

# Bush 631-607: Quantitative Methods

Lecture 2 (09.07.2021): Causality vol. I

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## What is today's plan?

- ▶ Causality and deriving cause-effect relationship.
- ▶ Research designs to assess causality.
- ▶ Randomized controlled experiments (RCTs).
- ▶ R work: more ways to learn of our data, sub-setting data, factor variables.

# Causality

- ▶ Identify causes for outcomes of interest:
  1. Universal health care and better health status among poor.
  2. Drop in president approval during war.
- ▶ Establish causality:

Cause → Effect

# Establish causality

2016 turnout: 59.2% of VEP  
2020 turnout: 62% of VEP



- ▶ Candidate gender → election turnout ?

## Experiments

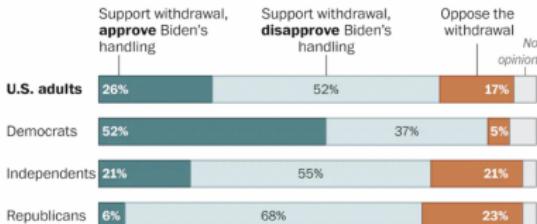
- ▶ Test causal effects using hypothetical scenario.
- ▶ Some use actual setting (natural experiment).
- ▶ Candidate gender and public support? use an experiment...

# Experiments

## President party → foreign policy?



Q: Which of these comes closest to your opinion regarding the withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Afghanistan?



Source: Aug. 29-Sept. 1, 2021, Washington Post-ABC News poll of 1,006 adults with an error margin of +/- 3.5 percentage points. Error margins larger among subgroups.

MARIA AGUILAR/THE WASHINGTON POST



## Experiments, how?

- ▶ Test causal effects using a *treatment*.
- ▶ Manipulate treatments - assign different values.
- ▶ Measure and compare outcome across treatments.

# Experiments in FP



**Hawks – Doves and Foreign  
Policy Reconciliation**

**Mattes and Weeks (2019)**



# The design

- ▶ Elements of experiment:
  - ▶ Hypothetical scenario.
  - ▶ Adversary: China.
  - ▶ Important FP issue - access to arctic.
  - ▶ Outcome measured: approval of president's actions.
- ▶ Treatments:
  - ▶ Description of factors.
  - ▶ Vary between groups.

## How does it look like?

-Background information:

"The year is 2027. The U.S. President is John Richards. President Richards took office in 2025 after serving in the U.S. Senate for six years."

# How does it look like?

- ▶ The leader's type (variable name = hawk\_t):

Hawk/Dove	
Hawk	Dove
<p>... has a reputation for favoring military solutions over diplomatic ones. He has repeatedly emphasized that military force is essential to protecting American national security. President Richards says that he will not shy away from using force where necessary. He has long said that “the only way to achieve peace is to be ready for war.”</p>	<p>... has a reputation for favoring diplomatic solutions over military ones. He has repeatedly emphasized that military force is not the answer to protecting American national security. President Richards says that he believes in diplomacy and negotiations and will use military force only as a last resort. He has long said that “the only way to achieve peace is to act peacefully.”</p>

## How does it look like?

- ▶ The setting (all respondents):
  - ▶ China: distrusted adversary.
  - ▶ Tense relations.
  - ▶ Specific issue - access to arctic.

“One very tense issue is access to the Arctic. The Arctic contains up to 40 percent of the world's oil and gas resources and provides vital shipping routes between continents. In 2027, the U.S. and China both have a major military presence in the Arctic. Each country has thousands of troops in the area and holds frequent military exercises in the region.”

# How does it look like?

- ▶ President Richards and China:

"In his 2027 State of the Union speech, President Richards declares that getting China to cooperate is important for achieving U.S. foreign policy goals."

- ▶ Policy choice (variable name = rapproche\_t)

Policy Choice	
Conciliatory	Status Quo
... announces that he is sharply reducing the U.S. military presence in the Arctic. He is withdrawing a third of the U.S. forces currently in the Arctic and is calling off planned military exercises in the region.	... announces that he is maintaining the current U.S. military presence in the Arctic. He will continue to keep U.S. forces in the Arctic and will carry through with planned military exercises in the region.

