

# Randomization Inference with Natural Experiments: An Analysis of Ballot Effects in the 2003 California Recall Election

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June 20, 2005

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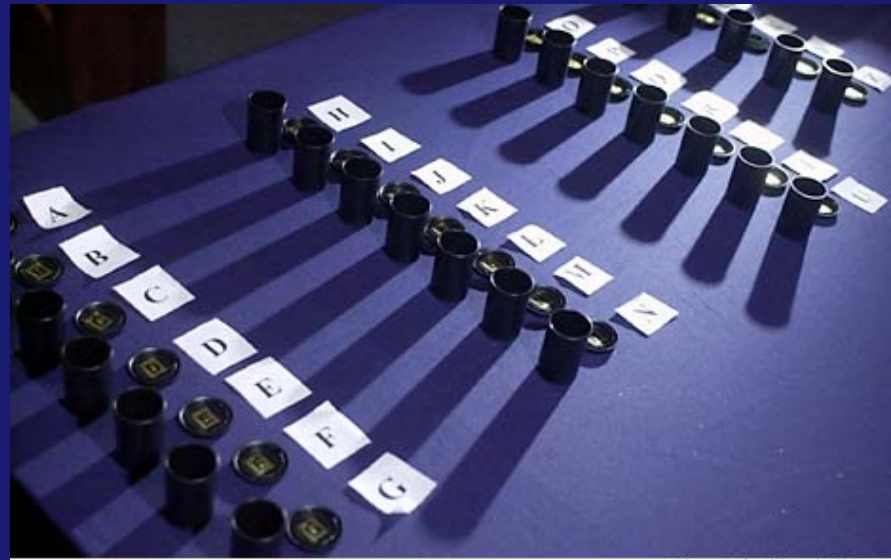
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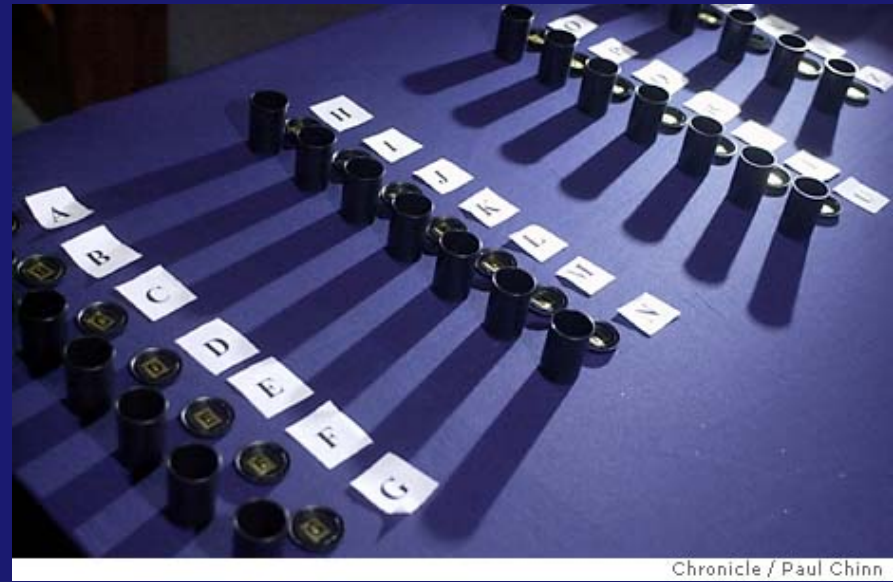
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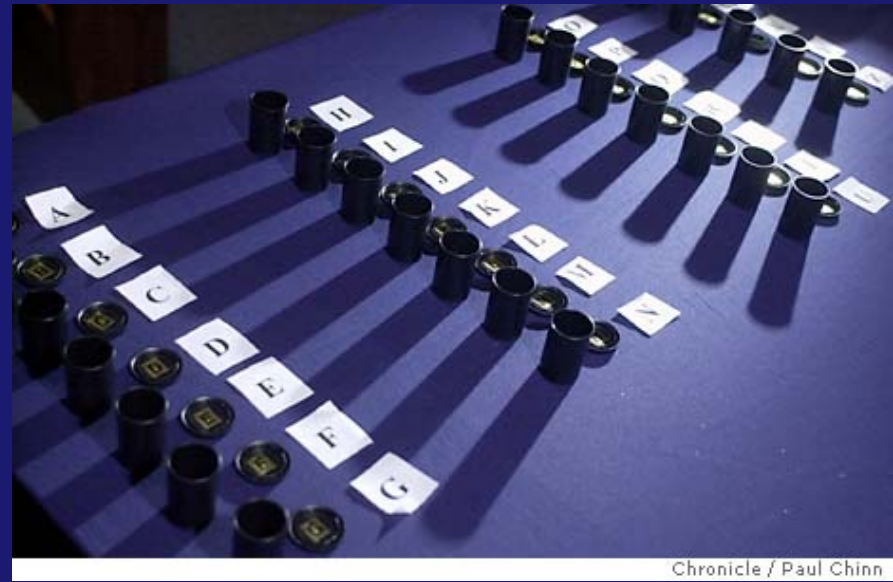


