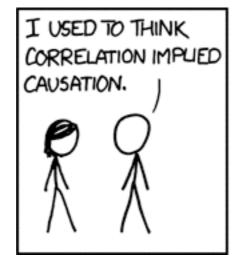
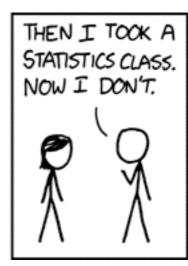
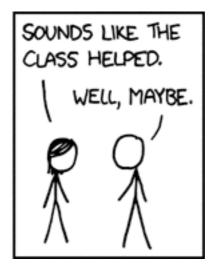
### A Partial Solution

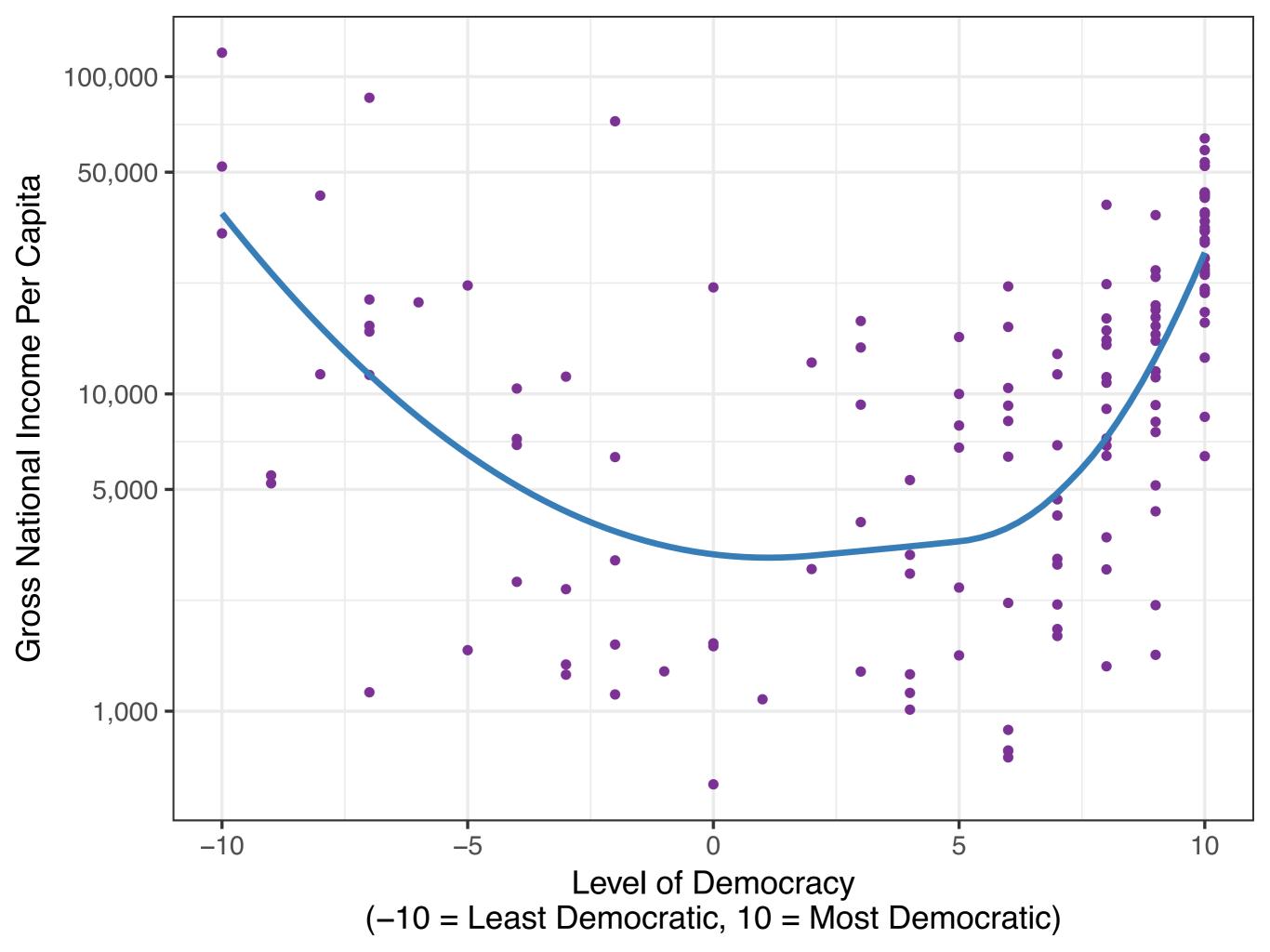
To the Fundamental Problem of Causal Inference







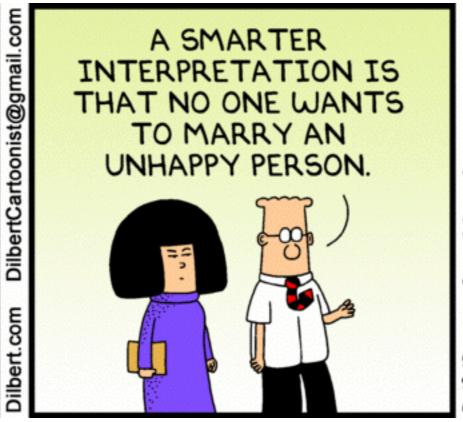
# Some of our most important questions are causal questions.



