FLS 6441 - Methods III: Explanation and Causation

Week 1 - Review of Regression

Jonathan Phillips

March 2019

Course Objectives

1. Change how you think about quantitative methods, *explaining* politics, and not just describing it

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Course Website

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- 4. Survey and Lab Experiments (11th April)
- 5. Randomized Natural Experiments (18th April, Semana Santa)

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- 9. Controlling for Confounding (16th May)
- 10. Matching (23rd May)
- 11. Comparative Cases and Process Tracing (30th May)

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- 12. Generalizability, Reproducibility and Mechanisms (6th June)

► Wednesday 18h - Submit Replication Task

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- ► Thursday 16.15-17.30 Lab

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- ► Friday 10h-12h Office Hours (DCP 2061)

► Quality > Quantity

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- ► Tip: Pick a simple question and dataset

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Today's Objectives

- 1. What Does Regression Actually Do?
- 2. Guide to 'Smart' Regression
- 3. What Does Regression NOT Do?

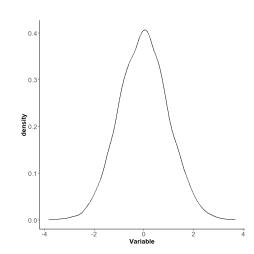
Section 1

What Does Regression Actually Do?

Data

► We work with variables, which VARY!

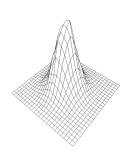
Variable	
0.30	
-0.67	
0.39	
0.03	
-1.26	
1.26	
-1.44	
0.16	
0.50	
0.01	



Data

► We work with variables, which VARY!

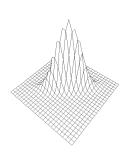
Variable_1	Variable_2
-0.44	0.63
0.06	0.68
-0.21	-0.02
0.44	-0.25
1.29	0.46
-0.38	-0.81
-1.04	0.24
-0.16	1.84
1.29	0.06
-0.10	-0.18



Data

► We work with variables, which VARY!

Variable_1	Variable_2
-0.86	-0.44
-0.35	-0.34
1.27	0.04
-0.35	-0.12
-0.43	-0.43
0.05	-0.05
0.69	0.49
1.27	0.69
0.22	-0.07
-0.28	-0.05



What Does Regression Actually Do?

- 1. Regression as Least Squares
- 2. Regression as Conditional Expectation
- 3. Regression as (Partial) Correlation

 Regression identifies the line through the data that minimizes the sum of squared vertical distances

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- ► $y_i = \alpha + \beta D_i + \epsilon_i$

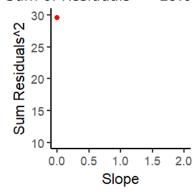
- Regression identifies the line through the data that minimizes the sum of squared vertical distances
- $y_i = \alpha + \beta D_i + \epsilon_i$

Slope = 0

X

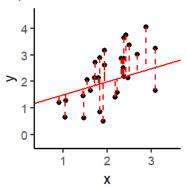
3

Sum of Residuals $^2 = 29.6$

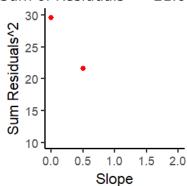


- Regression identifies the line through the data that minimizes the sum of squared vertical distances
- $y_i = \alpha + \beta D_i + \epsilon_i$

Slope = 0.5



Sum of Residuals $^2 = 21.6$

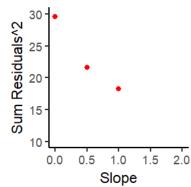


- Regression identifies the line through the data that minimizes the sum of squared vertical distances
- $y_i = \alpha + \beta D_i + \epsilon_i$

Slope = 13

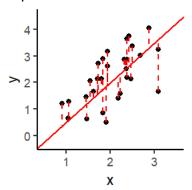
X

Sum of Residuals $^2 = 18.3$

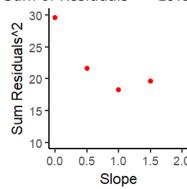


- Regression identifies the line through the data that minimizes the sum of squared vertical distances
- ▶ $y_i = \alpha + \beta D_i + \epsilon_i$

Slope = 1.5



Sum of Residuals $^2 = 19.6$

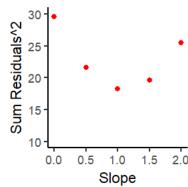


- Regression identifies the line through the data that minimizes the sum of squared vertical distances
- $\rightarrow y_i = \alpha + \beta D_i + \epsilon_i$

Slope = 2

X

Sum of Residuals $^2 = 25.5$

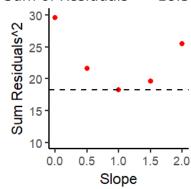


- Regression identifies the line through the data that minimizes the sum of squared vertical distances
- $y_i = \alpha + \beta D_i + \epsilon_i$

