

# CAUSALITY

I USED TO THINK  
CORRELATION IMPLIED  
CAUSATION.



THEN I TOOK A  
STATISTICS CLASS.  
NOW I DON'T.



SOUNDS LIKE THE  
CLASS HELPED.



WELL, MAYBE.

# CAUSAL QUESTIONS

- Does the minimum wage increase the unemployment rate?
  - ▶ Unemployment rate went up after the minimum wage increased
  - ▶ Would the unemployment rate have gone up, had the minimum wage increase not occurred?
- Does race affect one's job prospect?
  - ▶ Jamal applied for a job but did not get it
  - ▶ Would Jamal have gotten a job if he were white?

- Our intuition about causation relies too heavily on simple comparisons of pre-post change in outcomes before and after something happens
  - ▶ No change: no causation
  - ▶ Increase in outcome: positive effect
  - ▶ Decrease in outcome: negative effect
- Comparison between factual and counterfactual
- **Fundamental problem of causal inference:** We must infer counterfactual outcomes
- No causation without manipulation: **immutable characteristics**

- The causal effect of the treatment  $T$  is the difference in  $Y$  with and without  $T$

$$Y(T = 1) - Y(T = 0)$$

- We can never observe  $Y$  where  $T = 1$  and  $T = 0$  at the same time!

# HOW DO WE DRAW CAUSAL INFERENCE?

- Anecdotes
- Correlations
- Regressions

These methods are all severely prone to error. Causal inference is a hard problem and invalid causal reasoning is one of the most common errors in human judgment, news reporting, and scientific studies!

- “My grandpa Boris ate two cloves of garlic everyday and lived until he was 95 years old.”
- For every anecdote you know, there might be many that you do not know that show the opposite pattern
- We often only raise those anecdotes that we like to see to justify actions or behaviors
- All that the anecdotes suggests is that Boris was prone to have a long life
- The key question for causal inference is about the unobserved counterfactual: how long would Boris have lived had she never ate garlic?

# HEART BREAKING One glass of wine a day is worse for the heart than binge drinking, study finds

Shaun Wooller

18 Oct 2019, 10:10 | Updated: 18 Oct 2019, 10:13

- The problem with correlations for causal inference is that they often arise for reasons that have nothing to do with the causal process under investigation (spurious correlation)
- Correlations are often driven by *selection effects*:
  - ▶ People who drink one glass of wine may already have existing health issues (Hence they're not binge drinking...)
  - ▶ Basketball players are tall, but does playing basketball make you taller?



- Correlations are often driven by *confounding factors*:
  - ▶ ice cream sales are correlated with murder rates throughout a typical year.
  - ▶ Does not mean ice cream causes murders. Confounding factor: weather.
- Correlations are neither a necessary nor sufficient condition for causality.

- Regressions are simply refined correlations that try to control for other confounding factors.
- Problems:
  - ▶ The list of all potential confounding factors is a bottomless pit.
  - ▶ How to properly control for confounders is often up for debate / unknown

# Study Says Obesity Can Be Contagious

By Gina Kolata

July 25, 2007



- People whose friends tend to be obese might differ in many ways from those whose friends are not obese:
  - ▶ They might be poorer economically, live in areas with easier access to healthier food, have less access to sports, different hobbies, eating habits, etc.
- For causal inference we need to ask: among people who are identical in all respects, does making friends with obese persons really make them more likely to become obese?

- Question: can we effectively persuade people to change their minds?
- Hugely important question for media companies, political campaigns, companies, NGOs, etc.
- Psychological studies show it isn't easy.

- **Contact Hypothesis:** outgroup hostility diminished when people from different groups interact with one another.
- We'll explore this question the context of support for gay marriage and contact with a member of the LGBT community.
  - ▶  $Y_i$  = support for gay marriage (1) or not (0)
  - ▶  $T_i$  = contact with member of LGBT community (1) or not (0)

# CAUSAL EFFECTS & COUNTERFACTUALS

- What does  $T_i$  causes  $Y_i$  mean ~ **counterfactuals** “what if”
- Would citizen  $i$  have supported gay marriage if they had been exposed to the LGBT community?
- *Two potential outcomes:*
  - ▶  $Y_i(1)$  would  $i$  have supported gay marriage if they had contact with a member of the LGBT community?
  - ▶  $Y_i(0)$  would  $i$  have supported gay marriage if they didn't have contact with a member of the LGBT community?
- **Causal effect:**  $Y_i(1) - Y_i(0)$
- **Fundamental problem of causal inference:** only one of the two potential outcomes is observable.

