results. In the first column, the raw values of change in aid per GDP are used. In the second, changes in aid per GDP are rank transformed—and further scaled to standard deviation units. In the third column, the variable is trichotomized to values of -1, 0, and 1 based on whether changes in aid per GDP fall within the bottom, middle, or top percentiles.⁴

The raw variable has no significant relationship with the likelihood of civil war. However, this null finding may result from noisiness in the data. As the results for the two transformed versions of the variable suggest, when rank transformed, or trichotomized by percentiles, changes in aid per GDP do appear to have a significant monotonic relationship with the probability of civil war. After random forest adjustment, recovered estimates suggest that a standard deviation unit increase in the rank-based measure of change in aid per GDP is associated with a decrease the probability of civil war by 1 percentage point (p < 0.05). Alternatively, when trichotimized by percentiles, a change from the bottom to the middle, or from the middle to the top, third of the data is associated with a 1.6 percentage point decrease (p < 0.01) in the probability of civil war onset.

In terms of real-world significance, both of these estimates suggest quite sizable changes in aid flows are required to generate even a modest change in the likelihood of conflict between governments and insurgents. For a sense of scale, one standard deviation of the rank-transformed measure of change in aid per GDP is 757.28. For reference, a standard deviation unit decline in the rank-based measure relative to its mean corresponds to a

⁴That is, the bottom, middle, and top thirds of the data.

decline of roughly 60 cents per 100 dollars of GDP. Since the average country in the sample receives 2.27 dollars in aid per 100 dollars in GDP, such a decline in total aid inflows constitutes, on average, a 26.4% decline in total aid. This is a considerable change in total aid received for such a marginal change (a little more than 1 percentage point) in the likelihood of conflict onset. In short, the random forest adjusted estimate is statistically distinguishable from zero, but quite modest.

Diagnosing Random Forest Adjusted Estimates

A strength of RFA is that it provides a way to adjust for control variables that is robust to violations of linearity and additivity in their confounding relationships with some response and causal variable of interest. However, some may worry that this robustness comes at the cost of interpretability. RFA may recover a residual relationship between some outcome and explanatory variable, but what can we say about the effective sample used to generate this estimate? Can we say something meaningful about the confounding influence of covariates?

Concern about the transparency of RFA estimates is understandable; though lifting the lid on the random forests trained on the confounding variables is quite easy. On this front, I demonstrate two sets of diagnostics that can improve the interpretability of recovered RFA estimates: (1) variable importance metrics, and (2) evaluation of sample distortions incurred from covariate adjustment.

The first set of diagnostics quantifies the predictive import of specific factors included in a random forest regression. Two general measures of variable importance exist: Gini Importance, otherwise known as Mean Decrease in Impurity (MDI), and Permutation Importance, otherwise known as Mean Decrease in Accuracy (MDA). Since my main goal is demonstration, I constrain my choice of importance measure to only one, specifically, MDI. The approach entails simply summing the number of splits, across all trees in the random forest, that are based on a partition in a particular variable, proportional to the

total of samples split. The greater the number of times a factor is used in a split, the more important it is in predicting variation in the response (see Louppe (2014) for a helpful summary).

The second diagnostic is not unique to random forests, but applies generally to various forms of regression adjustment. The approach, outlined by Aronow and Samii (2016), quantifies the reweighting of sample observations in generating some causal estimate of interest incurred by regression-based adjustment. The authors distinguish between what they call *nominal* and *effective* samples. The former comprises the complete, unweighted data sample used to estimate some regression model. The latter constitutes the reweighted data sample generated as a product of multiple regression weights. As Aronow and Samii (2016) note, the process of adjusting for the confounding influence of covariates included in the nominal sample leads to distortions in the effective sample upon which causal estimates are based. Causal estimates produced for a seemingly representative sample in fact often reflect local effects for observations in the data most poorly predicted by the confounding variables controlled for in a regression. As they demonstrate, the effective sample can differ substantially from an otherwise representative nominal sample.

The effective sample regression weights are recovered by simply taking the square of the residual variation in the causal variable of interest left over after regressing it on confounding covariates. For random forest adjustment, this is simply:

$$w_i \equiv \left(z_i - \hat{f}_z(x_i)\right)^2$$

where $\hat{f}_z(x_i)$ generates predicted values of z_i as a function of a vector of confounding factors x_i .