## How does it look like?

- ▶ Measuring outcomes:
  1. President approval (variable name = hddv1): rate on a 1-5 scale.
  2. Trust: level of international trust in other nations (yes/no).
  3. Internationalism: US involvement in world affairs (1-4 scale).
- ▶ Respondents' characteristics:
  1. Gender.
  2. Voted in 2016?

# The experiment data

```
dim(mydata)

## [1] 1199    32

head(mydata)

## # A tibble: 6 x 32
##       caseid hawk_t party_t rapproche_t success_t     hawk      intl      trust vo
##       <dbl> <dbl+lbl> <dbl+lbl> <dbl+lbl> <dbl+lbl> <dbl+lbl> <dbl+lbl> <dbl+lbl>
## 1 329144398 2 [Dip~ 1 [Rep~ 1 [Reducin~ 1 [Pulls~ 4 [Agr~ 4 [Agr~ 2 [The~ 4
## 2 329105048 1 [Mil~ 1 [Rep~ 1 [Reducin~ 1 [Pulls~ 2 [Dis~ 4 [Agr~ 2 [The~ 4
## 3 328964530 1 [Mil~ 2 [Dem~ 1 [Reducin~ 1 [Pulls~ 2 [Dis~ 2 [Dis~ 2 [The~ 4
## 4 329130310 1 [Mil~ 2 [Dem~ 2 [Maintai~ 2 [Addit~ 4 [Agr~ 5 [Agr~ 1 [The~ 4
## 5 328809639 1 [Mil~ 2 [Dem~ 2 [Maintai~ 1 [Pulls~ 3 [Nei~ 2 [Dis~ 2 [The~ 1
## 6 329124511 2 [Dip~ 1 [Rep~ 2 [Maintai~ 2 [Addit~ 3 [Nei~ 4 [Agr~ 2 [The~ 4
## # ... with 23 more variables: polact_1 <dbl+lbl>, polact_2 <dbl+lbl>,
## #   polact_3 <dbl+lbl>, polact_4 <dbl+lbl>, hddv1 <dbl+lbl>,
## #   hdmed1_strat <dbl+lbl>, hdmed1_pacifist <dbl+lbl>,
## #   hdmed1_warmonger <dbl+lbl>, hddv2 <dbl+lbl>, hdmed2_strat <dbl+lbl>,
## #   hdmed2_pacifist <dbl+lbl>, hdmed2_warmonger <dbl+lbl>, birthyr <dbl>,
## #   gender <dbl+lbl>, educ <dbl+lbl>, pid3 <dbl+lbl>, pid7 <dbl+lbl>,
## #   ideo5 <dbl+lbl>, newsint <dbl+lbl>, pew_religimp <dbl+lbl>, ...
```

# The experiment data

summary(mydata)

Console	Terminal	R Markdown	Markers	Jobs		
~/						
hddv2	hdmed2_strat	hdmed2_pacifist	hdmed2_warmonger	birthyr		
Min. :1.000	Min. :1.000	Min. :1.000	Min. :1.000	Min. :1925		
1st Qu.:2.000	1st Qu.:2.000	1st Qu.:2.000	1st Qu.:1.000	1st Qu.:1956		
Median :4.000	Median :4.000	Median :3.000	Median :2.000	Median :1971		
Mean :3.505	Mean :3.403	Mean :2.716	Mean :2.304	Mean :1970		
3rd Qu.:5.000	3rd Qu.:5.000	3rd Qu.:4.000	3rd Qu.:3.000	3rd Qu.:1984		
Max. :5.000	Max. :5.000	Max. :5.000	Max. :5.000	Max. :1998		
pid3						
Min. :1.000				Min. :1.000		
1st Qu.:2.000				1st Qu.:2.000		
Median :3.000				Median :2.000		
Mean :2.108				Mean :3.355		
3rd Qu.:3.000				3rd Qu.:5.000		
Max. :5.000				Max. :6.000		
pid7	ideo5	newsint	pew_religimp	approve_b	internationalism	ally_trust
Min. :1.000	Min. :1.000	Min. :1.000	Min. :1.00	Min. :0.0000	Agree Somewhat	:450
1st Qu.:1.000	1st Qu.:2.000	1st Qu.:1.000	1st Qu.:1.00	1st Qu.:0.0000	Agree Strongly	:112
Median :4.000	Median :3.000	Median :1.000	Median :2.00	Median :1.0000	Disagree Somewhat	:288
Mean :3.642	Mean :3.069	Mean :1.753	Mean :2.32	Mean :0.6415	Disagree Strongly	:105
3rd Qu.:6.000	3rd Qu.:4.000	3rd Qu.:2.000	3rd Qu.:4.00	3rd Qu.:1.0000	Neither Agree nor Disagree	:244
Max. :8.000	Max. :6.000	Max. :7.000	Max. :4.00	Max. :1.0000		Max. :1.0000
NA's				NA's :231		NA's :1

