# Integration of Formal Theory and Quantitative Methods 

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## Links to Discussed Works

Click the titles below to link to electronic versions of these works.
Note: Links work as of 2/4/2017...

- Clarke and Primo (2007). "Modernizing Political Science: A Model Based Aproach"
- Clarke and Primo (2012). A Model Discipline
- Humphreys and Jacobs (2016). "Qualitative Inference from Causal Models"
- Eggers (2016). "Quality-Based Explanations of Incumbency Effects"
- López-Moctezuma (2016). "Sequential Deliberation in Collective Decision-making: The Case of the FOMC"


## Motivation

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- "Fetishized" paper in political science (these days):
(1) Some formalized theory (often decision or game theoretic), perhaps relegated to appendix
(2) An empirical exercise identifying some type of ATE, ITT, LATE, or ATT, ideally related to the model
- But it is not clear that this research model is as natural of a fit as we may desire
- What can we learn from the integration of formal models and quantitative methods?
- Examine some more novel recent attempts to integrate the two.


## A Hypothetical Example

- Lots of foundational work in distributive politics/political economy on who gets the pork
- Swing/core debate
- Competitiveness or bias is the fundamental thing that drives distribution in many foundational models
- Say I also want to consider incumbent partisanship in this setting
- Hard to randomize "partisanship" so let's do an RD
- Forcing variable: Margin of victory
- Forcing variable implies conditioning on competitiveness


## A Hypothetical Example, ctd.

- Effect of incumbent partisanship on some politically-motivated transfer in a pork-y place


Figure 1

## Hypothetical relationships-Identifiable by RDD?

- Given some (here hypothetical) theoretical relationship, can we actually generate an estimate of what we want to estimate via RDD?



## A Critique

## Hypothetico-Deductivism

- Dominant mode of research in our field
- Four steps described by Clarke and Primo (2012, 29):
(1) "Formulate some hypothesis or theory $H^{\prime}$ "
(2) "Deduce some prediction or observable claim $P$ [testable implication] from $H$ with other statements, i.e. initial conditions... and ceteris paribus clauses"
3 "Test P" (experimentally or observationally)
(4) "Judge whether $H$ is confirmed or disconfirmed depending on the nature of $P$ and whether $P$ turned out to be true or false"
- Note difference between 'true' and 'false' and conventional hypothesis tests.


## But...

Table reproduced from Clarke and Primo (2007, 745):

|  | State 1 | State 2 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Assumptions | True | False |
| Predictions | True | True/False |
| Connections between <br> model and truth of <br> prediction: | Logical Necessity | None |
| Informativeness of data <br> analysis for "truth" | Uninformative | Uninformative |
|  | Table 1 |  |

- View models as neither true or false; judge based on "usefulness"


## Theoretical + Empirical Models

- Theoretical model (typically general)
- Empirical model $\Rightarrow$ not the theoretical model with an error term!
- Some basis in theory
- Features of the data
- As such we are employing two different models, not necessarily testing one
- Usefulness criteria is rather vague; typology of uses of theoretical/empirical models in the book version

DAGs and Formal Models

## DAGs and Formal Models

- DAGs may be useful in mapping causal theories (formal models) into implied empirical models
- Humphreys and Jacobs (2016/in progress) provides first treatment that I have seen
- Some question about what should be mapped into a DAG:
- Extensive form (+ solution concept)
- Equilibrium conditions
- Simple model proposed by Humphreys and Jacobs/associated DAGs


## Model

- Nature determines:
- Freedom of the press: $X \in\{0,1\}$
- Whether government is sensitive $S \in\{0,1\}$
- Government chooses to engage in corruption not
- Press reports or doesn't report on corruption
- Voters remove or don't remove the government from office
- Utilities realized


## Mapping to DAG

## Reflects SPNE solution concept

Lower DAG: Backwards induction in a game with 3 players with one move each


Figure 3

## "Lower Level" Theory

In principle, DAG is not specific to the specific actors, actions, or utilities of the game:

Still lower: Backwards induction, 3 player game with one move for each player


Figure 4

## Implications

- Yes, you can map a model into a DAG
- Can we then use the DAG for identification analysis?
- Perhaps-is adjustment criterion satisfied?
- (Are the treatment, outcome, and all members of the adjustment set measurable?)
- What do testable implications tell us about the DAG? About the formal model based on the DAG?