Slope = 1

X

Sum of Residuals $^2 = 18.3$



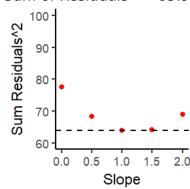
- ▶ If we add pure *noise* to y, our estimate of β is unchanged
 - ► The residual error increases

$$\rightarrow y_i = \alpha + \beta D_i + \epsilon_i$$

Slope = 13

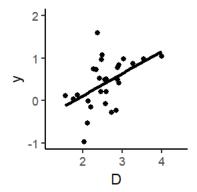
Х

Sum of Residuals $^2 = 63.9$



- ▶ Dummy control variables remove variation associated with specific levels or categories
 - ► The same for fixed effects

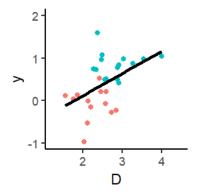
$$y_{ij} = \alpha + \beta_1 D_{ij} + \epsilon_i$$



Ignoring the dummy control variable, the slope coefficient is 1

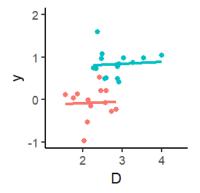
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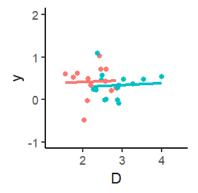
But the data points really represent two very different groups, blues and reds

- ▶ Dummy control variables remove variation associated with specific levels or categories
 - ► The same for fixed effects



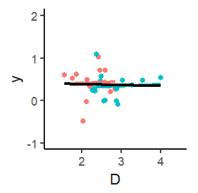
What if we treated each group separately?

- Dummy control variables remove variation associated with specific levels or categories
 - ► The same for fixed effects



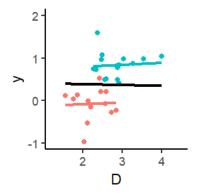
Dummy control variables remove the average Y differences between blues and reds

- Dummy control variables remove variation associated with specific levels or categories
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The new regression line for the full data now has a slope of zero

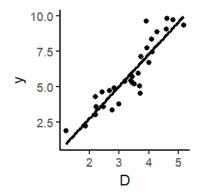
- ▶ Dummy control variables remove variation associated with specific levels or categories
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Equivalently, dummy control variables restrict comparisons to **within the same group**:

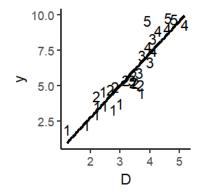
- How much does X affect Y within the blue group? 0
- 2. How much does *X* affect *Y* within the red group? 0
- What's the average of (1) and
 (2) (weighted by the number of units in each group)?

- Continuous control variables remove variation based on how much the control explains y
- $y_i = \alpha + \beta_1 D_i + \beta_2 X_i + \epsilon_i$



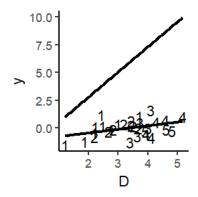
The coefficient β_1 is 2.267 Real effect = 1

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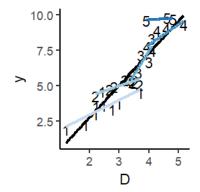
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The coefficient β_1 is 1.024 Real effect = 1

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- Equivalently, we subset to each value of x, and find each slope
- ► Then average these slopes, $\beta_1 = 1.33$
- Impossible with truly continuous variables

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$$Attitude_i = 2.235 - 0.000818 * Income_i + N(0, 2.38)$$

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- ightharpoonup E(y|x), E(Attitude|Income)
 - ▶ When income is 3000, the average attitude is -0.22

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 - When income is 3000, the average attitude is -0.22
 - ▶ When income is 6000, the average attitude is -2.67

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 - ▶ When income is -1000, the average attitude is 3.05

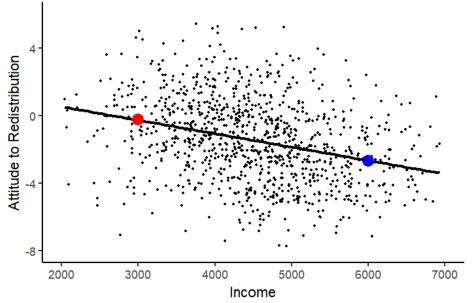
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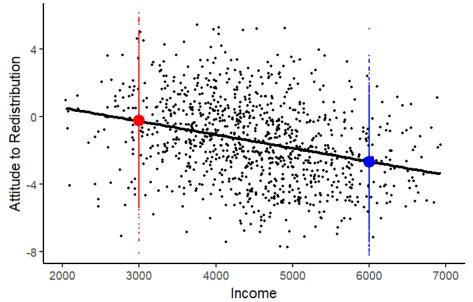
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 - When income is 3000, the average attitude is -0.22
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- ► E(attitude|income, age, gender, municipality)





ightharpoonup How do we work out the conditional expectation? We estimate eta

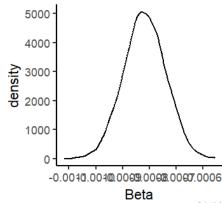
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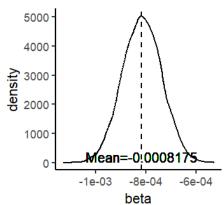
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	Dependent variable:
	redist
income	-0.000818*** (0.000078)
Constant	2.234719*** (0.361477)
Observations	1,000
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01



