

A (Brief) Introduction to Causal Inference

Evan A. Jones
University of Maryland – College Park

February 14, 2021

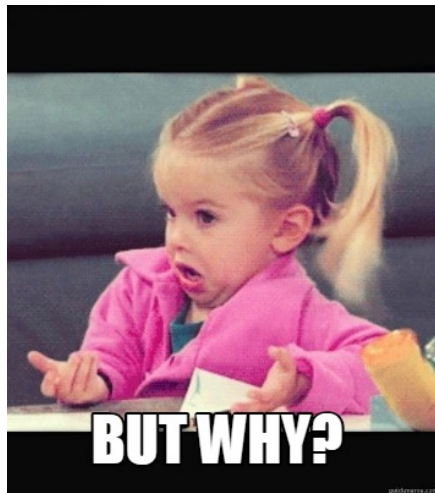
Prepared for GVPT's GSA Method Workshop, Spring 2021.

The “Why?” and “What If?” Questions

- Understanding the world around us is an inherently human endeavor

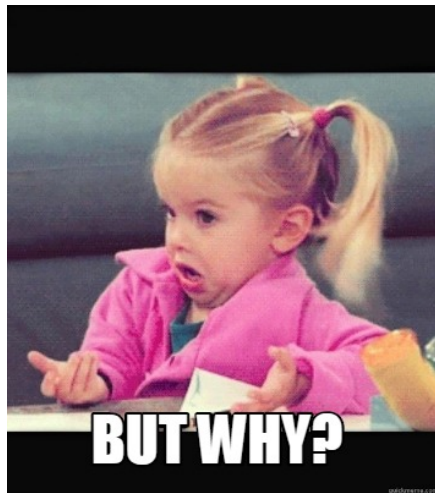
The “Why?” and “What If?” Questions

- Understanding the world around us is an inherently human endeavor
- Human children explore the world as scientists do (2, 4):
 - Asking questions
 - Forming hypotheses
 - Testing hypotheses via interventions (5)



The “Why?” and “What If?” Questions

- Understanding the world around us is an inherently human endeavor
- Human children explore the world as scientists do (2, 4):
 - Asking questions
 - Forming hypotheses
 - Testing hypotheses via interventions (5)
- By adulthood, we have fairly solid causal intuition about the physical world



The “Why?” and “What If?” Questions

- As researchers, we fit regressions all the time and interpret coefficients

The “Why?” and “What If?” Questions

- As researchers, we fit regressions all the time and interpret coefficients
- Take the following, for instance :

$$Y = \alpha + \beta X + \theta Z + \epsilon$$

The “Why?” and “What If?” Questions

- As researchers, we fit regressions all the time and interpret coefficients
- Take the following, for instance :

$$Y = \alpha + \beta X + \theta Z + \epsilon$$

- When can we interpret β as a causal effect?

The “Why?” and “What If?” Questions

What is causality?

Outline

- Logic of Causal Inference
- Experiments vs the World
- Potential Outcomes vs Structural Causal Models

Logic of Causal Inference

Beyond Description

- Causal explanations are “more than mere descriptions . . . of the observed data” (1, p. 3)

Beyond Description

- Causal explanations are “more than mere descriptions . . . of the observed data” (1, p. 3)
- Break down phenomena into constituent parts and define how parts interact to produce emergent behavior (*data-generating process*) (11)

Beyond Description

- Causal explanations are “more than mere descriptions . . . of the observed data” (1, p. 3)
- Break down phenomena into constituent parts and define how parts interact to produce emergent behavior (*data-generating process*) (11)
- Once uncovered, causal mechanisms are powerful

Beyond Description

We can answer counterfactual questions:

- (Incumbency effect) What *would have* been the election outcome if the candidate were an incumbent?

Beyond Description

We can answer counterfactual questions:

- (Incumbency effect) What *would have* been the election outcome if the candidate were an incumbent?
- (Resource curse) What *would have* been the GDP growth rate without oil?

Beyond Description

We can answer counterfactual questions:

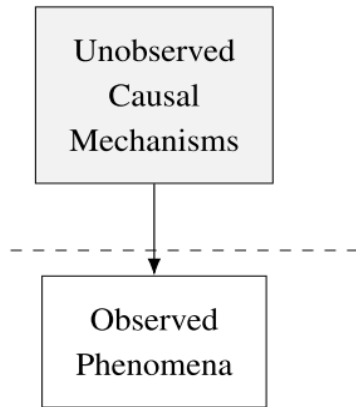
- (Incumbency effect) What *would have* been the election outcome if the candidate were an incumbent?
- (Resource curse) What *would have* been the GDP growth rate without oil?
- (Democratic peace) *Would* the two countries have escalated conflict similarly if they were both autocratic?

