

# Week 9: Regression in the Social Sciences and Frameworks for Causal Inference

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Princeton

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<sup>1</sup>These slides are heavily influenced by Matt Blackwell, Justin Grimmer, Jens Hainmueller, Erin Hartman, Kosuke Imai and Ian Lundberg.

# Where We've Been and Where We're Going...

- Last Week
  - ▶ diagnostics
- This Week
  - ▶ making an argument in social sciences
  - ▶ causal inference
  - ▶ two frameworks: potential outcomes and directed acyclic graphs
  - ▶ the experimental ideal
  - ▶ causation for non-manipulable variables
- Next Week
  - ▶ selection on observables
- Long Run
  - ▶ probability → inference → regression → causal inference

- 1 Making Arguments
  - Regression
  - Causal Inference
  - Visualization
- 2 Core Ideas in Causal Inference
- 3 Potential Outcomes
  - Framework
  - Estimands
  - Three Big Assumptions
  - Average Treatment Effects
  - What Gets to Be a Cause
- 4 Causal Directed Acyclic Graphs
- 5 Causation for Non-Manipulable Variables

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- Knowing how methods work also makes you a better reader of work.

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memegenerator.net

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We will mostly talk about statistical methods here (it is a statistics class!) but the best work is a **combination** of substantive and statistical theory.

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- This is because they are about **different groups of units** not about **the same unit under intervention**.

# A Concrete Example from Gerber, Green and Larimer

Non-parametric estimation

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		No	Yes
Voted in 2000 General?	No	.14	.34
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$$\begin{aligned}\text{Var}\left(\frac{\partial Y}{\partial X}\right) &= \text{Var}(\hat{\beta}_1 + Z\hat{\beta}_3) \\ &= \text{Var}(\hat{\beta}_1) + Z^2 \text{Var}(\hat{\beta}_3) + 2Z\text{Cov}(\hat{\beta}_1, \hat{\beta}_3)\end{aligned}$$

If this model is fit using the `lm()` function, we can use `vcov(fit)` to extract the variance covariance matrix that has these variance and covariance elements.

## Marginal Effects

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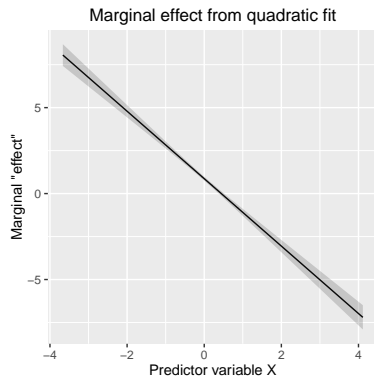
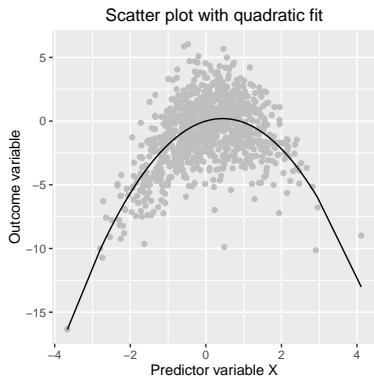
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# Plotting Marginal Effects

Given estimated coefficients, we could plot the marginal effect of  $X$  on  $Y$  as a function of  $X$



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- You can see how this lends itself to improper causal thinking!

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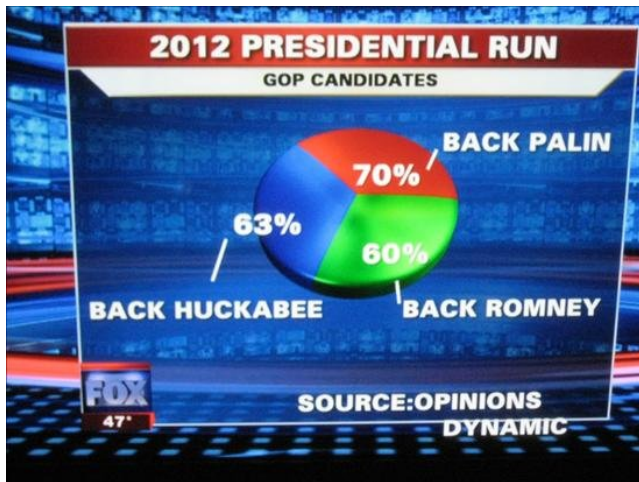
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- This will be the subject of the rest of the week but for now let's change gears. . .

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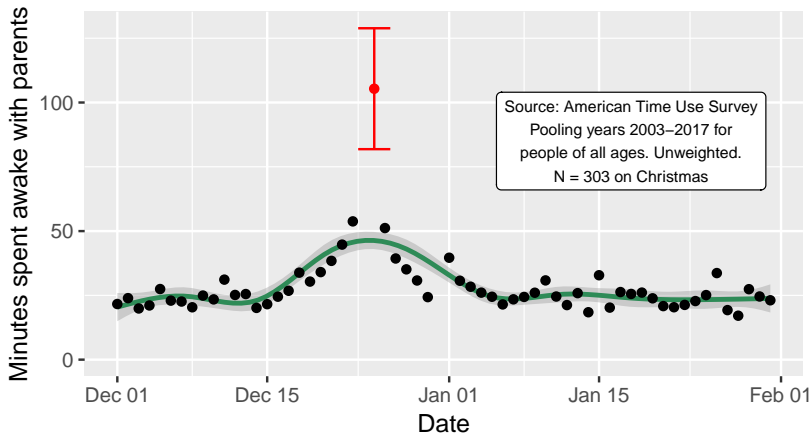
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- I **strongly recommend** Kieran Healy's visualization book — great summary of the fundamentals plus R code.

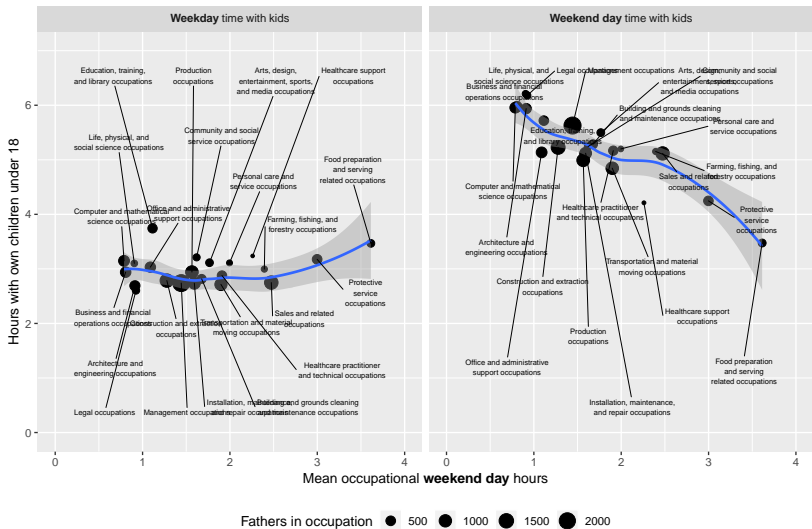
# Examples

## People spend more time with parents on Christmas



Source: Ian Lundberg

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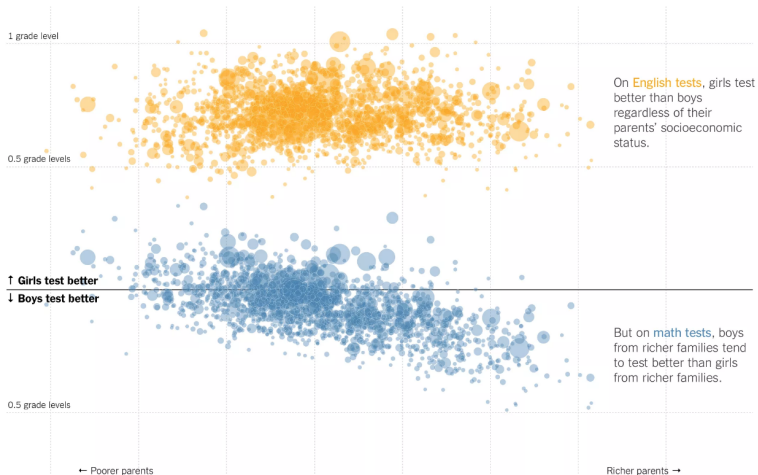


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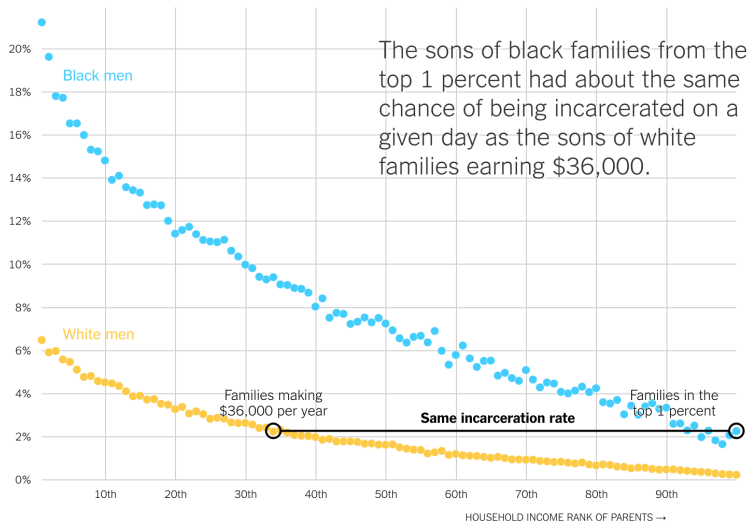
The test score gender gap in about 1,800 large school districts



Larger circles represent districts with more students.

Source: New York Times

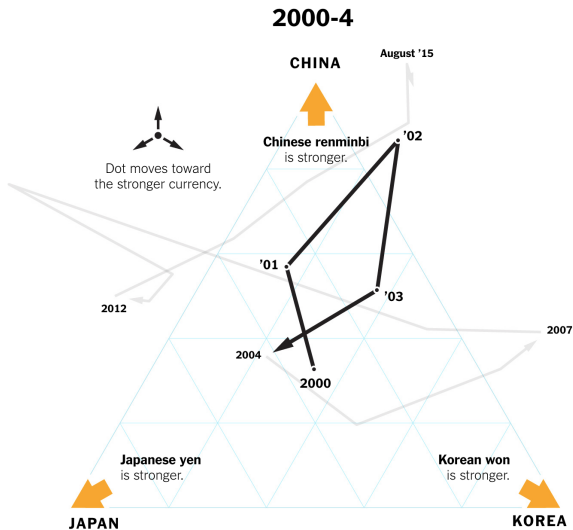
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Includes men who were ages 27 to 32 in 2010.