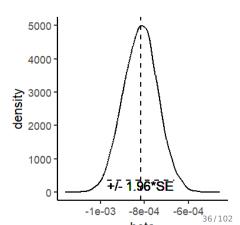
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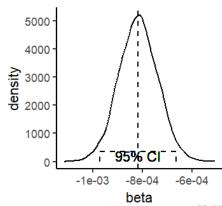
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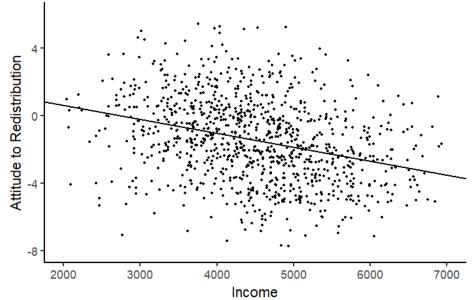


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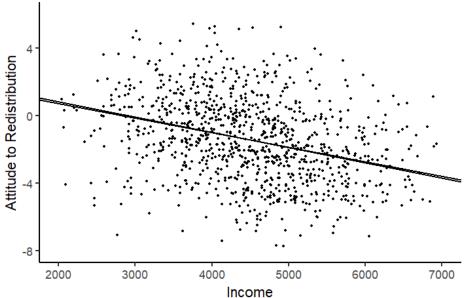
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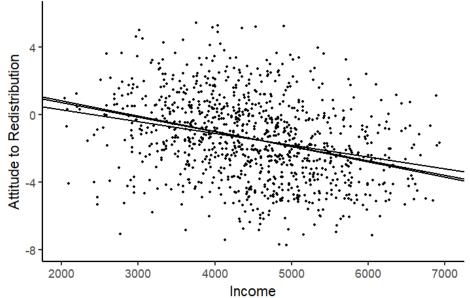




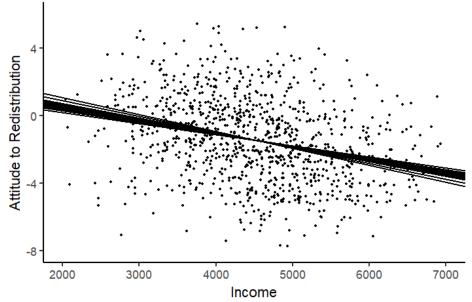


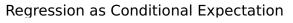


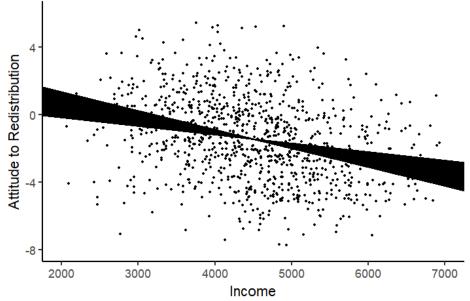


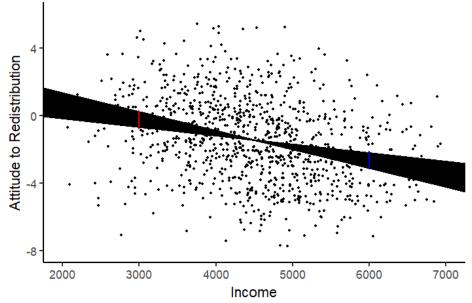


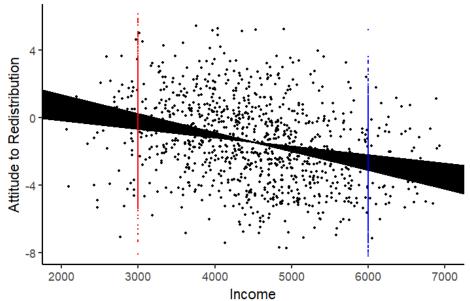








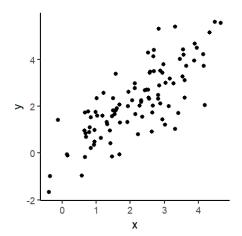




Regression with two variables is very similar to calculating correlation:

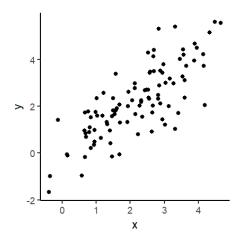
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- $\blacktriangleright \hat{\beta} = cor(x, y) * \frac{\sigma_Y}{\sigma_X}$

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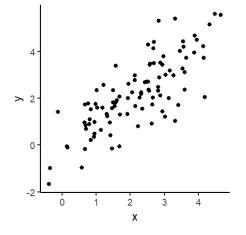
$$\hat{\beta} = cor(x, y) * \frac{\sigma_Y}{\sigma_X}$$



► Correlation is 0.781

► Regression with two variables is very similar to calculating correlation:

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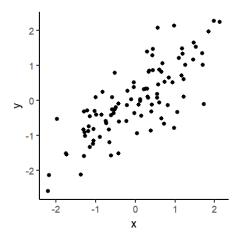


