

# Causal Inference and Machine Learning for Social Science

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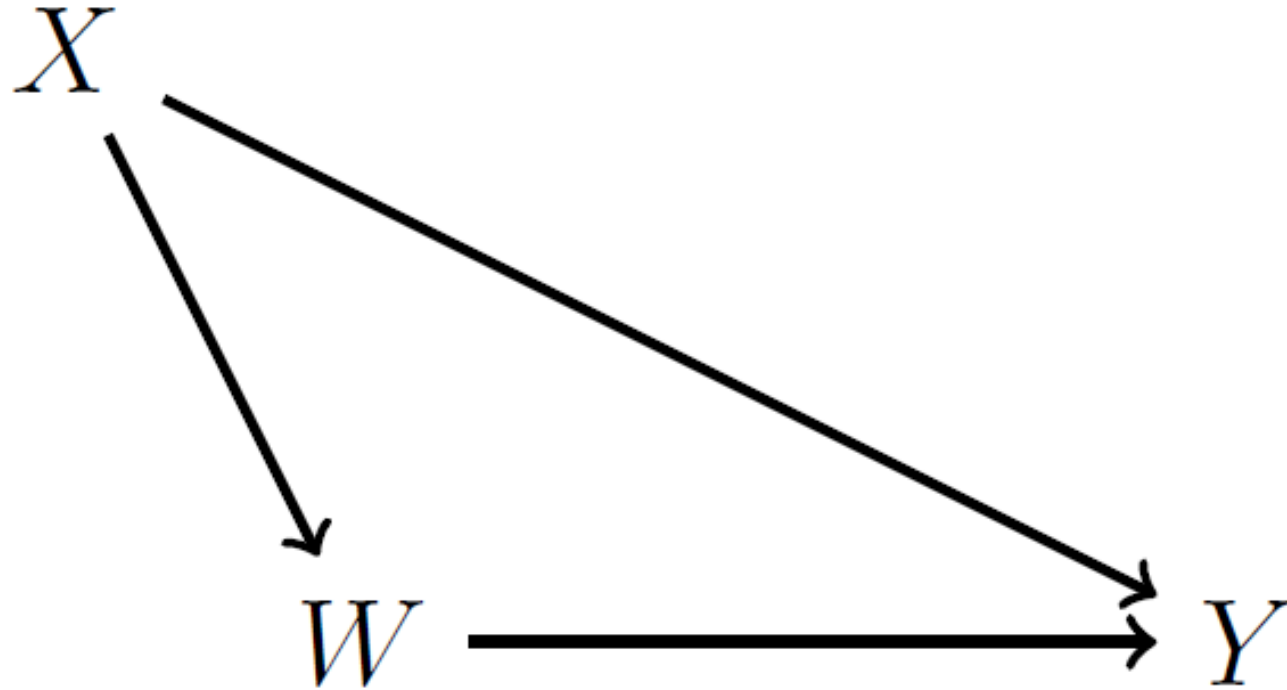


Talk Prepared for Future Directions for Social and Behavioral Science Methodologies in the Next Decade

September 2024

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The potential outcomes framework offers a conceptual apparatus for defining causal effects



**Direct Acyclic Graph under Unconfoundedness**

*Note:*  $W$  denotes treatment status,  $Y$  denotes the outcome of interest, and  $X$  denotes observed pretreatment confounders.

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- **Flexible machine learning** methods can be used to fit the outcome or propensity score models
  - Researchers have **adapted machine learning** methods **to estimate causal parameters** to mitigate concerns central to causal inference
  - Machine learning methods perform well when combined with the so-called “**doubly robust estimators**” of average treatment effects
  - To minimize overfitting, we use sample splitting or cross-fitting

# Researchers should routinely attend to response variation, i.e., 'treatment effect heterogeneity'

- Individuals differ not only in pre-treatment characteristics (i.e., **pre-treatment heterogeneity**), but also in how they respond to a common treatment (i.e., **treatment effect heterogeneity**)
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  - Yields important insights into how scarce social resources are distributed in an unequal society
  - Helps extrapolate findings to diverse populations and contexts
  - Plays a critical role in guiding evidence-based policy



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- Various methods help us **uncover response variation**, including machine learning

# Effects of Completing College on Low-Wage Work

## Research objective

- Examine the distribution of effects of college completion on low-wage work

## Data and variables

- National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1979 (NLSY)
- Treatment: College completion by age 25
- Outcome: Low-wage work age 25-50

Brand, Jennie E., Jiahui Xu, Bernard Koch, and Pablo Geraldo. 2021. "Uncovering Sociological Effect Heterogeneity using Tree-Based Machine Learning." *Sociological Methodology* 51 (2):189-223.

Brand, Jennie E. 2023. *Overcoming the Odds. The Benefits of Completing College for Unlikely Graduates*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

# Propensity Score Specification

**Step 1:** Baseline set of covariates  $K_B$

**Step 2:** Consider  $K - K_B$  additional possible covariates in turn

- 176 logistic regressions, resulting in a model with 22  $K_L$  linear terms

**Step 3:** Consider all possible higher order and interaction terms  $[K_L (K_L + 1)/2]$  in turn

- 253 additional terms, 3,527 regressions, resulting in a model with 1 higher order term and 12 interaction terms

# Propensity Score Specification

## Sociodemographic

Race

Sex

Residence

## Family Background

Parents' income

Parents' education

Fathers' occupation

Family structure

## School characteristics

School disadvantage

## Cognitive and psychosocial

Test scores (ASVAB)

