

# LUKE SANFORD

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New Haven, CT, USA

## RESEARCH INTERESTS

Political Economy, Environment, Natural Resources, Causal Inference, Machine Learning, Remote Sensing, Text as Data

## WORK

<b>Yale School of the Environment</b> Assistant Professor	New Haven, CT, USA July 2021 - Present
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Assistant Professor of Environmental Policy and Governance</li><li>Secondary appointment: Political Science</li><li>Faculty affiliate: Yale Institute for Biospheric Studies, Yale Institute for The Foundations of Data Science, Yale Center for Geospatial Solutions</li></ul>	

## EDUCATION

<b>University of California San Diego</b> Ph.D. in International Affairs	San Diego, CA, USA 2021
<b>University of California San Diego, School of Global Policy and Strategy</b> M.A. in Political Science	San Diego, CA, USA 2017
<b>Whitman College</b> B.A. in Politics	Walla Walla, WA, USA 2009

## PUBLICATIONS

\* Equal contribution    † Corresponding author    § Student or postdoc coauthor

- [1] Matt Gordon\*§, Megan Ayers\*§, Eliana Stone\*§, and Luke Sanford\*. “Remote Control: Debiasing Remote Sensing Predictions for Causal Inference”. In: *AEA Papers and Proceedings* (2026). **In Press**.
- [2] Anna Behm Masozera†§, Urmila Mallick§, Fidele Ruzigandekwe, Christopher Koliba, Adrian Martin, Taye Teferi, and Luke Sanford. “International cooperation and conflict in a social-ecological system: A study of mountain gorillas as a common pool resource”. In: *Conservation Science and Practice* (2026). **Conditionally accepted**.
- [3] Luke Sanford, Matt Gordon§, Megan Ayers§, and Eliana Stone§. “Adversarial Debiasing for Parameter Recovery”. In: *Proceedings of the International Conference on Artificial Intelligence and Statistics*. **Conditionally accepted**. 2026. URL: <https://arxiv.org/abs/2502.12323>.
- [4] Emily Sigman†, Roman Isaac, Marina Frietsch, Dula Wakassa Duguma, Felipe Benra, Jacqueline Loos, Joern Fischer, and Luke Sanford. “Ecosystem restoration across political regimes: Why are so many ‘successes’ located in undemocratic contexts?” In: *Global Environmental Politics* (2026). **Accepted**.

[5] Vincent Haller<sup>†§</sup>, Luke Sanford, and Timothy Gregoire. “The importance of local calibration in biomass models for REDD+ – a case study in the Chiloe Island, Chile”. In: *Remote Sensing Applications: Society and Environment* (2025), p. 101851. DOI: [10.1016/j.rsase.2025.101851](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rsase.2025.101851).

[6] Xiaohan Wu<sup>†</sup>, Margaret E. Roberts, Rachel E. Stern, Benjamin L. Liebman, Amarnath Gupta, and Luke Sanford. “Addressing Missingness in Serialized Bureaucratic Data: The Case of Chinese Courts”. In: *Sociological Methods & Research* (June 2025), p. 00491241251340610. ISSN: 0049-1241. DOI: [10.1177/00491241251340610](https://doi.org/10.1177/00491241251340610).

[7] Luke Sanford<sup>\*†</sup>, Megan Ayers<sup>\*§</sup>, Margaret Roberts, and Eddie Yang. “Discovering influential text using convolutional neural networks”. In: *Findings of the Association for Computational Linguistics ACL 2024*. Ed. by Lun-Wei Ku, Andre Martins, and Vivek Srikumar. Bangkok, Thailand and virtual meeting: Association for Computational Linguistics, Aug. 2024, pp. 12002–12027. URL: <https://aclanthology.org/2024.findings-acl.714>.

[8] Luke Sanford. “Democratization, Elections, and Public Goods: The Evidence from Deforestation”. In: *American Journal of Political Science* 67.3 (2023), pp. 748–763. ISSN: 1540-5907. DOI: [10.1111/ajps.12662](https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12662).

[9] Richard Bluhm\*, Pascal Polonik\*, Luke Sanford\*, Kyle S. Hemes\*, Susanne A. Benz\*, Morgan C. Levy\*, Katharine L. Ricke, and Jennifer A. Burney<sup>†</sup>. “Disparate Air Pollution Reductions during California’s COVID-19 Economic Shutdown”. In: *Nature Sustainability* (Apr. 2022), pp. 1–9. ISSN: 2398-9629. DOI: [10.1038/s41893-022-00856-1](https://doi.org/10.1038/s41893-022-00856-1).