(-10 = Least Democratic, 10 = Most Democratic)

#### correlation --> correlation







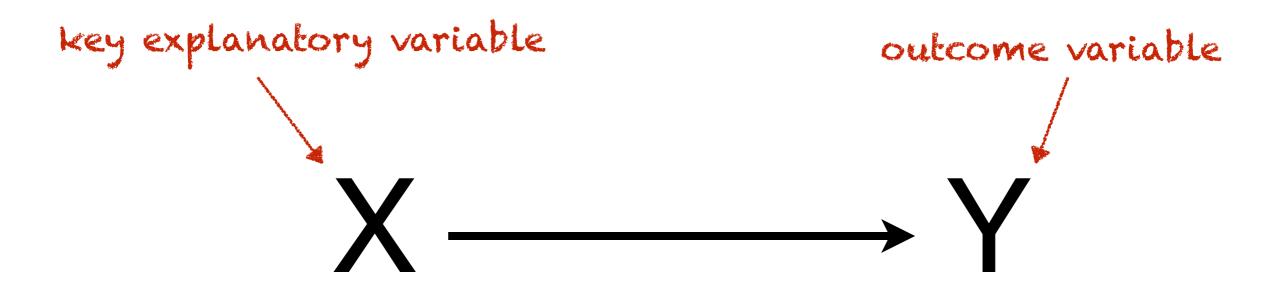
# Four Ways

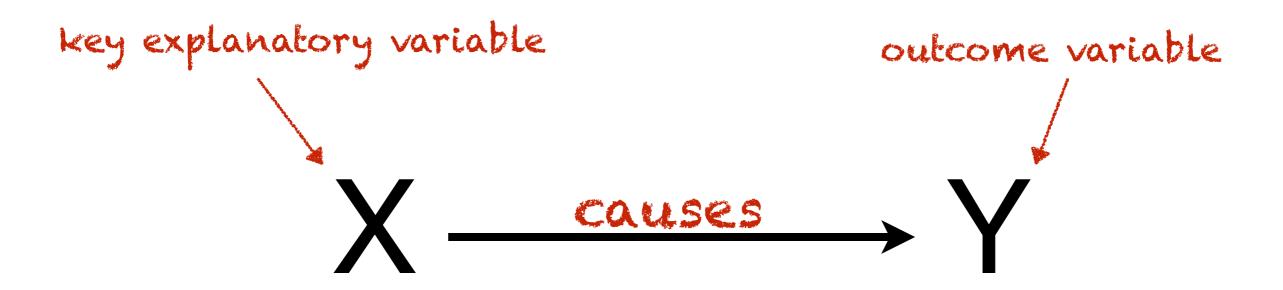