## Exploring the data: cross-tabs

```
# Cross-tabs
table(type = mydata$hawk_t, support = mydata$hddv1)

##      support
## type    1    2    3    4    5
##   1  59 132 148 187  74
##   2  73  83  83 217 143

tab2 <- table(support = mydata$hddv1, party = mydata$party_t)
addmargins(tab2)

##      party
## support    1    2  Sum
##   1      55   77 132
##   2     100  115 215
##   3     115  116 231
##   4     209  195 404
##   5     120   97 217
## Sum    599  600 1199
```

## Data analysis: first steps

```
# Calculate mean support for president  
# Using the $ sign method  
mean1 <- sum(mydata$hddv1) / nrow(mydata)  
mean1
```

```
## [1] 3.299416
```

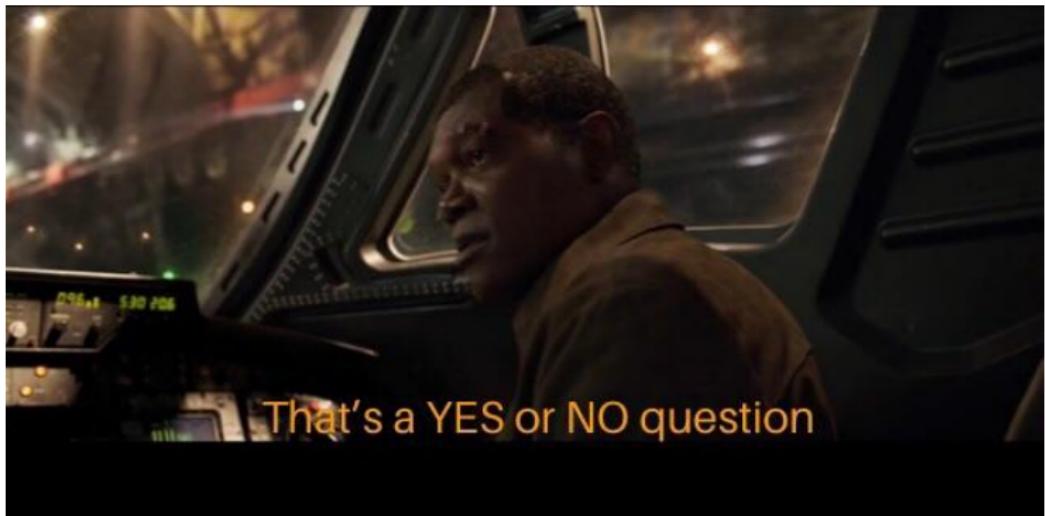
```
# Using the indexing method  
mean2 <- sum(mydata[,14]) / nrow(mydata)  
mean2
```

```
## [1] 3.299416
```

```
# Mean proportion of support  
mean3 <- mean(mydata$approve_b, na.rm = TRUE)  
mean3
```

```
## [1] 0.6415289
```

## Logical values



- ▶ TRUE / FALSE output.