[10] Luke Sanford<sup>\*†</sup> and Jennifer Burney<sup>\*</sup>. “Cookstoves illustrate the need for a comprehensive carbon market”. en. In: *Environmental Research Letters* 10.8 (2015), pp. 1–13. ISSN: 1748-9326. DOI: [10.1088/1748-9326/10/8/084026](https://doi.org/10.1088/1748-9326/10/8/084026). URL: <http://stacks.iop.org/1748-9326/10/i=8/a=084026>.

[11] Jonathan Lautze<sup>\*†</sup>, Sanjiv de Silva\*, Mark Giordano\*, and Luke Sanford\*. “Water Governance”. In: *Key concepts in water resource management: a review and critical evaluation*. Ed. by Jonathan Lautze. Earthscan water text. London ; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2014. ISBN: 978-0-415-71172-2.

[12] Eline Boelee, Sithara Atapattu, Tilahun Amede, and Luke Sanford. *Ecosystems for water and food security*. English. OCLC: 771993931. Nairobi: UNEP, 2011. ISBN: 978-92-807-3170-5. URL: [http://www.iwmi.cgiar.org/Topics/Ecosystems/PDF/Background\\_Document-Ecosystems\\_for\\_Water\\_and\\_Food\\_Security\\_2011\\_UNEP-IWMI.pdf](http://www.iwmi.cgiar.org/Topics/Ecosystems/PDF/Background_Document-Ecosystems_for_Water_and_Food_Security_2011_UNEP-IWMI.pdf).

[13] Jonathan Lautze<sup>\*†</sup>, Sanjiv de Silva\*, Mark Giordano\*, and Luke Sanford\*. “Putting the cart before the horse: Water governance and IWRM”. In: *Natural Resources Forum* 35.1 (Feb. 2011), pp. 1–8. ISSN: 01650203. DOI: [10.1111/j.1477-8947.2010.01339.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1477-8947.2010.01339.x). URL: <http://doi.wiley.com/10.1111/j.1477-8947.2010.01339.x>.

[14] David Molden<sup>†</sup>, Jonathan Lautze, Tushaar Shah, Dong Bin, Mark Giordano, and Luke Sanford. “Governing to Grow Enough Food without Enough Water—Second Best Solutions Show the Way”. In: *International Journal of Water Resources Development* 26.2 (June 2010), pp. 249–263. ISSN: 0790-0627, 1360-0648. DOI: [10.1080/07900621003655643](https://doi.org/10.1080/07900621003655643). URL: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/07900621003655643>.

## WORKING PAPERS

### APPLIED

- The Longitudinal Effects of a Land Tenure Formalization Across a Changing Political Landscape in Benin, ..... [Under Review, Land Use Policy]

- Political instability as a key factor in Social-Ecological Restoration: Insights and implications, *With Emily Sigman<sup>§</sup>, Roman Isaac, Marina Frietsch, Dula Wakassa Duguma, Felipe Benra, Jacqueline Loos, Joern Fischer* ..... [Under Review, Ecosystems and People]
- Potential for strategic behavior in jurisdictional REDD+, *With Alberto Garcia<sup>§</sup>*. *Working paper* .. [Revise and Resubmit, PNAS]
- Causal impact of forest carbon offset projects in the California Carbon Market, *With Seung Min Kim<sup>§</sup>*. *Working paper* ..
- Comparing Climate and AI Anxiety in American Youth, *With Julia Leonard* ..... [Submitted, PNAS]
- When Elections Drive Deforestation: Distinguishing National and District-Level Incentives, *With Eliot Carlson<sup>§</sup>* ..
- The Political Economy of Conflict and Deforestation: Evidence from the Philippines, *With Dotain Haim and Nina McMurry*. ..... [Environmental Politics and Governance 2025 best paper award]
- The Deforestation effects of railway infrastructure Expansion: Evidence from the Trèn Maya, *With Cesar Martinez Alvarez<sup>§</sup> and Sarah Castle<sup>§</sup>* ..

## METHODS

- Aligning Carbon Offsetting with Causal Inference: Baseline Estimation and Additionality within the Potential Outcomes Framework, *With Megan Ayers<sup>§</sup>, Will Gardner<sup>§</sup>, and Sara Kuebbing*. *Preprint* [Under Review at ERL]
- A Double Machine Learning Approach to Using Satellite Imagery for Causal Impact Evaluation, [R&R at Political Analysis]
- Quantifying impacts of policy and practice: interventions on biodiversity and climate, *With Mark Bradford, Eli Fenichel, Dean Hosgood, Emily Oldfield, Alexander Polussa, Eric Potash, Oswald Schmitz, and Sara Kuebbing*. *Preprint* ..... [Submitted]
- A Double Machine Learning Approach to Spatio-Temporal Confounders, *With Yiqing Xu and Licheng Liu* .....
- Active learning for remote sensing data, *With Emmanuelle Brindamour<sup>§</sup> and Brian Macdonald* .....
- Geospatial foundation models for causal inference, *With Mike Zhang<sup>§</sup>* .....