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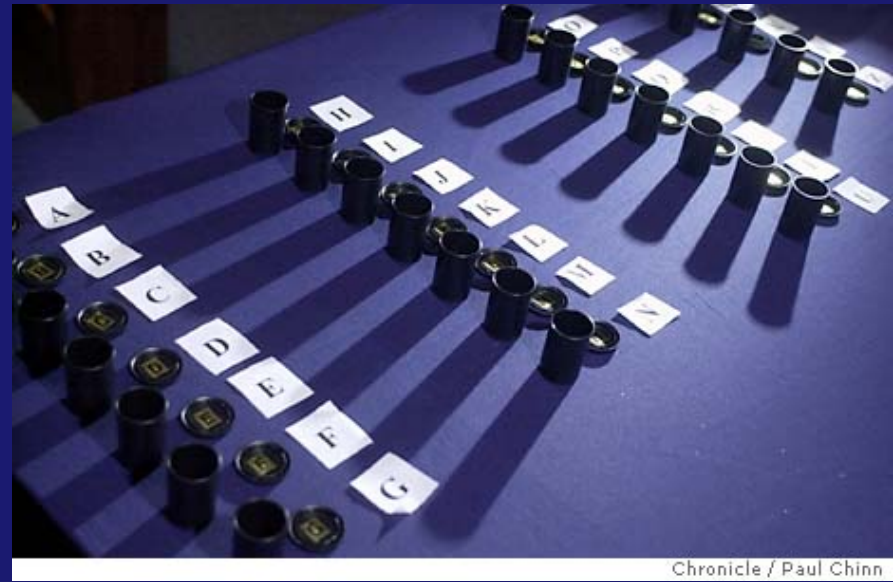


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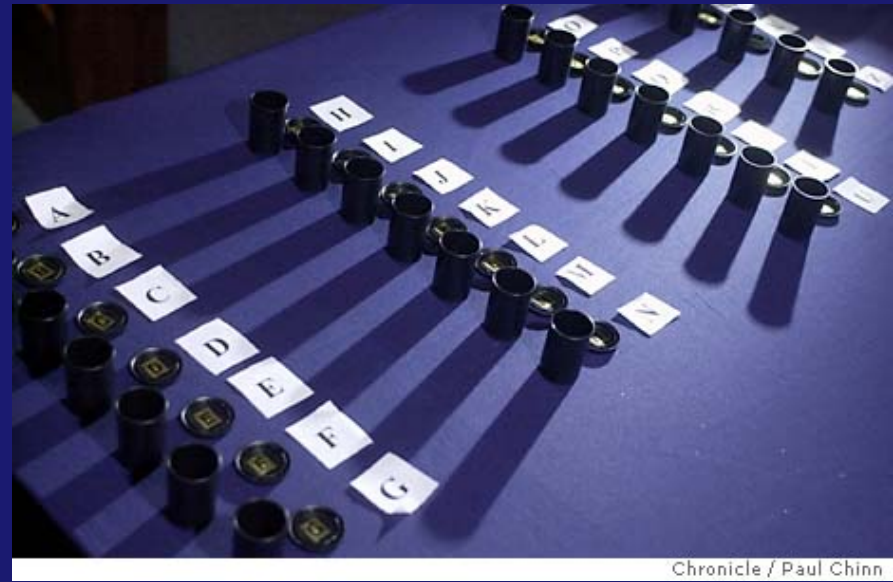
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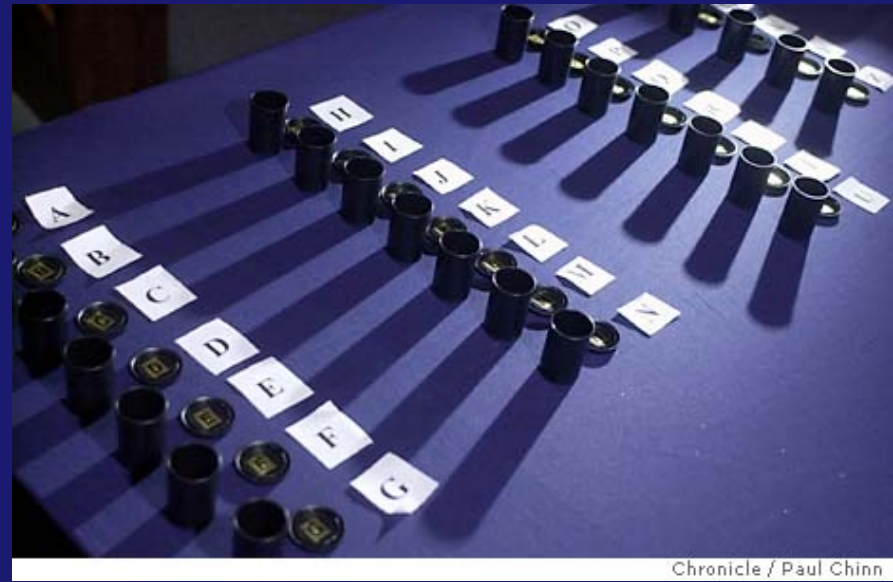


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  3. Candidate names are systematically rotated for the rest of assembly districts.