## Application 1

## Eggers (2016)

- Cottage industry of RDD papers on incumbency (dis)advantage
- Conflicting results-advantage in some places, disadvantage in others-remains "puzzling"
- Argument about "selection into marginality"
- All candidates in an RD bandwidth are marginal (by definition)
- If marginal candidates are stronger (resp. weaker) than the pool, there will be quality-based incumbency advantage or disadvantage
- Contribution:
- There is always selection into marginality on the basis of: (a) electoral selection; or (b) asymmetries in the distribution of candidate quality


## Decision Theoretic Model

- Two parties, $p \in\{a, b\}$
- Voter i's utility for party $p$ :

$$
u_{i}(p)=\underbrace{\theta_{p}}_{\text {Quality }}+\underbrace{v_{i}(p)}_{\text {Party valuation }}+\gamma \underbrace{I_{p}}_{\text {Incumbent }}
$$

- Voter votes for a if:

$$
\theta_{a}-\theta_{b}+v_{i}(a)-v_{i}(b)+\gamma\left(I_{a}-I_{b}\right)>0
$$

- Assume $v_{i}(p) \sim U[-0.5,0.5]$
- From best response, vote share for $A$ in election $t$ is:

$$
V_{t}=\frac{1}{2}+\theta_{a t}-\theta_{b t}+\gamma\left(I_{a t}-I_{b t}\right)
$$

## Mapping to the RDD

- Following Lee (2008), we can express the LATE, $\tau$ as:

$$
\tau=\lim _{V_{t} \rightarrow 0.5^{+}} \mathbb{E}\left[V_{t+1} \mid V_{t}\right]-\lim _{V_{t} \Rightarrow .5^{-}} \mathbb{E}\left[V_{t+1} \mid V_{t}\right]
$$

- Define $p_{w}$ as the proportion of marginally-elected candidates that run

$$
\begin{array}{r}
p_{w} \equiv \frac{1}{2}\left(\lim _{V_{t} \rightarrow 0.5^{+}} \mathbb{E}\left[I_{a, t+1}-I_{b, t+1} \mid V_{t}\right]-\right. \\
\left.\lim _{V_{t} \Rightarrow .5^{-}} \mathbb{E}\left[I_{a, t+1}-I_{b, t+1} \mid V_{t}\right]\right)
\end{array}
$$

- Combining the expressions from the past two slides (algebra suppressed):

$$
\tau=2\left(\bar{\theta}_{l}-\bar{\theta}_{C}+\gamma p_{w}\right)
$$

## Three Implied Mechanisms

## (Schematic by Eggers, colored boxes by me)



Figure 5

## Results

- Focus only on differential rates of replacement by winning/losing status, $p_{w}$ and $p_{l}$ from last slide
- Symmetry in the pdf of candidate quality, $g(\theta)$, in an open seat contest is sufficient for the assumption that marginal winners of open seat winners have the same average quality of the candidate pool.
- If candidates are drawn from some non-degenerate $g(\theta)$, then there can be balance on quality following open-seat elections or following winners of open-seat elections, but not both.
- Follows from a straightforward (but not obvious) application of Bayes' rule-see proof in manuscript
- Indicates quality differences persist even under the literature's favorite "scare-off" mechanism


## Results-binary case

- $g(\theta) \sim \operatorname{Bernoulli}(q)$, where $q$ is $\operatorname{Pr}(\theta=$ "strong" $)$



## Discussion

- Provides a unifying theoretical approach to multiple existing studies
- Utilities are general across races (regardless of margin of victory)
- But, theoretical results are scoped to the RDD bandwidth
- Is this satisfying?
- Nice example of empirically-motivated deductive theory
- Hard to distinguish between mechanisms empirically


## Application 2

## López-Moctezuma (2016)

- What is the effect of deliberation (the process) on collective decision making?
- Many models of deliberation, scant empirical evidence because it's hard to do!
- Specifies a theoretical model of deliberation
- Uses minutes from the Federal Open Market Committee (FOMC) at the Fed to compute a structural model
- Compares model fit from his theory to existing theories to justify this approach