Beyond Description

Causal mechanisms allow us to make unbiased predictions about the effect of *interventions* and *counterfactual situations*

The Ladder of Causation

Answering causal queries requires more than observing data. Why?

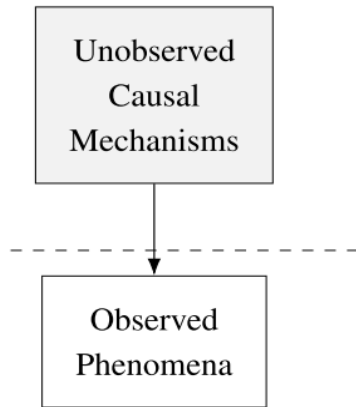


Taken from (1, p. 6)

The Ladder of Causation

Answering causal queries requires more than observing data. Why?

1. Causal mechanisms are generally *unobservable* (8)

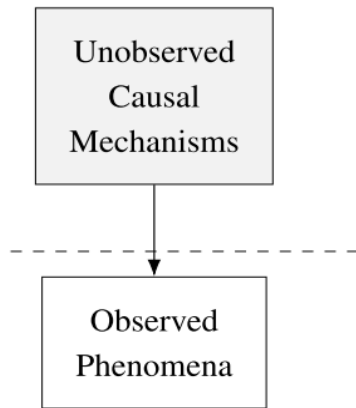


Taken from (1, p. 6)

The Ladder of Causation

Answering causal queries requires more than observing data. Why?

1. Causal mechanisms are generally *unobservable* (8)
2. Data represent single realized outcome of an intervention (traces of mechanism)

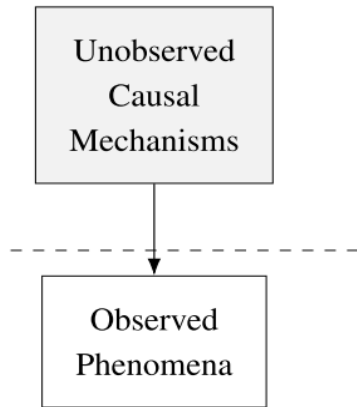


Taken from (1, p. 6)

The Ladder of Causation

Answering causal queries requires more than observing data. Why?

1. Causal mechanisms are generally *unobservable* (8)
2. Data represent single realized outcome of an intervention (traces of mechanism)
3. Sample does not match the population/group we want to study

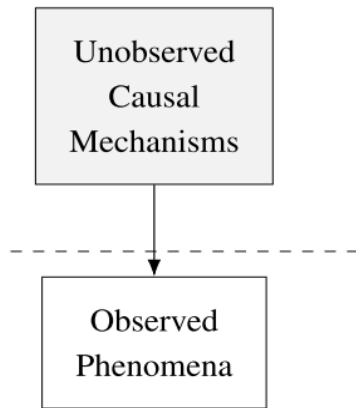


Taken from (1, p. 6)

The Ladder of Causation

Answering causal queries requires more than observing data. Why?

1. Causal mechanisms are generally *unobservable* (8)
2. Data represent single realized outcome of an intervention (traces of mechanism)
3. Sample does not match the population/group we want to study
4. Data suggest paradoxical effects



Taken from (1, p. 6)

Simpson's Paradox

Believe the Election Was Stolen

Misinfo	Total	
	Yes	47% ($\frac{582}{1240}$)
	No	60% ($\frac{456}{760}$)
		$\mathbb{E}[Y T]$

- Social media data on user behavior
- Consumers of misinformation are *less* likely to believe the election was stolen
- Hmm... what is happening?

Simpson's Paradox

Believe the Election Was Stolen

Misinfo

	D	R	Total
Yes	30% ($\frac{240}{800}$)	78% ($\frac{342}{440}$)	47% ($\frac{582}{1240}$)
No	11% ($\frac{16}{150}$)	72% ($\frac{440}{610}$)	60% ($\frac{456}{760}$)
	$\mathbb{E}[Y T, C=D]$	$\mathbb{E}[Y T, C=R]$	$\mathbb{E}[Y T]$

- When we group by party, the effect of misinformation flips

$$\underbrace{\frac{800}{1240}}_{\text{upweight}}(0.3) + \frac{440}{1240}(0.78) = 0.47$$

$$\frac{150}{760}(0.11) + \underbrace{\frac{610}{760}}_{\text{upweight}}(0.73) = 0.60$$