Source: New York Times

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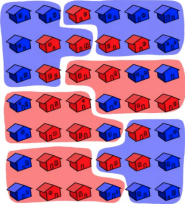


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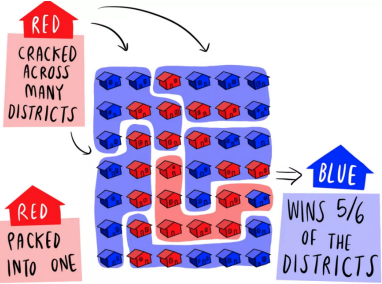
# Examples

YOU DON'T NEED TO HAVE MORE VOTES TO WIN.

EQUAL #  
of   
&   
HOUSES  
WITH 7  
HOUSES PER  
DISTRICT



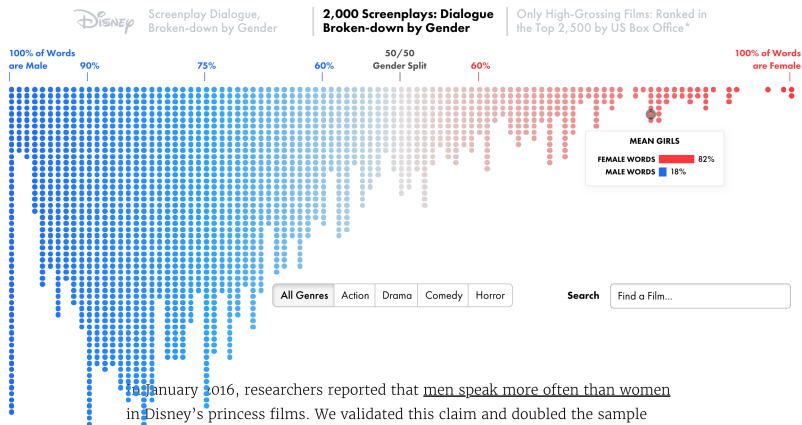
  
WINS  
 $3/6$   
OF THE  
DISTRICTS



JUST PACK MOST OF THEIR VOTES INTO A FEW DISTRICTS YOU'RE WILLING TO GIVE UP, AND SPREAD THEIR SUPPORT THINLY EVERYWHERE ELSE.

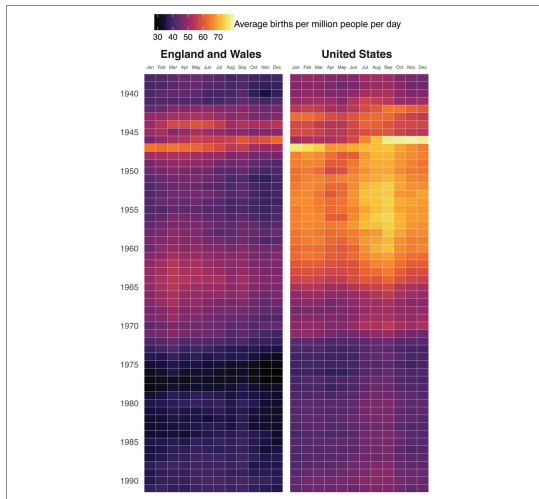
Source: Olivia Walch

# Examples



Source: The Pudding

# Examples



**Figure 1.** Average births per million people per day, 1938–1991. Each tile represents one month. The underlying count is number of births per month, standardized first by the total population for the period and then by the number of days in that month. Data for the United States are from the U.S. Census Bureau. Data for England and Wales are from the U.K. Office of National Statistics.

Source: Kieran Healy

# Examples

Opiate Related Deaths by State, 2000-2014



Source: Kieran Healy

# Case Study 1: Visualization in the New York Times

## AMERICAS

### *How Stable Are Democracies? ‘Warning Signs Are Flashing*

#### The Interpreter

By AMANDA TAUB NOV. 29, 2016

WASHINGTON — Yascha Mounk is used to being the most pessimistic person in the room. Mr. Mounk, a lecturer in government at Harvard, has spent the past few years challenging one of the bedrock assumptions of Western politics: that once a country becomes a liberal democracy, it will stay that way.

His research suggests something quite different: that liberal democracies around the world may be at serious risk of decline.

Mr. Mounk’s interest in the topic began rather unusually. In 2014, he published a book, “[Stranger in My Own Country](#).” It started as a memoir of his experiences growing up as a Jew in Germany, but became a broader investigation of how contemporary European nations were struggling to construct new, multicultural national identities.



# Case Study 1: Visualization in the New York Times

## The Danger of Deconsolidation

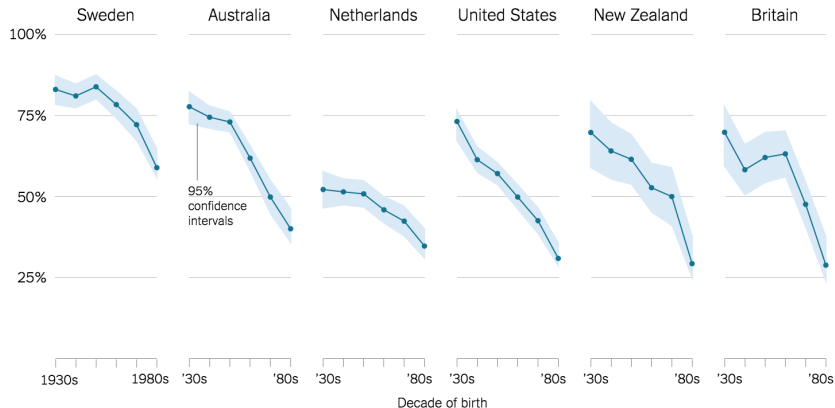
### THE DEMOCRATIC DISCONNECT

*Roberto Stefan Foa and Yascha Mounk*

*Roberto Stefan Foa is a principal investigator of the World Values Survey and fellow of the Laboratory for Comparative Social Research. His writing has appeared in a wide range of journals, books, and publications by the UN, OECD, and World Bank. **Yascha Mounk** is a lecturer on political theory in Harvard University's Government Department and a Carnegie Fellow at New America, a Washington, D.C.-based think tank. His dissertation on the role of personal responsibility in contemporary politics and philosophy will be published by Harvard University Press, and his essays have appeared in Foreign Affairs, the New York Times, and the Wall Street Journal.*

# Case Study 1: Visualization in the New York Times

## Percentage of people who say it is “essential” to live in a democracy



Source: Yascha Mounk and Roberto Stefan Foa, “The Signs of Democratic Deconsolidation,” *Journal of Democracy* | By The New York Times

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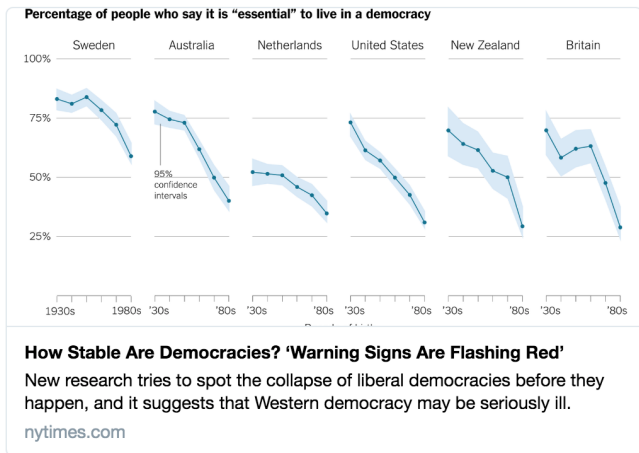


Ryan D. Enos @RyanDEnos · 19h



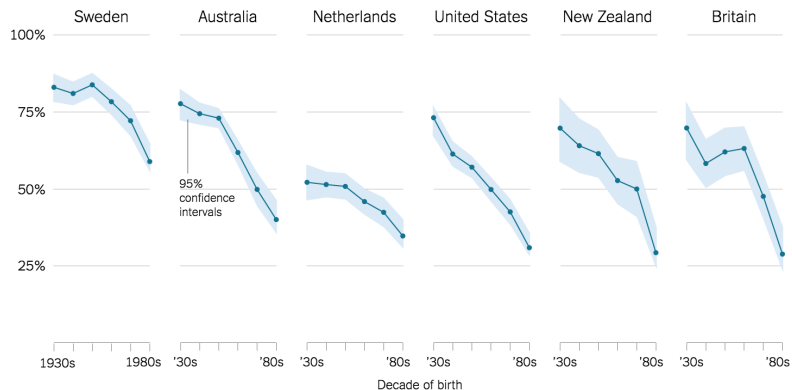
Lots of worried chatter a/b @amandataub article on work of @Yascha\_Mounk.