College-prep. program

Locus of control

Delinquency

Expectations / aspirations

Friends' aspirations

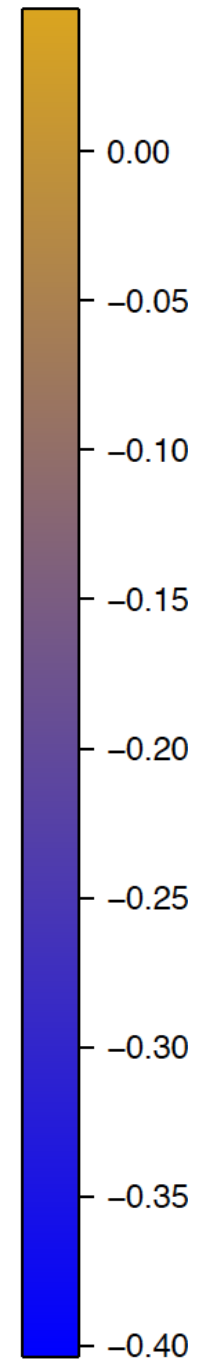
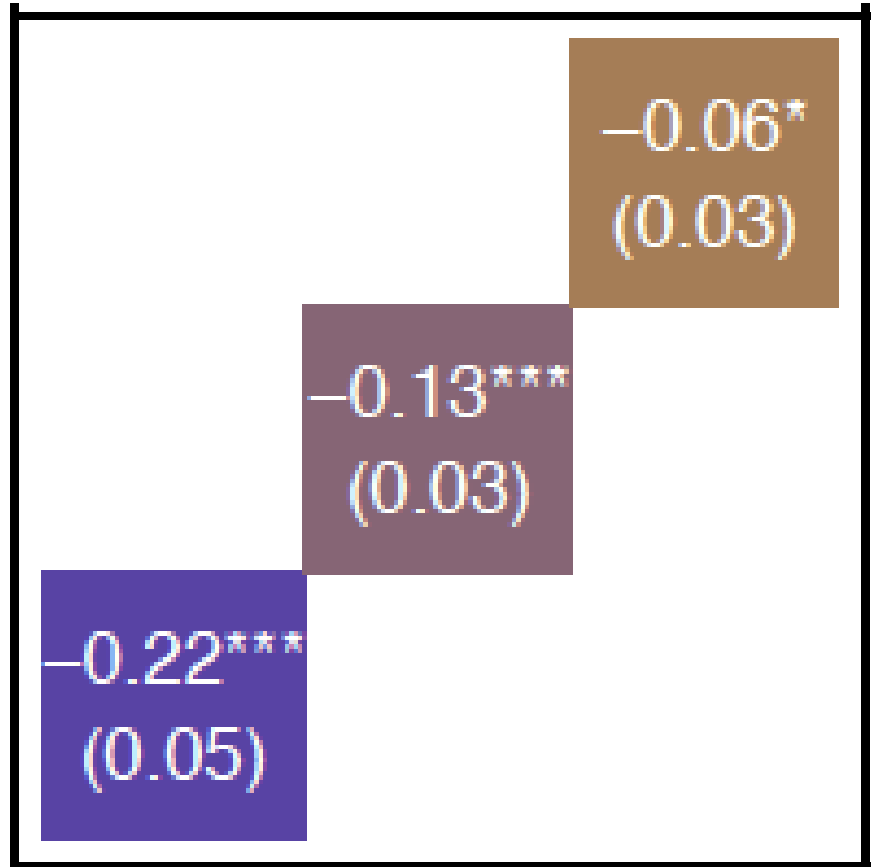
## Family formation