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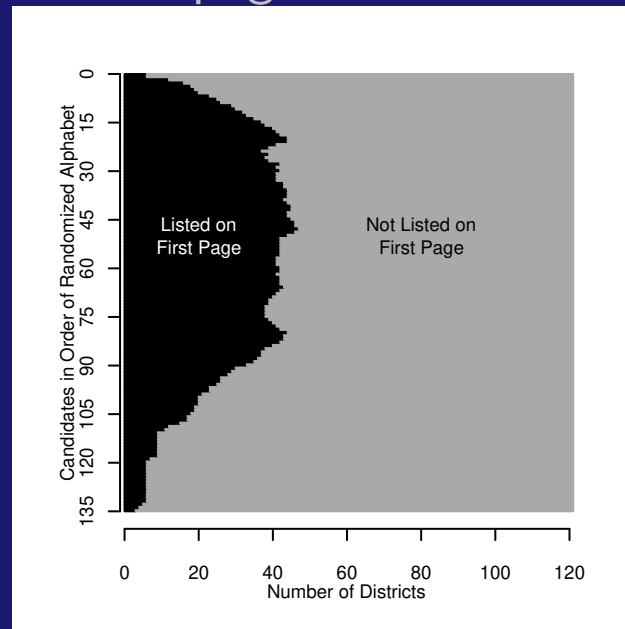
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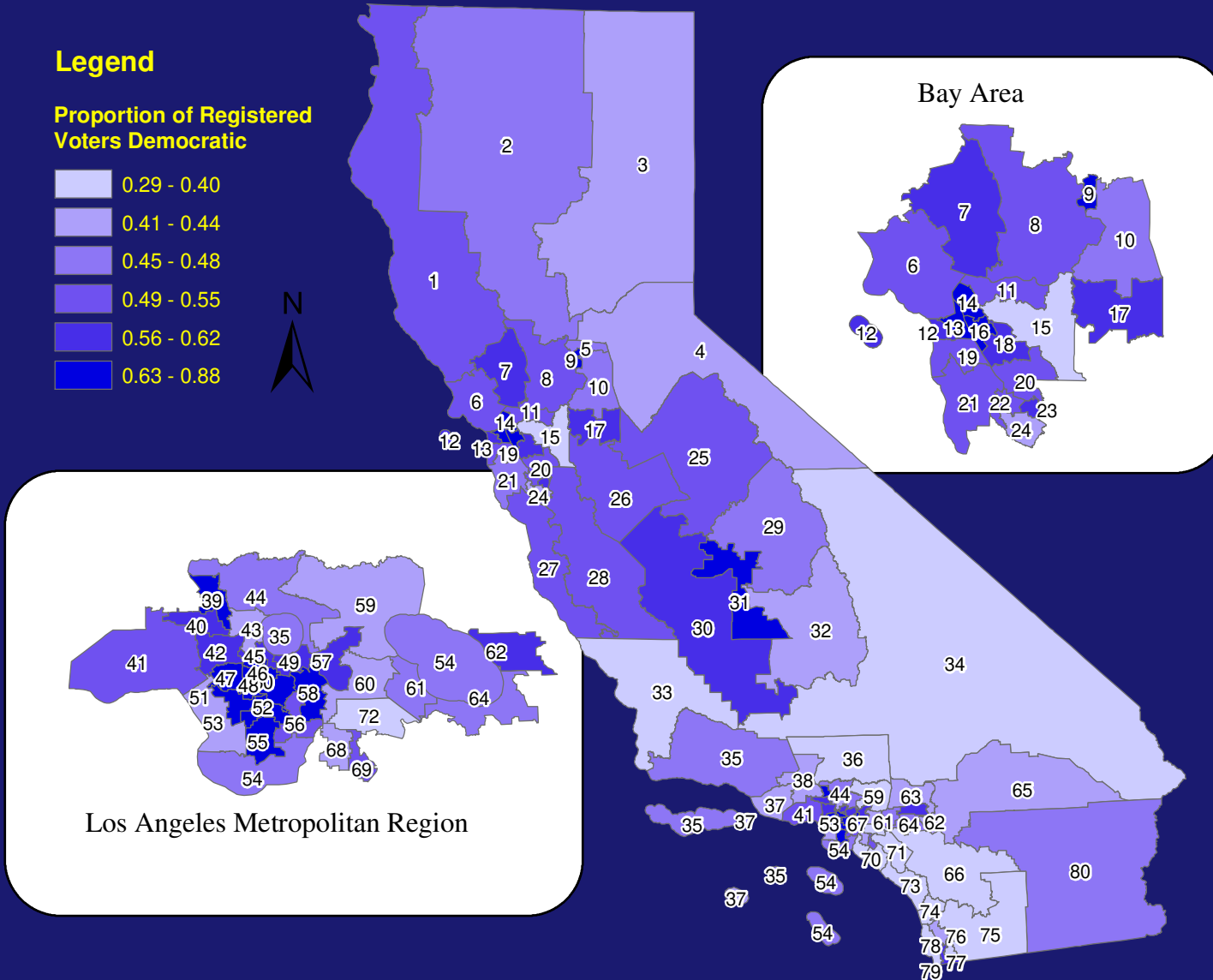
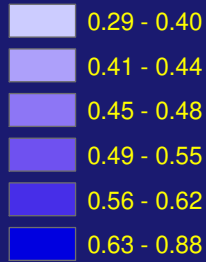
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# California Assembly Districts by Percentage of Registered Democrats

## Legend

Proportion of Registered Voters Democratic





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    - ★ Sample average ballot effect:

$$W^D(T) = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{121} T_i y_i}{N_1} - \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{121} (1 - T_i) y_i}{N_0},$$

corresponding to the difference-in-means estimator.

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corresponding to the linear least squares estimator, where  $y = (y_1, y_2, \dots, y_{121})$ ,  $M = I - X(X^T X)^{-1} X^T$ , and  $X$  is the matrix of the observed pretreatment covariates.