## Model

- Nature specifies inflation state $\omega_{t} \in\{0,1\}$ (low or high); unobserved to committee members
- $T$ monetary policy meetings, indexed $t=1, \ldots, T$
- $N$ committee members at each meeting offering policy recommendation $r_{i t} \in\{0,1\}$ to chairman
- Chairman proposes a policy directive (on interest rates), $d_{t} \in\{0,1\}$
- Utilities to committee members:

$$
u_{i}\left(d_{t}, \omega_{t}\right)= \begin{cases}0 & \text { if } \omega_{t}=d_{t} \\ -\pi_{i} & \text { if } \omega_{t}=1, d_{t}=0 \\ -\left(1-\pi_{i}\right) & \text { if } \omega_{t}=0, d_{t}=1\end{cases}
$$

## Sequence

(1) Inflation state $\omega_{t}$ released; Order of speech exogenously given to FOMC members
(2) Member $i$ forms belief:

- Common prior: $\rho_{t} \equiv \operatorname{Pr}\left[\omega_{t}=1\right]$
- Private signal: $s_{i t} \mid \omega_{t} \sim \mathcal{N}\left(\omega_{t}, \sigma_{i}^{2}\right)$
- History of recommendations:

$$
x_{n(i)_{t}, t}=\left(r_{1, t}, \ldots, r_{n(i)_{t}-1, t}\right) \in\{0,1\}^{n(i)_{t}-1}
$$

(3) Strategy for member $i$ is mapping $\gamma\left(s_{i t}=\operatorname{Pr}\left(r_{i t}=1 \mid s_{i t}\right)\right.$; equilibrium strategies as cutpoints
(4) Chairman observes private signal and $s_{C t}$ and full vector of reports $x_{C t}=\left(r_{1 t}, \ldots r_{N t}\right)$ and makes policy directive $d_{t}$

## Equilibrium

- Equilibrium cutpoint, $s_{i t}^{*}$, above which $r_{i t}=1$ and $r_{i t}=0$ otherwise
- Relatively "ugly," but follows straightforwardly from normal pdf
- With cutoff pinned, $s_{i t}^{*}$ we can write the probability of $r_{i t}=1$ given the state $\omega_{t}$
- With this probability, we can calculate "value" of deliberation for each member-which comes from the signals in preceding reports
- Construct likelihood of observing the full vector of recommendations at a meeting, $t$ (includes Chairman's recommendation)


## Structural Estimation

- Goals:
- Simulate counterfactuals, i.e. what is the value of deliberation?
- Comparison across theoretical models (vis a vis earlier models of FOMC behavior)
- Data from FOMC meeting minutes
- Using STAN-Bayesian approach seems novel
- Model is done sequentially at every meeting $t$ on the basis of speaking order
- Think in terms of two loops:
- Inner loop: computes equilibrium condition $\rightarrow$ likelihood
- Outer loop: Given likelihood function, estimate posterior distribution of parameters


## Value of Deliberation $\rightarrow$ Clarification

Main result is on value of deliberation, calculated:

- No deliberation condition:
- Define equilibrium cutpoint $s_{i t}^{* *}$ as a function of only bias $\left(\pi_{i}\right)$, expertise $\left(\sigma_{i}\right)$, and the prior $\rho_{t}$
- Deliberation condition:
- Define equilibrium cutpoitn $s_{i t}^{*}$ as in model, incorporating above parameters as well as history of recommendations ( $\mathrm{x}_{i t}$ ) and pivotality consideration PIV ${ }_{t}^{i}$
- Value of deliberation is the probability that decision w/ deliberation $\neq$ decision w/o deliberation
- Odd quantity because the histories are of different lengths depending on enforced but not randomly assigned order


## Results

- Simulated value of deliberation + posterior IQR


Figure 7

## Results 2

- Correlates of value of deliberation; right panel is counterintuitive to me


Figure 8

## Discussion

- Innovative application of structural estimation
- Model is in some ways quite simple, scoped quite tightly to the data
- What is the scope for such models in political science generally?
- To what extent is the model comparison helpful?
- Samii (2016) endorses pushing structural estimation further in political science
- Seems like STAN makes such models somewhat easier(?) than conventional methods of structural estimation