Important, but want to raise cautions 1/



# Alternate Graphs

## Percentage of people who say it is “essential” to live in a democracy

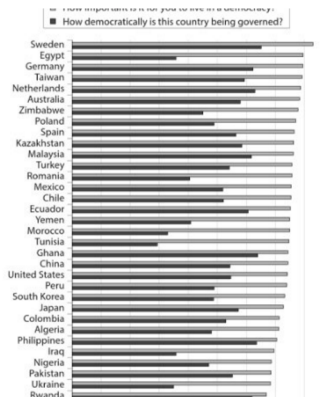
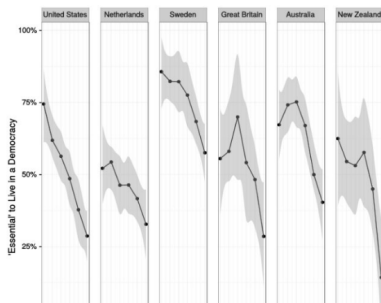


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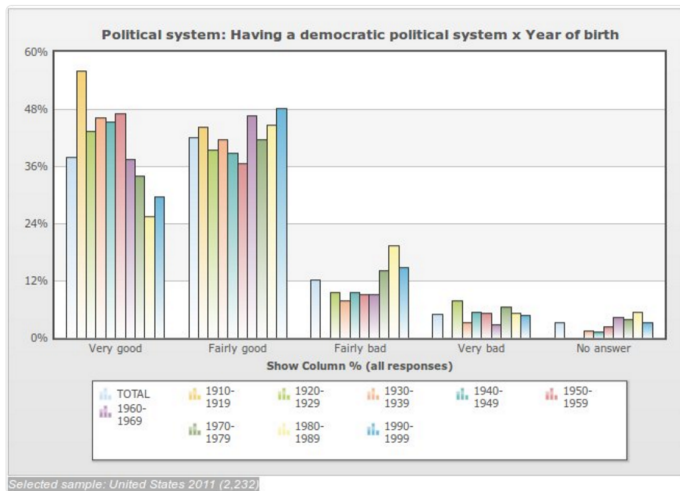
.@RyanDEnos Compare NYT/JoD (left) to the very same data analysed differently by Bartels and Achen (2016) (right). Extreme score vs means.

Across numerous countries, including Australia, Britain, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden and the United States, the percentage of people who say it is "essential" to live in a democracy has plummeted, and it is especially low among younger generations.



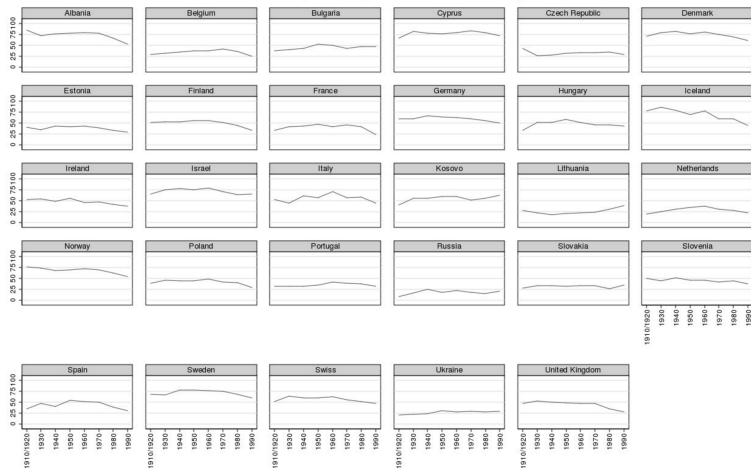
# Alternate Graphs

@RyanDEnos They also stop at the 80s cohort. The data has the 90's as well. I wonder why they would stop there...



# Alternate Graphs

Percentage of people who say it is *extremely important to live in a country that is governed democratically*



Decade of birth

Source: ESS Wave 6

In reply to Ryan D. Enos

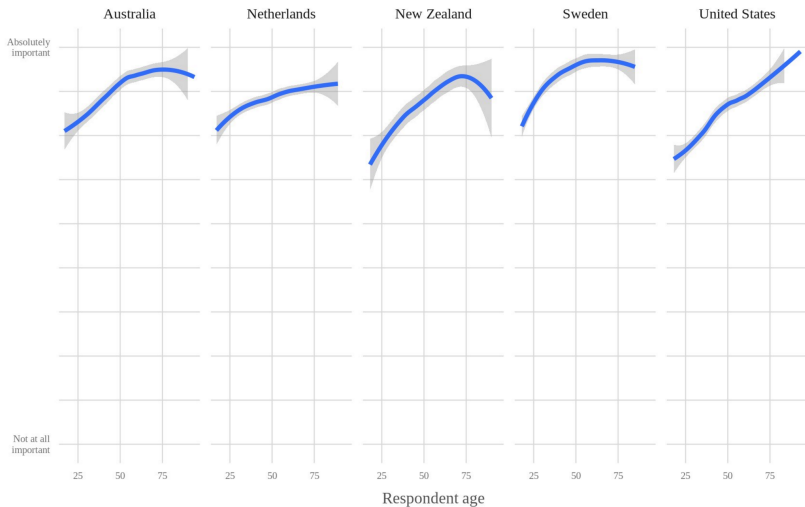


**Benjamin Sack** @bcsack · 15h

@RyanDEnos Same analysis strategy with comparable data from @ESS\_Survey (similar item, 0-10 scale) shows slightly different pattern, too.

# Alternate Graphs

How important is it for you to live in a country that is governed democratically?



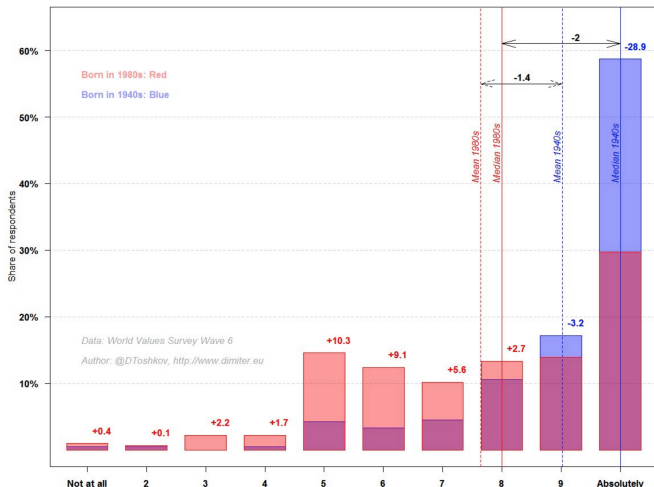
614 Bantam @jpbach · 15h

@RyanDENos @bshor @nataliemjb @TomWGvdMeer this is a "quick and dirty" plot I did with WVS wave 6. Not quite so terrifying.



# Alternate Graphs

How important is it for you to live in a country that is governed democratically? United States, 2011



Dimiter Toshkov @DToshkov · 31m

my take on the democratic deconsolidation graph that scared everyone yesterday. Blue is 1940s cohort, red is 1980s. First, United States

# Thoughts

Two stories here:

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- 1 Visualization and data coding choices are important


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- 1 Visualization and data coding choices are important
- 2 The internet is amazing (especially with replication data being available!)


## Case Study 2: Sean Taylor's Night Off

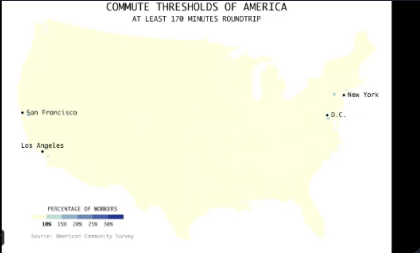
## Case Study 2: Sean Taylor's Night Off

 **Sean J. Taylor**  
@seanjtaylor

I think this is an interesting topic but found this visualization hard to follow (no surprise if you've been reading my complaints about animated plots).

I have nothing to do tonight so i'm going to try to re-visualize this data. Starting a THREAD I'll keep updated as I go.

 **Nathan Yau** @flowingdata · Oct 16, 2019  
How commuting is too much? It depends on where you live.  
[flowingdata.com/2019/10/16/how...](https://flowingdata.com/2019/10/16/how...)



**COMMUTE THRESHOLDS OF AMERICA**  
AT LEAST 170 MINUTES ROUNDTRIP

San Francisco  
Los Angeles  
New York  
D.C.

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS  
10% 20% 30%

Source: American Community Survey

GIF

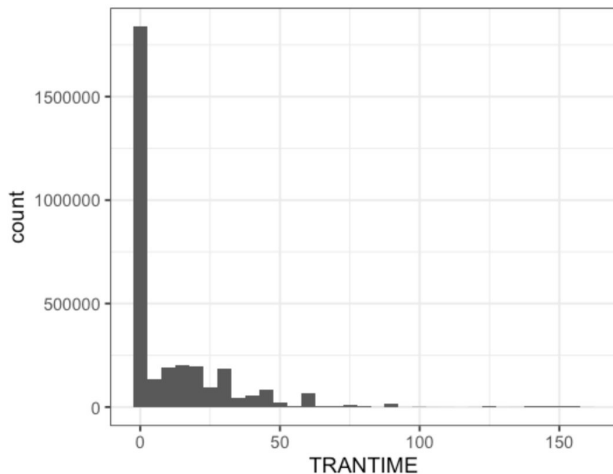
12:39 AM · Oct 19, 2019 · Twitter Web App

<https://twitter.com/seanjtaylor/status/1185415182761254912>

## Case Study 2: Sean Taylor's Night Off

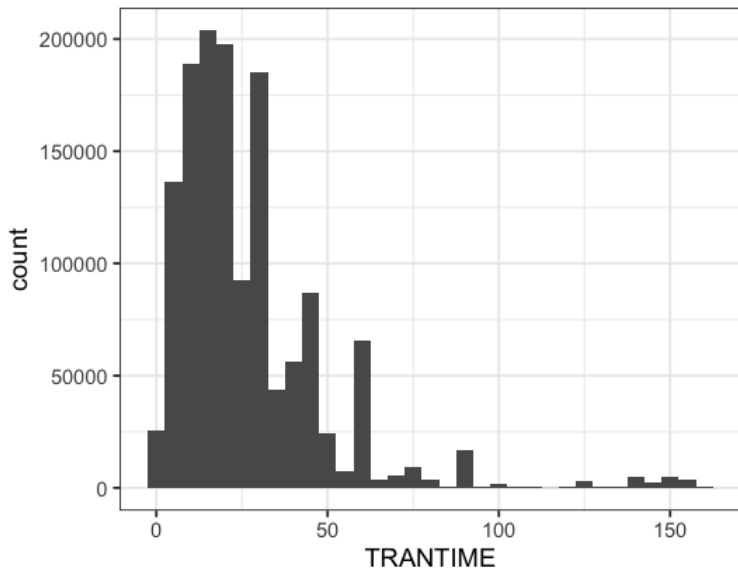
```
df %>%  
  ggplot(aes(x = TRANTIME)) + geom_histogram(binwidth=5)
```

Don't know how to automatically pick scale for object of type haven\_1.