- ► Correlation is 0.781
- ► Regression Results:

		term	estimate
	1	(Intercept)	0.006
2	2	X	1.008

Regression with two variables is very similar to calculating correlation:

$$\blacktriangleright \hat{\beta} = cor(x, y) * \frac{\sigma_Y}{\sigma_X}$$



- ► Correlation is 0.781
- ► It's *identical* if we standardize both variables first $(\frac{(x-\bar{x})}{\sigma_x})$
- Standardized Regression Results:

	term	estimate
1	(Intercept)	0.000
2	X	0.781

▶ Regression with **multiple** variables is very similar to calculating partial correlation

- Regression with multiple variables is very similar to calculating partial correlation

- Regression with multiple variables is very similar to calculating partial correlation
- $y_i = \alpha + \beta_1 x_1 + \beta_2 x_2 + \epsilon_i$
- Just a small difference in the denominator (how we standardize the measure)

- Regression with multiple variables is very similar to calculating partial correlation
- Just a small difference in the denominator (how we standardize the measure)

$$\beta_{x_1} = \frac{r_{yx_1} - r_{yx_2} r_{x_1 x_2}}{1 - r_{x_1 x_2}^2}$$

$$r_{yx_1|x_2} = \frac{r_{yx_1} - r_{yx_2} r_{x_1 x_2}}{\sqrt{(1 - r_{yx_2}^2)(1 - r_{x_1 x_2}^2)}}$$

► There is no magic in regression, it's just 'extra' correlation

Section 2

Guide to 'Smart' Regression

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- 2. But in a very **precise** way for each methodology

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- 2. But in a very **precise** way for each methodology
- 3. There are fundamental best practices that apply to all the methodologies

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- 2. Choose the Data: Throw out data we cannot learn from!

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- Choose Error Structure: To match known dependencies/clustering in the data or sampling
- 7. **Interpret the Coefficients:** To match the type/scale of the explanatory variable, outcome variable and model
- Predict Meaningful Comparisons: To communicate your findings

1. Variables and Measures

► For the research question "Does income affect attitudes to redistribution?"

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- ▶ What measure of income should we use?

1. Variables and Measures

- ► For the research question "Does income affect attitudes to redistribution?"
- ▶ What measure of income should we use?
 - Pre-tax, post-tax, after government benefits?
- ▶ It depends on the theory we are testing

2. Data Sample

► For the research question "Does income affect attitudes to redistribution?"

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- ► For the research question "Does income affect attitudes to redistribution?"
- ► We include a control for country
- ▶ But everyone in Qatar earns exactly \$1m no variation in income!
- ► We may as well throw the Qatar data away

3. Regression Models

What Does Regression Actually Do?

The Regression Model reflects the data type of the outcome variable:

- Continuous -> Ordinary Least Squares
 - Pick a precise number that reflects your attitude to redistribution
- ▶ Binary -> Logit
 - Do you support redistribution, yes or no?
- Unordered categories -> Multinomial logit
 - Do you think redistribution is a western, oriental or african concept?
- ► Ordered categories -> Ordered logit
 - ▶ Do you want a lot more, more, the same, less, or a lot less redistribution?
- ► Count -> Poisson
 - In the past year, how many times have you complained about redistribution?

► Which covariates should we include?

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- ► Control for gender if we want to compare men with men, women with women

- ► Which covariates should we include?
- Which comparisons do we want to make?
- ► Control for gender if we want to compare men with men, women with women
- ► Only include where there is theory or evidence that this variable could be an **omitted variable**

 Data are usually hierarchical: countries, states, municipalities, neighbourhoods, families, individuals

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- ► A fixed effect for countries means we only compare people within the same country

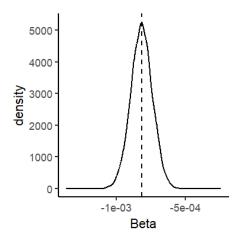
- ► Data are usually hierarchical: countries, states, municipalities, neighbourhoods, families, individuals
- ► A fixed effect for countries means we only compare people within the same country
- ► Removing ALL the variation between countries
 - If rich countries have stronger attitudes to redistribution, we control for this
 - ► So we can ask whether richer *people* have stronger attitudes

- ► Data are usually hierarchical: countries, states, municipalities, neighbourhoods, families, individuals
- ► A fixed effect for countries means we only compare people within the same country
- ► Removing ALL the variation between countries
 - If rich countries have stronger attitudes to redistribution, we control for this
 - So we can ask whether richer people have stronger attitudes
- ► Our question becomes: How do variations within income in the same country affect attitudes to redistribution?

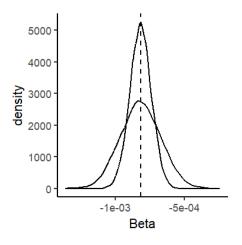
- An assumption of regression analysis is that the errors are independent
 - Knowing the value of one error tells you nothing about the value of the next error
- ► But your attitudes to redistribution are probably very similar to everyone you live with, even after controlling for income etc. due to 'unobservable' variables (conversations over dinner...)