# QUANTITY OF INTEREST

- We want to estimate the average causal effects over all units:  
**Sample Average Treatment Effect (SATE)**

$$\frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n Y_i(1) - Y_i(0)$$

- What we can estimate instead: **Difference in Means**

$$\bar{Y}_{treated} - \bar{Y}_{control}$$

- $\bar{Y}_{treated}$ : observed average outcome for treated group
- $\bar{Y}_{control}$ : observed average outcome for control group
- How do we ensure that the **difference-in-means** is a good estimate of the SATE?



# RANDOMIZED CONTROL TRIALS

- Randomize!
- Key idea: **Randomization** of the treatment makes the treatment and control groups “identical” on average.
- The two groups are similar in terms of all characteristics (both observed and unobserved).
  - ▶ Control group is similar to treatment group
  - ▶ Outcome in control group ~ what would have happened to treatment group if they had control.

- Randomisation ensures the treatment is not correlated with any other variable
- Randomisation generates balance between treatment and control groups
- Treatment and control groups identical on average
- Allows us to estimate the average treatment effect simply as a difference in means

# POTENTIAL PROBLEMS WITH RCTs

## ■ **Placebo effects:**

- ▶ Respondents will be affected by any intervention, even if they shouldn't have any effect.

## ■ **Hawthorne effects:**

- ▶ Respondents act differently just knowing that they are under study

# INTERNAL VERSUS EXTERNAL VALIDITY

- RCTs have very strong internal validity, that is, there is very little chance the result is derived from causes other than the treatment
- However, they may not generalise well. Why?
  - ▶ Samples may not reflect the whole population of interest
  - ▶ Treatment may be unrealistic ## Balance Checking
- Can we determine if randomization “worked”?
- If it did, we shouldn't see large differences between treatment and control group on **pretreatment variable**.
- Pretreatment variable are those that are unaffected by treatment.
- We can check in the actual data for some pretreatment variable X

▶  $\bar{X}_{treated}$  = mean of variable for treated group.  
▶  $\bar{X}_{control}$  = mean of variable for control group

# MULTIPLE TREATMENTS

- Instead of 1 treatment, we might have multiple **treatment arms**:
  - ▶ Control condition
  - ▶ Treatment A
  - ▶ Treatment B
  - ▶ Treatment C, etc
- In this case, we will look at multiple comparisons:
  - ▶  $\bar{Y}_{treated,A} - \bar{Y}_{control}$
  - ▶  $\bar{Y}_{treated,B} - \bar{Y}_{control}$
  - ▶  $\bar{Y}_{treated,A} - \bar{Y}_{treated,B}$

## GAY MARRIAGE EXAMPLE

- Question: can we effectively persuade people to change their minds?
- Two randomized control trials in Los Angeles (2013)
- Timed around the Supreme Court decision to legalize gay marriage in CA
- LaCour, M. J., and D. P. Green. 2014. "When Contact Changes Minds: An Experiment on Transmission of Support for Gay Equality." *Science* 346(6215): 1366–69.

- Canvassers were given a script leading to conversations that averaged about twenty minutes. A distinctive feature of this study is that *gay and straight canvassers were randomly assigned to households and canvassers revealed whether they were straight or gay in the course of the conversation.* The experiment aims to test the **contact hypothesis**, which contends that out-group hostility (towards gays in this case) diminishes when people from different groups interact with one another.

## ■ Randomized treatment:

- ▶ gay (n = 22) vs. straight (n = 19) canvassers with similar characteristics
- ▶ same-sex marriage vs. recycling scripts (20 min conversation)
- ▶ a total of 4 treatments:  $2 \times 2$  factorial design
- ▶ control group: no canvassing.



- study Study (1 or 2)
- treatment Treatment assignment: No contact, Same-Sex Marriage Script by Gay Canvasser, Same-Sex Marriage Script by Straight Canvasser, Recycling Script by Gay Canvasser, and Recycling Script by Straight Canvasser
- wave Survey wave (1-7). Note that Study 2 lacks wave 5 and 6.
- ssm Support for gay marriage (1 to 5).
  - ▶ Higher scores indicate more support.