<https://twitter.com/seanjtaylor/status/1185415182761254912>

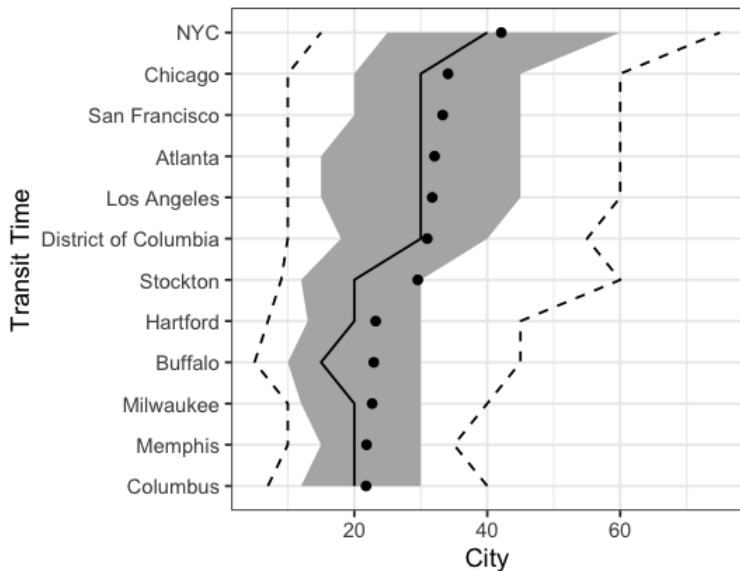
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Next Time: Core Ideas in Causal Inference

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- Last Week
  - ▶ diagnostics
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  - ▶ making an argument in social sciences
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  - ▶ two frameworks: potential outcomes and directed acyclic graphs
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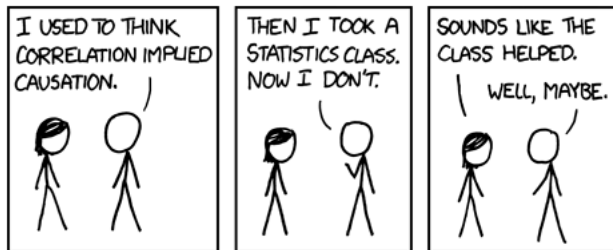
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# Causation



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- By convention we often care the counterfactual levels we care about **treated** and **control** and we often consider only binary **treatment variables** because continuous variables are often even more complicated!



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- Identification depends on **assumptions** not statistical models.
- As we will see this is **not** a conversation about estimation: in other words, if someone answers “regression” they have made a **category error**



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- Even when identification is possible, estimation may impose additional assumptions (i.e. that the linear approximation to the CEF is good enough)
- **Law of Decreasing Credibility (Manski)**: The credibility of inference decreases with the strength of the assumptions maintained

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- No unmeasured confounding assumes that we've measured all sources of confounding.

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- What is your identification strategy?
- What is your mode of statistical inference?

# Avoiding Common Areas of Confusion

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- estimation of causal effects does not require identical treatment and control groups
- you need a **clear counterfactual** to have a well-defined causal effect. For example of 'the recession was caused by Wall Street' may make intuitive sense but is it well-defined?

<http://egap.org/methods-guides/10-things-you-need-know-about-causal-inference>



# We Covered

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- Identification vs. Estimation in Causal Inference

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Next Time: Potential Outcomes

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- It is a way of thinking about counterfactuals and the assumptions required to make statements about them.
- We will first step through the **framework**, then discuss **estimands**, **three big assumptions** and finally what **counts as a cause**.

# Potential Outcomes

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$(T_i = 1)$

1-2

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PLACEBO

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Illustrated potential outcomes here and later courtesy of Erin Hartman

## What is random in the potential outcomes framework?

Note that potential outcomes are thought of as **fixed**, and that they, and the difference between them, can vary by arbitrary amounts for each unit  $i$ . There is some true distribution of potential outcomes across the population.

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**Treatment assignment** is the source of randomness



# Causal Inference is a Missing Data Problem

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No methodology allows us to simultaneously observe both potential outcomes,  $Y_i(1)$  and  $Y_i(0)$ , making  $\tau_i$  unobservable—and unidentifiable without additional assumptions (**Fundamental Problem of Causal Inference** Holland (1986))






















# Causal Inference is a Missing Data Problem

Example: Aspirin's Impact on Headaches

Patient	Pill	Headache Status			Age	Academic
$i$	$T_i$	$Y_i(\text{Aspirin})$	$Y_i(\text{No Aspirin})$	$Y_i$	$X_{1i}$	$X_{2i}$
1					25	Y
2					55	N
3					62	Y
4					80	N
5					32	Y
6					45	B
$\vdots$	$\vdots$	$\vdots$	$\vdots$	$\vdots$	$\vdots$	$\vdots$
n					71	N

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Example: Aspirin's Impact on Headaches

Patient	Pill	Headache Status	Age	Academic
$i$	$T_i$	$Y_i(\text{🔴})$ $Y_i(\text{🟡})$ $Y_i$	$X_{1i}$	$X_{2i}$
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⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮
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**Step 1:** (Randomly) sample units

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Step 2: Randomly assign treatment

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Example: Aspirin's Impact on Headaches

Patient	Pill	Headache Status			Age	Academic
$i$	$T_i$	$Y_i(\text{Red})$	$Y_i(\text{Brown})$	$Y_i$	$X_{1i}$	$X_{2i}$
1					25	Y
2					55	N
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Step 3: Measure revealed potential outcome

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$i$	$T_i$	$Y_i(0)$	$Y_i(1)$	$Y_i$	$X_{1i}$	$X_{2i}$	
1		1	0	0	0	25	Y
2			0	1		55	N
3			1	1		62	Y
4		0	1	1	1	80	N
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$\vdots$	$\vdots$	$\vdots$	$\vdots$	$\vdots$	$\vdots$	$\vdots$	$\vdots$
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- **Sample average treatment effect (SATE)**

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- **Treatment effect heterogeneity:** Zero ATE doesn't mean zero effect for everyone

- 1 Making Arguments
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$$Y(1, 0, 0) \quad Y(0, 0, 0)$$

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- **Same version** of the treatment

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We also need to assume **Positivity**  $0 < P(T_i = 1) < 1 \forall i$  with probability 1.

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- Another way of thinking of it: The distributions of the potential outcomes  $(Y_i(1), Y_i(0))$  are the same for the treatment and control group.
- Yet another way of thinking of it: The treatment and control group are exchangeable, or balanced (on observables and unobservables) on average

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- Naive estimator = Average Treatment Effect on Treated + Selection Bias
- Selection bias: how different the treated and control groups are in terms of their potential outcome under control.

# Selection Makes Us Care About Assignment Mechanisms

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## Assignment Mechanism

“The process that determines which units receive which treatments, hence which potential outcomes are realized and thus can be observed, and, conversely, which potential outcomes are missing.”

(Imbens and Rubin, 2015, p. 31)

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- **Unconfounded assignment:** Disallows dependence of the assignment mechanism on the potential outcomes

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Most statistical models of causal inference attain identification of treatment effects by restricting the assignment mechanism in some way.

# Three Big Assumptions

To review, we've talked about three big assumptions

- 1 SUTVA
- 2 Positivity
- 3 (Conditional) Ignorability

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- It is fixed and unchanging

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# Average Treatment Effect

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Note: Average effect is positive, but  $\tau_i$  are negative for some units!

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  - If that experiment does not exist, be concerned about interpretation

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Always ask:  
what is the experiment I would run if I had infinite resources and power?

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- Distinguishes between observed outcomes and potential outcomes.
- Causal inference is a missing data problem: we typically make assumptions about the assignment mechanism to go from descriptive inference to causal inference.

# Neyman-Rubin Potential Outcomes Model

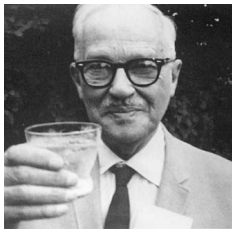


Figure: Neyman



Figure: Rubin

# Brief History of Potential Outcomes and Causal Inference

- Introduction of potential outcomes in randomized experiments by Neyman (1923)

For more detailed see Morgan and Winship.

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- Pearl (1995) develops graphical models for causal inference

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Next Time: Causal Directed Acyclic Graphs (Causal DAGs)

# Where We've Been and Where We're Going...

- Last Week
  - ▶ diagnostics
- This Week
  - ▶ making an argument in social sciences
  - ▶ causal inference
  - ▶ two frameworks: potential outcomes and directed acyclic graphs
  - ▶ the experimental ideal
  - ▶ causation for non-manipulable variables
- Next Week
  - ▶ selection on observables
- Long Run
  - ▶ probability → inference → regression → causal inference

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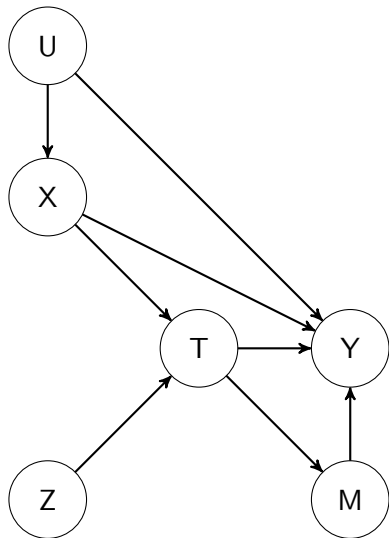
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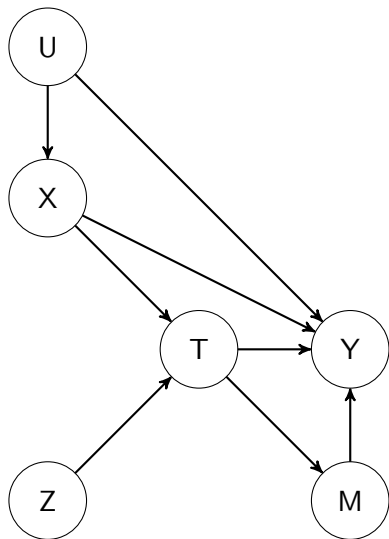
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- Nice software that takes the graph and returns an identification strategy: **DAGitty** at <http://dagitty.net>