Marital status

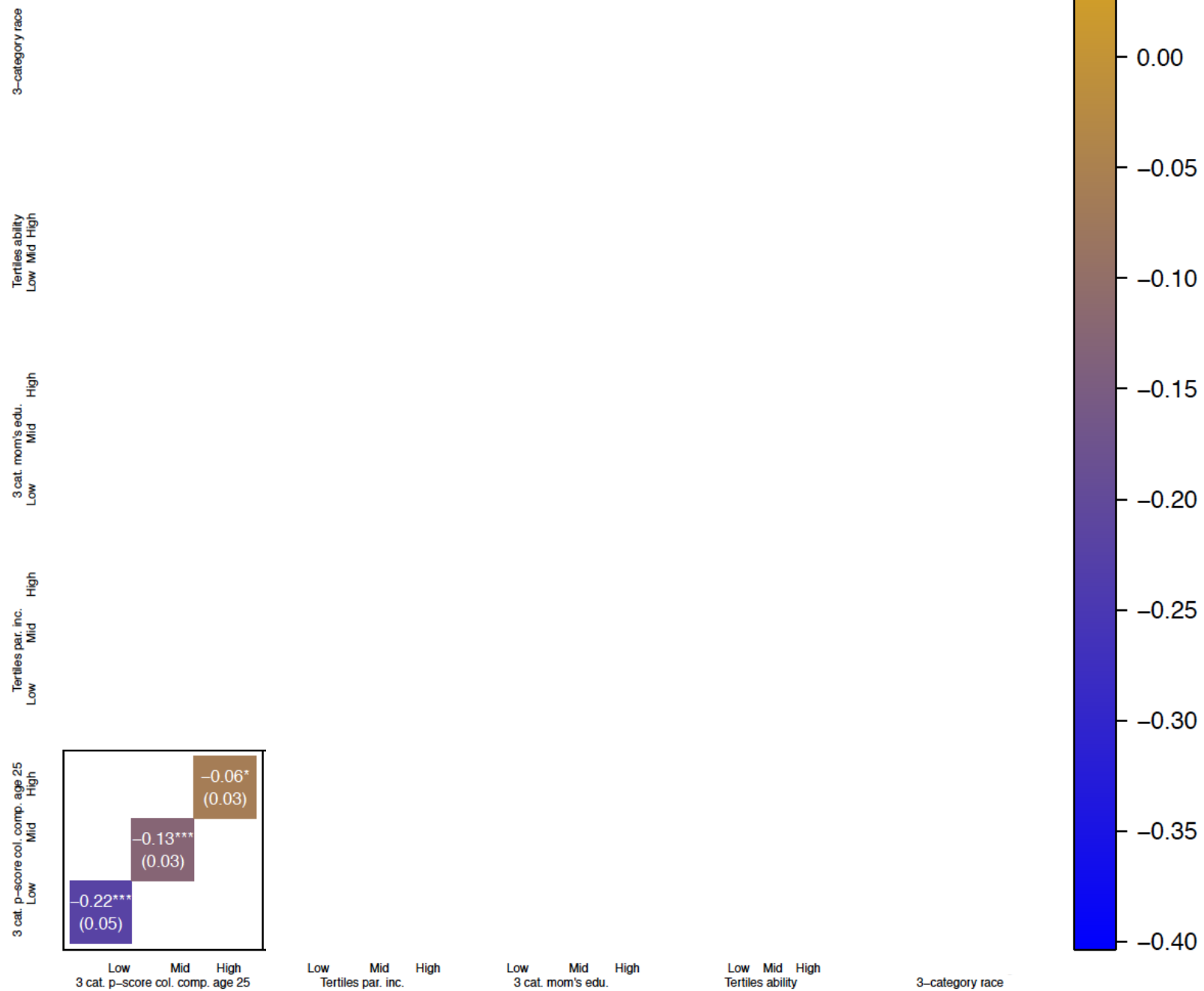
Had a child

# Heterogeneous Effects of College on Low-Wage Work

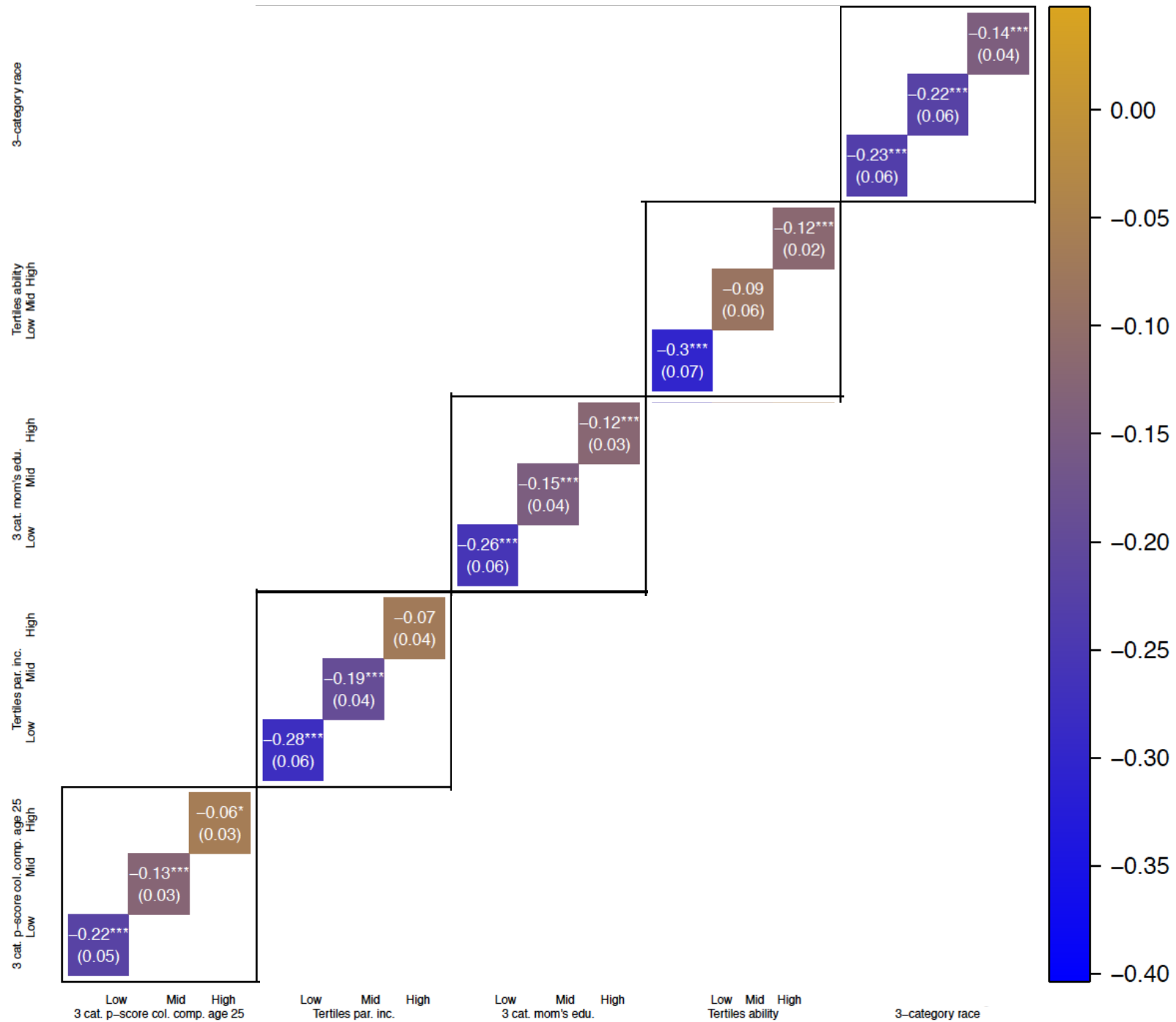
3 cat. p-score col. comp. age 25



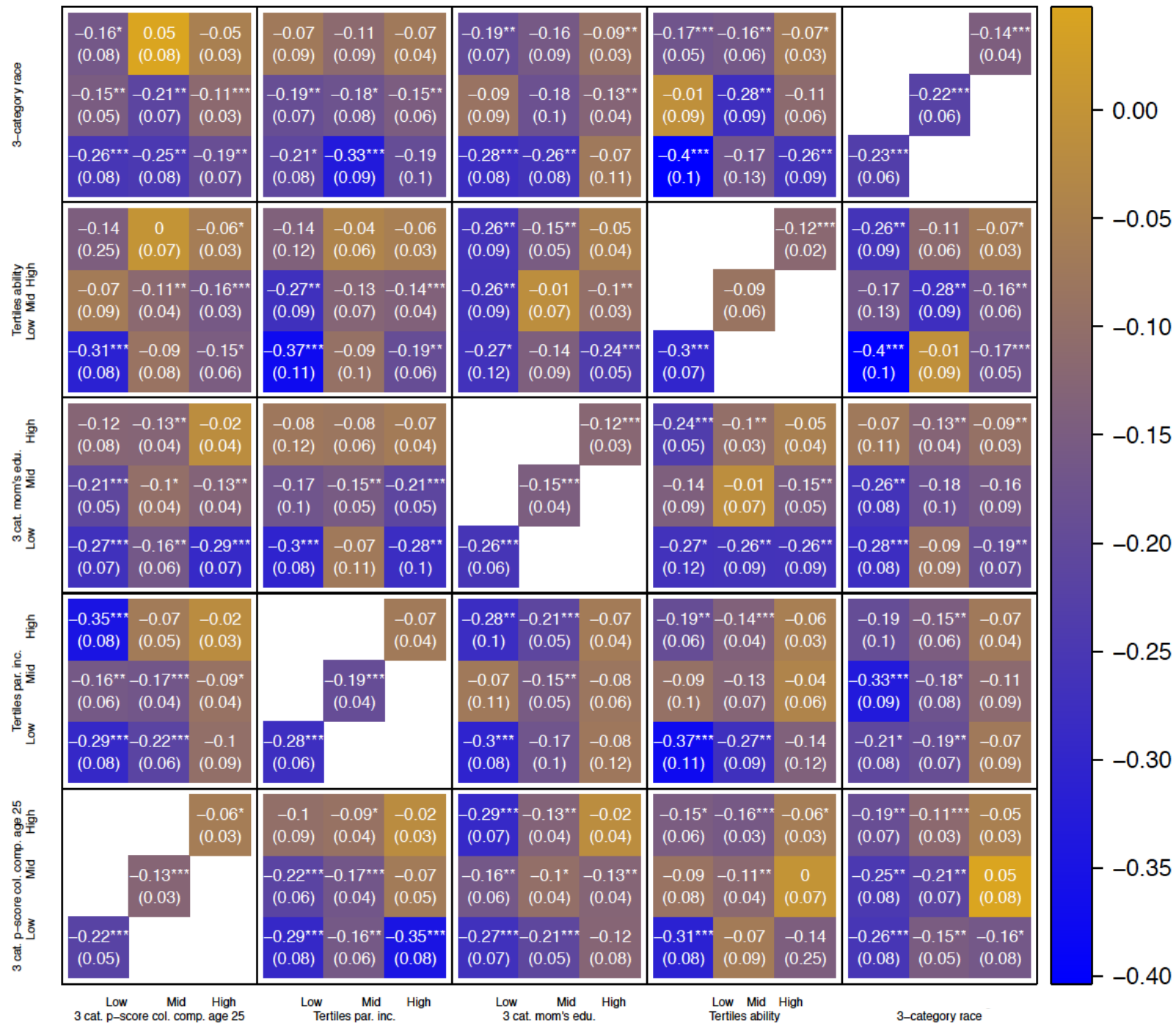
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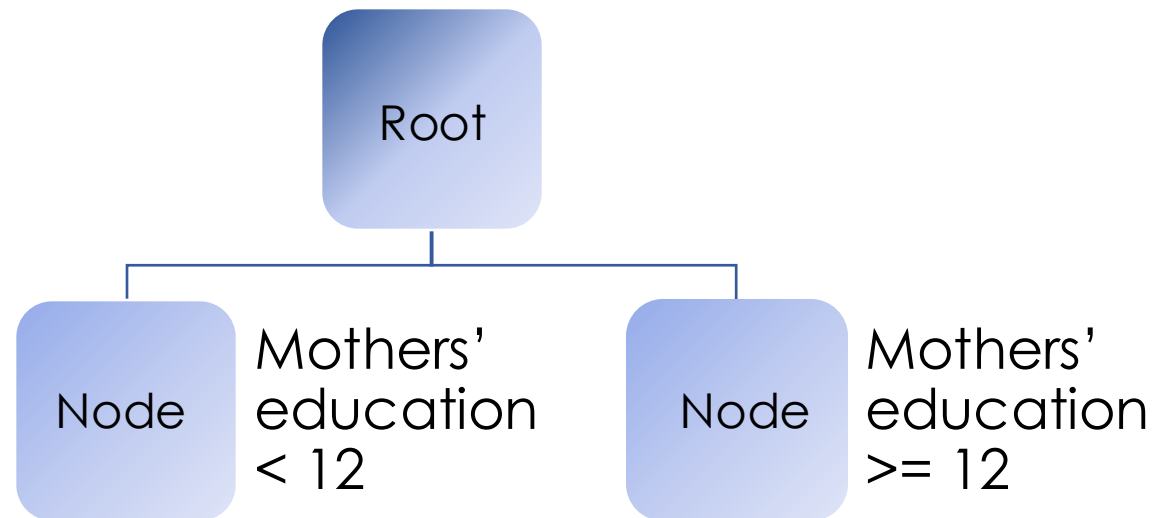


Are there important sources of variation that researchers may not have considered prior to data analysis?

- **Researchers routinely explore their data** to determine if subgroups show meaningful differences in effect estimates