- Persuasion scripts are the same except one important difference:
  - ▶ gay canvassers: they would like to get married but the law prohibits it.
  - ▶ straight canvassers: their gay child, friend, or relative would like to get married but the law prohibits it.
- What is the recycling script for? ~ **Placebo effect**
- Outcome measured via unrelated **panel** survey: self-reported support for same-sex marriage.
- Why use an “unrelated” survey? ~ **Hawthorne effect**

# **CHANGING MINDS ON GAY MARRIAGE**

- Using the baseline interview wave before the treatment is administered (`wave == 1`), examine whether randomisation was properly conducted. Base your analysis on the three groups of Study 1:
  - ▶ 'Same-Sex Marriage Script by Gay Canvasser'
  - ▶ 'Same-Sex Marriage Script by Straight Canvasser'
  - ▶ 'No Contact.'

# LOAD AND FILTER DATA

```
library(tidyverse)
gay = read.csv("C:/Users/afisher/Documents/R Code/qss/CAUSALITY/gay.csv")
str(gay)
```

```
## 'data.frame':    69592 obs. of  4 variables:
## $ study      : int  1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 ...
## $ treatment: Factor w/ 5 levels "No Contact","Recycling Script by Gay Canvasser",...: 1 1 1 ...
## $ wave       : int  3 4 1 6 2 7 7 6 1 2 ...
## $ ssm        : int  5 5 5 5 5 5 5 4 4 4 ...
```

*# Subset to Study 1*

```
gay = gay %>%
  filter(study == 1)
```

```
wave1 = gay %>%
  filter(wave == 1)
```

*# Subset by treatment, wave, and study*

```
w1_gay = gay %>%
  filter(wave==1 & treatment == "Same-Sex Marriage Script by Gay Canvasser")
```

```
w1_straight = gay %>%
  filter(wave==1 & treatment == "Same-Sex Marriage Script by Straight Canvasser")
```

```
w1_control = gay %>%
  filter(wave==1 & treatment == "No Contact")
```

# GET MEAN SUPPORT BY GROUP

```
# Mean support in gay canvasser group before treatment  
mean(w1_gay$ssm)
```

```
## [1] 3.025195
```

```
# Mean support in straight canvasser group before treatment  
mean(w1_straight$ssm)
```

```
## [1] 3.09971
```

```
# Mean support in control group before treatment  
mean(w1_control$ssm)
```

```
## [1] 3.042764
```

# MEAN BY TREATMENT

```
tapply(wave1$ssm, wave1$treatment, mean)
```

```
##                                No Contact
##                                3.042764
##           Recycling Script by Gay Canvasser
##                                3.130975
##           Recycling Script by Straight Canvasser
##                                3.013474
##           Same-Sex Marriage Script by Gay Canvasser
##                                3.025195
## Same-Sex Marriage Script by Straight Canvasser
##                                3.099710
```

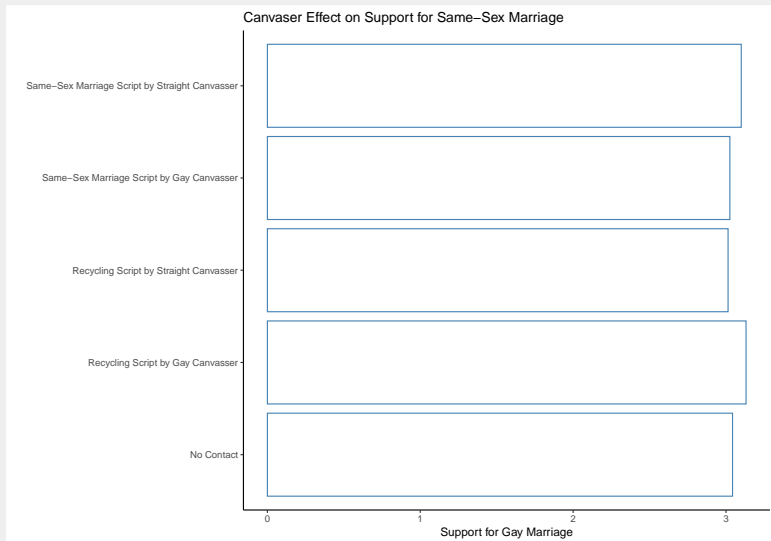
## PLOTTING SUPPORT FOR GAY MARRIAGE ACROSS TREATMENTS

```
library(ggplot2)
# calculate the means of each combination of 'grade'
means <- wave1 %>% group_by(treatment) %>%
  summarise(mean = mean(ssm))

# making the plot
ggplot(means, aes(x = treatment, y = mean)) +
  geom_bar(stat = "identity") +
  coord_flip()
```