## Logical values

```
class(FALSE)
## [1] "logical"
as.integer(TRUE)

## [1] 1
v1 <- c(FALSE, TRUE, TRUE, FALSE, FALSE)

mean(v1)
## [1] 0.4
sum(v1)

## [1] 2
```

## Logical conjunction and disjunction

Statement $\alpha$	Statement $\beta$	$\alpha$ AND $\beta$	$\alpha$ OR $\beta$
TRUE	TRUE	TRUE	TRUE
TRUE	FALSE	FALSE	TRUE
FALSE	TRUE	FALSE	TRUE
FALSE	FALSE	FALSE	FALSE

## Logical values in R

```
FALSE & TRUE
```

```
## [1] FALSE
```

```
TRUE | FALSE
```

```
## [1] TRUE
```

```
FALSE & TRUE & FALSE
```

```
## [1] FALSE
```

```
TRUE & (FALSE | TRUE)
```

```
## [1] TRUE
```

## Logical values in R

```
v1
```

```
## [1] FALSE TRUE TRUE FALSE FALSE
```

```
v2 <- c(TRUE,FALSE,FALSE,TRUE,TRUE)
```

```
v1 & v2
```

```
## [1] FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE
```

## Relational operators

- ▶ Evaluate the relationship between two values.
- ▶ Results are displayed as logical values

```
12 > 9
```

```
## [1] TRUE
```

```
"aggies" == "Aggies"
```

```
## [1] FALSE
```

```
"Aggies" == "Aggies"
```

```
## [1] TRUE
```

## Relational operators

- ▶ Apply to vectors: results are logical values.

```
v3 <- c(4,8,-1,-9,7)
```

```
v3 < 0
```

```
## [1] FALSE FALSE TRUE TRUE FALSE
```

```
v3 >= 4
```

```
## [1] TRUE TRUE FALSE FALSE TRUE
```

```
v3 != 7
```

```
## [1] TRUE TRUE TRUE TRUE FALSE
```

## Sub-setting data

- ▶ Partition/split our data for certain calculations.

```
# Proportions of support by party  
mean(mydata$approve_b[mydata$party_t == 1], na.rm = TRUE)
```

```
## [1] 0.6797521  
mean(mydata$approve_b[mydata$party_t == 2], na.rm = TRUE)
```

```
## [1] 0.6033058  
# Mean approval score by party  
mean(mydata$hddv1[mydata$party_t == 1], na.rm = TRUE)
```

```
## [1] 3.398998  
mean(mydata$hddv1[mydata$party_t == 2], na.rm = TRUE)
```

```
## [1] 3.2
```

## Sub-setting data

- ▶ Create subset of one group only.
- ▶ Only ‘Hawkish’ presidents.

```
# Sub-set 'hawks'  
mysubdata1 <- mydata[mydata$hawk_t == 1,]  
dim(mysubdata1)
```

```
## [1] 600 32
```

```
# Calculate mean support/approval  
mean(mysubdata1$hddv1)
```

```
## [1] 3.141667
```

```
mean(mysubdata1$approve_b, na.rm = TRUE)
```

```
## [1] 0.5774336
```

## Sub-setting data

- ▶ Subset function: construct a dataset only for the variables we are interested in.

```
mysubdata2 <- subset(mydata, subset = (hawk_t == 2))
```

View(mysubdata2)

▲	caseid Case ID	‡ hawk_t hawk_t	‡ party_t party_t	‡ rapproche_t rapproche_t	‡ success_t success_t	‡ hawk hawk	‡ intl internationalism	‡ trust trust	‡ voted16 Voted in 2016
1	329144398	2	1	1	1	4	4	2	4
2	329124511	2	1	2	2	3	4	2	4
3	329023155	2	2	1	1	2	4	1	4
4	329124618	2	2	1	2	5	1	2	4
5	3290111534	2	1	2	2	1	3	2	4
6	329056352	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	4
7	328905656	2	2	1	1	2	4	1	1
8	329147372	2	2	2	2	5	1	1	4
9	329147427	2	1	2	1	2	4	2	4
10	329147506	2	1	1	2	4	1	2	4
11	328849981	2	1	2	2	5	4	2	4
12	329002390	2	2	2	2	4	1	2	4
13	328770388	2	2	1	1	3	4	2	4
14	329231291	2	1	2	2	4	3	2	1
15	329254548	2	1	2	2	3	4	2	4