With the computed weights, it is then possible to summarize the characteristics of the effective sample in comparison to the nominal sample. Though not highlighted by Aronow and Samii (2016), one useful approach to making this comparison is, for each of the covariates contained in the vector x_i , standardize values in standard deviation units and mean center, and then compute the weighted average for the variable. Distortions produced by regression adjustment will be apparent by the degree to which the weighted average of the standardized variable diverges from zero.⁵ Meanwhile, since values are standardized, it is possible to make comparisons across covariates to assess the relative magnitude of distortion. For the kth covariate, relative distortion is calculated formally as

Distortion =
$$\frac{\sum_{i=1}^{n} w_i \frac{(x_{ik} - \bar{x}_k)}{\operatorname{sd}(x_{ik})}}{\sum_{i=1}^{n} w_i}.$$

Which Covariates Are Most Confounding?

I begin by summarizing the variable importance metrics for the response, civil war onset, and the causal variable of interest, aid shocks. For example's sake, I use negative aid shocks defined as such for all observations in the bottom 25% of changes in aid per GDP. MDI estimates of importance are shown in Figure 2.

Upon inspection, it is immediately apparent that many of the variables that are most prognostic of civil war onset also predict negative aid shocks. The correlation between MDI measures between responses is shown in the lower right caption of the figure: $\rho = 0.91$. This is a strong correlation, to say the least, and it thus speaks to the wisdom of adjusting for covariates in assessing the relationship between aid shocks and civil war—the variables that most strongly predict one, also most strongly predict the other.

The identities of the top-three confounders should come as little surprise: GDP per capita, population, and infant mortality. Individually, and together, these variables are generally known to be related to civil war onset and receipt of foreign aid. Lower GDP per capita, which often is a proxy for average income, and infant mortality are both markers of

⁵Since the standardized value for the nominal sample is mean-centered at zero, any divergence from the zero for the weighted mean reflects a distortion between the effective and nominal samples.

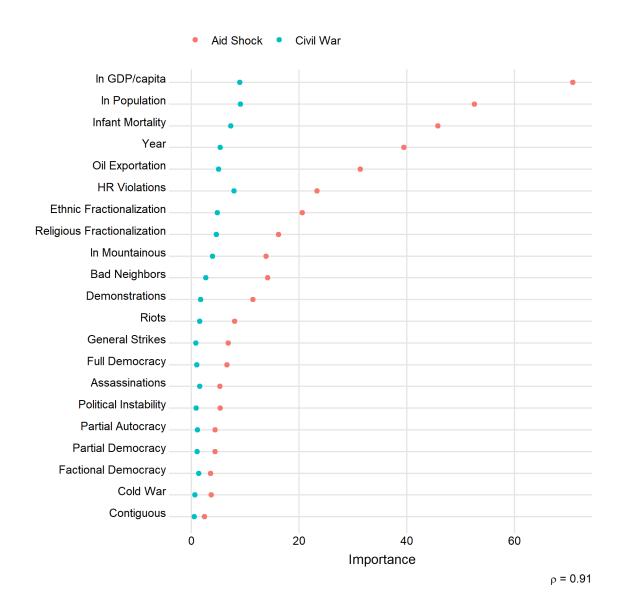


Figure 2: MDI of confounders for civil war onset and aid shocks (25th percentile cutoff).

poverty, which as Braithwaite, Dasandi and Hudson (2016) summarize is strongly linked to greater likelihood of conflict. Poverty, likewise, is related to receipt of more total foreign aid. Additionally, population has a positive relationship with the probability of civil war onset (Bleaney and Dimico, 2011) and with receipt of foreign aid (Bermeo, 2017).

How Local is the Effect of Aid Shocks?

Having gained some sense of which variables are the greatest source of confounding in the data, an equally important concern centers on how accounting for confounding via random forests distorts the effective sample used to identify the effect of aid shocks on civil war onset. Figure 3 shows the relative distortion in the effective sample for each of the confounding variables used in the analysis. 95 percent confidence intervals are included, which reflect the weighted standard error of the weighted effective sample means. If these intervals do not contain zero, this suggests that the effective sample mean for a covariate differs significantly from the nominal sample.

The results suggest that the effect of aid shocks is identified using an effective sample that differs significantly from the original. The relationship between aid shocks and civil war onset holds for an effective sample that is generally much poorer (lower GDP per capita), worse off in terms of infant mortality, less democratic, less likely to have territorial contiguity, smaller in terms of population, experiences greater levels of ethnic fractionalization, suffers more human rights violations, and has greater political instability—to summarize only some of the results.