## Components of a DAG



- nodes represent variables  
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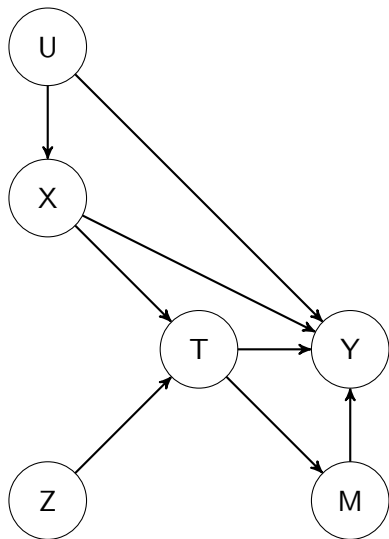
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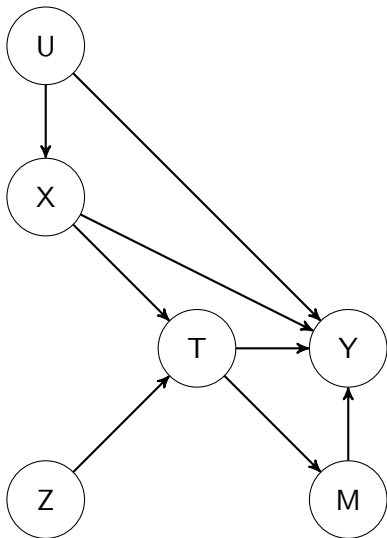


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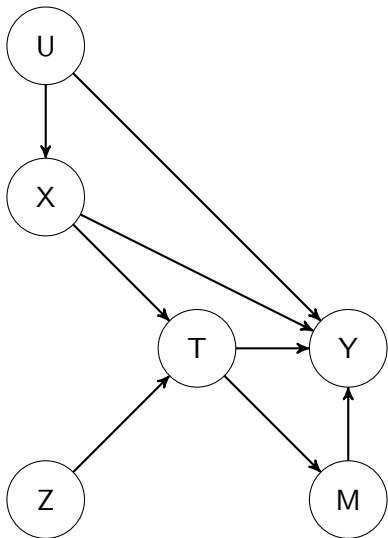
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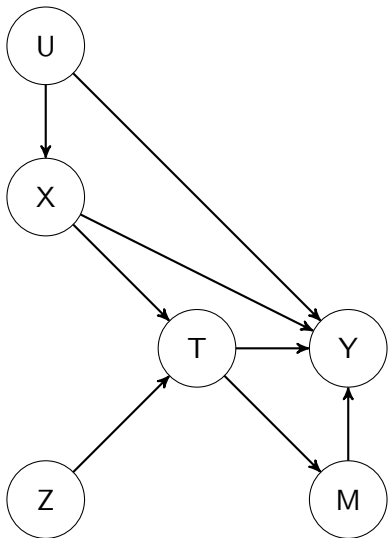
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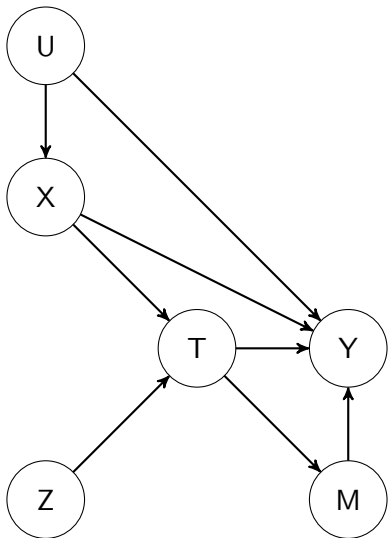
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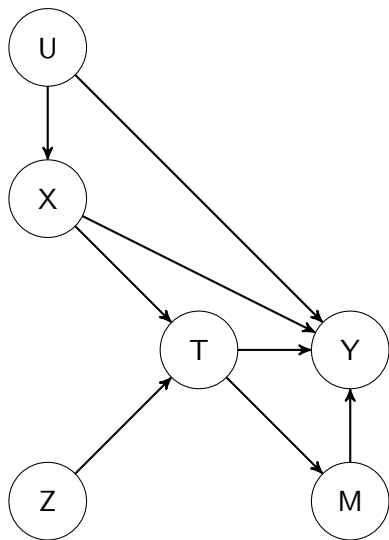
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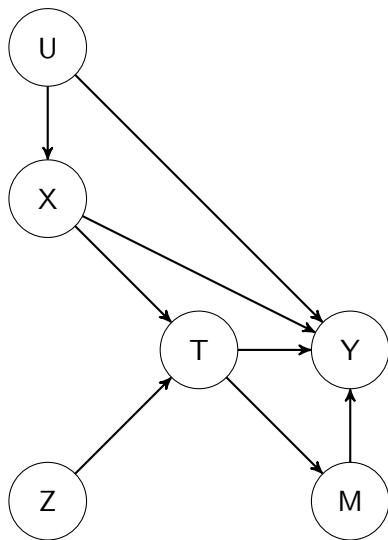
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- all relationships are **non-parametric**

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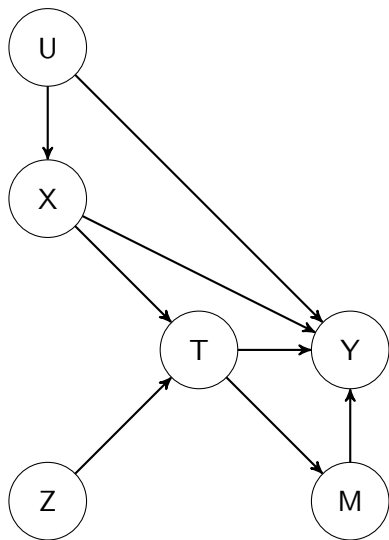
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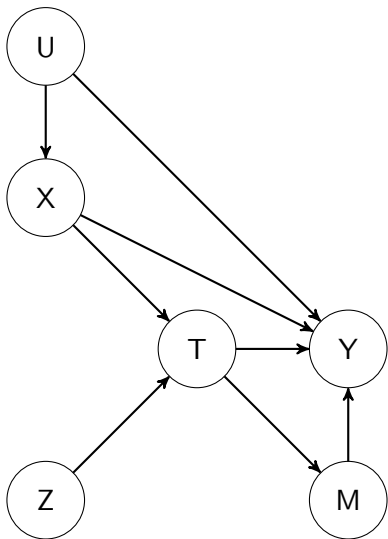
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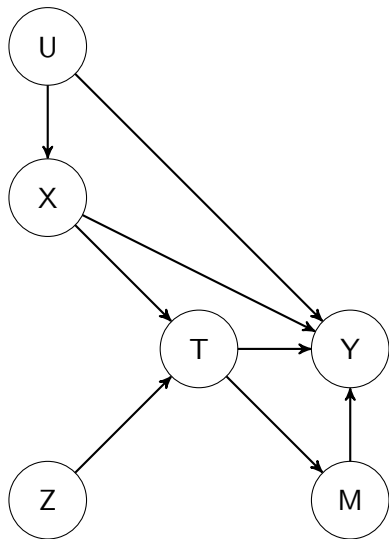


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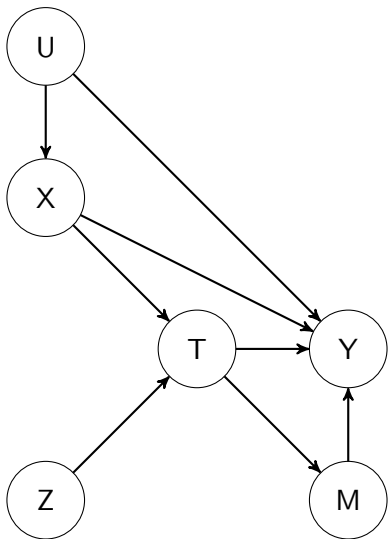
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## Relationships in a DAG



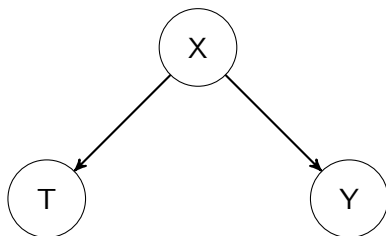
- Parents (Children): directly causing (caused by) a node
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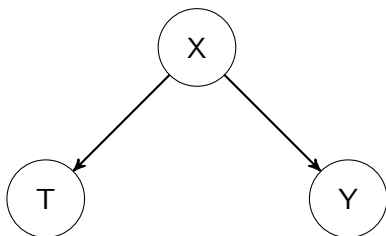
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- We will talk in depth about two types of relationships: **confounders** and **colliders**

# Confounders



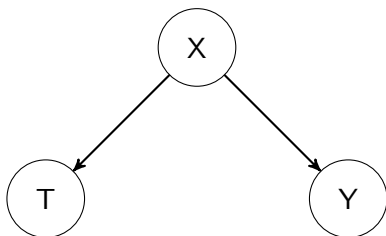
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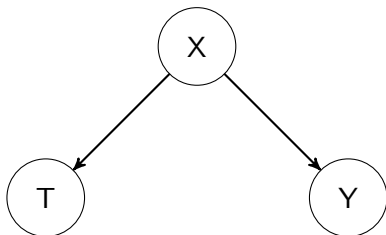
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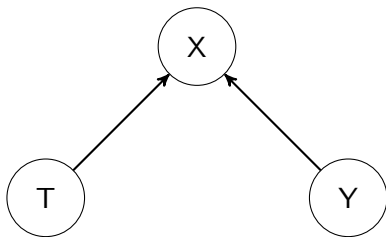
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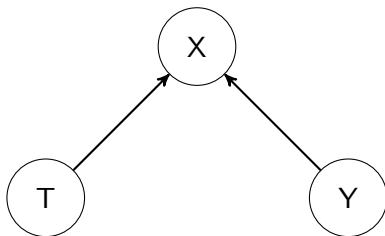
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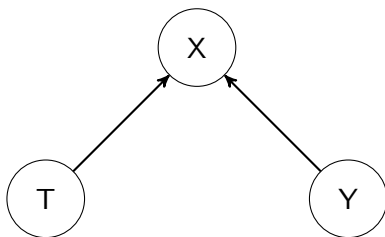


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# Colliders are scary because you can induce dependence