Simpson's Paradox

Believe the Election Was Stolen

	D	R	Total
Misinfo	Yes 30% ($\frac{240}{800}$)	78% ($\frac{342}{440}$)	47% ($\frac{582}{1240}$)
	No 11% ($\frac{16}{150}$)	72% ($\frac{440}{610}$)	60% ($\frac{456}{760}$)
	$\mathbb{E}[Y T, C=D]$	$\mathbb{E}[Y T, C=R]$	$\mathbb{E}[Y T]$

$$\mathbb{E}[Y|T=1] - \mathbb{E}[Y|T=0] = -0.13$$

$$\mathbb{E}[Y|T=1, C] - \mathbb{E}[Y|T=0, C] = 0.12$$

- When we group by party, the effect of misinformation flips

$$\underbrace{\frac{800}{1240}}_{\text{upweight}} (0.3) + \frac{440}{1240} (0.78) = 0.47$$

$$\frac{150}{760} (0.11) + \underbrace{\frac{610}{760}}_{\text{upweight}} (0.73) = 0.60$$

What is the effect of misinformation?

The Ladder of Causation

Layer (Symbolic)	Typical Activity	Typical Question	Example	Statistics

Based on table from (1, p. 8)

The Ladder of Causation

	Layer (Symbolic)	Typical Activity	Typical Question	Example	Statistics
\mathcal{L}_1	Associational $P(y x)$	Seeing	What is? How would seeing X change my belief in Y?	What does a speech tell us about a politician's ideology?	Regression / Model fitting / MLE

Based on table from (1, p. 8)

The Ladder of Causation

	Layer (Symbolic)	Typical Activity	Typical Question	Example	Statistics
\mathcal{L}_1	Associational $P(y x)$	Seeing	What is? How would seeing X change my belief in Y?	What does a speech tell us about a politician's ideology?	Regression / Model fitting / MLE
\mathcal{L}_2	Interventional $P(y do(x), c)$	Doing	What if? What if I do X?	What if we tax carbon, will GHG emissions lower?	Experiment / Natural Experiment / Adjustment

Based on table from (1, p. 8)

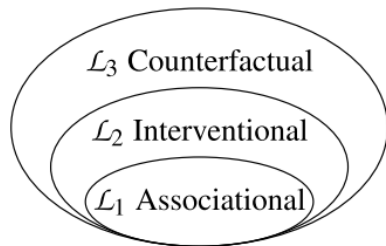
The Ladder of Causation

	Layer (Symbolic)	Typical Activity	Typical Question	Example	Statistics
\mathcal{L}_1	Associational $P(y x)$	Seeing	What is? How would seeing X change my belief in Y?	What does a speech tell us about a politician's ideology?	Regression / Model fitting / MLE
\mathcal{L}_2	Interventional $P(y do(x), c)$	Doing	What if? What if I do X?	What if we tax carbon, will GHG emissions lower?	Experiment / Natural Experiment / Adjustment
\mathcal{L}_3	Counterfactual $P(y_x x', y')$	Imagining	Why? What if I had acted differently?	Was it the Russians that caused Trump to win?	—

Based on table from (1, p. 8)

The Problem of Causal Inference

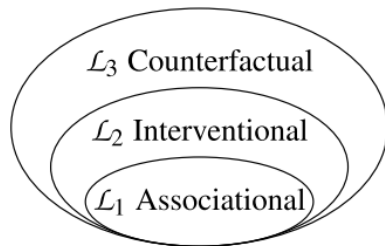
- The layers of the causal hierarchy are nested



Taken from (1, p. 6)

The Problem of Causal Inference

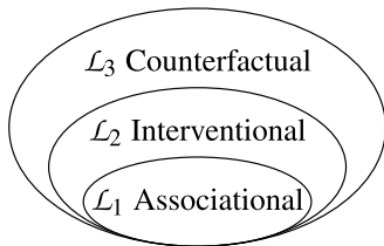
- The layers of the causal hierarchy are nested
- *Generally impossible* to draw higher-layer inferences with only lower-layer information (1)



Taken from (1, p. 6)

The Problem of Causal Inference

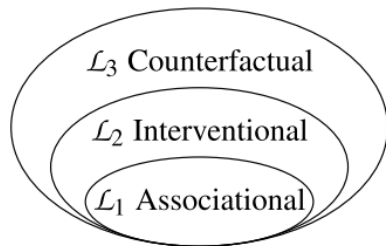
- The layers of the causal hierarchy are nested
- *Generally impossible* to draw higher-layer inferences with only lower-layer information (1)
- Q: So what “information” allows us to move up the ladder?