## PROJECTS

- Estimating Additionality in High Forest Low Deforestation Jurisdictions, *With Alberto Garcia<sup>§</sup>* .....
- Ten million causal estimates: how much do model and data choices affect estimates of additionality in evaluations of carbon credits, *With Megan Ayers<sup>§</sup>, Sarah Castle<sup>§</sup>, and Jonathan Elkobi<sup>§</sup>* .....
- Seeing Like a Satellite: Remote Sensing Data in Political Science Research, .....
- Analyzing the drivers and consequences of Kenyan resettlement schemes, *With Richard Bluhm* .....
- Activists vs. Apathists: Understanding the psychological drivers of teenagers' pro-climate behavior, *With Julia Leonard and Mariam Gedenidze<sup>§</sup>* .....
- Do Democracies Deforest Differently?, *With Austin Beacham* .....

## GRANTS & AWARDS

- Co-PI. Baselines in the Voluntary Carbon Market, *Meta* ..... 2025 (\$66,673)
- PI. Comparing Conventional and LLM-Generated Materials in Factorial Survey Experiments., *Institute for Social and Policy Studies* ..... 2025 (\$18,200)
- PI. Voluntary Carbon Markets and Payment for Ecosystem Services in India, *MacMillan Center and Institute for Social and Policy Studies* ..... 2025 (\$60,000)
- PI. Developing a toolkit for Remote Sensing and Causal Inference, *MacMillan Center and Institute for Social and Policy Studies* ..... 2025 (\$70,000)
- Co-PI. Baselines and Additionality in the Voluntary Carbon Market, *Emergent* ..... 2025 (\$40,000)
- Co-PI. Voluntary Carbon Markets and Payment for Ecosystem Services in India, *Planetary Solutions Seed Grant, with Rohini Pande* ..... 2024 (\$100,000)
- PI. Measuring the Policy Impacts of Jurisdictional REDD+, *MacMillan Center* ..... 2024 (\$15,000)
- PI. Building tools for active learning with remote sensing data, *YEDSI Small grant, with Brian Macdonald* 2023 (\$5,000)
- Co-PI. Measuring carbon leakage and spillover effects in environmental impact evaluations, *Planetary Solutions Seed Grant, with Fredrik Savje* ..... 2023 (\$80,000)
- Co-PI. Assessing the scope and limitations of forest carbon credit methodological approach to 'baselines', *Childs Family Grant, with Sara Kuebbing* ..... 2023 (\$25,000)
- PI. Climate Change Social Science Network, *with Kathryn Baragwanath, Cesar Martinez Alvarez, Alice Xu* ..... 2022 (\$17,000)
- Co-PI. Character Lab Grant for pilot study on climate change motivation in youths, *with Julia Leonard* 2022
- Co-PI. Climate change motivation in youths, *Planetary Solutions Seed Grant, with Julia Leonard* .. 2022 (\$80,000)
- Co-PI. Sequestering Carbon through Protection and Production: A Case Study of Industrial Reforestation in Mata Atlantica, Brazil, *YCNCC Grant, with Mark Ashton, Thomas Harris, Yuan Yao, Daniel Piotto* 2022 (\$260,000)
- PI. Capacity to recover: Carbon storage and capture in the Sinharaja land use mosaic, *YCNCC Grant, with David Woodbury and Mark Ashton* ..... 2022 (\$46,000)
- Best Graduate Student Poster, *Political Methodology Annual Conference* ..... 2019
- Herb York Dissertation Fellowship, *Institute of Global Conflict and Cooperation* ..... 2019 (\$25,000)
- Outstanding Student Presenter Award, *American Geophysical Union* ..... 2018
- Boren Fellow, *China* ..... 2014–2015
- Cross Examination Debate Association National Tournament: 5th place, ..... 2008

## TECHNICAL SKILLS

**Languages:** English (native), Mandarin Chinese (HSK6 – strong reading, writing and speaking competencies), Spanish (conversational)

**Coding:** R (expert), Git/GitHub (expert), ArcGIS (expert), Stata (intermediate), Python (intermediate), L<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X (intermediate), JavaScript (intermediate)

## INVITED TALKS

- Using satellite data for social science research, *CUNY Hunter College* ..... 2025
- Using satellite data for social science research, *Columbia University* ..... 2025