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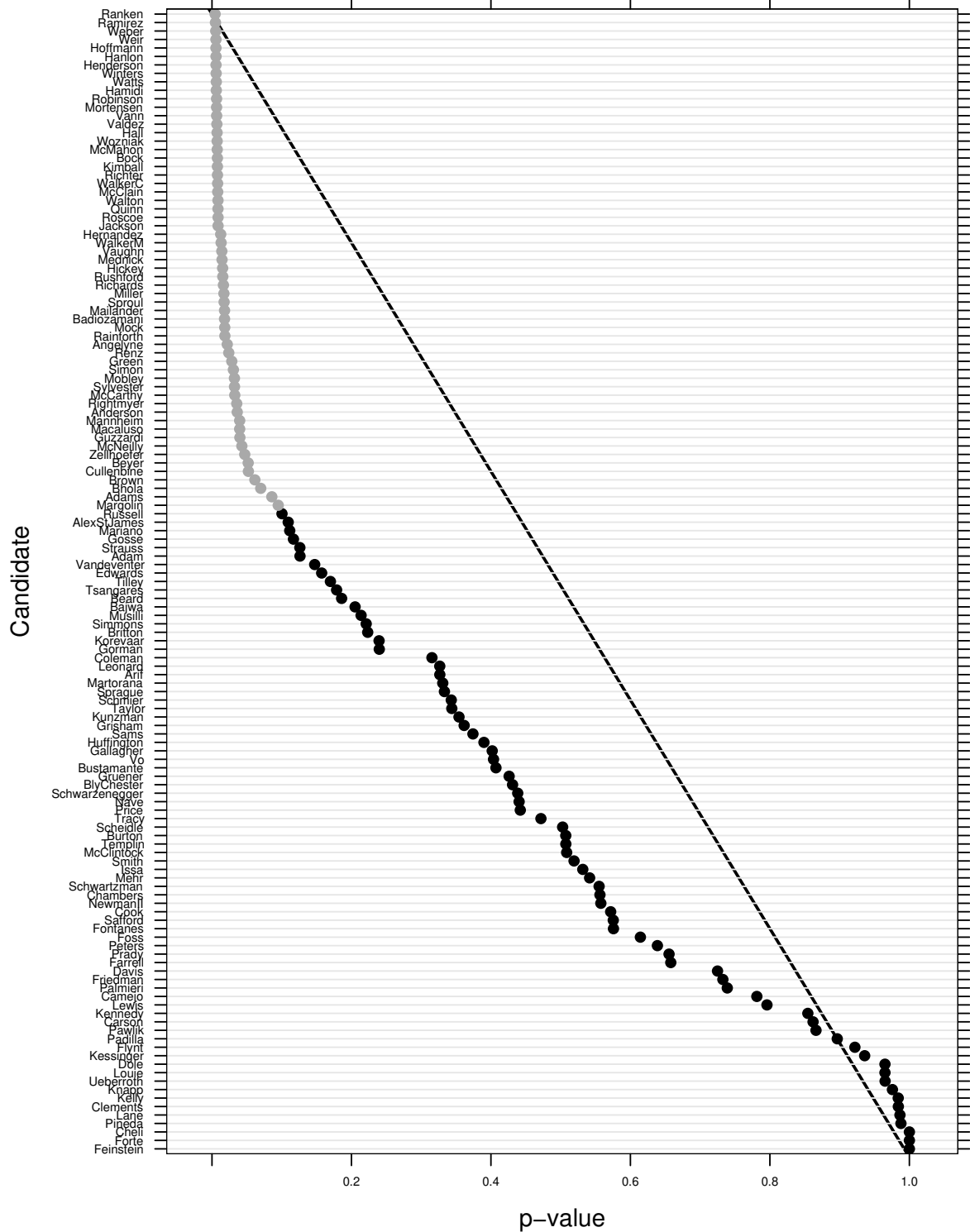
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- Since the number of permutations is large, we use Monte Carlo approximation,

$$\Pr(W^D(T) \geq W^D(t)) \approx \frac{1}{m} \sum_{j=1}^m I(W^D(T^{(j)}) \geq W^D(t)),$$

with  $m = 10,000$ .



- No significant effect on major candidates.
- Positive ballot effect on 40% of minor candidates.

# No Effect on Pretreatment Variables

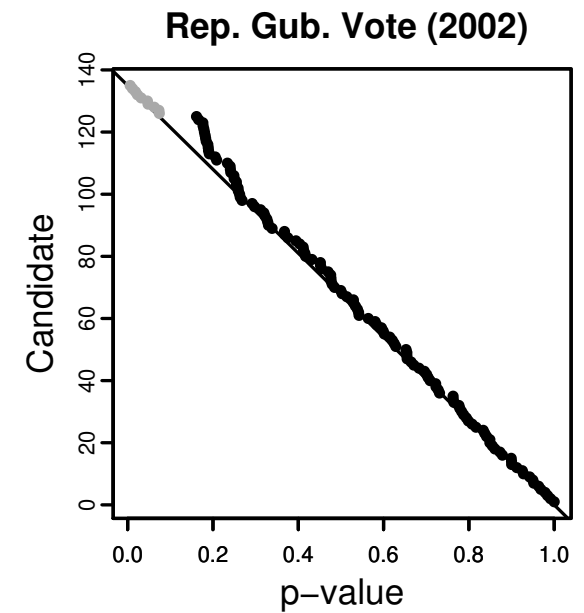
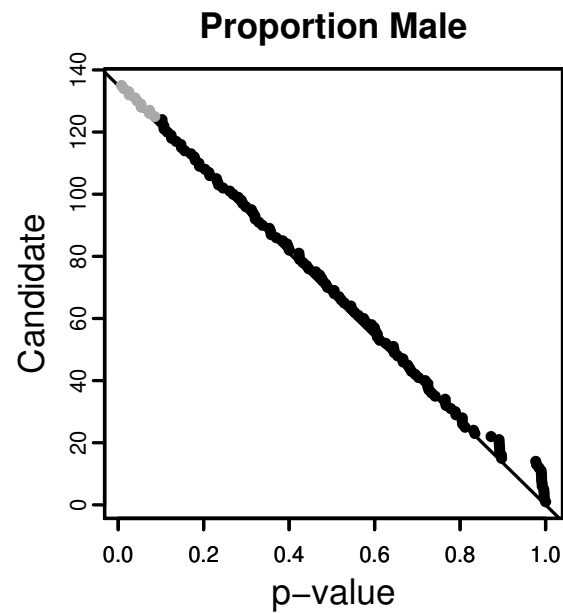
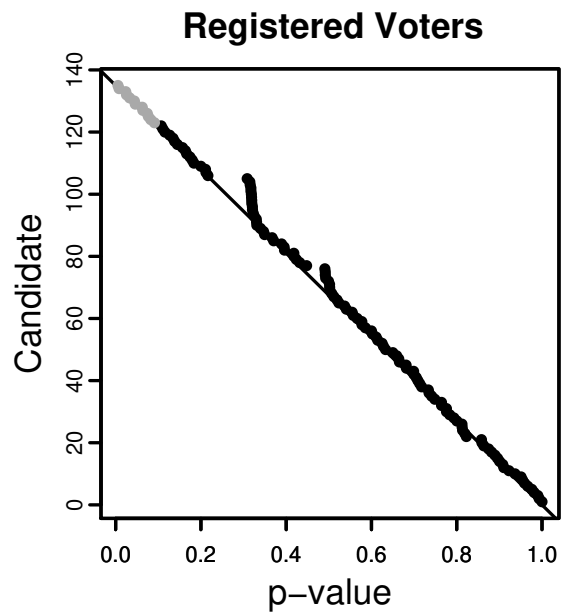
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3. Two-tailed level  $\alpha$  test; accept  $H_0$  if

$$\mathbf{t} \in \mathcal{A}_\alpha(\tau_0) = \left\{ \mathbf{u} : \frac{\alpha}{2} \leq \Pr(W_{\tau_0}^D(\mathbf{T}) \geq W^D(\mathbf{u})) \leq 1 - \frac{\alpha}{2} \right\},$$

and reject  $H_0$  otherwise.