to Get a Correlation

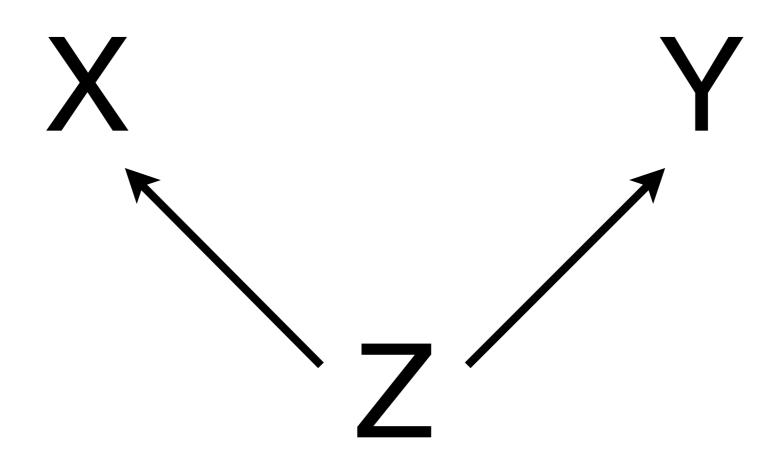
 $X \longrightarrow Y$ 

key explanatory variable

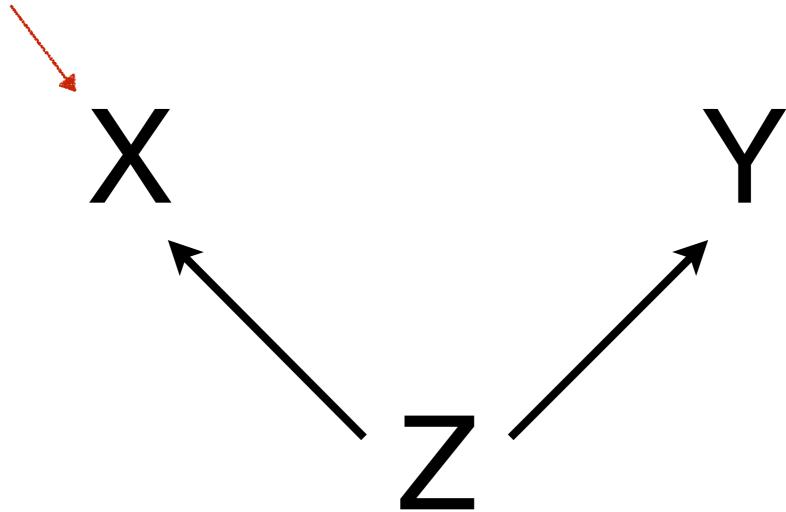


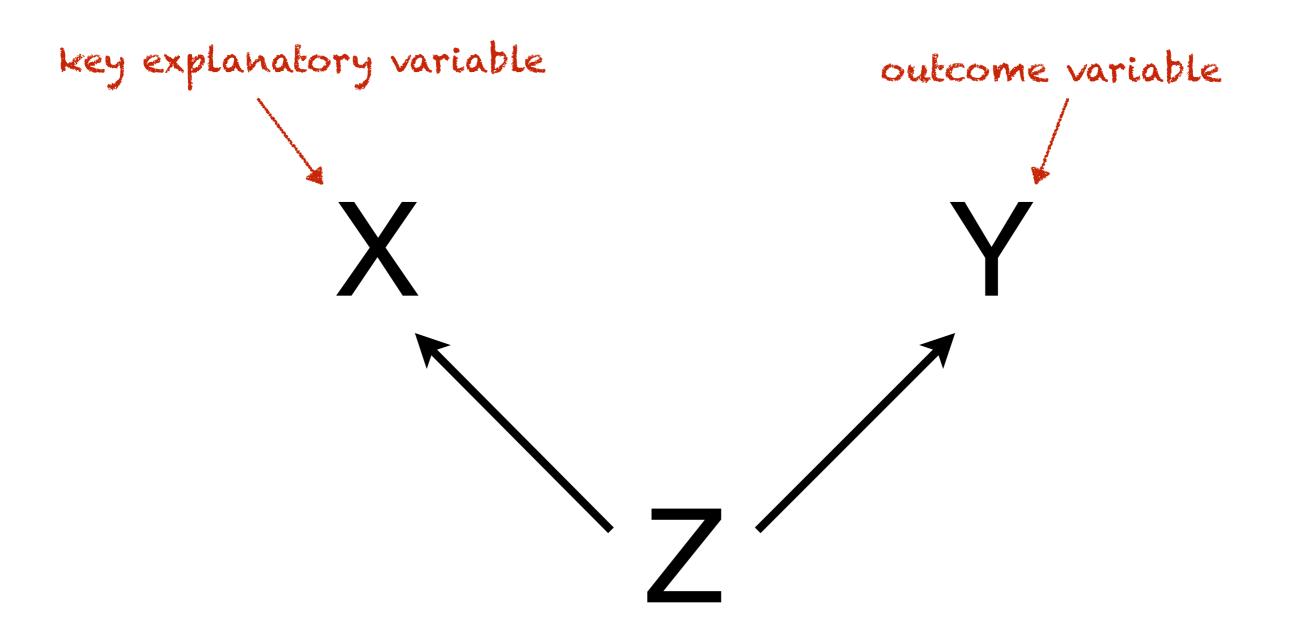