- Jurisdictional REDD+, *Yale Forest Forum* ..... 2025
- A Double Machine Learning Approach to Using Satellite Imagery for Causal Impact Evaluation, *University of California San Diego* ..... 2025
- Using satellite data for social science research, *University of Connecticut* ..... 2025
- Using satellite data for social science research, *Florida State University* ..... 2024
- Evaluating the effects of land titling in Benin using satellite imagery, *Indiana University Ostrom Workshop Junior Scholars Symposium* ..... 2024
- Remote Control: Debiasing Remote Sensing Predictions for Causal Inference, *WUSTL Political Science Data Lab* ..... 2024
- Remote Control: Debiasing Remote Sensing Predictions for Causal Inference, *Berkeley Political Methodology Seminar* ..... 2024
- Remote Control: Debiasing Remote Sensing Predictions for Causal Inference, *UConn Microeconomics Seminar* ..... 2023
- Remote Control: Debiasing Remote Sensing Predictions for Causal Inference, *Geo For Good Conference* 2023
- Machine Learning for Impact Evaluation: Environmental effects of land tenure formalization, *Conservation Impact Evaluation and Implementation Science* ..... 2023
- Evaluating the effects of land titling in Benin using satellite imagery, *Princeton CEREAL Seminar* 2022
- A Double Machine Learning Approach to using Satellite Data for Causal Inference, *Yale ISPS Methods Seminar* ..... 2022
- Evaluating the effects of land titling in Benin using satellite imagery, *Yale Institute for Biospheric Studies* 2022
- Using Satellite Data for Causal Inference, *UC Santa Barbara, Environmental Politics Seminar* ..... 2021
- Using Satellite Data for Causal Inference, *American Geophysical Union, New Orleans, LA* ..... 2021
- Geospatial synthetic controls for agricultural impact evaluation, *American Geophysical Union, Washington DC* ..... 2019

## TEACHING

### YALE SCHOOL OF THE ENVIRONMENT

- Environmental Policymaking: From Local to Global, ..... 2022–2025
- Envisioning Climate Solutions with “The Ministry for the Future”, ..... 2022, 2024
- Yale Forest Forum, ..... 2022–2023

### UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA SAN DIEGO

- Big Data, *with Ahlquist* ..... 2021
- Poli 270: Mathematical & Statistical Foundations, *Instructor* ..... 2019, 2020
- Math Skills for Graduate Students, *Instructor* ..... 2015–2020
- Remote Sensing and Spatial Analysis, *with McCord* ..... 2019
- Advanced GIS and Remote Sensing, *with Goldblatt* ..... 2018
- Quantitative Methods 1: Statistics and Probability, *with Garg* ..... 2016–2017
- Quantitative Methods 2: Regression Analysis, *with Burney* ..... 2016–2017
- Quantitative Methods 3: Panel Data and Causal Inference, *with McIntosh* ..... 2016–2017
- Economic and Social Development of China, *with Naughton* ..... 2015–2016
- International Politics and Security, *with Walter* ..... 2015–2016

## MENTORING

### PAST POSTDOCS

- Cesar B. Martinez-Alvarez, ..... Faculty at UCSB
- Alberto Garcia, ..... Faculty at University of Utah
- Owen Cortner, ..... Consultant
- Sarah Castle, ..... Faculty at University of Wisconsin-Madison

### CURRENT PHD STUDENTS

- Lauren Oliver, .....
- Apurva Dudu, .....
- Gracia Hadiwidjaja, .....
- Eliana Stone, .....
- Maike Pfeiffer, .....

### CURRENT MESC STUDENTS

- Mariam Gedenidze, .....

### PHD COMMITTEE MEMBER

- Thomas Harris, .....
- Hanna Wang, .....
- Reid Lewis, .....
- Nadia Ahmad, .....

### PAST PHD STUDENTS

- Megan Ayers, 2025 ..... Faculty at Reed College

### PAST MESC COMMITTEE MEMBER

- Gabe Snashall, 2022 ..... Climate Investing Analyst
- Vincent Haller, 2025 ..... Carbon Market Analyst

### OTHER

- Ethan Addicott, *Dissertation Reader* ..... 2022

## SERVICE

### CONFERENCE ORGANIZATION

- Political Economy of Climate and Environment conference, *Founder, Steering Committee* 2022 – Present

### DEPARTMENTAL & UNIVERSITY SERVICE

- Masters Program Committee, ..... 2025
- Faculty Search Committee, ..... 2023
- Staff Search Committee, ..... 2022

## PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

- American Political Science Association
- Society for Political Methodology
- American Economic Association
- American Geophysical Union
- Midwest Political Science Association
- Western Political Science Association
- AAAS
- AERE

## PEER REVIEW

- International Organization
- The American Journal of Political Science
- The American Political Science Review
- Journal of Politics
- Political Analysis
- Quarterly Journal of Economics
- Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Resource Economics
- Research and Politics
- Technometrics
- Global Environmental Change
- Conservation Letters
- Carbon Management