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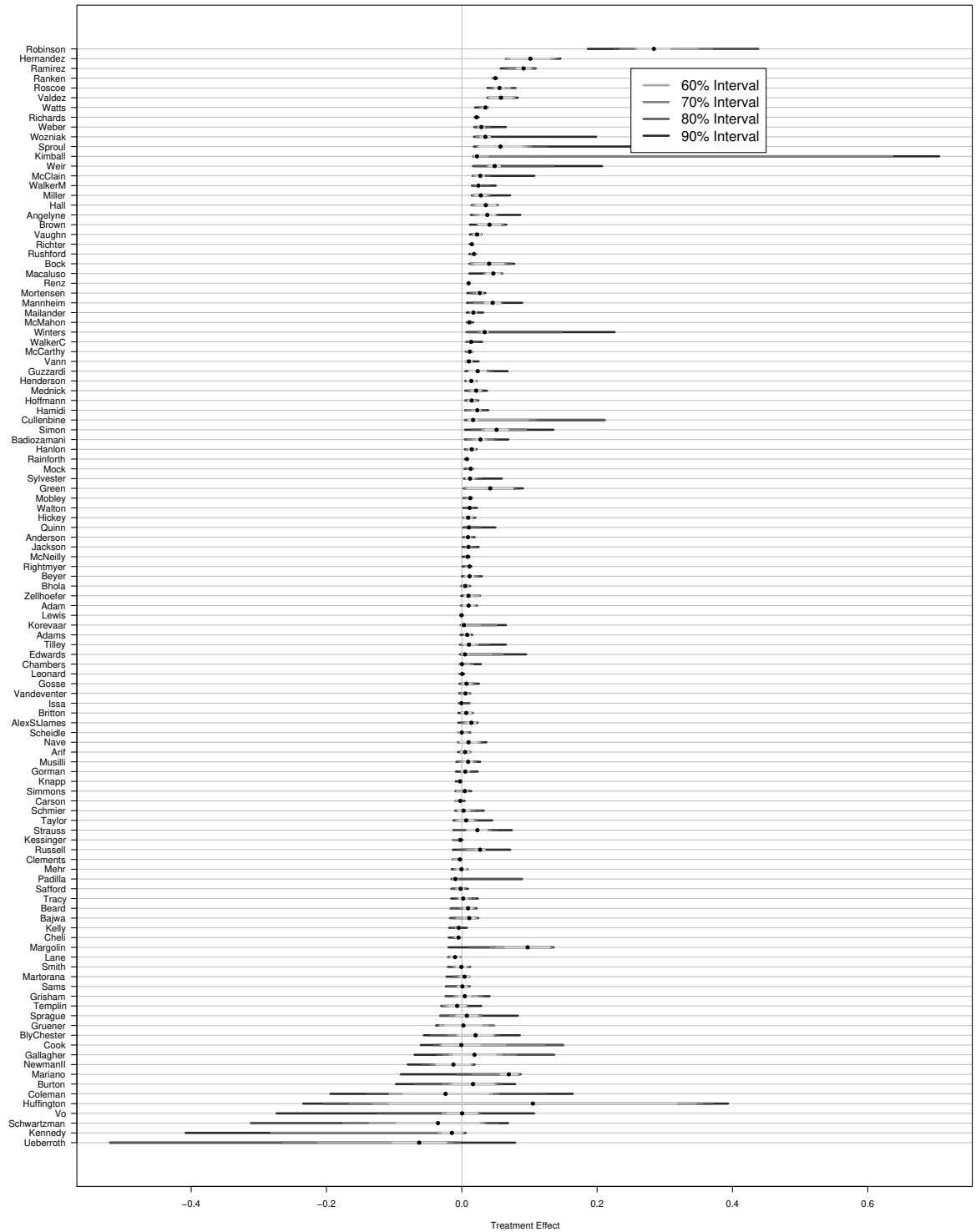
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- Nonparametric estimates of CDF (for the sampling distributions of causal effect estimators) can also be obtained by estimating  $\tau_U$  and  $\tau_L$  for different values of  $\alpha \in [0, 0.5]$ .