- If researchers select which interactions to report from these analyses and do not draw on **cross-validation procedures** or **multiple-testing penalties**, they are subject to **incorrectly failing to accept the null hypothesis**
- It may be unclear which of the large number of possible **joint covariates and thresholds** are **best to consider before analyses**
- Statisticians and social and computer scientists have recently made progress in **merging machine learning methods and causal inference**
- **Decision trees** uncover new sources of variation

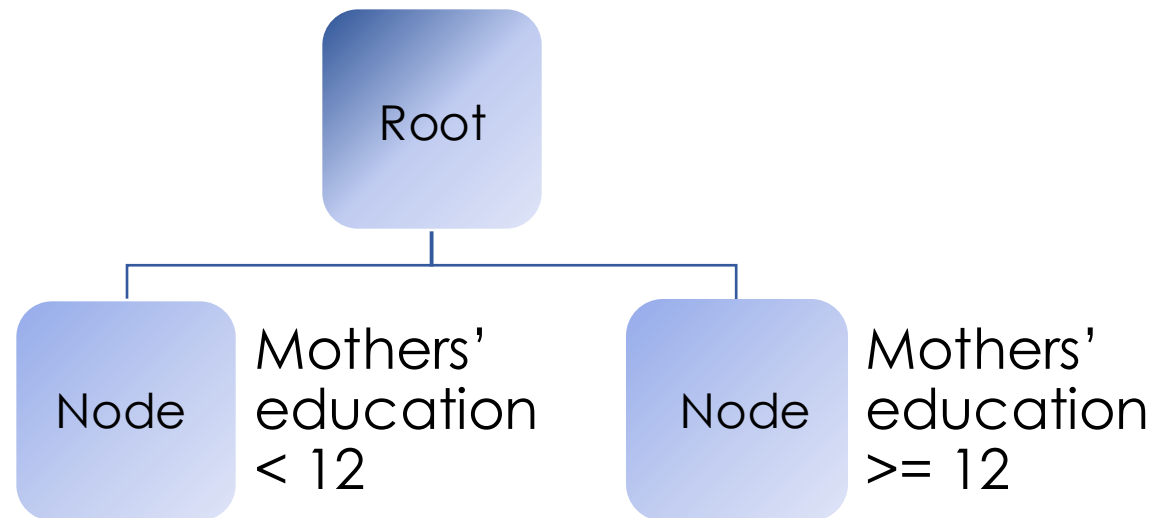
# Decision trees recursively partition the data by covariates into increasingly smaller subsets

