# The Impact of Machine Learning on Economics

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## Introduction

#### About the author

- The Economics of Technology Professor
- Co-organizer of Productivity and Information Technology/Digitization, National Bureau of Economics Research
- John Bates Clark Medal, 2007
- ► 38 papers in top journals



#### 4 Main Parts

- Definition: the past
- Review: the present use
- Outlook: the casual inference
- Conclusion: the exploration of new fields

## 5 Highlighted Themes

- Identification of model forms
- Flexible and data-driven model selection
- Outsourcing of some hard work
- An algorithm to be further modified
- Change in research field

What is Machine Learning What are Early Use Cases

#### What is Machine Learning?

- It is harder than one might think to come up with an operational definition of ML.
- Indeed, one could devote an entire article to the definition of ML, or to the question of whether the thing called ML really needed a new name other than statistics, the distinction between ML and AI, and so on.
- Starting from a relatively narrow definition of machine learning, machine learning is a field that develops algorithms designed to be applied to datasets, with the main areas of focus being prediction (regression), classification, and clustering or grouping tasks.

### What is Machine Learning? Supervised ML

- Prediction: Supervised machine learning typically entails using a set of features or covariates (X) to predict an outcome (Y).
  - $\blacktriangleright \mu(x) = \mathbb{E}[Y|X = x]$



Classification: the goal is to accurately classify observations.



A variety of ML methods for supervised learning: regularized regression, random forest, regression trees, support vector machines, neural nets, matrix factorization, and many others, such as model averaging.

#### What is Machine Learning? Unsupervised ML

- It is commonly used for video, images and text.
- There are a variety of techniques available for unsupervised learning, including k-means clustering, topic modeling, community detection methods for networks, and many more.
- Goals: Clustering & Dimensionality Reduction
- Examples: Genes / "I discovered cats!"



#### What is Machine Learning? Unsupervised ML

- These tools are very useful as an intermediate step in empirical work in economics.
  - They provide a data-driven way to find similar newspaper articles, restaurant reviews, etc., and thus create variables that can be used in economic analyses. For example, if an analyst wishes to estimate a model of consumer demand for different items, it is common to model consumer preferences over characteristics of the items.
  - Unsupervised learning can also be used to create outcome variables. For example, Athey et al. (2017d) examine the impact of Google's shutdown of Google News in Spain on the types of news consumers read.

What Are Unique Features of Cross-Sectional Econometrics vs. Other Branches of Statistics?

- Framework and language for causality
- Causal inference from observational data
  - ► Theory and PRACTICE
- Structural models to do counterfactuals for environments that have never been observed
- Emphasis on interpretable (~causal) models
- Relatively little emphasis on systematic model selection in applied micro-econometrics
  - Even in environments where theory does not motivate functional forms
- Emphasis on standard errors for a pre-specified models
  - Estimators must have established properties

## What We Say vs. What We Do (Econometrics)

#### What We Say

- Causal inference and counterfactuals
- God gave us the model
- We report estimated causal effects and appropriate standard errors
- Plus a few additional specifications for robustness

#### What we do

- Run OLS or IV regressions
  - Try a lot of functional forms
  - Report standard errors as if we ran only one model
  - Have research assistants run hundreds of regressions and
  - pick a few "representative" ones
- Use complex structural models
  - Make a lot of assumptions without a great way to test them

## What We Say vs. What We Do (Econometrics)

#### What We Say

- ML = Data Science, statistics
- Is there anything else?
- Use language of answering questions or solving problems, e.g. advertising allocation, salesperson prioritization
- Aesthetic: human analyst does not have to make any choices
- All that matters is prediction

#### What we do

- Use predictive models and ignore other considerations, e.g. causality
- Wonder/ worry about interpretability/reliability/robust ness/adaptability, but have little way to conceptualize or ask algos to optimize for it
- Limited conceptual framework for feedback effects, equilibrium, etc.

## Differences: Causal Effect Estimation vs. Prediction

- ML (prediction) :
  - There is typically a tradeoff between expressiveness of the model and risk of overfitting, which occurs when the model is too rich relative to the sample size.
- Econometrics and empirical work in economics:
  - the tradition has been that the researcher specifies one model, estimates the on the full dataset, and relies on statistical theory to estimate confidence intervals for estimated parameters.
- Eg. IV estimation

- Key concerns in different approaches
- A second concern is whether the assumptions required to "identify" a causal effect are satisfied, where in econometrics we say that a parameter is identified if we can learn it eventually with infinite data
- Economists also build more complex models that incorporate both behavioral and statistical assumptions in order to estimate the impact of counterfactual policies that have never been used before.

## Applications of Prediction Methods to Policy in Economics

- Stop-and-frisk
- Bail
- Allocate inspector resources

#### Future Application of Prediction to Policy in Economics

- Fairness and nondiscrimination
- Stability and robustness
- Manipulability

## Causal Inference

Neyman-Rubin Counterfactual Framework

Observed Effect =  $\mathbb{E}[Y_{1i}|D_i = 1] - \mathbb{E}[Y_{0i}|D_i = 0]$ Treatment Effect =  $\mathbb{E}[Y_{1i}|D_i = 1] - \mathbb{E}[Y_{0i}|D_i = 1]$ 

#### Hotel Example

Occupancy rate UP

#### Price UP

#### Hotel Example



Even higher

Price UP

Had price not up

#### Hotel Example



Price UP

Had price not up

## Average Treatment Effect

1900s: Semi-parametric methods
e.g. Propensity Score Matching

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ML: Regularised regression

- Belloni, Chernozhukov and Hansen (2014)
- ► Athey, Imbens and Wager (2016)
- Chernozhukov et al. (2017)

## Heterogeneous Treatment Effects

- Simple patterns of heterogeneity
  - Causal Trees: sample partition
  - ► Application: Davis and Heller (2017)

- Simple patterns of heterogeneity
- Prediction based on covariates

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$$\mu(x) = \mathbb{E}[Y^{(1)} - Y^{(0)}|X = x]$$

► Causal Forest, Local GMM, Neural Nets …

# **Optimal Policies**

- Contextual Bandits: mapping from covariates to treatment
  - State: Covariates
  - Action: Treatment assignment
  - Reward: Heterogeneous treatment effect

#### Robustness and Supplementary Analysis Data-driven Model Selection Placebo Test

## Panel Data and Difference-in-Difference



- DID: Algorithm average
- Synthetic Control Method: Weighted average
- Doudchenko and Imbens (2016): Generalised linear function

## Matrix Completion

Y	Time	Covariates	Treatment	
5	1	1	0	
6	1	5	0	
7	1	2	0	
30	2	7	1	
31	2	8	1	
35	2	4	1	

## Matrix Completion

Y	Time	Covariates	Treatment
5	1	1	0
6	1	5	0
7	1	2	0
???	2	7	0
???	2	8	0
???	2	4	0

#### Structural Model

- Markov Chain Monte Carlo
- ► Factorisation of Matrix (Ruiz, Athey and Blei, 2017; Athey *et al.*, 2017)

# Expectation

#### Data Scale

#### Declination in Data Cost

#### -- "A perfect research assistant"

Increased Interdisciplinary Research

- Increased Interdisciplinary Research
- Economists Engagement with Firms
  - "Economists as Engineers"



Returns to Scales in Data Processing



Returns to Scales in Data Processing