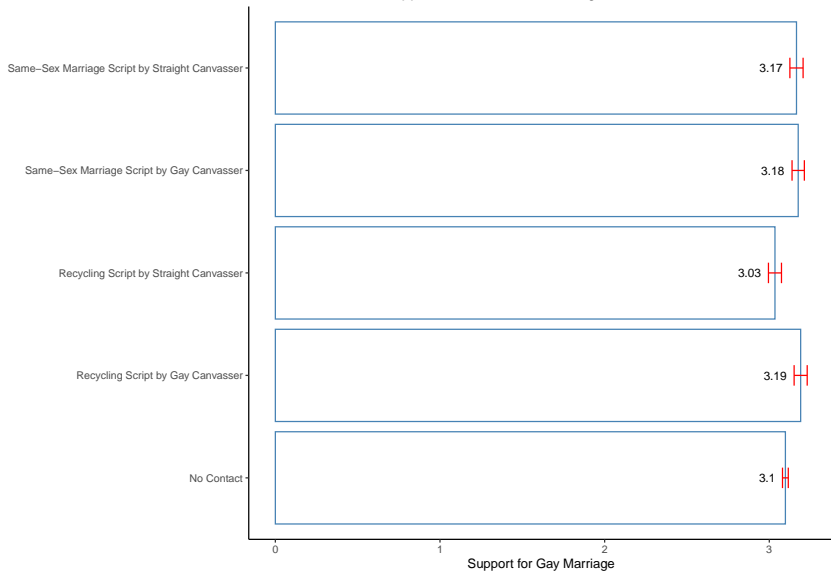


# PLOTTING SUPPORT FOR GAY MARRIAGE ACROSS TREATMENTS



# ADDING CONFIDENCE INTERVALS

Canvasser Effect on Support for Same-Sex Marriage



# CHANGING MINDS ON GAY MARRIAGE

- The second wave of survey was implemented two months after the canvassing. Using Study 1, estimate the average treatment effects of gay and straight canvassers on support for same-sex marriage, separately (wave = 2). Give a brief interpretation of the results.

# TREATMENT EFFECT IN WAVE 2

```
w2_gay = gay %>%  
  filter(wave==2 & treatment == "Same-Sex Marriage Script by Gay Canvasser")  
  
w2_straight = gay %>%  
  filter(wave==2 & treatment == "Same-Sex Marriage Script by Straight Canvasser")  
  
w2_control = gay %>%  
  filter(wave==2 & treatment == "No Contact")  
  
# ATE for gay canvassers  
mean(w2_gay$ssm) - mean(w2_control$ssm)  
  
## [1] 0.09987463  
  
# ATE for straight canvassers  
mean(w2_straight$ssm) - mean(w2_control$ssm)  
  
## [1] 0.122248
```

## WHAT DID WE LEARN

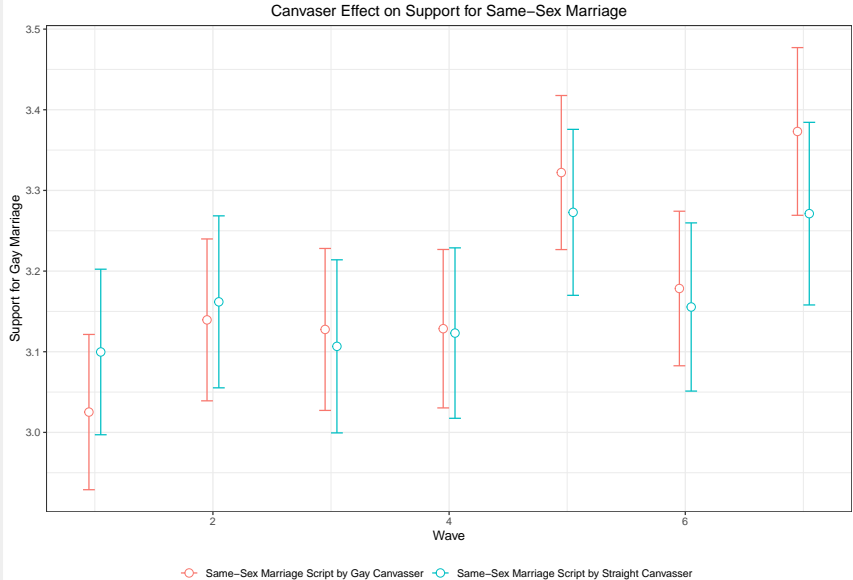
- Approval of gay marriage increased on average by 0.1 for gay canvassers and by 0.122 for straight canvassers.
- Do results persist over time?