- Covariates and thresholds are selected that minimize the in-sample loss function, and the sample is split into two new partitions



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Decision trees → Causal trees

# Causal tree approach extends decision trees to estimate causal effects

Decision trees → Causal trees

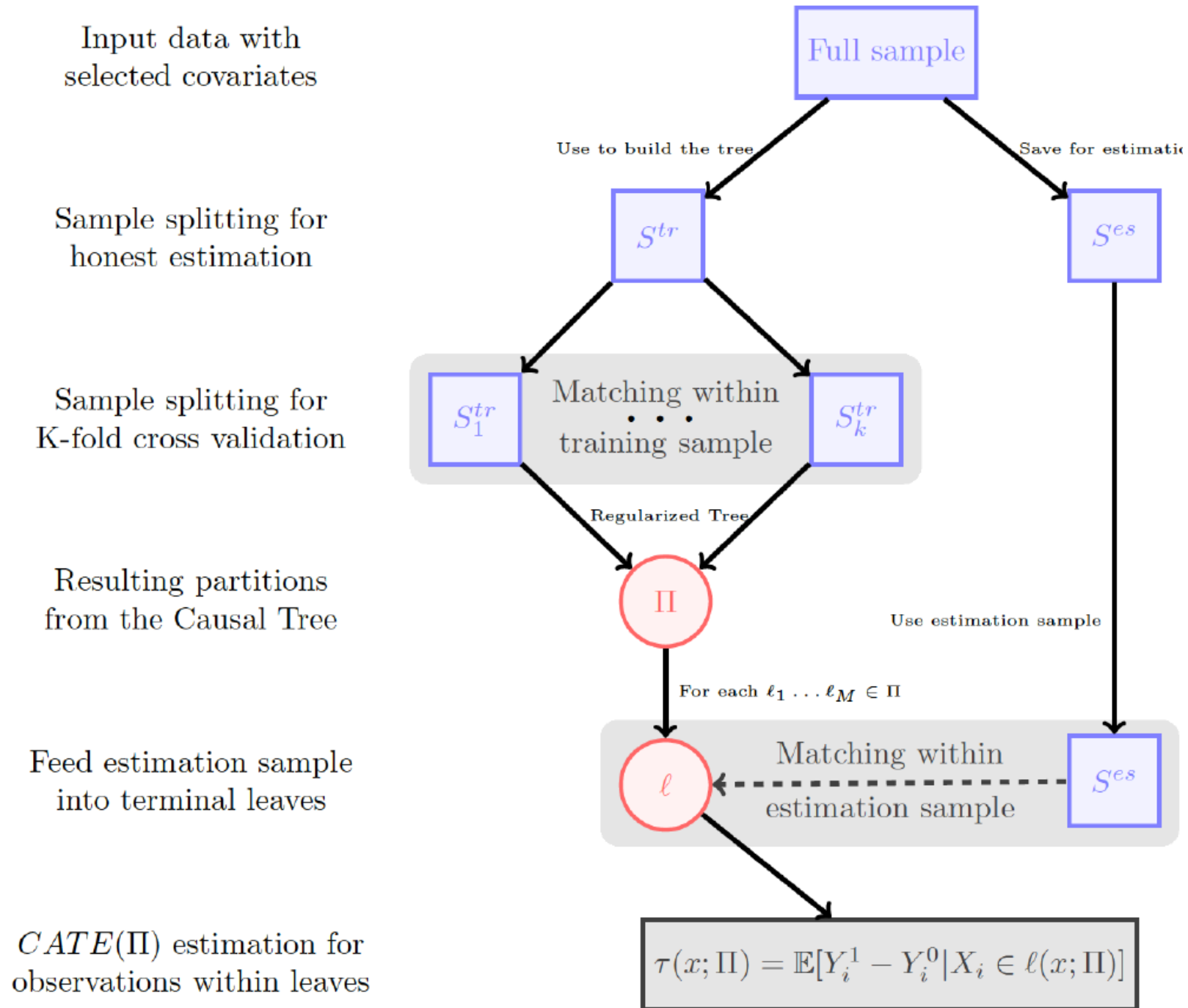
- Applying a potential outcome approach to decision trees requires **altering the objective**
  - Objective: Predict, not  $Y$ , but the conditional average treatment effect
  - Prefer a tree that **minimizes heterogeneity in leaf-specific treatment effects**
- Yet no “**ground truth**”
  - Estimate an individual treatment effect

# Causal tree approach extends decision trees to estimate causal effects

Decision trees → Causal trees

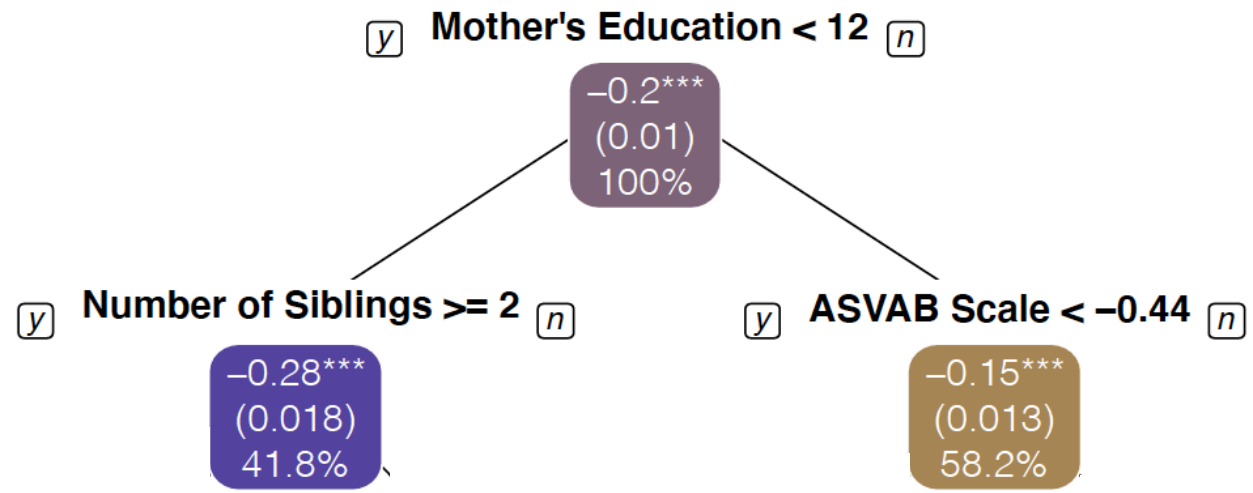
- “**Honest estimation:**” Split the sample into **training data** for generating partitions, and **estimation data** for estimating leaf-specific effects
  - Modified MSE
  - Enables standard asymptotic properties
- Causal trees do not guarantee **unconfoundedness**
  - **Leaf-specific adjustment**, using matching, weighting, or generalized random forests
  - **Sensitivity** analysis