## Endogenous Selection Bias: The Problem of Conditioning on a Collider Variable

Felix Elwert<sup>1</sup> and Christopher Winship<sup>2</sup>

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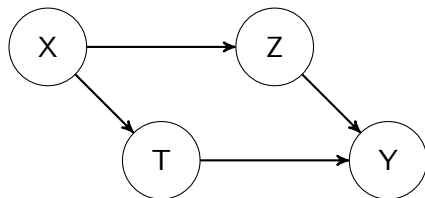
### Keywords

causality, directed acyclic graphs, identification, confounding, selection

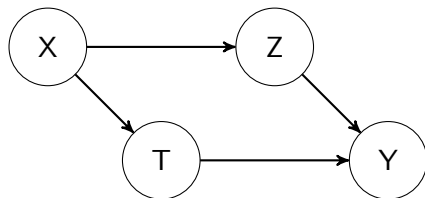
### Abstract

Endogenous selection bias is a central problem for causal inference. Recognizing the problem, however, can be difficult in practice. This article introduces a purely graphical way of characterizing endogenous selection bias and of understanding its consequences (Hernán et al. 2004). We use causal graphs (direct acyclic graphs, or DAGs) to highlight that endogenous selection bias stems from conditioning (e.g., controlling, stratifying, or selecting) on a so-called collider variable, i.e., a variable that is itself caused by two other variables, one that is (or is associated with) the treatment and another that is (or is associated with) the outcome. Endogenous selection bias can result from direct conditioning on the outcome variable, a post-outcome variable, a post-treatment variable, and even a pre-treatment variable. We highlight the difference between endogenous selection bias, common-cause confounding, and overcontrol bias and discuss numerous examples from social stratification, cultural sociology, social network analysis, political sociology, social demography, and the sociology of education.

## From Confounders to Back-Door Paths

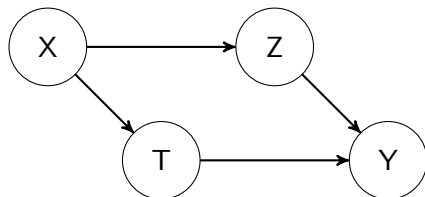


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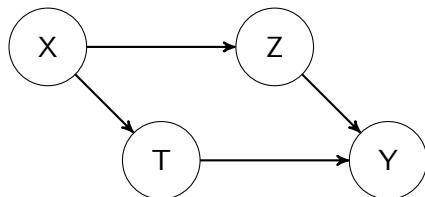
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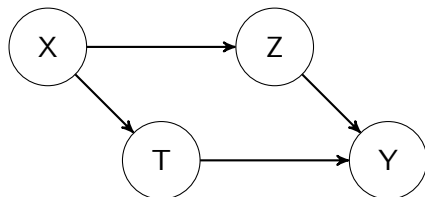
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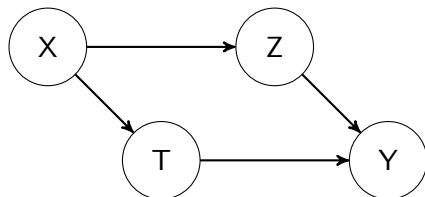
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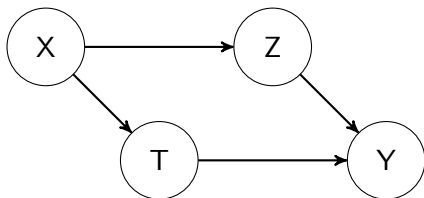


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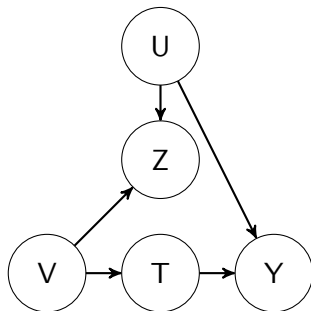
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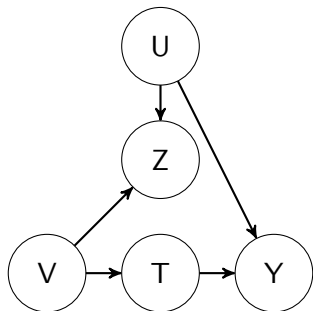
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- We want to **block** the back-door path to leave only the causal effect

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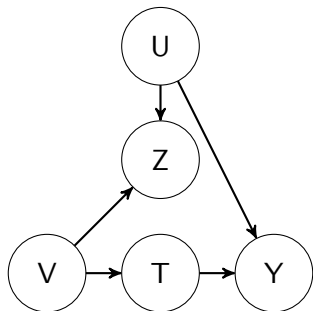


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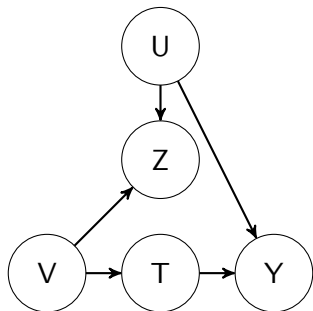
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- So how do we know which back-door paths to block?

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- If  $A$  is not  $D$ -separated from  $B$  by  $C$  we say that  $A$  is **D-connected** to  $B$  by  $C$

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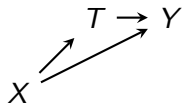
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- We will see some other approaches late in the semester.

## Blocking backdoor paths: College and earnings

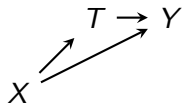
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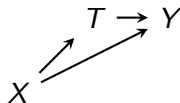
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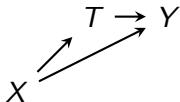
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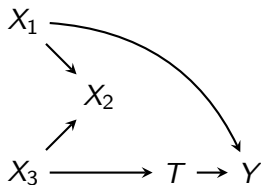
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Ability, parents' income, parents' education, extended family who pay for college and help you find a job, neighborhood characteristics that affect high school quality and also the availability of local jobs, ... **lots of things!**

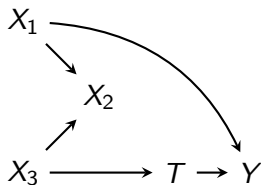
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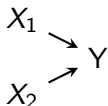
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**No need to condition!**  $X_2$  already blocks this path. it is a **collider**.



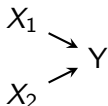
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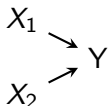


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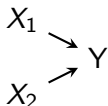


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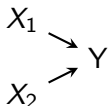


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Example extended from Elwert & Winship 2014

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**Should we worry about this design?** It depends on our **theory** about how these variables are related. We can argue about identification with a DAG.

# Colliders: When drawing a DAG helps

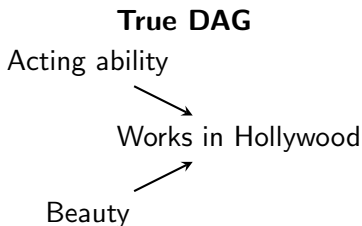
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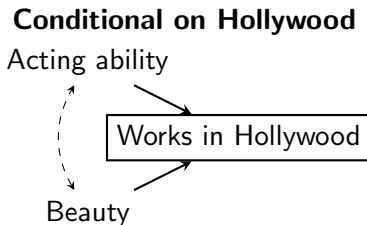
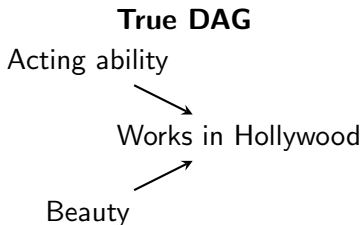


**Conditional on Hollywood**

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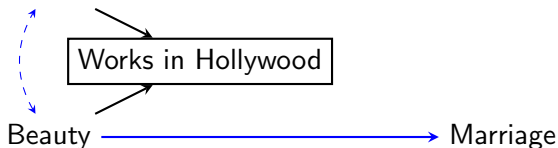


# Colliders: When drawing a DAG helps

Example extended from Elwert & Winship 2014

This is an example of conditioning on a collider! We induce a negative association between acting ability and beauty.

Acting ability



Under the assumptions above, our results are driven by collider conditioning!

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- This can often be helpful for distinguishing data as it exists in the world and data as it might exist in the counterfactual world.
- The do-calculus is actually a much broader set of rules that operate on the DAG structure to help us calculate causal effects (or learn when we can't!).

# Thoughts on DAGs and Potential Outcomes

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Next Time: Causation for Non-Manipulable Variables

# Where We've Been and Where We're Going...

- Last Week
  - ▶ diagnostics
- This Week
  - ▶ making an argument in social sciences
  - ▶ causal inference
  - ▶ two frameworks: potential outcomes and directed acyclic graphs
  - ▶ the experimental ideal
  - ▶ causation for non-manipulable variables
- Next Week
  - ▶ selection on observables
- Long Run
  - ▶ probability → inference → regression → causal inference



- 1 Making Arguments
  - Regression
  - Causal Inference
  - Visualization
- 2 Core Ideas in Causal Inference
- 3 Potential Outcomes
  - Framework
  - Estimands
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- Lundberg offers a perspective where the non-manipulable variable defines social categories but is not the treatment itself.
- More broadly there is a need to define what the **proposed intervention is** because even cases that can be manipulated can be very opaque (e.g. obesity).



## Bundle of Sticks

Sen and Wasow (2016) “Race as a Bundle of Sticks: Designs that Estimate Effects of Seemingly Immutable Characteristics” *Annual Review of Political Science*.