Taken from (1, p. 6)

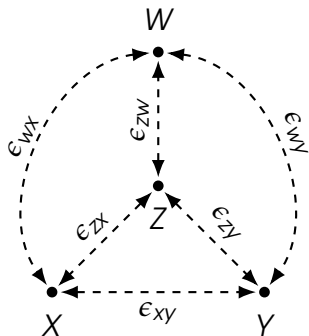
The Problem of Causal Inference

- The layers of the causal hierarchy are nested
- *Generally impossible* to draw higher-layer inferences with only lower-layer information (1)
- Q: So what “information” allows us to move up the ladder?
- A: *Causal assumptions*



Taken from (1, p. 6)

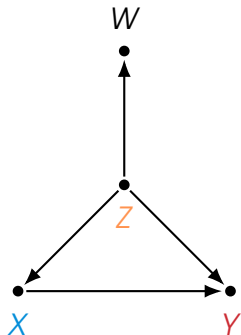
The Problem of Causal Inference



Observed data (\mathcal{L}_1)

- At \mathcal{L}_1 we have a variable “salad”
- In terms of probability, all we know is $P(X, Y, Z, W)$
- Everything *could be* related to everything else
- Best we can do is estimate associations (correlations)

The Problem of Causal Inference

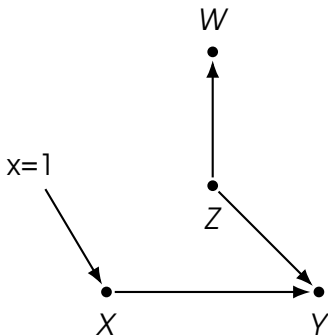


observed data (\mathcal{L}_1) +
causal assumptions

- With knowledge + additional evidence, we *assume* away some paths
- Arrows imply conditional dependencies:
 $\Rightarrow P(Y|Z, X)P(X, W|Z)P(Z)$
- Still *no intervention*, observed effect of *X* on *Y* depends on *Z*

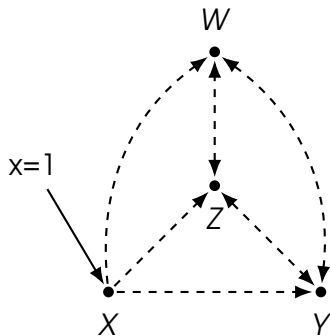
The Problem of Causal Inference

- We set the value of X :
 $do(x = 1)$



Intervention data (\mathcal{L}_2)

The Problem of Causal Inference



Intervention data (\mathcal{L}_2)

- We set the value of X :
 $do(x = 1)$
- Causal assumptions rendered moot
- If X influences Y , then a change in X will appear as a change in Y

$$\mathbb{E}[Y|X = x_1] - \mathbb{E}[Y|X = x_0] \neq 0$$

Simpson's Paradox Revisited

- What is the effect of misinformation on the belief that the 2020 election was fraudulent?

$$\mathbb{E}[Y|T = 1] - \mathbb{E}[Y|T = 0] = -0.13$$

or

$$\mathbb{E}[Y|T = 1, C] - \mathbb{E}[Y|T = 0, C] = 0.12$$

Simpson's Paradox Revisited

- What is the effect of misinformation on the belief that the 2020 election was fraudulent?

$$\mathbb{E}[Y|T = 1] - \mathbb{E}[Y|T = 0] = -0.13$$

or

$$\mathbb{E}[Y|T = 1, C] - \mathbb{E}[Y|T = 0, C] = 0.12$$

- It depends on your causal assumptions

Simpson's Paradox Revisited

- What is the effect of misinformation on the belief that the 2020 election was fraudulent?

$$\mathbb{E}[Y|T = 1] - \mathbb{E}[Y|T = 0] = -0.13$$

or

$$\mathbb{E}[Y|T = 1, C] - \mathbb{E}[Y|T = 0, C] = 0.12$$

- It depends on your causal assumptions

Partisanship

Misinformation

Fraud

Simpson's Paradox Revisited

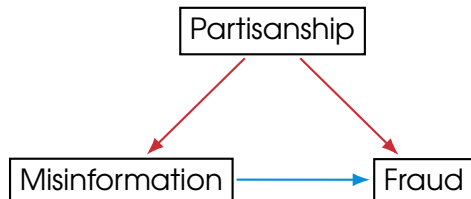
- What is the effect of misinformation on the belief that the 2020 election was fraudulent?