# Sensitivity Analyses



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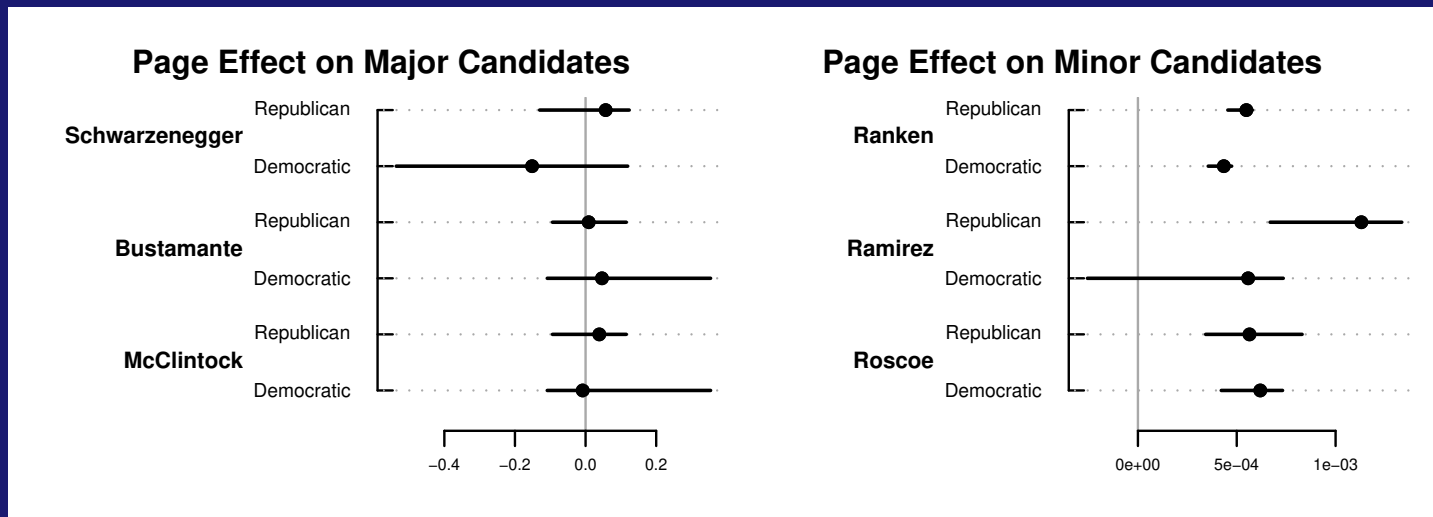
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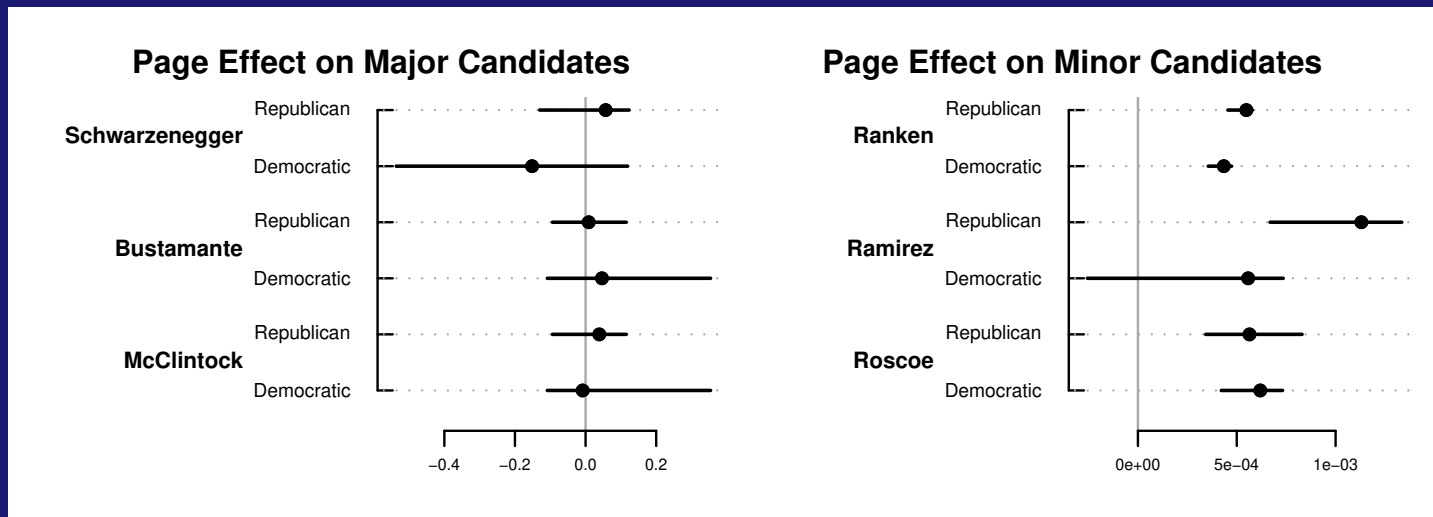
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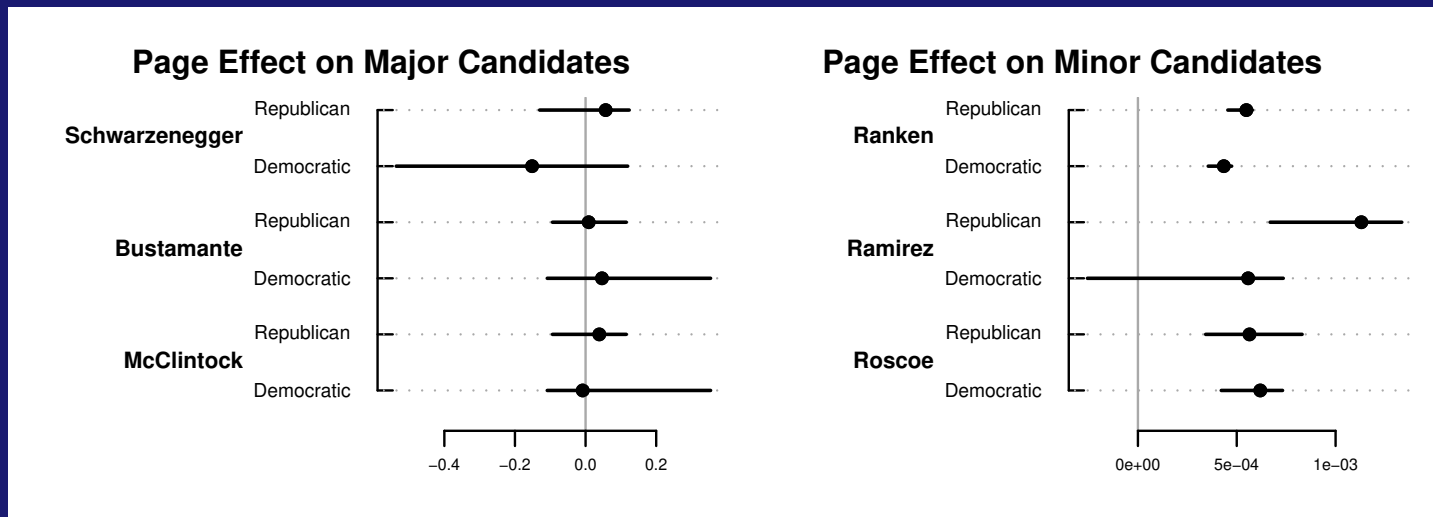
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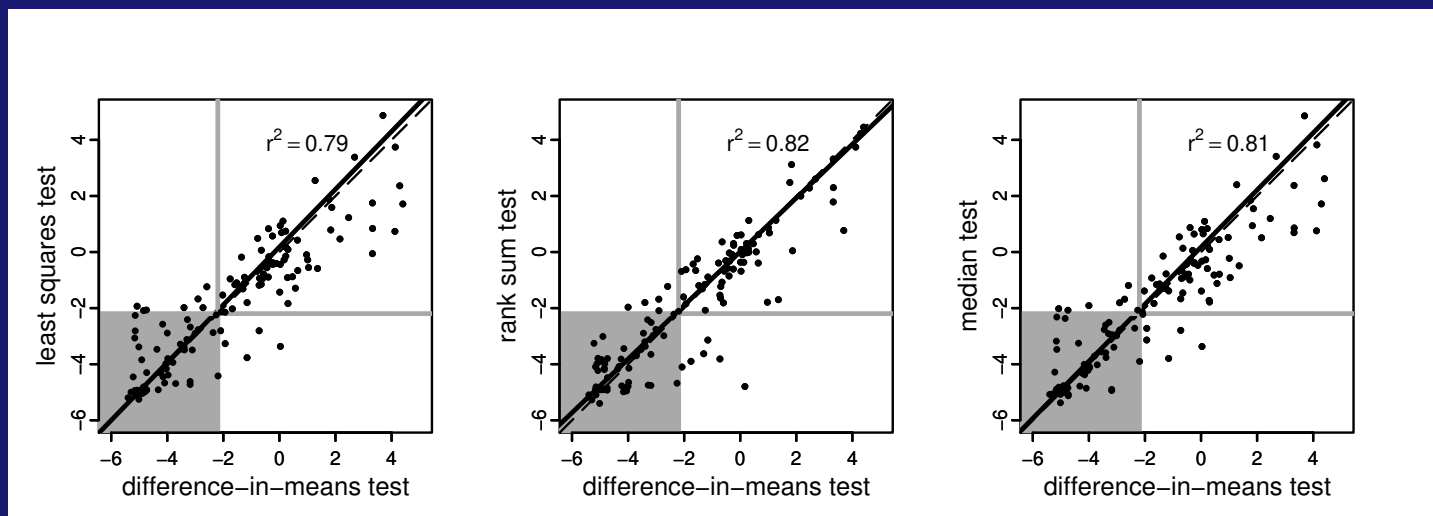
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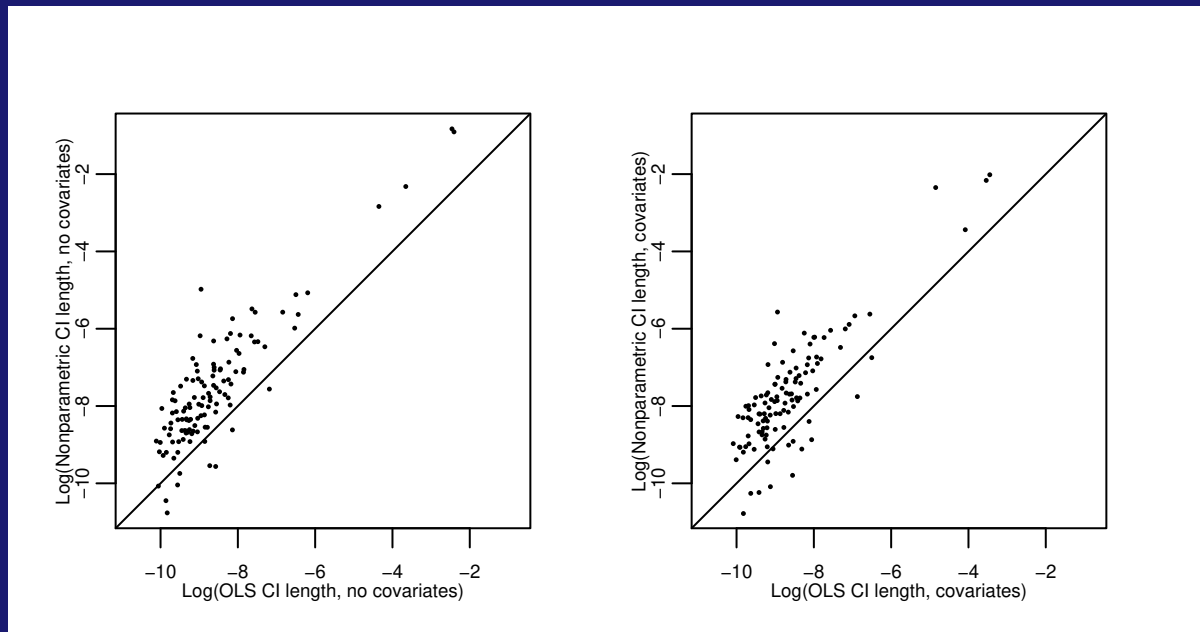
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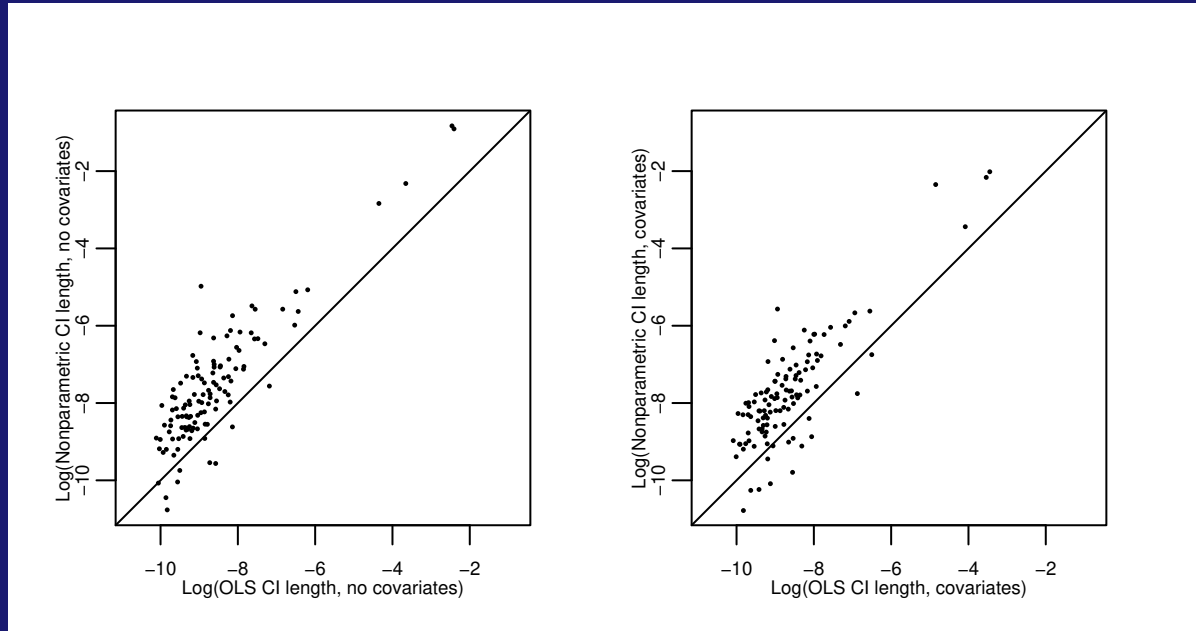
	Without Covariates						With Covariates					
	OLS		GLM logit		RI Fisher		OLS		GLM logit		RI Fisher	
Major Candidates												
Schwarzenegger	1.09	9.63	-1.23	7.53	-23.72	19.90	-2.97	0.21	-4.98	-2.05	-6.44	6.87
Bustamante	-8.46	0.54	-5.37	4.04	-20.07	20.31	-1.12	1.78	0.96	3.01	-5.86	5.64
McClintock	0.50	3.09	-1.10	1.24	-3.47	6.36	1.56	3.25	0.29	2.05	0.36	3.57
All Candidates												
Positive effects	56(41%)		63(47%)		55(41%)		50(37%)		59(44%)		47(35%)	
Negative effects	11 (8%)		8 (6%)		4 (3%)		8 (6%)		17(13%)		2 (1%)	
Null effects	68(50%)		64(47%)		59(44%)		77(57%)		59(44%)		64(47%)	
Unidentified	0 (0%)		0 (0%)		17(13%)		0 (0%)		0 (0%)		22(16%)	
Comparison with Randomization Inference												
Agreement	89(66%)		87(64%)		108(80%)		88(65%)		74(55%)		108(80%)	