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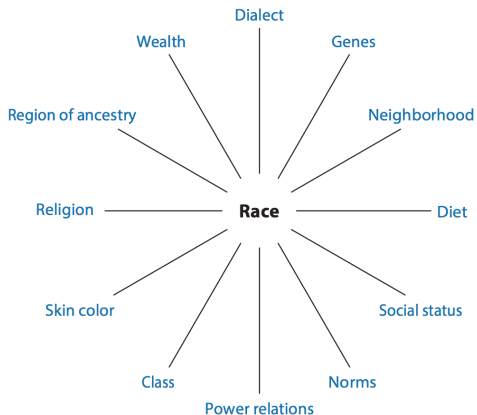
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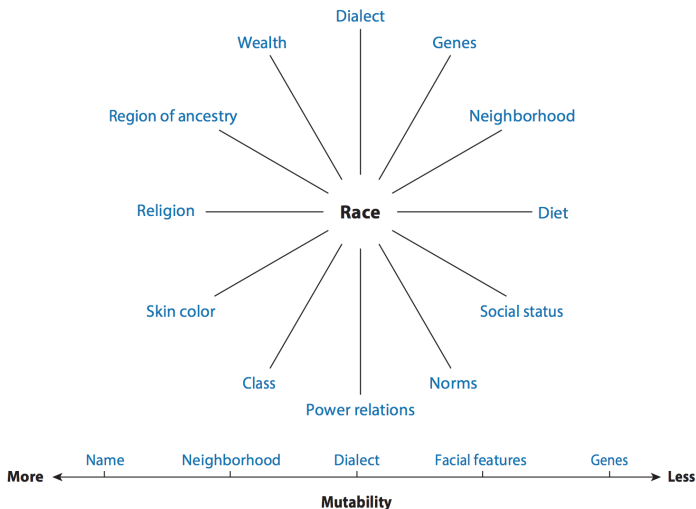
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  - ▶ there is substantial variance across treatments which is a SUTVA violation

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## Design 2: Within-Group Studies

- Approach: identify variation within the racial group along constitutive element.

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- Example: Sharkey (2010) exploiting temporal variation in local homicides in Chicago to identify a significant neighborhood effect of proximity to violence on cognitive performance of African-American children

# Concluding Thoughts

We can study race with causal inference, it just takes very **careful design**.

Table 2 Overview of exposure and within-group research designs

	Exposure	Within-Group
<b>Unit</b>	Individuals or institutions, potentially from any group	Members of a particular group
<b>Typical treatment</b>	Racial cue or signal (e.g., include distinctively ethnic names on a resume)	Constitutive element of the composite of race (e.g., address anxiety about social belonging in college)
<b>Role of element of race</b>	One “stick” is a proxy for the bundle (e.g., in a phone call with a landlord, dialect signals many traits associated with race)	One “stick” explains part of the bundle (e.g., Middle Passage might partly explain high rates of hypertension among African-Americans)
<b>Examples</b>	Correspondence and audit studies Implicit Association Tests	Experimental manipulation of a constitutive psychological dimension of race Within-race matching



## Gap Closing Estimands

Lundberg (2020) “The gap-closing estimand: A causal approach to study interventions that close disparities across social categories” Working Paper.

Thanks to Ian Lundberg for the slides that follow!

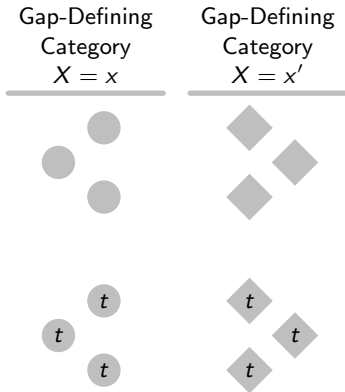
Gap-Defining  
Category  
 $X = x$



Gap-Defining  
Category  
 $X = x'$



Collections of units



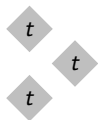
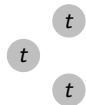
Collections of units

Exposed to the  
gap-closing  
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Collections of units



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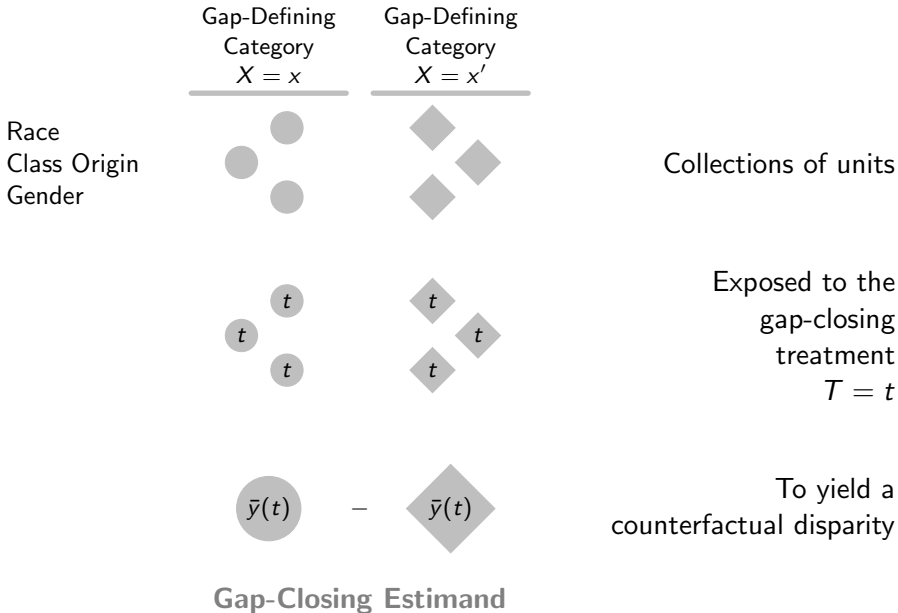


–



To yield a  
counterfactual disparity

**Gap-Closing Estimand**



### Gap-Closing Estimand

Gap-Defining Category  
 $X = x$

---

Gap-Defining Category  
 $X = x'$

---

Race  
Class Origin  
Gender



Collections of units

Incarceration  
College  
Occupation



Exposed to the  
gap-closing  
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 $T = t$

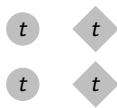


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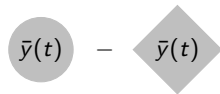
**Gap-Closing Estimand**



Categories



Treatment

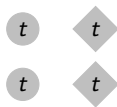


Counterfactual Disparity

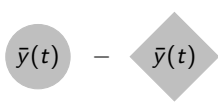


Categories

Parent Income

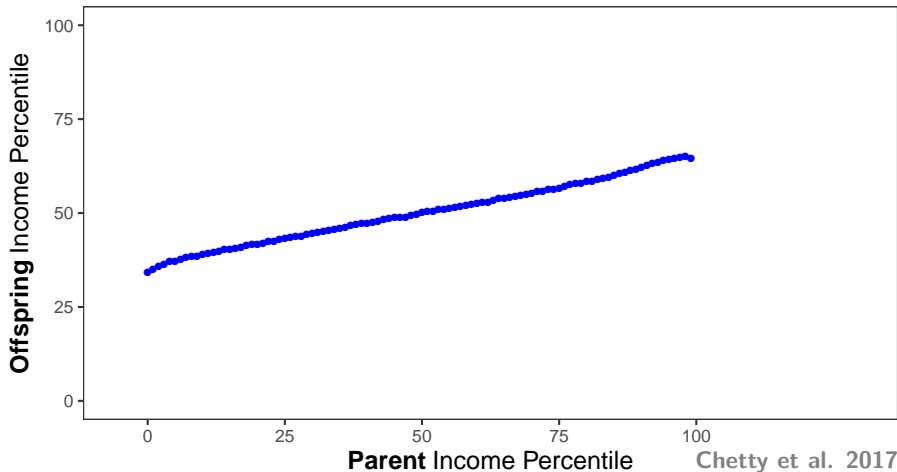


Treatment



Counterfactual Disparity

Offspring Income

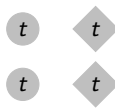




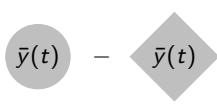


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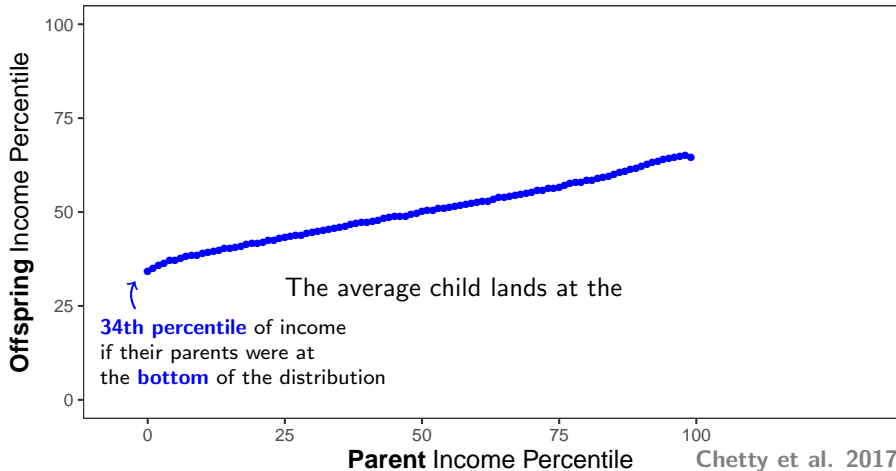


Treatment



Counterfactual Disparity

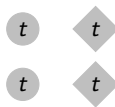
Offspring Income



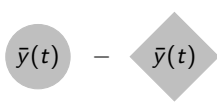


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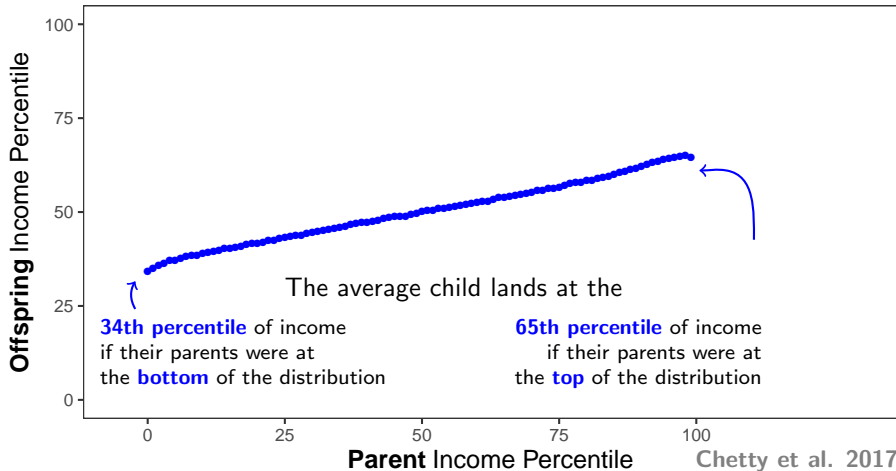