These findings highlight how the process of random forest adjustment (though this is generally true of any form of covariate adjustment) constrains the generalizability of the recovered causal estimate of interest. This trade-off, however, comes with its own reward. Because it is possible to transparently quantify the distortions incurred by covariate adjustment, one can speak directly to the cases in the data where a causal effect was identifiable. From a policy perspective, it might be imperative, for example, to note

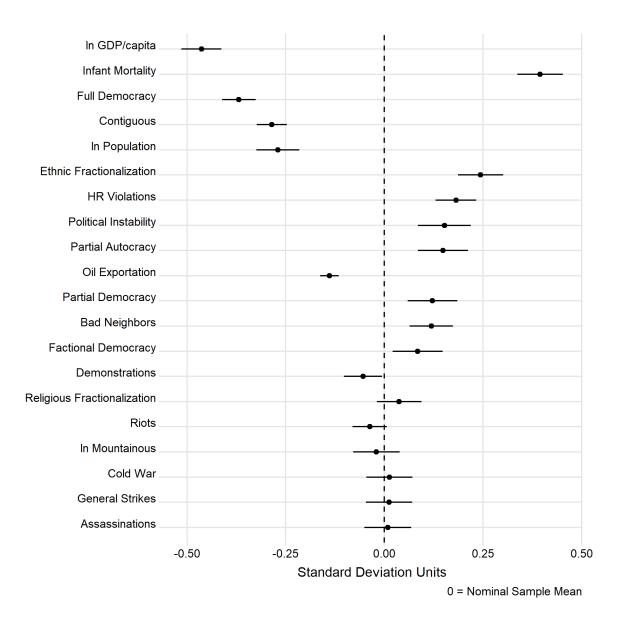


Figure 3: Relative distortions between effective and nominal samples for identifying the effect of aid shocks (25th percentile cutoff).

that the most impoverished, least democratic, and smallest developing countries are also the ones where an effect of aid shocks on conflict can be observed. This information, easily recoverable for random forest adjusted estimates, has the potential to be quite helpful indeed.

Conclusion

Multiple regression adjustment will likely remain the method of choice for political scientists for some time. This is for good reason. The method outlined here, random forest adjustment (RFA), is not meant to displace the standard approach—though there may certainly be cases where it is preferred. Rather, RFA should be treated as yet another tool in the arsenal of researchers; a tool that has its place among the various methods at our disposal.

This note demonstrates the strengths of RFA—namely, its robustness to nonlinear, nonadditive forms of confounding in observational data. Absent well-supported or clear theoretical guidance for adjusting for confounding, the nonparametric approach taken by RFA has clear advantages. RFA is able to recover unbiased, efficient estimates of the relationship between a response and explanatory variable of interest, without requiring *ex ante* specification of the form of confounding. Even in instances where confounding truly is linear and additive, the approach does not perform poorly; albeit, with slightly less efficiency than a parametric regression model.

Further, despite its reputation as a "black box," it is quite easy to lift the lid on random forests. By using variable importance metrics, and using residual regression weights (Aronow and Samii, 2016), RFA estimates can be straightforwardly demystified. These diagnostics help to reveal which covariates in a data sample are the greatest source of confounding, and how the process of covariate adjustment via random forests distorts the effective sample used to identify the relationship between the response and the ex-

planatory variable of interest.

Using RFA, and associated diagnostics, I replicate the results from Nielsen et al. (2011), who assessed the effect of aid shocks—sudden changes in aggregate aid flows to developing countries—on the likelihood of civil war onset. The results suggest not only that negative aid shocks increase the likelihood of civil war, but that positive aid shocks decrease the likelihood. In fact, unlike Nielsen et al. (2011), RFA estimates suggest a monotonic, negative relationship between changes in aid received by developing countries and the likelihood of civil war. This relationship is modest, to be sure, but statistically distinguishable after using random forests to adjust for some 20 covariates.

Diagnostics help to contextualize these results. Variable importance metrics for both the response (civil war onset) and the key explanatory variable (aid shocks) are highly and positively correlated, suggesting that the strongest predictors of one also are the strongest predictors of the other. The greatest sources of confounding include average income, population size, and infant mortality.

Comparison of the effective and nominal samples further helps to summarize the cases in the data for which an effect of aid shocks can be identified. This effective sample skews toward especially low income countries, with higher infant mortality, lower levels of democracy, higher rates of political instability and human rights violations, among other differences.

These results should not be viewed as definitive, or even as a refutation of Nielsen et al. (2011). The analysis is meant merely to illustrate how RFA might be applied in practice, and how the results can be dissected to tell a much richer story than that conveyed by focusing only on the single point estimated and test-statistic returned from the procedure. RFA can be leveraged not only as a flexible means to partial out the confounding influence of covariates in observational data, it can also be leveraged to shed light on confoundingness itself.

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