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- ➤ So we don't really have 2 observations, we have closer to 1 'independent' observation
- ► So the standard errors for our β 's are *over-confident* (too small)

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- But your attitudes to redistribution are probably very similar to everyone you live with, even after controlling for income etc. due to 'unobservable' variables (conversations over dinner...)
- So we don't really have 2 observations, we have closer to 1 'independent' observation
- ► So the standard errors for our β 's are *over-confident* (too small)
- We need to adjust for these dependencies with clustered standard errors
 - Created by the underlying structure of the data
 - Or by our data sampling process



► The distribution of our estimated betas suggests we're pretty confident β is close to −0.0008175



 With clustered SEs, the wider distribution of our betas suggests we're less confident β is close to -0.0008175

- ► Difficult! It depends on:
 - 1. The scale of the explanatory variable
 - 2. The scale of the outcome
 - 3. The regression model we used
 - 4. The presence of any interaction
- ► Basic OLS: $y_i = \alpha + \beta D_i + \epsilon$
 - A 1 [unit of D] change in the explanatory variable is associated with a β [unit of y] change in the outcome, holding other variables constant

- ► Difficult! It depends on:
 - 1. The scale of the explanatory variable
 - 2. The scale of the outcome
 - 3. The regression model we used
 - 4. The presence of any interaction
- ▶ Basic OLS with log outcome: $log(y_i) = \alpha + \beta D_i + \epsilon$
 - ► A 1 [unit of D] change in the explanatory variable is associated with a $100 * (e^{\beta} 1)\%$ change in the outcome, holding other variables constant

- ► Difficult! It depends on:
 - 1. The scale of the explanatory variable
 - 2. The scale of the outcome
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 - 4. The presence of any interaction
- ▶ Basic OLS with log treatment: $y_i = \alpha + \beta log(D_i) + \epsilon$
 - A 1% change in the explanatory variable is associated with a $\beta * ln(\frac{101}{100})$ change in the outcome, holding other variables constant

- ► Difficult! It depends on:
 - 1. The scale of the explanatory variable
 - 2. The scale of the outcome
 - 3. The regression model we used
 - 4. The presence of any interaction
- ► **Logit:** $Pr(y_i = 1) = logit^{-1}(\alpha + \beta D_i + \epsilon)$
 - ► A 1 [unit of D] change in the explanatory variable is associated with a β change in the log-odds of $y_i = 1$, holding other variables constant

- ► Difficult! It depends on:
 - 1. The scale of the explanatory variable
 - 2. The scale of the outcome
 - 3. The regression model we used
 - 4. The presence of any interaction
- ► **Logit:** $Pr(y_i = 1) = logit^{-1}(\alpha + \beta D_i + \epsilon)$
 - A 1 [unit of D] change in the explanatory variable is associated with a $100*(e^{\beta}-1)$ % change in the odds (relative probability, $\frac{\rho}{1-\rho}$) of $y_i=1$, holding other variables constant

- ▶ Difficult! It depends on:
 - 1. The scale of the explanatory variable
 - 2. The scale of the outcome
 - 3. The regression model we used
 - 4. The presence of any interaction
- ▶ Multinomial: $Pr(y_i = C) = \alpha + \beta D_i + \epsilon$
 - ► A 1 [unit of D] change in the explanatory variable is associated with a $100 * (e^{\beta c} 1)\%$ change in the odds (relative probability, $\frac{p}{1-p}$) of moving from the baseline category to the outcome category C, holding other variables constant

- ► Difficult! It depends on:
 - 1. The scale of the explanatory variable
 - 2. The scale of the outcome
 - 3. The regression model we used
 - 4. The presence of any interaction
- ▶ Ordered Multinomial: $Pr(y_i = C) = \alpha + \beta D_i + \epsilon$
 - A 1 [unit of D] change in the explanatory variable is associated with a $100*(e^{\beta c}-1)$ % change in the odds (relative probability, $\frac{\rho}{1-\rho}$) of moving up one unit on the outcome scale, holding other variables constant

- ▶ Difficult! It depends on:
 - 1. The scale of the explanatory variable
 - 2. The scale of the outcome
 - 3. The regression model we used
 - 4. The presence of any interaction
- ▶ **OLS with Interaction:** $y_i = \alpha + \beta_1 D_i + \beta_2 X_i + \beta_3 D_i * X_i + \epsilon$

$$\frac{\partial y}{\partial D} = \beta_1 + \beta_3 X$$

- β_1 is the effect of D when X = 0 May not make sense!
- ▶ Insert values for X and see how the marginal effect changes

