# POLS 205 Political Science as a Social Science

# **Building Social Science Theories**

**Christopher Adolph** 

University of Washington, Seattle

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A story: John Snow's celebrated cholera map More on designing good theoretical models A quick introductory tour of formal models

### John Snow Saves London

Cholera outbreaks were common in 19th century London; 10,000s of deaths

Contemporary theories:

- Cholera caused by "miasma" in the air coming from swamps
- Or a "poison" slowly losing strength as it passes from victim to victim?
- Source of the second second

Outbreak in 1854: 500 deaths in 10 days in Soho

Snow has Broad Street pump handle removed

Did he stop the epidemic? Prove disease can be spread by germs?

# How might the newspaper "analyze" John Snows's intervention?



(plot from Tufte, Visual Explanations)

- Overwhelming tendency to view time series data this way Doesn't help us make inferences about the data
- The data aren't being compared to any covariates: time series plots are usually boring models

## How might the newspaper "analyze" John Snows's intervention?



(plot from Tufte, Visual Explanations)

- Can we specify a research question?
- Translate it into variables?
- Formulate some hypotheses?

### Snow's spatial analysis

- In 1954, London water was provided by competing private firms
- Residents would walk to the nearest street pump for water
- Snow recorded the location of each death in real time
- Placed these spatial data on a map, along with the water pumps
- Was one pump, from a particular company, contaminated with cholera?

# Snow's spatial analysis: Tufte redrawing



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Snow's Cholera Map of London

How do we turn this into a model?



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How do we assess the relationship between deaths (red dots) and pumps (blue triangles)?



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What additional variables should we measure?

Snow's cholera map

# Snow's spatial analysis: A simple visual model (Tobler 1994)



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Model prediction: Pattern of deaths should match Voroni cell boundaries Snow's cholera map

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 Is our model deterministic, or probabilistic?

### What explains outliers in this map?



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Three cases:

- A prison (work house) with its own well.
- A brewery with its own water source. Saved by the beer.
- Some distant deaths attrib. to preference for Broad St. water.

# John Snow stops the Cholera epidemic

Snow used his data and map to convince officials to remove the handle from the Broad Street pump.

Credited with stopping the outbreak and providing first experimental evidence for germs

Some questions to consider later:

- Did the Broad Street Pump really cause the cholera outbreak?
- 2 Did removing the handle stop it?
- Oan we measure our uncertainty about our answers to 1 and 2?

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Cleverness Is my theory both intuitive and non-obvious? (E.g., natural selection)

How does John Snow's theory fare on these criteria?

Most personal aspect of research:

• What intrigues you?

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- Palsifiable
- Proceeds from past literature

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The answers to several such questions could help anyone answer the first, value laden question on their own. Good positive research often has normative *implications* 

**Next logical step** Good questions often flow from the existing literature.

Every study that answers a research question opens up new questions

Recent work in comparative political economy suggests that different electoral systems have different redistributive effects

In short, more proportionality leads to more redistribution; more majoritarian systems redistribute less

Raises a new question: Where did these different systems come from, and did the founders of these systems anticipate these effects? (Iversen & Soskice)

# Variables

Social scientists make research questions tangible by translating them into variables

A well-posed question immediately suggests a dependent variable

<b>Research Question</b>	<b>Dependent Variable</b>
What is the effect of single-payer on	Average health care
health care benefits-per-dollar in industri-	benefits per dollar in
alized nations?	country <i>i</i>
Why do some MoCs routinely introduce bills and amendments which pass, while others rarely create new laws?	Legislative productivity

Variables measure concepts: codes a single value for a single case

### Variables

Variables may be

- qualitative or quantitative
- cross-sectional, time series, or both

Unemployment Rate (U1) for US by quarter

quantitative and time series

Electoral system by country, post-war era

qualitative and cross-sectional

US State spending on welfare, percent of state budget, by state and year

quantitative and time series cross-sectional

# **Unit of Analysis**

The research question suggests a dependent variable

The available of the dependent variable suggests a unit of analysis

The unit of analysis is the level on which different cases are measured

VariableUnit of AnalysisElectoral system by country, post-war eraCountries

US State spending on welfare, percent of State-years state budget, by state and year

Unemployment Rate (U1) for US by quar- Country-Quarters ter

Most analyses assume the theory applies independently to each unit of analysis

Non-trivial interdependence across units of analysis needs to be careful modeled

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"What explains the budget share US states devote to welfare programs?"

What theoretical answers could we offer for this question? [Brainstorm]

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If the hypothesis can be rewritten to accommodate any data, it is neither testable, nor useful for prediction: it predicts everything!