# Causal Tree Algorithm Workflow

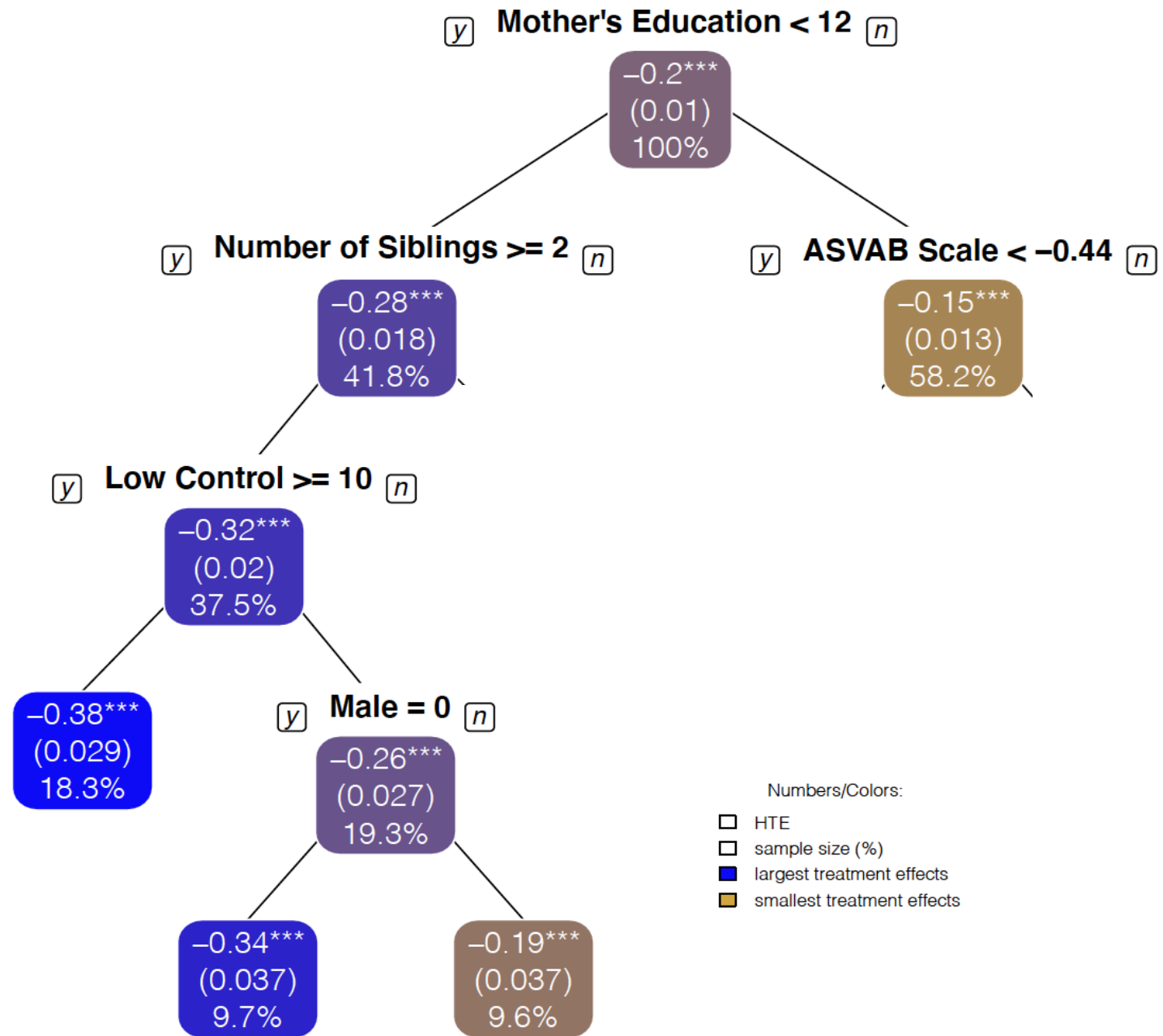


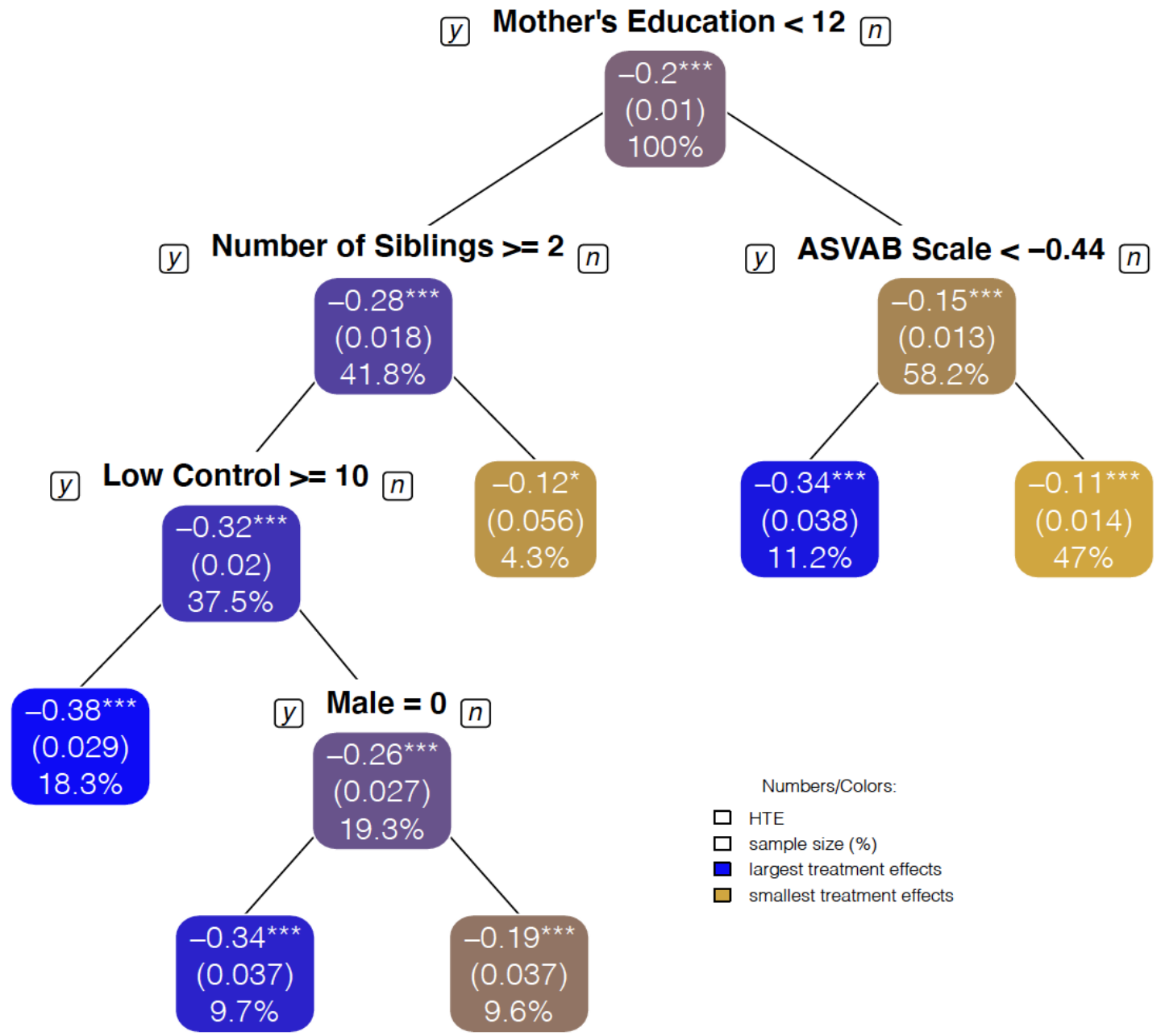
$y$  **Mother's Education < 12**  $n$

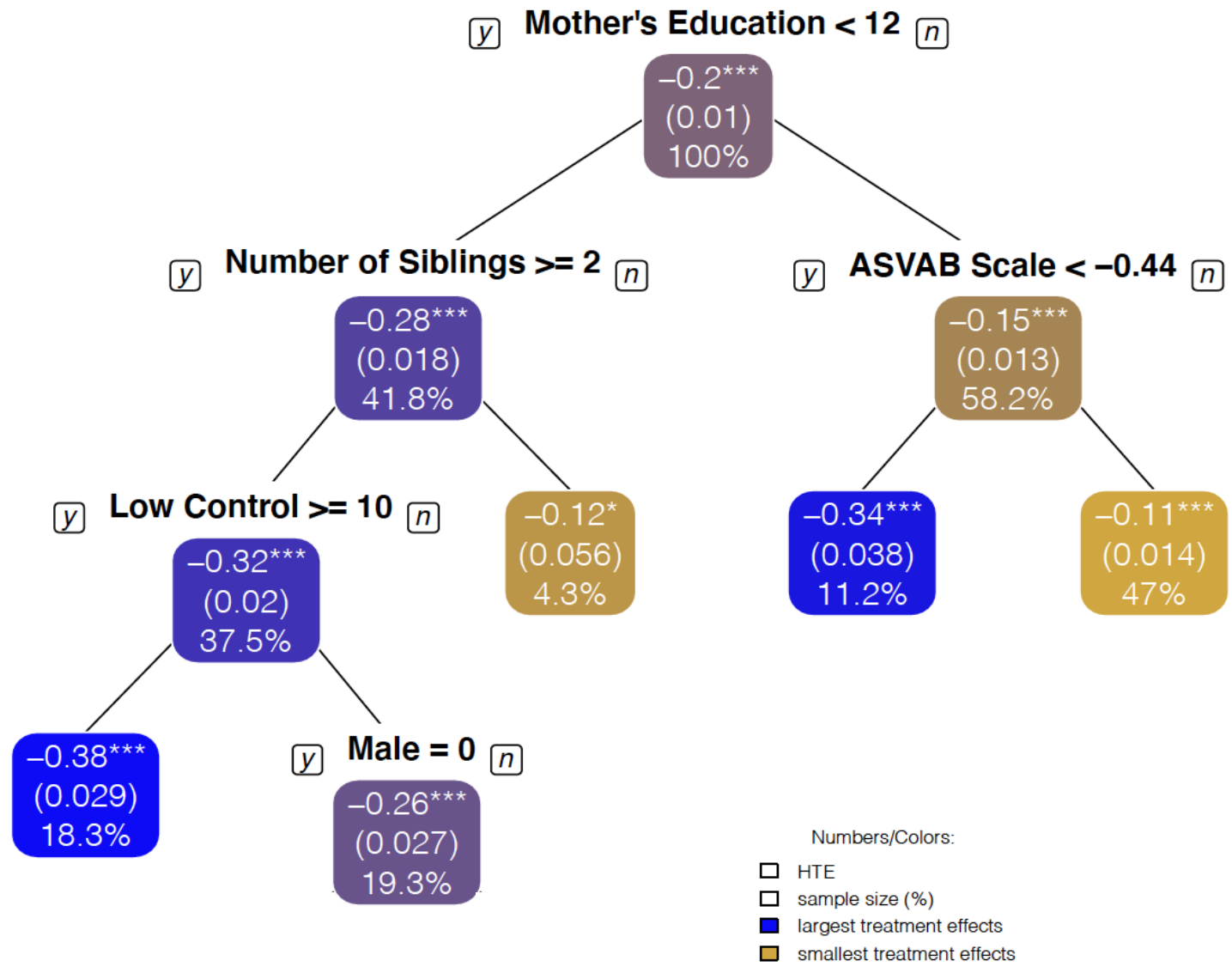
-0.2\*\*\*  
(0.01)  
100%





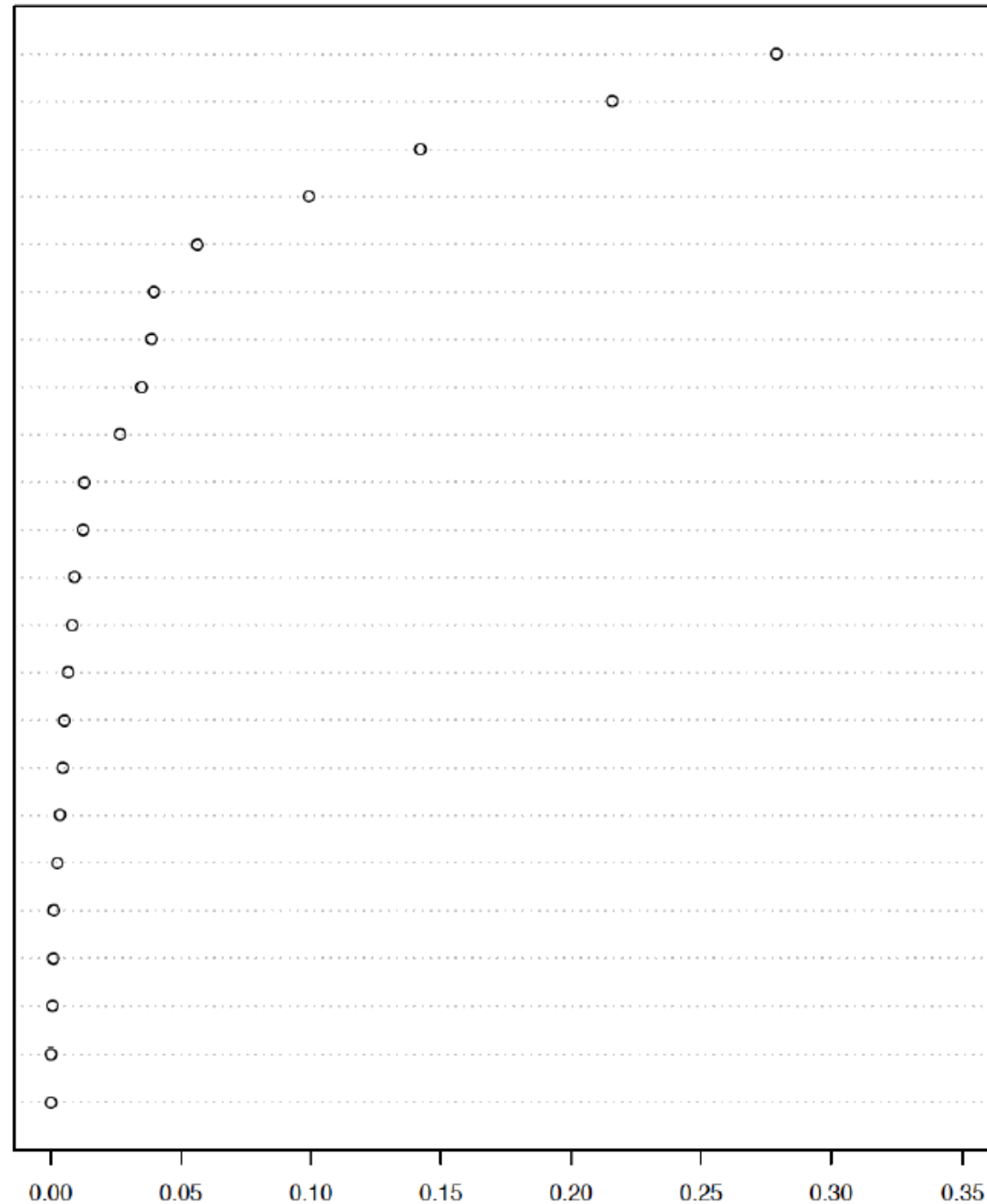






# Variable Importance Plot Based on Causal Forest

Estimated propensity score  
Parents' Income  
ASVAB Scale  
Father's Education  
School Disadvantage  
Mother's Education  
Number of Siblings  
Low Control  
College Prep. Program  
Delinquency Scale  
Father Upper-White Collar  
Friends Aspire College  
All missing values  
Male  
Rural Residence Age 14  
Southern Residence Age 14  
Black  
Two-Parent Family  
Expects College  
Aspires College  
Hispanic  
Married by Age 18  
Had Children by Age 18



# Causal Trees for Uncovering Effect Heterogeneity

- More **disadvantaged** subgroups, or those on the margin of school continuation, have **larger effects** of college on reducing low-wage work