# TREATMENT EFFECTS IN WAVE 7

```
w7_gay = gay %>%  
  filter(wave==7 & treatment == "Same-Sex Marriage Script by Gay Canvasser")  
  
w7_straight = gay %>%  
  filter(wave==7 & treatment == "Same-Sex Marriage Script by Straight Canvasser")  
  
w7_control = gay %>%  
  filter(wave==7 & treatment == "No Contact")  
  
# ATE for gay canvassers  
mean(w7_gay$ssm) - mean(w7_control$ssm)  
  
## [1] 0.05936835  
  
# ATE for straight canvassers  
mean(w7_straight$ssm) - mean(w7_control$ssm)  
  
## [1] -0.04253721
```

- Approval of gay marriage increased on average by 0.059 for gay canvassers and by -0.043 for straight canvassers. The results show that the effect for gay canvassers is persistent over time.

# ANY LASTING EFFECTS?



# OBSERVATIONAL STUDIES

- Example of an **observational study**:
  - ▶ We as researchers observe a naturally assigned treatment
  - ▶ Very common: often can't randomize for ethical/logistical reasons.
- **Internal validity**: are the causal assumption satisfied? Can we interpret this as a causal effect?
  - ▶ RCTs usually have higher internal validity.
  - ▶ Observational studies less so, because pre-treatment variable may differ between treatment and control groups
- **External validity**: can the conclusions/estimated effects be generalized beyond this study?
  - ▶ RCTs weaker here because often very expensive to conduct on representative samples.
  - ▶ Observational studies often have larger/more representative samples that improve external validity



- **Confounder:** a pre-treatment variable affecting treatment and the outcome.
  - ▶ Example:
- **Confounding bias** in the estimated SATE due to these differences
  - ▶  $Y_{control}$  not a good proxy for  $Y_i(o)$  in treated group.
  - ▶ one type: **selection bias** from self-selection into treatment

- Why is it harder to make causal inference with observational data?
- **Confounders/confounding variables:** variables that are associated both with the treatment and the outcome
- If the treatment is not independent from pre-treatment variables, we cannot be sure about what causes what

# EXAMPLES OF CONFOUNDERS

- Are incumbents more likely to win elections?
  - ▶ Maybe, but they also receive more campaign donations
- Are democratic countries more peaceful than authoritarian ones?
  - ▶ Maybe, but they also tend to be richer
- **Selection bias:** groups are not directly comparable

- Pre-treatment variables have to be controlled for, that is, *held constant* in the analysis
- **Statistical control:** we use statistical methods to create balance between treatment and control and emulate an experiment as best as we can. E.g:
  - ▶ Instrumental variables (IV)
  - ▶ Regression discontinuity designs (RDD)
  - ▶ Differences-in-differences (DD/DiD/Diff-in-diff)

- **Statistical control:** adjust for confounders using statistical procedures.
  - ▶ can help to reduce confounding bias.
- One type of statistical control: **subclassification**
  - ▶ Compare treated and control groups within levels of a confounding variable.
  - ▶ Remaining effect can't be due to the confounder
- **Threat to inference:** we can only control for observed variables ~ threat of unmeasured confounding

# DIFFERENCE IN DIFFERENCE (DID)

- Key idea: use the before-and-after difference of **control group** to infer what would have happened to **treatment group** without treatment.
- Requires data for two time periods (before and after treatment) and at least two units
- **Parallel time trend assumption**
  - ▶ Example:
  - ▶ Threat to inference: non-parallel trends
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dSlCBJSh96w&feature=youtu.be>

## FOR MORE SEE...

- <https://uclssp.github.io/PUBLOO50/>
- <https://egap.org/methods-guides/10-things-you-need-know-about-causal-inference>
- [http://www.cookbook-r.com/Graphs/Plotting\\_means\\_and\\_error\\_bars\\_\(ggplot2\)/](http://www.cookbook-r.com/Graphs/Plotting_means_and_error_bars_(ggplot2)/)
- [https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/afex/vignettes/afex\\_plot\\_introduction.html](https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/afex/vignettes/afex_plot_introduction.html)
- <https://bookdown.org/ccolonescu/RPoE4/indvars.html#the-difference-in-differences-estimator>
- <https://www.econometrics-with-r.org/13-4-quasi-experiments.html>
- <https://www.econometrics-with-r.org/13-4-quasi-experiments.html>
- <https://www.mailman.columbia.edu/research/population-health-methods/difference-difference-estimation>

# DID PLOT

## The Differences-in-Differences Estimator