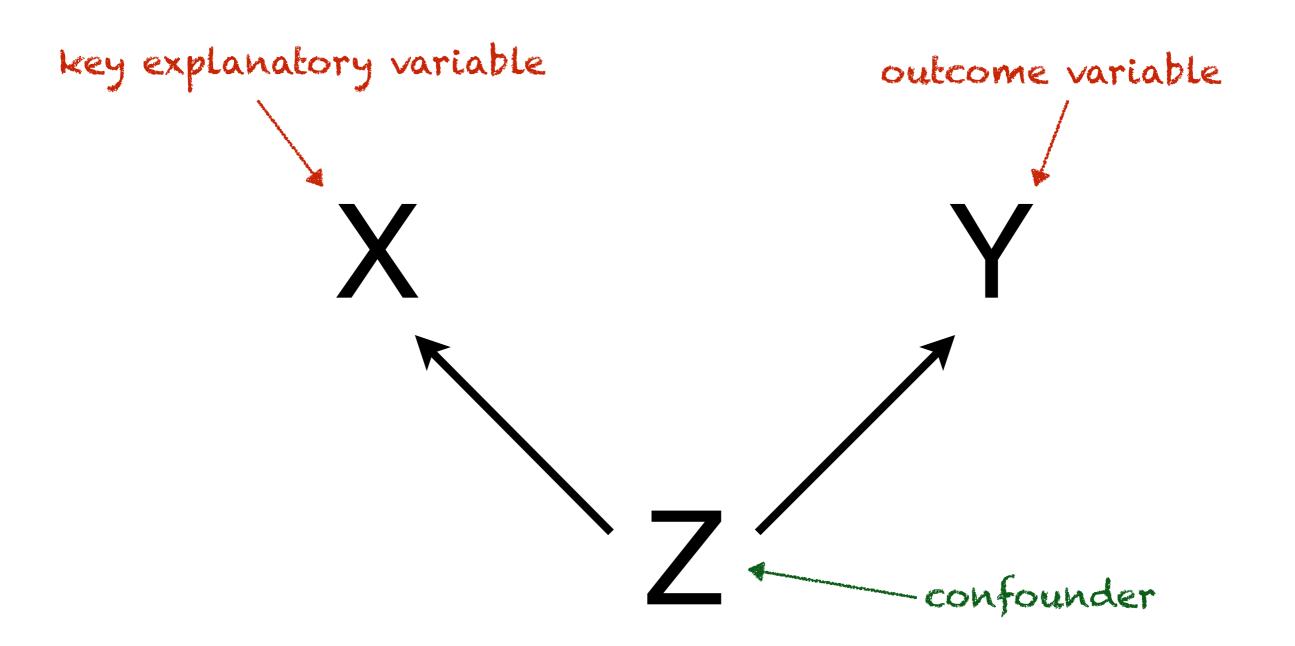


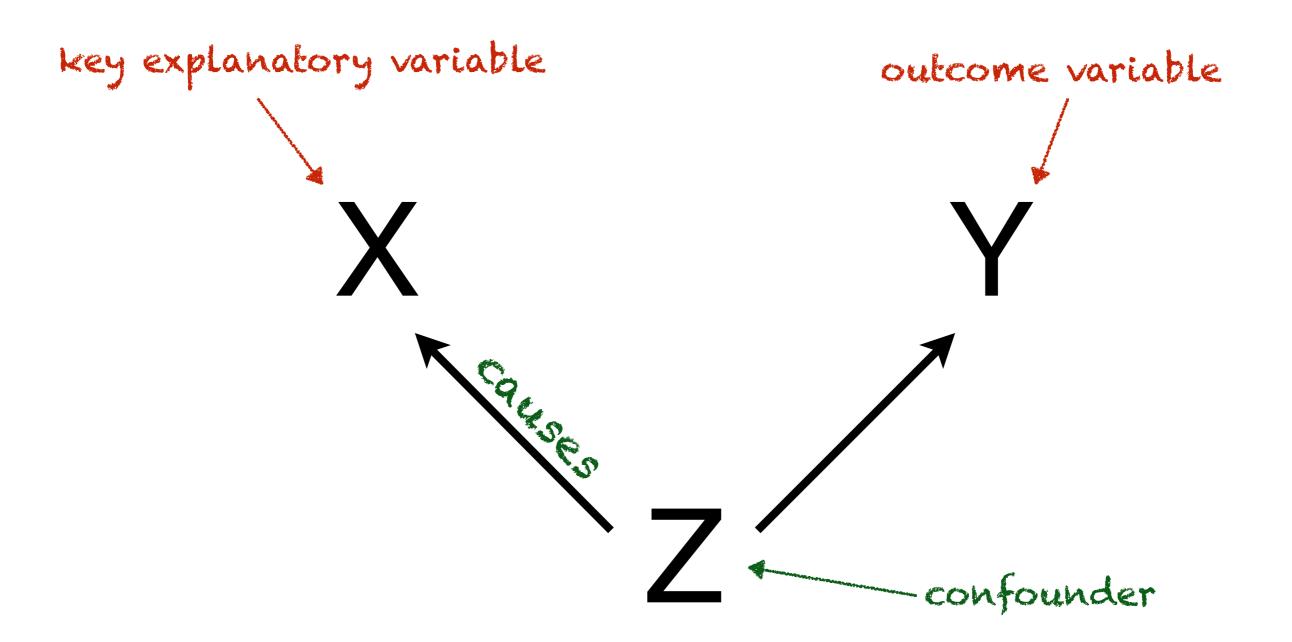


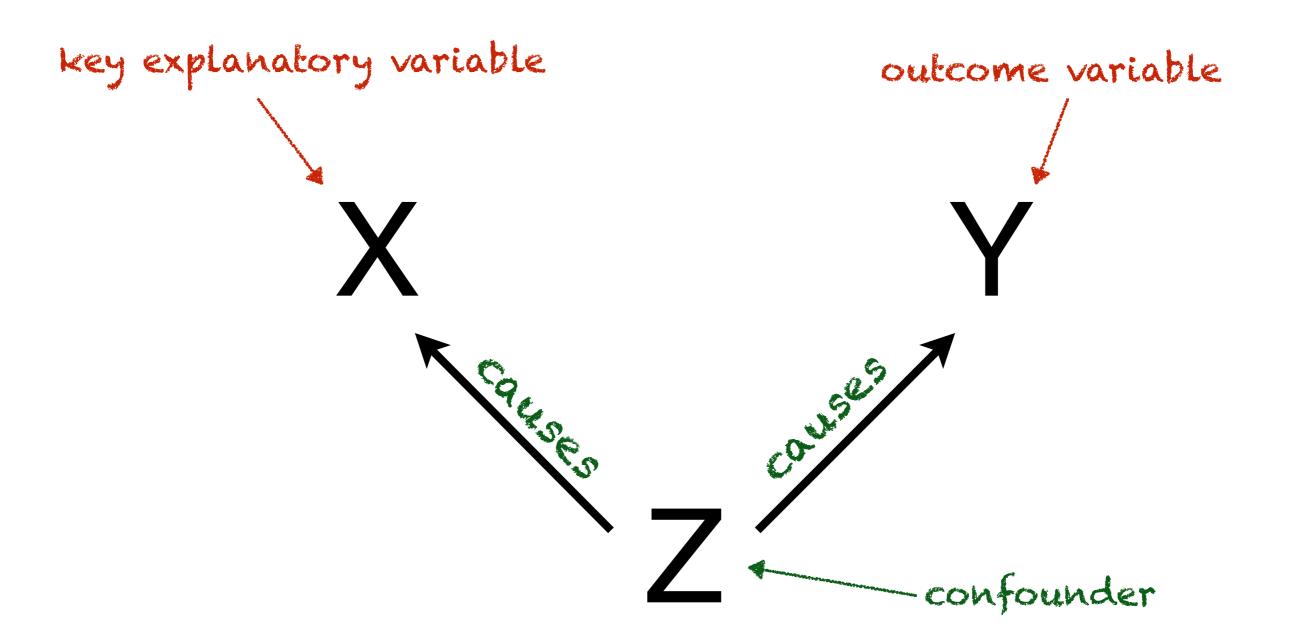
key explanatory variable