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Falsifiable hypotheses:

Welfare spending will rise when voters tell pollsters they want to rise

Welfare spending will rise when left-wing parties are in office

Note on nomenclature:

**Dependent variable** There are several other names for the dependent variable, including the *response variable* and the *outcome variable*. These all mean the same thing.

Independent variables There are several other names for the independent variables, including *covariates* and *predictor variables*. These all mean the same thing.

In different fields, different nomenclature is preferred, but the differences are mainly cosmetic.

Like the US and UK, the sciences are divided by a common statistical language

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- K&W, p. 3: "For every hypothesis there is a corresponding null hypothesis. A null hypothesis is also a theory-based statement but it is about what we would expect to observe if our theory was incorrect."

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What do you think of this procedure? What is appealing about it? Does it have any flaws?

Hypothesis testing has some virtues:

- Clarifies, before the study, what evidence would be sufficient to accept the theory
- If we allow the threshold of acceptance to vary from 95% percent, can be useful for policy making: set a threshold at which costs of inaction would be greater than costs of action

But there are some glaring flaws:

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- A single cutoff between accepted and rejected claims is wasteful. We can learn essentially as much from a claim with 94% supporting evidence as 95%, surely!

# Alternatives to hypothesis testing

As you might guess, I am not a fan of hypothesis testing

A basic debate here in statistics. Bayesian versus frequentist.

Frequentists won the 20th century. Unlikely to win the 21st.

But intro course materials are the last thing to change.

- We use old texts; old, simple examples
- You need hypothesis testing to understand the existing literature

So you will have to learn and use the language of null hypotheses, and later in the course, significance tests

Bayesians employ a more useful framework that is easier to understand, but harder to estimate

- Provide a best estimate, and uncertainty around that estimate
- Calculate and present the subjective probability that the hypotheses is right, and subjective probability that it is wrong.
- Will find in more advanced courses. More math to create, but fewer words to explain
Coming up with new theories is hard, and more art than science Some tips to get you started:

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- Consider formalizing your theory with mathematical tools, to derive sharp by subtle implications.

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- On't be afraid to accept an imperfect variable, if that's the best you can do.

# Formal theory refers to mathematically precise deductive theories

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Formal propositions suggest hypotheses about variables, just like more impressionistic *inductive* theories

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Agent-based models Computer simulations of behavior among many locally embedded players

We'll talk about game theory today

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The police separate the men, and offer a deal: "Rat out your partner, and we'll let you off, and *really* throw the book at him for holding out—the full 10 years.

But if both of you confess, we'll send you each away from a good long time, 8 years—so act fast!"

# The prisoner's dilemma: what's going on here?

What is the nature of the dilemma?

What choices do the men face?

What are the range of outcomes the men each face?

What determines which outcome they each receive?

Can we turn this story into something more concrete?



- The table above summarizes the range of possible outcomes for the theives based on each thief's choices
- We call the thieves "players", and their choices "strategies"
- Does the table suggest a best course of action for our thieves? ٥

Players Usually assumed to be rational utility maximizersChoices The structure of the game; incorporates everything we know about the political environment, including laws & culture

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- Payoffs The subjective rewards each player received from a given play of the game
- Strategies The game-plan of each player: what they intend to do at each possible choice set
- Information What each player knows about the other players past choices and expected payoffs

# Elements of a game: Prisoners dilemma

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- Payoffs are measured in prison time, and are a function of both players' strategies
- Strategies An optimal strategy exists: always confess
- Information Each player knows the others' preference ordering, but not necessarily their chosen action

### Solution of a game

The solution of a game tells us which strategies rational players will employ

Remember, rational means "utility maximizing"

Many solution concepts exist (subgame perfection, Bayesian perfection, sequential equilibrium, ... all beyond the scope of POLS 205)

We focus only on the simplest, Nash Equilibrium:

Each player chooses the strategy that will yield the best payoff, assuming the other players are also choosing the strategy that gives them the best payoff

The trick is that each player's payoff depends on the other player's strategy, so we need to find the pair of strategy which are the best responses to each other



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Starting at the top node and following branches down, we see a complete play of the game



As we move down the tree, players alternate turns



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But all

branches—reached or unreached—may affect players' calculations



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To show this, we draw an oval, or "information set" to indicate a player's current knowledge of the play



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When the game ends, each player receives a payoff

That payoff may be in dollars, utils, or some other unit

Tracing back from the bottom of the tree, we can infer the best strategy for each player (the misnamed concept of "backwards induction")



In the PD, there is a seemingly "best" outcome



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If both deny the crime, their total prison sentence is minimized



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If both deny the crime, their total prison sentence is minimized

This is the most "efficient" outcome



In many games, the efficient outcome is also the rational one



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But not here: a player will always lower his sentence by confessing, no matter what the other player does



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In the PD, the Nash equilibrium is *inefficient* 



Note something counter-intuitive



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These two outcomes never occur: they are "off the equilibrium path"

Yet they determine everything about the outcome!