- Groups identified by the **causal tree** are **not identical** to groups identified by **theoretical priors**
- Focus on the **characteristics of the groups identified** by the leaf-specific partitions

# Causal Trees for Uncovering Effect Heterogeneity

## Leaf 3 – Responsive

Low parental income

High school  
disadvantage

Low test scores

Low parental education

Majority black or  
Hispanic

Low social control

Low propensity

# Causal Trees for Uncovering Effect Heterogeneity

## Leaf 3 – Responsive

Low parental income

High school  
disadvantage

Low test scores

Low parental education

Majority black or  
Hispanic

Low social control

Low propensity

## Leaf 9 – Responsive

Average income

Average school  
disadvantage

(Very) low test scores

Average parental  
education

Majority white

Low social control

Low propensity

# Causal Trees for Uncovering Effect Heterogeneity

## Leaf 3 – Responsive

Low parental income  
High school disadvantage  
Low test scores  
Low parental education  
Majority black or Hispanic  
Low social control  
Low propensity

## Leaf 9 – Responsive

Average income  
Average school disadvantage  
(Very) low test scores  
Average parental education  
Majority white  
Low social control  
Low propensity

## Leaf 10 – Least responsive

High income  
Low school disadvantage  
High test scores  
High parental education  
Majority white  
High social control  
High propensity



# Causal Inference and Machine Learning: Discussion

- Exciting new developments in causal inference and machine learning
- Uncovering sources of effect heterogeneity is one such development
  - How do we determine meaningful sources of response variation?
    - Causal trees helped highlight particularly responsive subgroups
- The most effective uses of machine learning will likely be in settings where social scientists can define a clear aspect of the problem to outsource to an algorithm

Thank you!

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