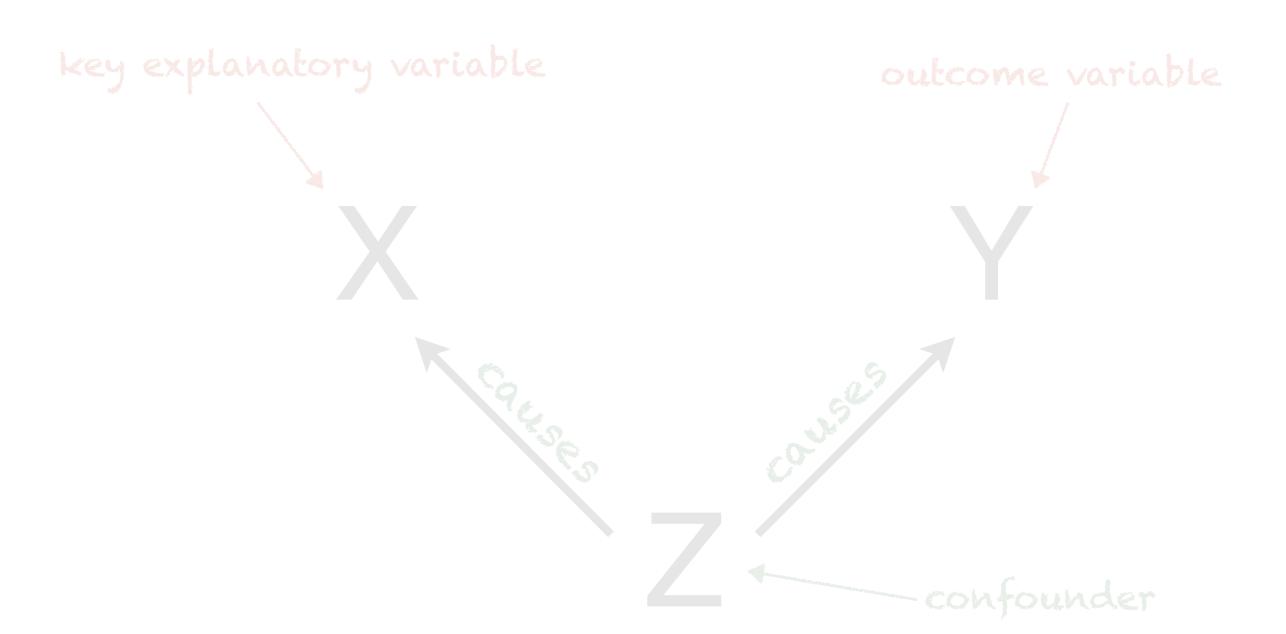




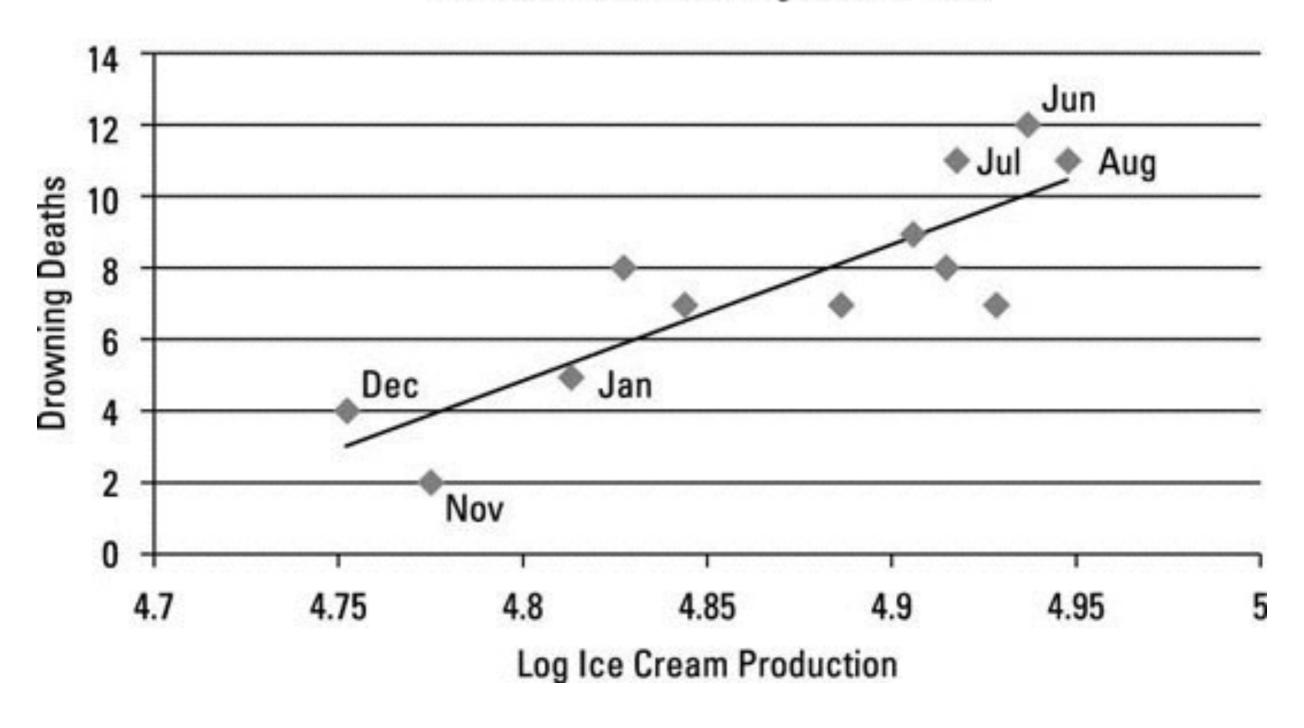




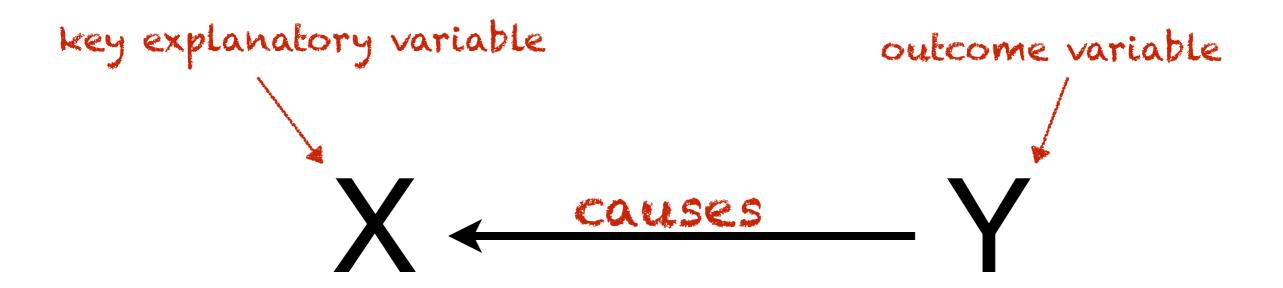
# Note: a confounder is a variable that causes both X and Y.