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- ► The coefficient on the regression of income on attitude to redistribution is -0.000818
 - ► So??? What do we learn from this?
 - Coefficients are hard to interpret, and depend on how we measure each variable
 - And p-values are arbitrary
- Better to make specific predictions of how changes in D produce changes in Y

$$Attitude_i = \alpha + \beta_1 \text{ Income}_i + \epsilon_i$$

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If Income is 3000:

$$Attitude_i = 2.235 - 0.000818 * 3000 + N(0, 2.378)$$

$$Attitude_i = -0.219 + N(0, 2.378)$$

$$Attitude_i = \alpha + \beta_1 \text{ Income}_i + \epsilon_i$$

 $Attitude_i = 2.235 - 0.000818 \text{ Income}_i + N(0, 2.378)$

If Income is 6000:

$$Attitude_i = 2.235 - 0.000818 * 6000 + N(0, 2.378)$$

$$Attitude_i = -2.673 + N(0, 2.378)$$

$$Attitude_i = \alpha + \beta_1 \text{ Income}_i + \epsilon_i$$

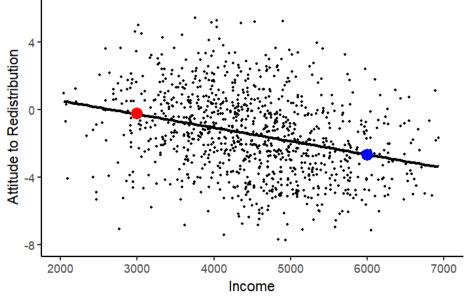
$$Attitude_i = 2.235 - 0.000818 \text{ Income}_i + N(0, 2.378)$$

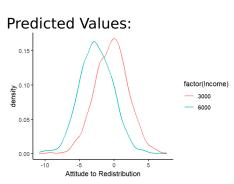
Increasing Income from 3000 to 6000:

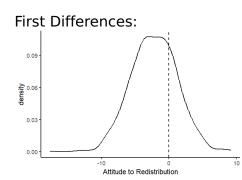
$$\Delta Attitude_i = (2.235-0.000818*6000)-(2.235-0.000818*3000)$$

$$\Delta Attitude_i = -2.673-0.219$$

$$\Delta Attitude_i = -2.454$$





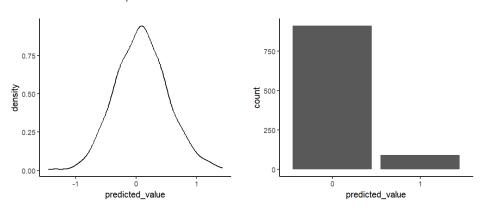


- ► The regression model matters because the wrong model makes non-sensical predictions
- ► Consider a binary outcome: $Gender_i = \alpha + \beta Income_i + \epsilon_i$
- ► Compare the OLS and Logit regression tables:

	Dependent variable:
	as.numeric(as.character(gender))
income	0.0003*** (0.00001)
Constant	-0.696*** (0.066)
Observations	1,000
Note:	*p<0.1: **p<0.05: ***p<0.01

	Dependent variable:
	as.numeric(as.character(gender))
income	0.001*** (0.0001)
Constant	-6.360*** (0.457)
Observations	1,000
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

- ► The regression model matters because the wrong model makes non-sensical predictions
- ► Consider a binary outcome: $Gender_i = \alpha + \beta Income_i + \epsilon_i$
- ► Compare the OLS and Logit **predictions** of gender for an income of R\$3000:



Section 3

What Does Regression NOT Do?

► Remember, regression is just fancy correlation

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- Even after following all this guidance, Regression does NOT:
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 - 2. Make bad data better
 - Tell you which theory is 'correct'
 - 4. Make it clear what comparisons you are making

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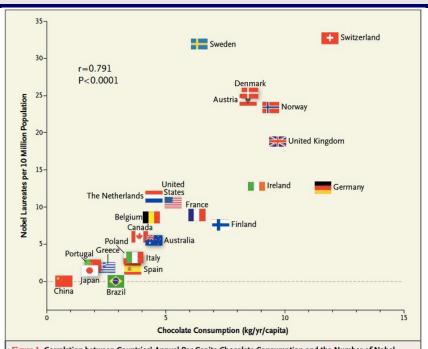
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- But we cannot conclude that D causes or explains Y

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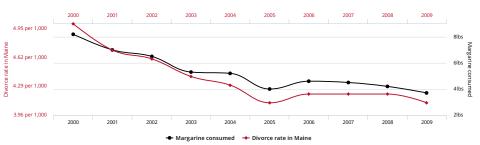
- If we look hard enough we can always find correlations
- ► By chance...
- Due to complex social patterns...
- ▶ But we cannot conclude that D causes or explains Y
- ► More data will not help
- ► The problem is the *type* of data; it does not allow us to answer the causal question



Divorce rate in Maine

correlates with

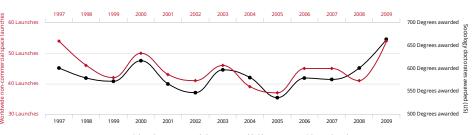
Per capita consumption of margarine



Worldwide non-commercial space launches

correlates with

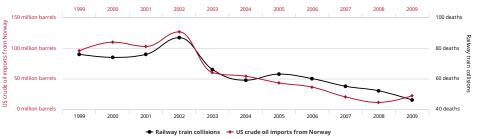
Sociology doctorates awarded (US)