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If isolation does matter, then something is happening outside this theory!

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Rational choice theory, and modern economics generally, avoids interpersonal utility comparisons, as they are generally indeterminate

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  - Maybe not. In experiments, most people initially cooperate
  - Iteration seems to matter: over time, people get more rational—and worse outcomes!
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- O game theorists see the prisoners dilemma everywhere?
  - Definitely not! Some games have PD qualities, but each situation is different
  - Game theorists craft specific games for each case
  - Don't start with a game and look for examples.
    Start with the social situation, then write a game.

## Crisis Bargaining Game

We draw the next example from the crisis bargaining literature in IR

Origins are in a simple game model of conflict from Bueno de Mesquita & Lalman's *War & Reason*, 1992.

Think of conflict as arising from a choice by one country to demand concessions, followed by capitulation, escalation, or a called bluff

Escalation could be a war, a low level conflict, trade sanctions, etc

Bueno de Mesquita & Lalman's insight:

can derive deep implications from a seemingly trivial model of war



Our game has two players, an Aggressor & a Target country


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Aggressor first decides whether to make a demand



Our game has two players, an Aggressor & a Target country

Aggressor first decides whether to make a demand

Without a demand, the game ends; with a demand, the Target gets to move





# Target decides whether to capitulate or resist



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Capitulation has a clear cost: granting the Aggressor what it wants. Resistance is more uncertain



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If the Target resists, the ball is back in the Aggressor's court



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The alternative is escalation, which might mean war, which offers uncertain returns



# Now we add payoffs to the game



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Instead, we leave them as variables, and discuss the theoretical implications of different relative payoffs



It's reasonable to assume the Aggressor would rather have the concessions than stay in the status quo



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It's also likely the Aggressor would rather stay in the status quo than suffer the embarrassment of a called bluff



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So we assume:  $V_A > S_A > E_A$ 





It's obvious the Target would rather stay in the status quo than lose the concession





It's obvious the Target would rather stay in the status quo than lose the concession

So we assume:  $S_T > C_T$ 





Likewise, the Target would prefer to successfully call a bluff than to concede



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So we assume:  $V_T > C_T$ 



Collecting our assumptions, we have:  $V_A > S_A > E_A$  $S_T > C_T$  $V_T > C_T$ 



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Note that we haven't said anything about the costs or benefits of war,  $W_A$  and  $W_T$ . They are uncertain.



Suppose that the Aggressor *knows* it is far more powerful than the Target, and expects to win the war easily. Then  $W_A$  is much bigger than  $S_A$ .



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Suppose that the Aggressor *knows* it is far more powerful than the Target, and expects to win the war easily. Then  $W_A$  is much bigger than  $S_A$ .

Suppose the Target also knows  $W_A > S_A$ .

(Why am I comparing  $W_A$  and  $S_A$ ?)



Since backing down is unlikely, Target compares the cost of surrender,  $C_T$ , and the cost of losing the war  $W_T$ .



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If surrender is less costly to the Target than losing, it will surrender.

Will the Aggressor threaten? Of course, because it knows it will get either  $V_A$  or  $W_A$ , and both are better than  $S_A$  by assumption. But no war occurs; just capitulation



What if the Aggressor expects to fare badly if conflict occurs? That is, Aggressor thinks  $W_A < S_A$ 



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What happens if the Target also knows this?



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What happens if the Target also knows this?

What happens if the Target overestimates Aggressor's strength?



Now suppose the countries are similarly matched, so that the expected outcome of the war is a draw (but could go either way). That is,  $W_A \approx S_A$ 



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What happens if both the Target and Aggressor think they are the stronger?

What happens if both think they are the weaker?

#### Paths to War

The crisis bargaining game suggests several paths to war:

**Uncertainty of relative power among rivals** If Target incorrectly guesses an Aggressor will prefer to back down, ie, Target thinks  $E_A > W_A$ , when in fact  $W_A > E_A$ 

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**Death before surrender!** Wars can occur even between mismatched powers if the Target fears capitulation more than outright defeat (ie,  $W_T > C_T$ )

Take no prisoners? What if an Aggressor *prefers* war to concession (ie,  $W_A > V_A$ )?

Can you think of recent or historical wars that seem to fit this model? Or counter-examples that don't fit?

### **Questions to ponder**

- How would you design a research project to test the implications of the crisis bargaining game?
- What would the question(s) be?
- The unit of analysis?
- The dependent variable(s)? The independent variables?
- The hypotheses?
- Are any parts of the crisis bargaining game nonfalsifiable?