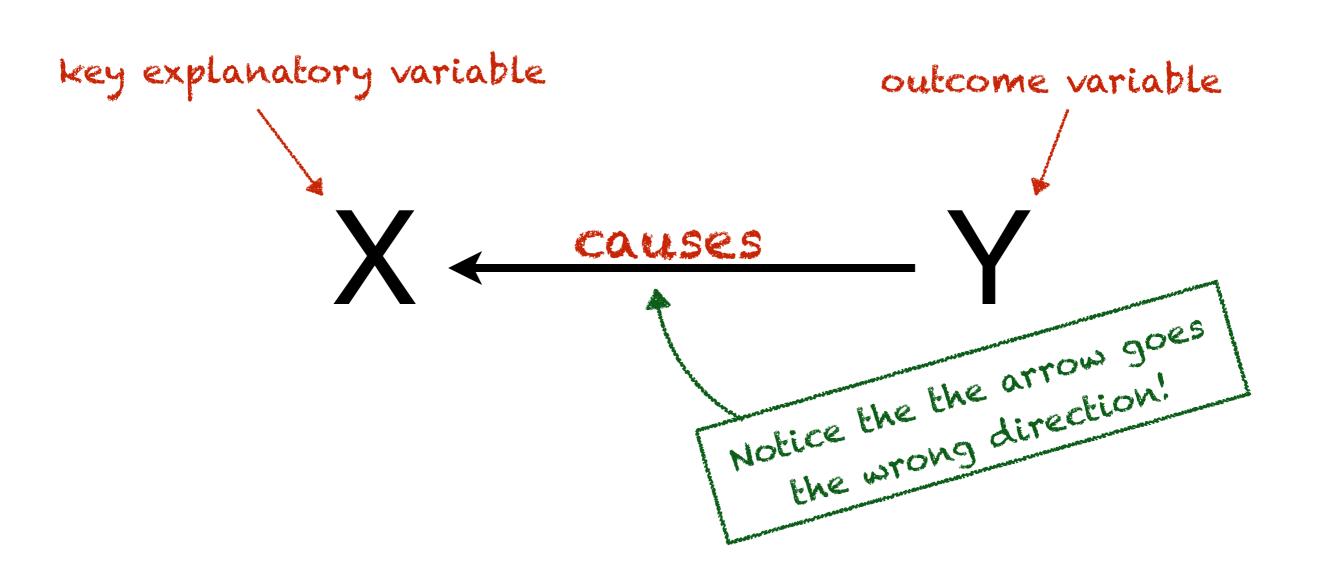


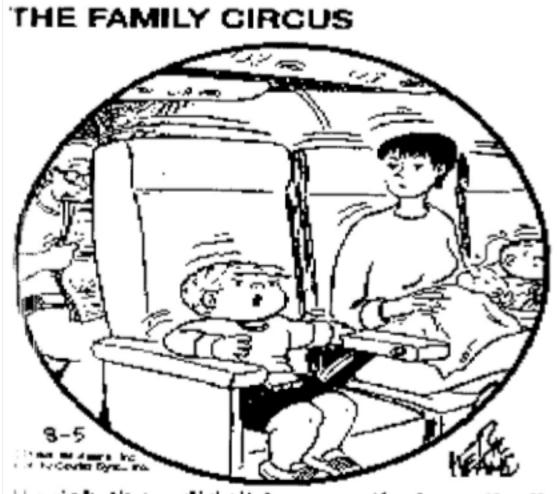
#### Ice Cream and Drowning Scatter, 2006



 $X \leftarrow Y$ 

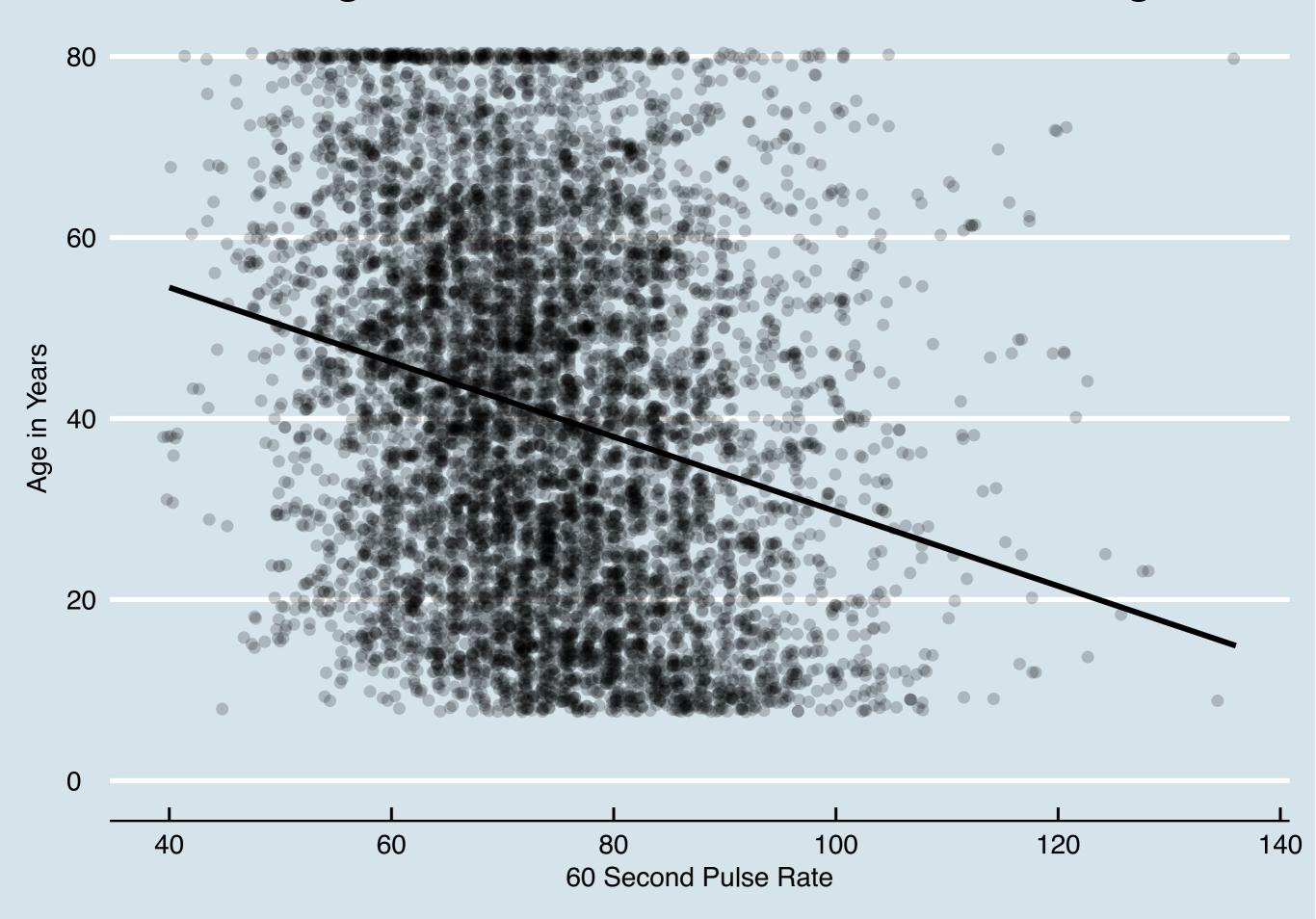






wish they didn't turn on that seatbelt sign so much! Every time they do. it gets bumpy."

#### Can Running Just Few Minutes Make You Years Younger?



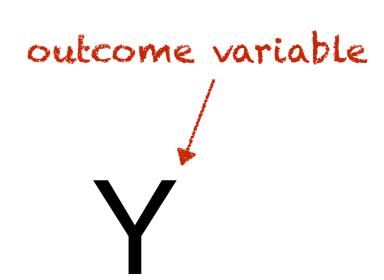
## chance

### chance

X

### chance

key explanatory variable



Sometimes, X and Y will be correlated just by chance, even when there is no systematic relationship between the two.