US crude oil imports from Norway

correlates with

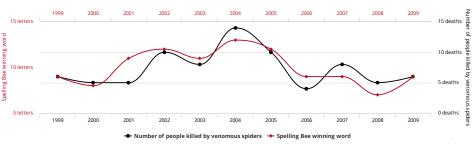
Drivers killed in collision with railway train



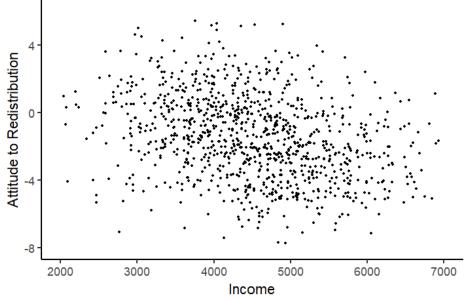
Letters in Winning Word of Scripps National Spelling Bee

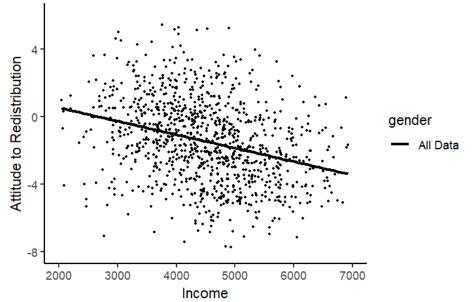
correlates with

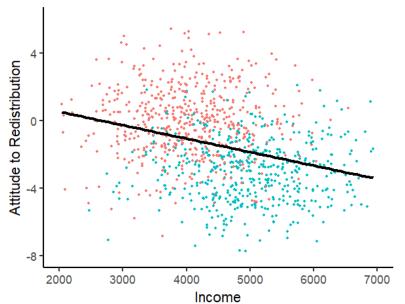
Number of people killed by venomous spiders



- Why is correlation (regression) not causation?
 - 1. Omitted Variable Bias
 - 2. Reverse Causation
 - 3. Selection Bias
 - 4. Measurement Bias
 - 5. Lack of Overlap, Model Dependence



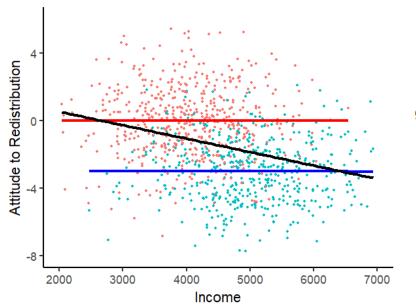




gender

0

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 Significant regression coefficients just reflect the values in our dataset moving together

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- ► Does the 'direction' of regression matter? I.e. Does regression treat *D* and *Y* differently?

- Significant regression coefficients just reflect the values in our dataset moving together
- ► Does the 'direction' of regression matter? I.e. Does regression treat *D* and *Y* differently? Yes!

	Dependent variable:	
	redist	
income	-0.011 (0.029)	
gender1	-1.201*** (0.058)	
Constant	0.589 * * * (0.038)	
Observations	1,000	
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

	Dependent variable:
	income
redist	-0.013 (0.034)
gender1	0.993 * * * (0.069)
Constant	-0.487*** (0.043)
Observations	1,000
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

- ► Remember, regression measures the *vertical* (not diagonal) distances to the regression line
 - It minimizes the prediction errors for Y
- But that doesn't mean it identifies the direction of causation!

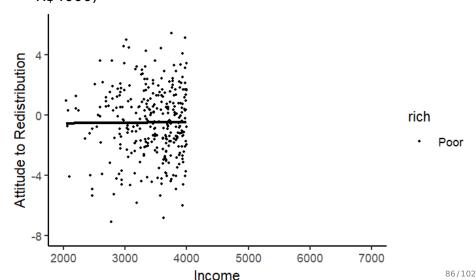
► Higher income may lead to higher tax rates and therefore cause more negative attitudes to redistribution

- Higher income may lead to higher tax rates and therefore cause more negative attitudes to redistribution
- But negative attitudes to redistribution might also make you more likely to work in the private sector and cause you to receive a higher salary

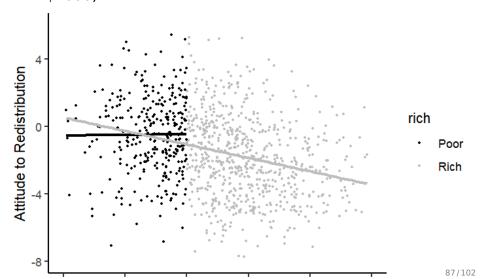
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- ► Higher income may lead to higher tax rates and therefore cause more negative attitudes to redistribution
- But negative attitudes to redistribution might also make you more likely to work in the private sector and cause you to receive a higher salary
- ▶ Both would look the same in a regression
- ► We cannot *explain* the relationship with a regression

► Imagine we do not see 'rich' units with high income (above R\$4000)



► Imagine we do not see 'rich' units with high income (above R\$4000)



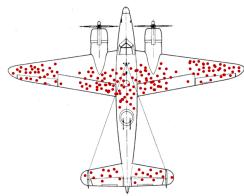
- ► There are four selection risks:
 - 1. Selection into existence
 - 2. Selection into survival
 - 3. Selection into the dataset
 - 4. Selection into treatment
- In each case, we don't see the full relationship between D and Y
- ► So our regression estimates are biased

- ► There are four selection risks:
 - 1. Selection into existence:
 - Where do units (eg. political parties) come from?
 - Probably only parties that have a chance of success are formed
 - Does forming a party cause electoral success? Not for most people!