## Calculating Group means

- ▶ Evaluate difference in support between Republican - Democrat president

```
# Create sub-samples for rep/dem president
mysubdata_rep <- subset(mydata, subset = (party_t == 1))
mysubdata_dem <- subset(mydata, subset = (party_t == 2))
```

```
# Compute difference in means
mean(mysubdata_rep$approve_b, na.rm = TRUE) -
  mean(mysubdata_dem$approve_b, na.rm = TRUE)
```

```
## [1] 0.07644628
```

## Compare means within a subset

- ▶ Hawkish president: sub-sets for respondents' gender

```
# Create sub-samples for gender president
mysubdata4_male <- subset(mydata, subset = (hawk_t == 1 & gender == 1))
mysubdata4_female <- subset(mydata, subset = (hawk_t == 1 & gender == 2))

# Compute difference in means
mean(mysubdata4_female$approve_b, na.rm = TRUE) -
  mean(mysubdata4_male$approve_b, na.rm = TRUE)

## [1] -0.06519359
```

# Conditional Statements



# The ifelse() function

- ▶ ifelse(condition, value if TRUE, value if FALSE).
- ▶ Can accept multiple conditions.

```
# Create variable based on conditions
mydata$new1 <- ifelse(mydata$voted16 == 4 &
                      mydata$gender == 2, 1, 0)
```

```
# Cross-tabs: variable values
table(female_voters = mydata$new1)
```

```
## female_voters
##   0   1
## 683 516
```

```
# Cross-tabs: proportion of support for new variable
table(newvar = mydata$new1, support = mydata$approve_b)
```

```
##           support
## newvar    0   1
##          0 186 361
##          1 161 260
```

# The ifelse() function

- ▶ Respondents' level of 'hawkishness' (survey item):

*hawk* – hawkishness, measured based on agreement with the statement “The use of military force only makes problems worse.” 1 = Disagree strongly, 2 = Disagree somewhat, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Agree somewhat, 5 = Agree strongly

```
# Create variable
mydata$no_hawks <- ifelse(mydata$hawk>3,1,0)
```

```
# Cross-tabs: variable values
table(NoHawks = mydata$no_hawks)
```

```
## NoHawks
##   0   1
## 757 442
```

## Factor Variables

- ▶ Categorical variable with finite number of distinct levels/values.

*intl* – internationalism, measured based on agreement with the statement “The United States needs to play an active role in solving conflicts around the world.” 1 = Disagree strongly, 2 = Disagree somewhat, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Agree somewhat, 5 = Agree strongly

# Factor Variables

- ▶ Looking at factor variables

```
class(mydata$internatiolism)
```

```
## [1] "character"
```

```
mydata$internatiolism <- as.factor(mydata$internatiolism)
```

```
levels(mydata$internatiolism)
```

```
## [1] "Agree Somewhat"           "Agree Strongly"
```

```
## [3] "Disagree Somewhat"        "Disagree Strongly"
```

```
## [5] "Neither Agree nor Disagree"
```

```
table(mydata$internatiolism)
```

```
##          Agree Somewhat      Agree Strongly  
##                  450                  112  
##          Disagree Somewhat     Disagree Strongly  
##                  288                  105  
## Neither Agree nor Disagree  
##                      244
```

# tapply() function

- ▶ Apply function across all levels of factor variable.
- ▶ Sort in desired order

```
# tapply: calculate mean approval for all levels
app_int <- tapply(mydata$approve_b, mydata$internationalism, mean, na.rm = TRUE)
app_int
```

```
##           Agree Somewhat          Agree Strongly
##             0.6544503            0.6086957
##           Disagree Somewhat        Disagree Strongly
##             0.6637555            0.6547619
## Neither Agree nor Disagree
##             0.5966851

# Sort by value
sort(app_int)
```

```
## Neither Agree nor Disagree          Agree Strongly
##             0.5966851            0.6086957
##           Agree Somewhat        Disagree Strongly
##             0.6544503            0.6547619
##           Disagree Somewhat
##             0.6637555
```

## *Causal Inference*

- ▶ The importance of **counterfactual**



# Causal Inference

- ▶ Counterfactual in Foreign policy



May 2000: Israel withdraws from S. Lebanon  
Prime minister: Ehud Barak



## *Causal Inference*

- ▶ Is gender / military experience a *causal factor*?
- ▶ Why maybe?
- ▶ Can we isolate the factors that lead to different outcomes?