$$\mathbb{E}[Y|T = 1] - \mathbb{E}[Y|T = 0] = -0.13$$

or

$$\mathbb{E}[Y|T = 1, C] - \mathbb{E}[Y|T = 0, C] = 0.12$$

- It depends on your causal assumptions



Simpson's Paradox Revisited

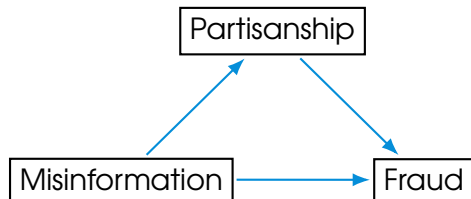
- What is the effect of misinformation on the belief that the 2020 election was fraudulent?

$$\mathbb{E}[Y|T = 1] - \mathbb{E}[Y|T = 0] = -0.13$$

or

$$\mathbb{E}[Y|T = 1, C] - \mathbb{E}[Y|T = 0, C] = 0.12$$

- It depends on your causal assumptions



The Problem of Causal Inference

“The central question in the analysis of causal effects is the question of *identification*: can the controlled (post-intervention) distribution, $P(Y = y | do(x))$, be estimated from data governed by the pre-intervention distribution $P(X, Y, Z, W)$?”

- Pearl (2009, p. 108)

The Problem of Causal Inference

- Thus, the key to causal inference is achieving identification

The Problem of Causal Inference

- Thus, the key to causal inference is achieving identification
- In experiments, identification is built-in since we control the treatment

The Problem of Causal Inference

- Thus, the key to causal inference is achieving identification
- In experiments, identification is built-in since we control the treatment
- In observational data, identification is tougher and, sometimes, *unachievable*

The Problem of Causal Inference

- Thus, the key to causal inference is achieving identification
- In experiments, identification is built-in since we control the treatment
- In observational data, identification is tougher and, sometimes, *unachievable*
- So why not only do experiments?

Experiments vs the World

Experiments: Pros and Cons

Pros

- Identification guaranteed

Cons

Experiments: Pros and Cons

Pros

- Identification guaranteed

⇒ Internal validity

Cons

Experiments: Pros and Cons

Pros

- Identification guaranteed
 - ⇒ Internal validity
- Greater control over intervention

Cons

Experiments: Pros and Cons

Pros

- Identification guaranteed
 - ⇒ Internal validity
- Greater control over intervention

Cons

- limits, limits, limits...

Experiments: Pros and Cons

Pros

- Identification guaranteed
 - ⇒ Internal validity
- Greater control over intervention

Cons

- limits, limits, limits...
- ethical

Experiments: Pros and Cons

Pros

- Identification guaranteed
 - ⇒ Internal validity
- Greater control over intervention

Cons

- limits, limits, limits...
 - ethical
 - physical

Experiments: Pros and Cons

Pros

- Identification guaranteed
 - ⇒ Internal validity
- Greater control over intervention

Cons

- limits, limits, limits...
 - ethical
 - physical
 - temporal

Experiments: Pros and Cons

Pros

- Identification guaranteed
 - ⇒ Internal validity
- Greater control over intervention

Cons

- limits, limits, limits...
 - ethical
 - physical
 - temporal
 - external validity / transportability

Experiments: Pros and Cons

Pros

- Identification guaranteed
 - ⇒ Internal validity
- Greater control over intervention

Cons

- limits, limits, limits...
 - ethical
 - physical
 - temporal
 - external validity / transportability
- Causal mechanism still an assumption

Observational Studies: Pros and Cons

Pros

- Can study phenomena of interest

Cons

Observational Studies: Pros and Cons

Pros

- Can study phenomena of interest
- ...in the population of interest

Cons

Observational Studies: Pros and Cons

Pros

- Can study phenomena of interest
- ...in the population of interest

⇒ external validity

Cons

Observational Studies: Pros and Cons

Pros

- Can study phenomena of interest
- ...in the population of interest

⇒ external validity

Cons

- Identification challenged by

Observational Studies: Pros and Cons

Pros

- Can study phenomena of interest
- ...in the population of interest

⇒ external validity

Cons

- Identification challenged by
 - selection bias

Observational Studies: Pros and Cons

Pros

- Can study phenomena of interest
- ...in the population of interest

⇒ external validity

Cons

- Identification challenged by
 - selection bias
 - non-random treatment

Observational Studies: Pros and Cons

Pros

- Can study phenomena of interest
- ...in the population of interest

⇒ external validity

Cons

- Identification challenged by
 - selection bias
 - non-random treatment
 - data limitations