► There are four selection risks:

2. Selection into survival:

 Certain types of units disappear, so the units we see don't tell the full story



- Where would additional armour protect bombers?
- ► Returned bombers got hit
- But we do not know where bombers that did not return got hit

- ► There are four selection risks:
 - 3. Selection into the dataset:
 - Our dataset may not be representative
 - ► Only units with particular values of X and Y enter the dataset
 - Eg. If survey respondents who refuse are different from those who respond - the anti-redistribution poor may dislike answering surveys

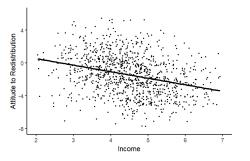
- ► There are four selection risks:
 - 4. Selection into treatment:
 - All units are in our dataset, but they choose their treatment value
 - ► Who chooses treatment? Those with the most to benefit, i.e. depending on Y!
 - Applying treatment to the others would probably have a very different effect

► What happens if we measure our variables wrongly?

Effects of Measurement Error

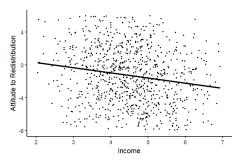
	Measured with Bias	Measured with Random Noise
Outcome Variable	Effect biased	No bias but wider stan- dard errors
Treatment Variable	Effect biased	Effect biased to zero

- ► What happens if we measure our variables wrongly?
- ► No extra noise:



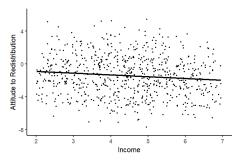
	Dependent variable:	
	redist	
income	-0.818*** (0.078)	
Constant	2.235 * * * (0.361)	
Observations	1,000	
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

- ▶ What happens if we measure our variables wrongly?
- ► Noise in the **outcome variable**:



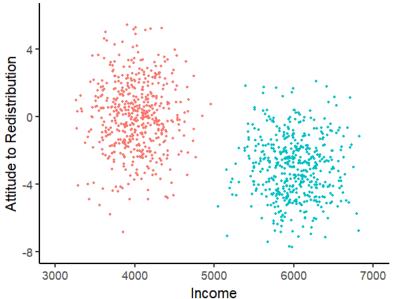
	Dependent variable:	
	redist	
income	-0.831*** (0.144)	
Constant	2.272*** (0.665)	
Observations	1,000	
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

- ► What happens if we measure our variables wrongly?
- ► Noise in the **explanatory** variable:

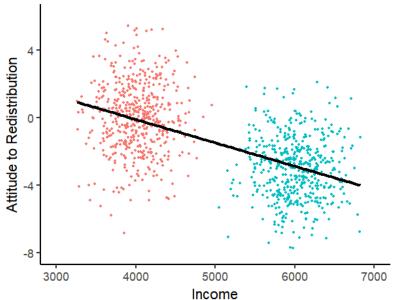


	Dependent variable:	
	redist	
income	-0.187*** (0.037)	
Constant	-0.620*** (0.183)	
Observations	1,000	
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

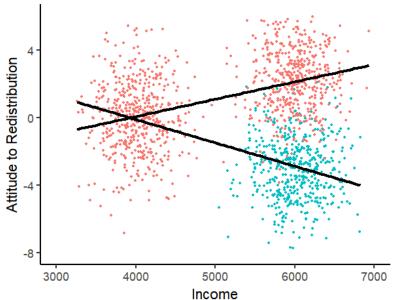
- Regression normally helps us pick appropriate comparisons
 - Eg. Controlling for gender, what is the effect of income on attitudes to redistribution?
- ▶ But what if there are no women with high income?
- ► Regression *creates* comparisons for us
 - How? Using the functional form of the regression
 - ► A linear regression interpolates/extrapolates *linearly* to 'create' comparison cases
- Lack of overlap probably means we cannot explain outcomes with this data



gender



gender



gender

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- With more than a few variables, lack of overlap is guaranteed
- 6 variables with 10 categories each = 10⁶ = 1,000,000 possibilities
 Common datasets have 0% counterfactuals present in the
- Common datasets have 0% counterfactuals present in the data (King 2006)
 - How many 45 year-old female accountants with a PhD and a cat who live in Centro are there?
 - And we need some that are low-income and some that are high-income
- A problem of multi-dimensionality
- And of model dependence our results depend on the functional form in our regression model

Summary

- 1. Regression is just fancy correlation
 - A conditional expectation
- 'Smart' regression pays more attention to what comparisons you want to make than to statistical tests
 - And to interpretation/prediction rather than p-values
- 3. Regression cannot explain relationships
 - Correlation is not causation
 - We need to understand better how the data were produced