## *Causal Inference: QSS textbook*

- ▶ Does an applicant's race affects the chances she/he are offered a job?
- ▶ Race → causal factor for job prospects?
- ▶ My name affects my chances of landing a job.
- ▶ Is it only my name/race??

# Causal Inference: QSS textbook

Résumé <i>i</i>	Black-sounding name $T_i$	Callback		Age	Education
		$Y_i(1)$	$Y_i(0)$		
1	1	1	?	20	college
2	0	?	0	55	high school
3	0	?	1	40	graduate school
:	:	:	:	:	:
$n$	1	0	?	62	college

Other factors:

- ▶ Age.
- ▶ Education.
- ▶ Other?

## *Causal Inference*

### *The fundamental problem of causal inference*

- ▶ We cannot observe counterfactual outcomes.
- ▶ Assume research design helps us infer about unobserved counterfactual outcomes.
- ▶ Identification process: same situation, **one** factor changes (president's gender, applicant race).
- ▶ Not possible in reality: *immutable characteristics*.

# Randomized Controlled Trials (RCTs)

## THE GOLD STANDARD OF CAUSAL INFERENCE

Why?

- ▶ Establish causality by *isolating* the factor of interest.

How?

- ▶ Randomization - random assignment to treatments.

# RCTs

- ▶ Research design allows to compute average treatment effect over group of respondents.

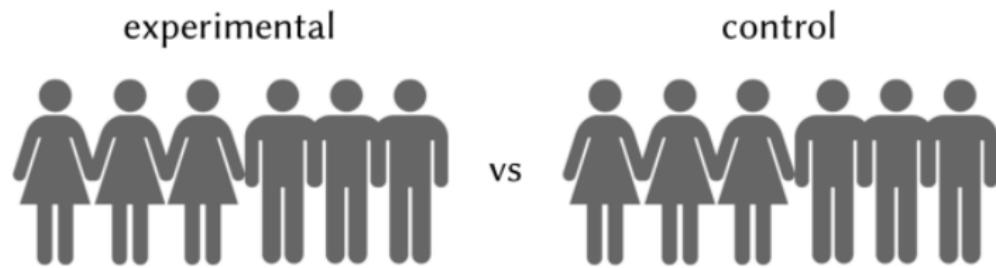
## **Sample Average Treatment Effect (SATE)**

- ▶ The average individual-level treatment effect.
- ▶ Defined as:

$$SATE = 1/n \sum_{i=1}^n Y_i(1) - Y_i(0)$$

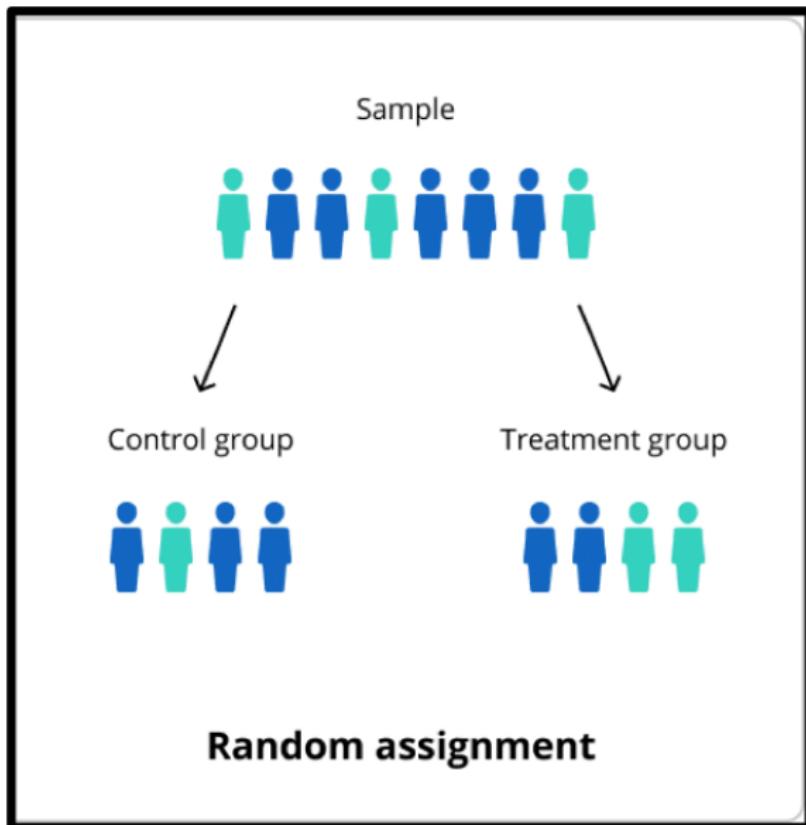
- ▶ n → sample size.
- ▶ i → respondent in the sample.

# RCTs



- ▶ Compare outcomes between groups.
- ▶ SATE: average outcome between groups.
- ▶ *Difference-in-means estimator*

# Random Assignment



## Random Assignment

- ▶ Why important?
- ▶ Confounding factors similar in sample.
- ▶ Our treatment → Variation in outcomes.
- ▶ Our treatment → Causal factor.

## Internal Validity

- ▶ Design satisfy causal assumptions?
- ▶ Experiment allows to test our research question.
- ▶ Experiments offer strong *internal* validity.

## External Validity

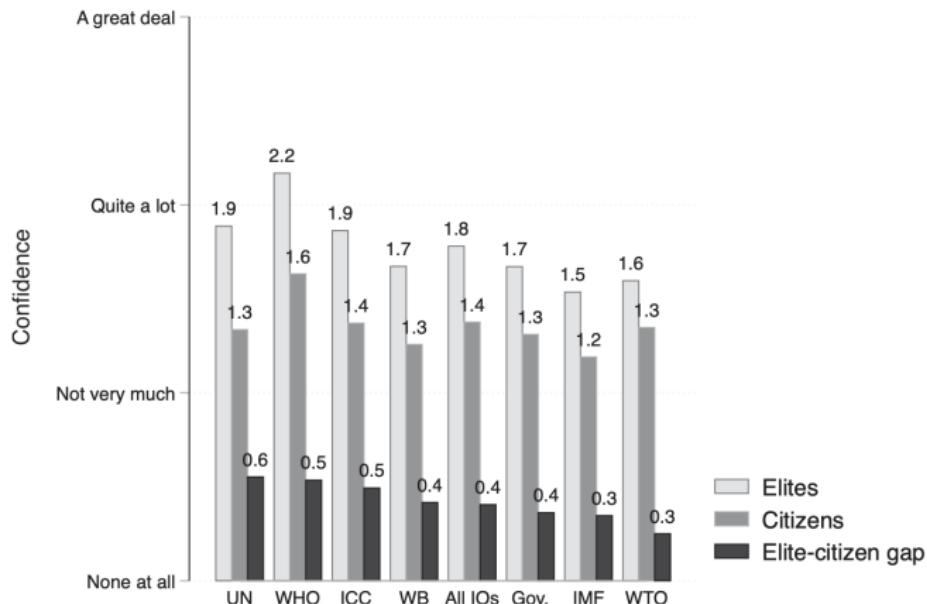
- ▶ Can we trust our results beyond the sample?
- ▶ Students sample = general public?
- ▶ *Convenient samples*: why?
- ▶ Main problem: *sample selection bias*
- ▶ Other design problems:
  1. Setting: lab versus real-world (Hawthorne effect).
  2. Unrealistic treatments: missing information.

## Reduce external validity

- ▶ Replications - same design, vary the sample:
  - ▶ General public and special samples (students, elites, experts, etc.)
  - ▶ Cross-national.
  - ▶ Multiple samples of same population.
- ▶ Consistency in results → more confidence in proposed causal factor.