Observational Studies: Pros and Cons

Pros

- Can study phenomena of interest
- ...in the population of interest

⇒ external validity

Cons

- Identification challenged by
 - selection bias
 - non-random treatment
 - data limitations

Observational Studies: Pros and Cons

Pros

- Can study phenomena of interest
- ...in the population of interest

⇒ external validity

Cons

- Identification challenged by
 - selection bias
 - non-random treatment
 - data limitations
- Identification may be impossible without more data or experiment

Potential Outcomes vs Structural Causal Models

Potential Outcomes

- Associated with Neyman (7) and Rubin (10)
- Widely adopted in social sciences and medicine
- Randomized experiment serve as its ruling paradigm



Potential Outcomes

- Object of analysis is a unit-based response variable
 - patients
 - survey respondents
 - cities

Potential Outcomes

- Object of analysis is a unit-based response variable
 - patients
 - survey respondents
 - cities
- Comparison between factual and **counterfactual** for each unit i

Potential Outcomes

- Object of analysis is a unit-based response variable
 - patients
 - survey respondents
 - cities
- Comparison between factual and **counterfactual** for each unit i
- Denoted $Y_i(T_i)$

Potential Outcomes

- Object of analysis is a unit-based response variable
 - patients
 - survey respondents
 - cities
- Comparison between factual and **counterfactual** for each unit i
- Denoted $Y_i(T_i)$
- "The value outcome Y would obtain in experimental unit i had treatment T_i been t "

Potential Outcomes

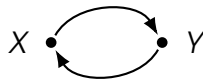
- Units: $i = 1, \dots, N$
- "Treatment":
 - $T_i = 1$ if treated
 - $T_i = 0$ otherwise
- Observed outcome: Y_i
- Pre-treatment covariates: X_i
- Potential outcomes: $Y_i(1)$ and $Y_i(0)$

Voters	Contact	Turnout		Age	Party ID
i	T_i	$Y_i(1)$	$Y_i(0)$	X_i	X_i
1	1	1	?	19	D
2	0	?	0	45	D
3	0	?	1	36	R
\vdots	\vdots	\vdots	\vdots	\vdots	\vdots
N	1	0	?	71	R

Potential Outcomes Assumptions

Core Assumptions

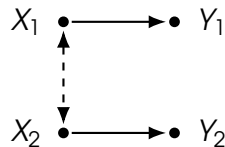
1. No simultaneity



Potential Outcomes Assumptions

Core Assumptions

1. No simultaneity
2. No interference between units



Potential Outcomes Assumptions

Core Assumptions

1. No simultaneity
2. No interference between units
3. Same version of treatment

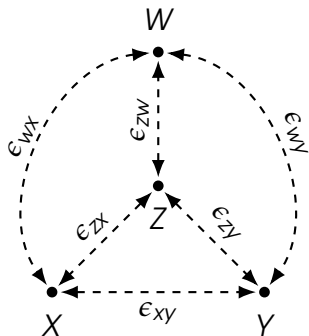
Potential Outcomes Assumptions

Core Assumptions

1. No simultaneity
2. No interference between units
3. Same version of treatment

- Stable Unit Treatment Value Assumption (SUTVA)
 - Potential violations:
 - feedback effects
 - spill-over effects
 - different treatment administration
- Observed outcome is random because treatment is random
- Multi-valued treatment: more potential outcomes for each unit

Potential Outcomes Assumptions

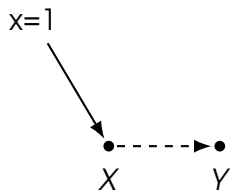


Observed data (\mathcal{L}_1)

Crux of PO is randomized treatment

- Causal mechanism too complex to rule out no omitted variable with certainty

Potential Outcomes Assumptions



Intervention data (\mathcal{L}_2)

Crux of PO is randomized treatment

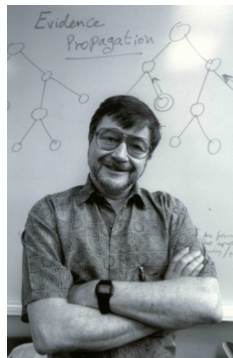
- Causal mechanism too complex to rule out no omitted variable with certainty
- Looks for “as-if” random treatments or proxy treatments
- Allows you to ignore possible confounders

Potential Outcomes Research Designs

- Preferred research designs based on exogeneity assumption:
 - Instrumental Variables (IV)
 - Regression Discontinuity Design (RDD)
 - Difference-in-Difference (DiD)
- When we cannot find intervention data: matching
- Criticisms:
 - exogeneity assumption almost always untestable
 - finding guaranteed random treatments in the wild is extremely rare
 - OR the randomized "treatment" doesn't quite align with the theory we want to test