### chance

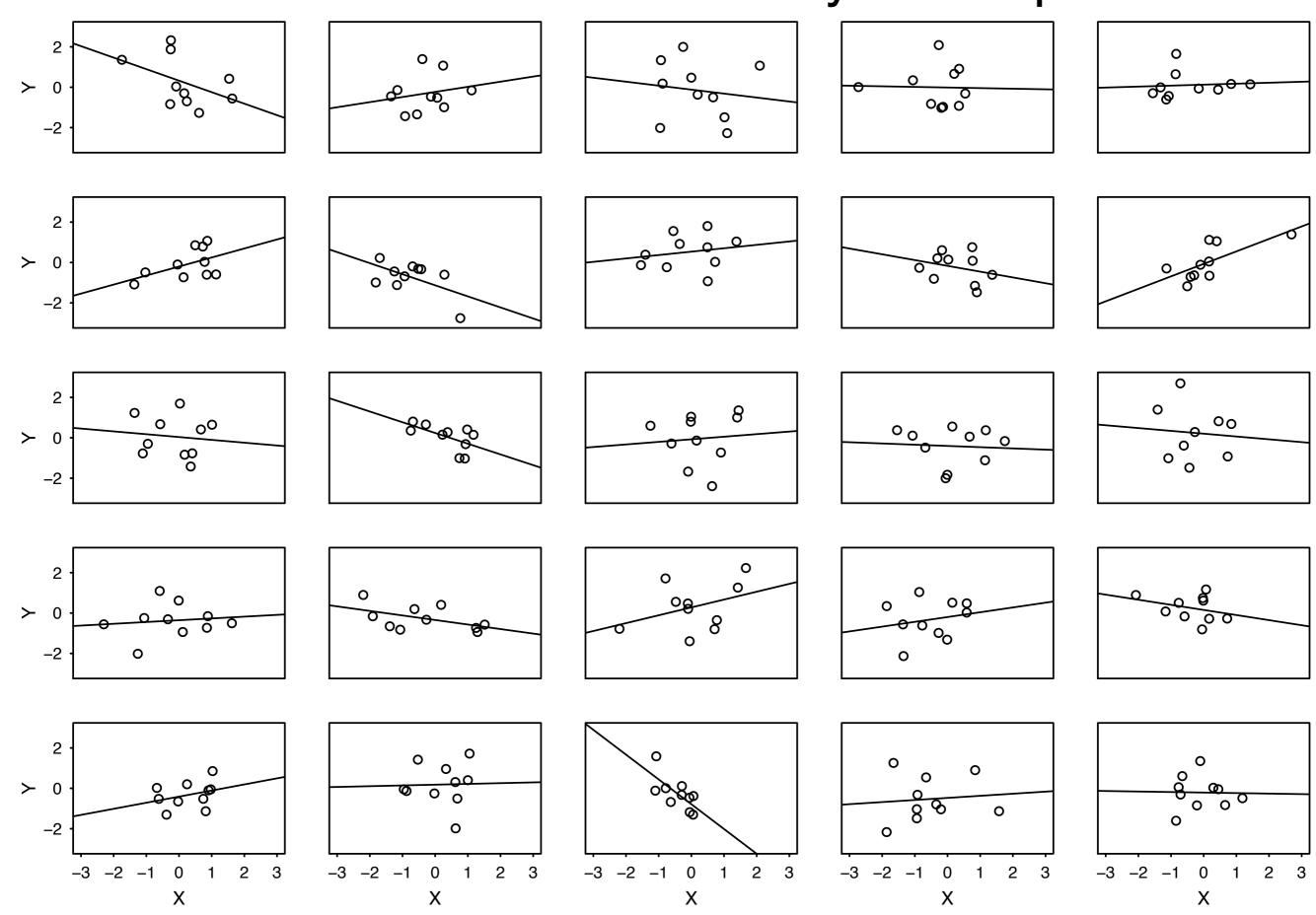
key explanatory variable

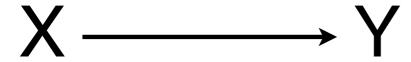
X

outcome variable

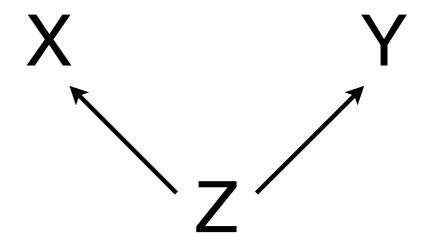
Notice the arrow!

#### Pure Noise Generated by a Computer

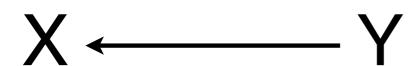




#### spuriousness



#### reverse causation



#### chance

no systematic relationship; correlation simply due to chance

## Ruling Out the Alternatives

### spuriousness and reverse causation

- a compelling theoretical model
- randomization

### spuriousness

controlling for confounders

#### chance

box model and statistical inference

# Ruling Out the Alternatives

### spuriousness and reverse causation

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### spuriousness

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save for later...

#### chance

box model and statistical inference

# Ruling Out the Alternatives

### spuriousness and reverse causation

a compelling theoretical model



randomization

### spuriousness

controlling for confounders

save for later...

#### chance

box model and statistical inference

## A Compelling Theoretical Model

## A Compelling Theoretical Model

Simply explain why spuriousness and reverse causation make little theoretical sense.