# Replications

- ▶ Public and elite samples: legitimacy of IOs



## Causal Inference and president approval

```
# Treatment = president type  
# What is proportion of support  
tapply(mydata$approve_b, mydata$hawk_t, mean, na.rm = TRUE)
```

```
##           1           2  
## 0.5774336 0.6976744
```

```
# Treatment = president party  
# What is proportion of support  
tapply(mydata$approve_b, mydata$party_t, mean, na.rm = TRUE)
```

```
##           1           2  
## 0.6797521 0.6033058
```

# Causal Inference and president approval

- ▶ Grouping treatments by president party and policy choice

```
# Create factorial variable for policy and party
```

```
mydata$party_policy <- NA
mydata$party_policy[mydata$party_t == 1 & mydata$rapproche_t == 1] <- 1
mydata$party_policy[mydata$party_t == 1 & mydata$rapproche_t == 2] <- 2
mydata$party_policy[mydata$party_t == 2 & mydata$rapproche_t == 1] <- 3
mydata$party_policy[mydata$party_t == 2 & mydata$rapproche_t == 2] <- 4
```

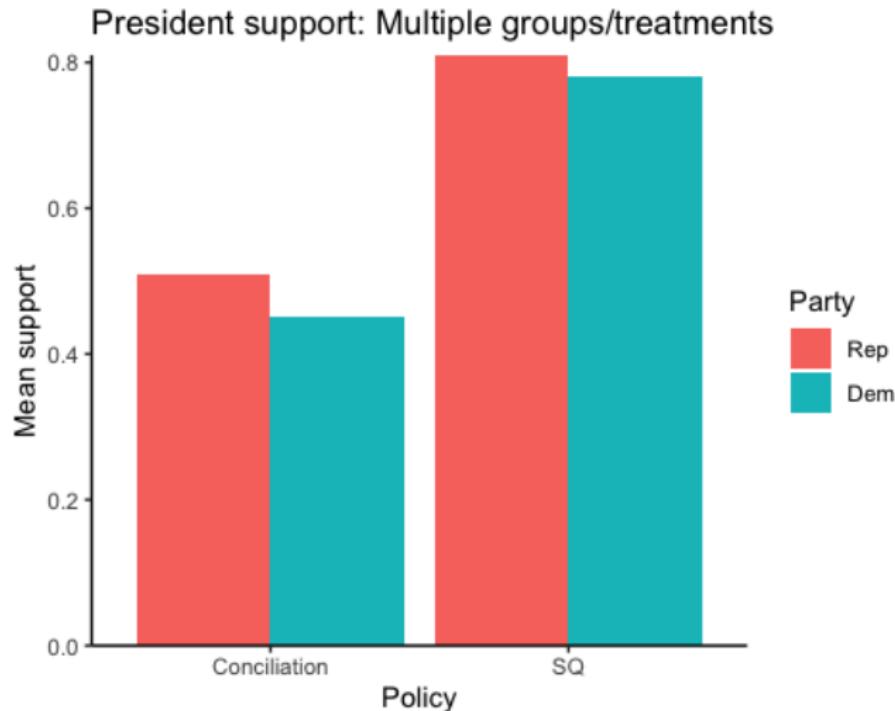
```
# What is proportion of support by group
```

```
tapply(mydata$approve_b, mydata$party_policy, mean, na.rm = TRUE)
```

```
##          1          2          3          4
## 0.5138889 0.8134328 0.4492188 0.7763158
```

## Causal Inference and president approval

- ▶ Grouping treatments by president party and policy choice
- ▶ Visual:



# Wrapping up week 2

## Causality vol. I:

- ▶ Assessing causal effects.
- ▶ Experimental designs (RCTs).
- ▶ Counterfactuals.
- ▶ Randomization.
- ▶ Internal and external validity.
- ▶ R work: cross-tabs, relational operations, sub-set data, `ifelse()`, factor variables.

Lecture 2 slides & full code: Website/Canvas