# Comparisons of Confidence Intervals and CDF

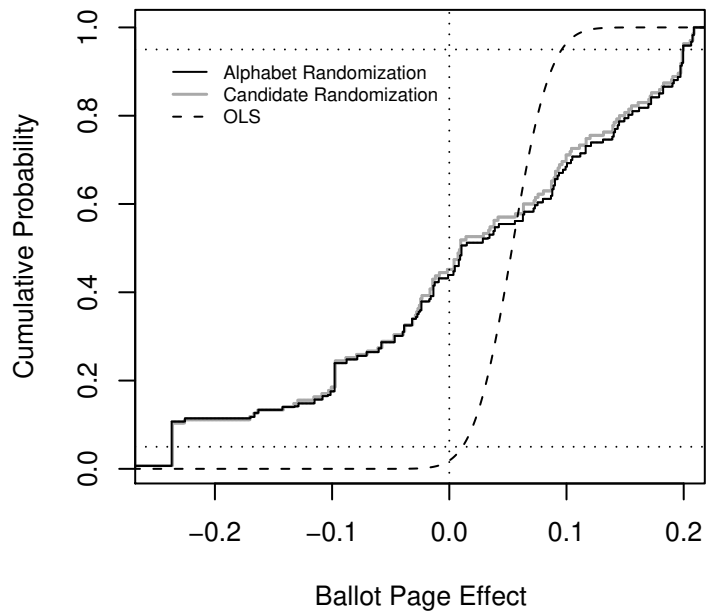
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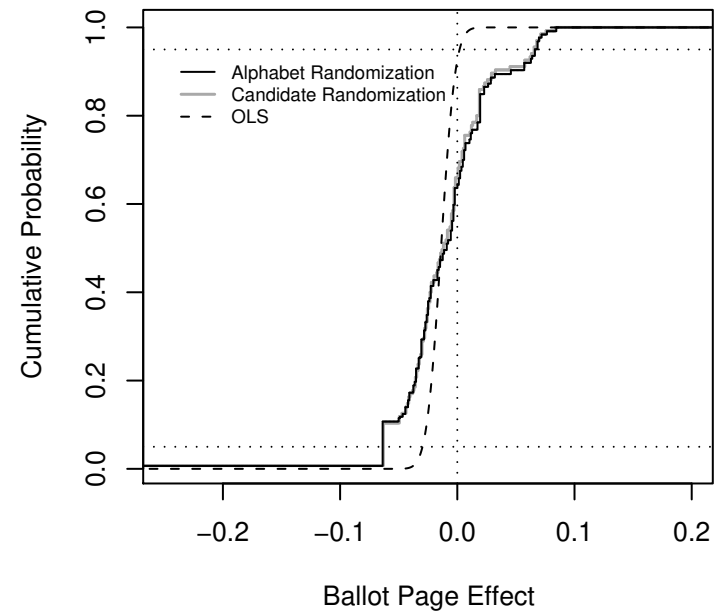
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