Treatment



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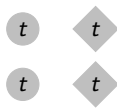
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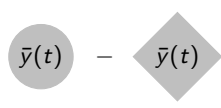


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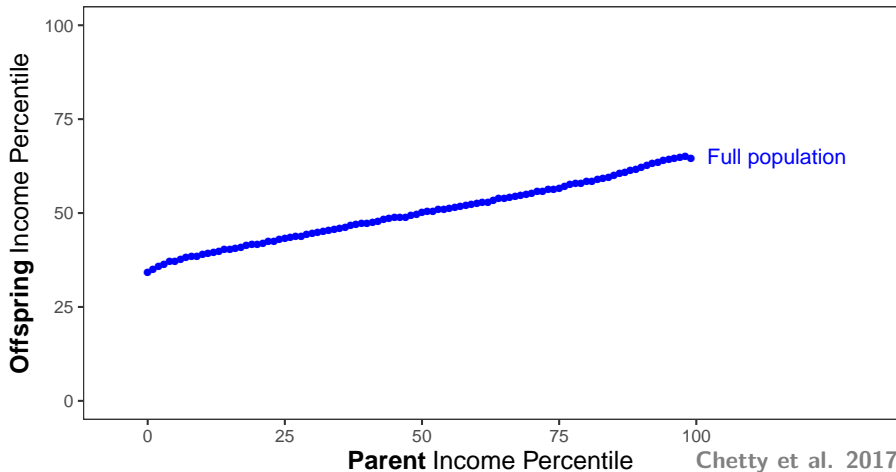


Treatment



Counterfactual Disparity

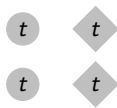
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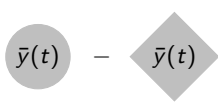
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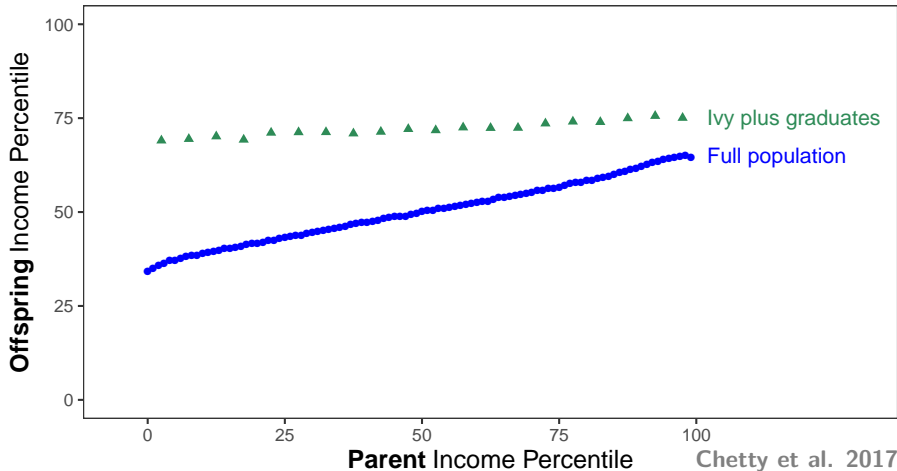
Treatment

Ivy Plus College



Counterfactual Disparity

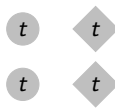
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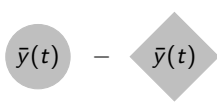
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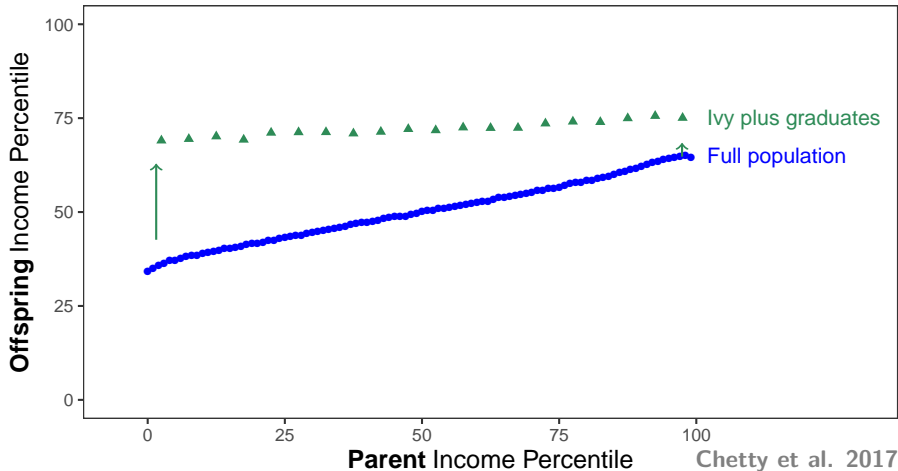
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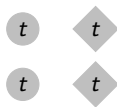
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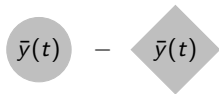




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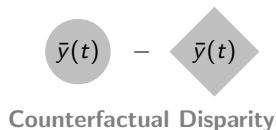
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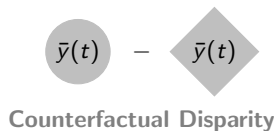
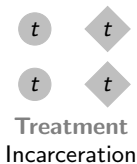
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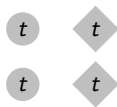
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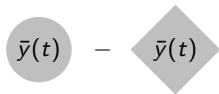




Categories  
Race



Treatment  
Incarceration



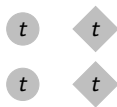
Counterfactual Disparity  
Earnings

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Categories



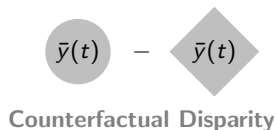
Treatment



Counterfactual Disparity

Suppose sex segregation—by occupation, establishment, or occupation-establishment—were abolished; what then would the remaining gender relative wages be?

— Petersen and Morgan 1995:338

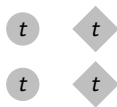


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Categories  
Sex



Treatment  
Occupation-Establishment



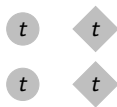
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Treatment  
Occupation-Establishment



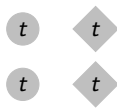
Counterfactual Disparity  
Wage

Suppose sex segregation—by occupation, establishment, or occupation-establishment—were abolished; what then would the remaining gender relative wages be?

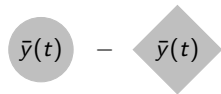
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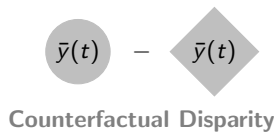
Categories



Treatment



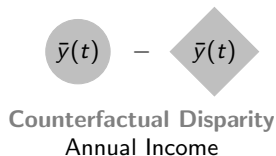
Counterfactual Disparity



## Perennial Question

Can individual attainment liberate one from the constraints of class origin?

Hout 1988; Torche 2011; Zhou 2019



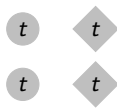
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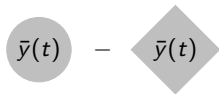




Categories  
Professional  
Class Origin



Treatment



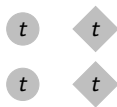
Counterfactual Disparity  
Annual Income

Perennial  
Question

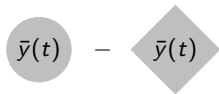
Can individual attainment liberate one from  
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Categories  
Professional  
Class Origin



Treatment  
Professional  
Class Destination



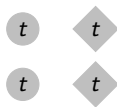
Counterfactual Disparity  
Annual Income

Perennial  
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Categories  
Professional  
Class Origin



Treatment  
Professional  
Class Destination



Counterfactual Disparity  
Annual Income

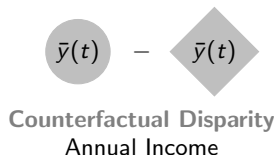
**Perennial  
Question**

Can individual attainment liberate one from the constraints of class origin?

**Descriptive  
Version**

Does class origin predict income net of class destination and other covariates?

Laurison and Friedman 2016



**Perennial  
Question**

Can individual attainment liberate one from the constraints of class origin?

**Descriptive  
Version**

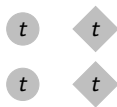
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**Gap-Closing  
Version**

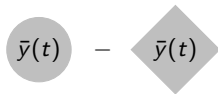
What counterfactual income disparity by class origin would persist if class destinations were reallocated?



Categories  
Professional  
Class Origin



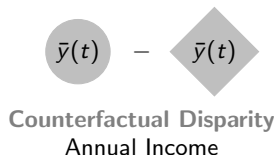
Treatment  
Professional  
Class Destination



Counterfactual Disparity  
Annual Income

### Gap-Closing Version

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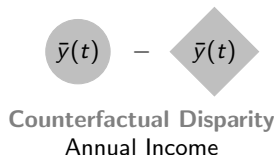


Category

Father held a professional occupation (binary)

**Gap-Closing  
Version**

What counterfactual income disparity by class origin would persist if class destinations were reallocated?



Category

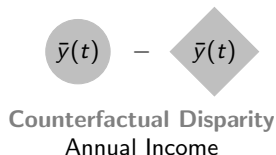
Father held a professional occupation (binary)

Treatment

Respondent held a professional occupation (binary)

### Gap-Closing Version

What counterfactual income disparity by class origin would persist if class destinations were reallocated?

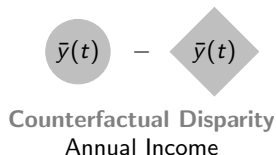


Category	Father held a professional occupation (binary)
Treatment	Respondent held a professional occupation (binary)
Outcome	Log(Annual Income)

### Gap-Closing Version

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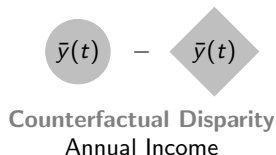




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Covariates	Race, Sex, Age, Education

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Treatment	Respondent held a professional occupation (binary)
Outcome	Log(Annual Income)
Covariates	Race, Sex, Age, Education
Target Population	U.S. population ages 30–45 in 1975–2018, with years equally weighted (General Social Survey)

### Gap-Closing Version

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Next Time: Causality with Measured Confounding