Structural Causal Models

- Associated with Pearl (8) but many predecessors and successors
- Emerged from computer science field, but builds on:
 - structural equation models (SEM) (3)
 - potential outcomes
 - probabilistic graphical models (6, 12)
- The causal graph serves as ruling paradigm
- sometimes referred to as a "DAG" (directed acyclic graph)



Structural Causal Models

- Based on a directed graph that displays casual relationships between variables
- Models sometimes defined as ordered triples $\langle U, V, E \rangle$:
 - Exogenous variables U
 - Endogenous variables V
 - Set of equations E that defining relationships between V

Structural Causal Models

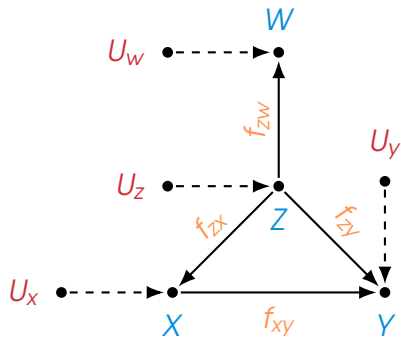
- Based on a directed graph that displays casual relationships between variables
- Models sometimes defined as ordered triples $\langle U, V, E \rangle$:
 - Exogenous variables U
 - Endogenous variables V
 - Set of equations E that defining relationships between V
- The models are probabilistic and **represent** a unique factorization of a joint probability distribution into **conditional probabilities**

Structural Causal Models

- Based on a directed graph that displays casual relationships between variables
- Models sometimes defined as ordered triples $\langle U, V, E \rangle$:
 - Exogenous variables U
 - Endogenous variables V
 - Set of equations E that defining relationships between V
- The models are probabilistic and **represent** a unique factorization of a joint probability distribution into **conditional probabilities**
- Use **do-calculus** to achieve identification on observed data

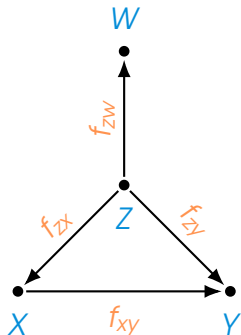
SCM Assumptions

- The notation seems scary, but we saw this before



observed data (\mathcal{L}_1) +
causal assumptions

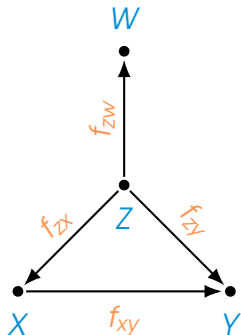
SCM Assumptions



observed data (\mathcal{L}_1) +
causal assumptions

- The notation seems scary, but we saw this before
 - U are independent of what happens within the system
 - V are dependent on system

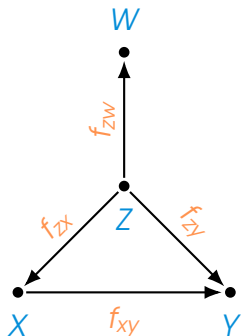
SCM Assumptions



observed data (\mathcal{L}_1) +
causal assumptions

- The notation seems scary, but we saw this before
 - U are independent of what happens within the system
 - V are dependent on system
 - E represents functional relationships

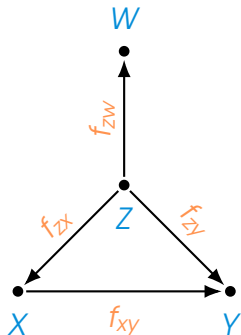
SCM Assumptions



observed data (\mathcal{L}_1) +
causal assumptions

- The notation seems scary, but we saw this before
 - U are independent of what happens within the system
 - V are dependent on system
 - E represents functional relationships
- All assumptions are encoded into the graph itself

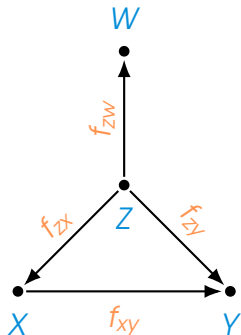
SCM Assumptions



observed data (\mathcal{L}_1) +
causal assumptions

- The notation seems scary, but we saw this before
 - U are independent of what happens within the system
 - V are dependent on system
 - E represents functional relationships
- All assumptions are encoded into the graph itself
- Since the graph represents conditional probabilities, we can determine what variables to adjust for from it

SCM Assumptions



observed data (\mathcal{L}_1) +
causal assumptions

- The notation seems scary, but we saw this before
 - U are independent of what happens within the system
 - V are dependent on system
 - E represents functional relationships
- All assumptions are encoded into the graph itself
- Since the graph represents conditional probabilities, we can determine what variables to adjust for from it
- Theory \implies assumptions

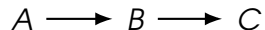
Model Elements

All DAGs are built from three fundamental relationships

Model Elements

Chain

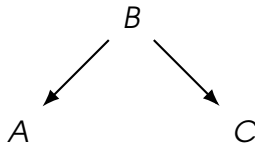
- Straight line connections with arrows pointing from cause to effect
- B mediates effect of A on C



Model Elements

Fork

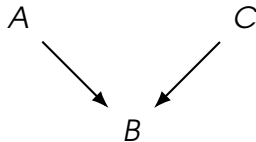
- One cause has multiple effects
- There exists spurious correlation between A and C due to B
- Eliminate by adjusting for B



Model Elements

Collider

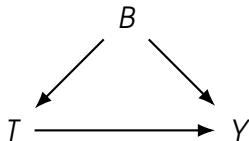
- Multiple causes affect one outcome
- Conditioning on B often induces a non-causal negative relationship between A and C
- Collider bias, wherein B explains away correlation between A and C



Identification with DAGS

Identification is achieved via *do*-calculus

- Set of rules for determining a minimally-sufficient set of adjustment variables
- Examine all paths between treatment and outcome, control for confounders
- Not too complicated, but beyond scope of presentation



B confounds effect of T on Y






SCM as a Language

- SCMs represents a *language* of causality
- All other approaches to causal inference can be encoded in a DAG (i.e. PO is subsumed by SCM)
- Can also be used to determine when and how to escape from **selection bias**
- **Criticisms:**
 - Encoding our theory into a DAG can be *hard*
 - Complex theory \implies complex DAG
 - \hookrightarrow DAGs can become overwhelming, fast
 - do-calculus only guarantees identification if theory is correct
- **Dagitty**: tool that performs do-calculus for you, has R package too







Conclusion

- Randomized experiments are a gold standard for causal inference
- But they are black boxes
- The key to causal inference on observational data is:
 - make stronger assumptions about the relationships between variables
 - Search for interventional \mathcal{L}_2 setups that match theory
- In SCM, we determine if causal query is identify; if not, identify minimal adjustment set from DAG
- In PO, identifiability is guaranteed so long as we believe intervention is truly random
- Once identified, we can interpret β as a causal effect

References I

-  Barenboim, E. et al. (July 2020). *On Pearl's Hierarchy and the Foundations of Causal Inference*. Tech. rep. R-60. In: "Probabilistic and Causal Inference: The Works of Judea Pearl", ACM Books, in press. Causal Artificial Intelligence Lab, Columbia University.
-  Buchsbaum, D. et al. (2012). "The power of possibility: causal learning, counterfactual reasoning, and pretend play". In: *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences* 367.1599, pp. 2202–2212.
-  Goldberger, A. (1973). "Structural equation models: An overview". In: *Structural Equation Models in the Social Sciences*. Ed. by A. Goldberger and O. Duncan. New York, NY: Seminar Press, pp. 1–18.
-  Gopnik, A. (2012). "Scientific thinking in young children: Theoretical advances, empirical research, and policy implications". In: *Science* 337.6102, pp. 1623–1627.
-  Gopnik, A. et al. (2004). "A theory of causal learning in children: Causal maps and bayes nets". In: *Psychological Review* 111.1, pp. 3–32.

References II

-  Lauritzen, S. (1996). *Graphical Models*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press.
-  Neyman, Jerzy (1923). "On the application of probability theory to agricultural experiments. Essay on principles. Section 9". In: *Statistical Science* 5, pp. 465–480.
-  Pearl, J. (2000). *Causality: models, reasoning, and inference*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
-  — (2009). "Causal inference in statistics: An overview". In: *Statistics Surveys* 3, September, pp. 96–146.
-  Rubin, Donald (1974). "Estimating Causal Effects of Treatments in Randomized and Nonrandomized Studies". In: *Journal of Educational Psychology* 66, pp. 688–701.
-  Simon, A. (1953). "Causal ordering and identifiability". In: *Studies in Econometric Method*. Ed. by W. C. Hood and T. C. Koopmans. New York, NY: Wiley and Sons, Inc, pp. 49–74.

References III



Spirtes, P., C. Glymour, and R. Scheines (2000). *Causation, Prediction, and Search*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.