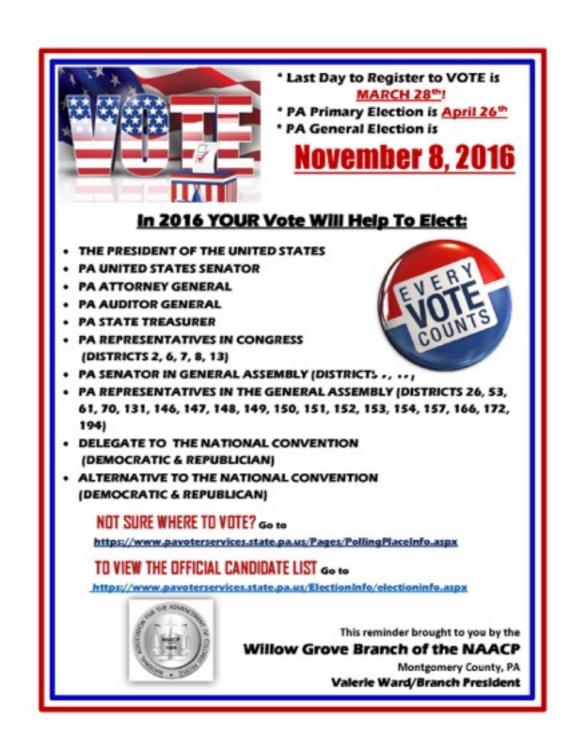
## A Compelling Theoretical Model

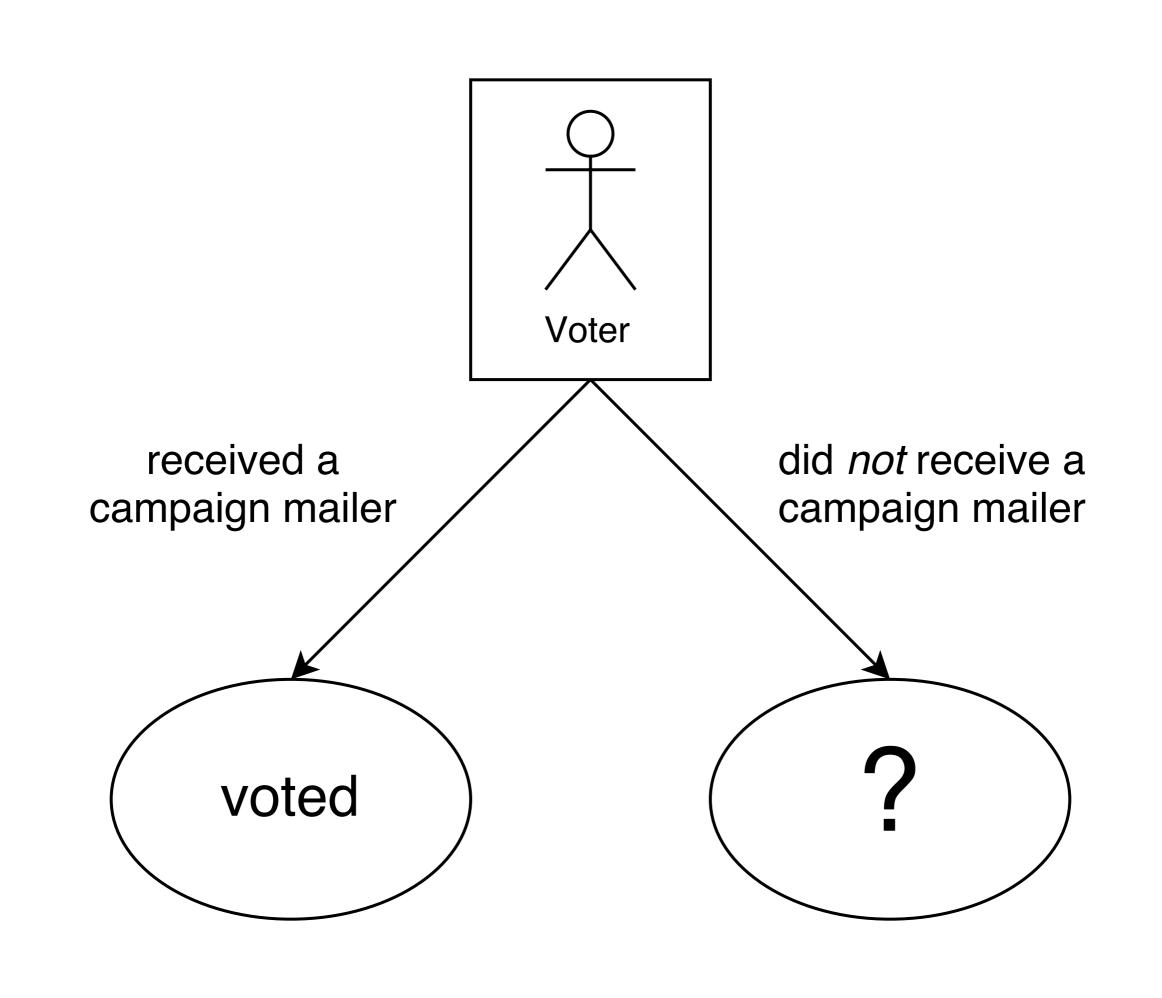
Simply explain why spuriousness and reverse causation make little theoretical sense.

- Could it be that some other variable causes both democratic institutions and GNI? What might this be?
- Could it be that GNI causes democratic institutions?

### Randomization

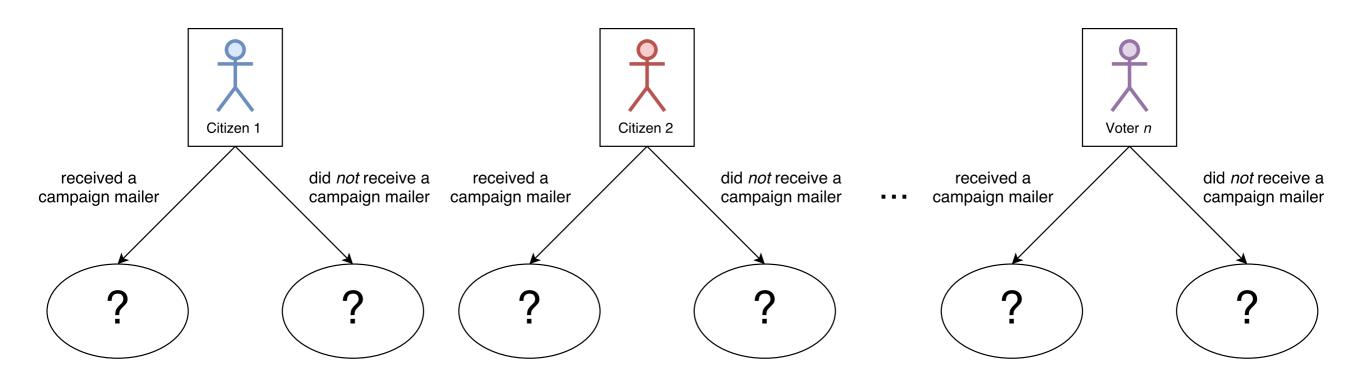
# What is the effect of a campaign mailer on a citizen's decision to turn out and vote?





### Imagine we're in the following ideal situation:

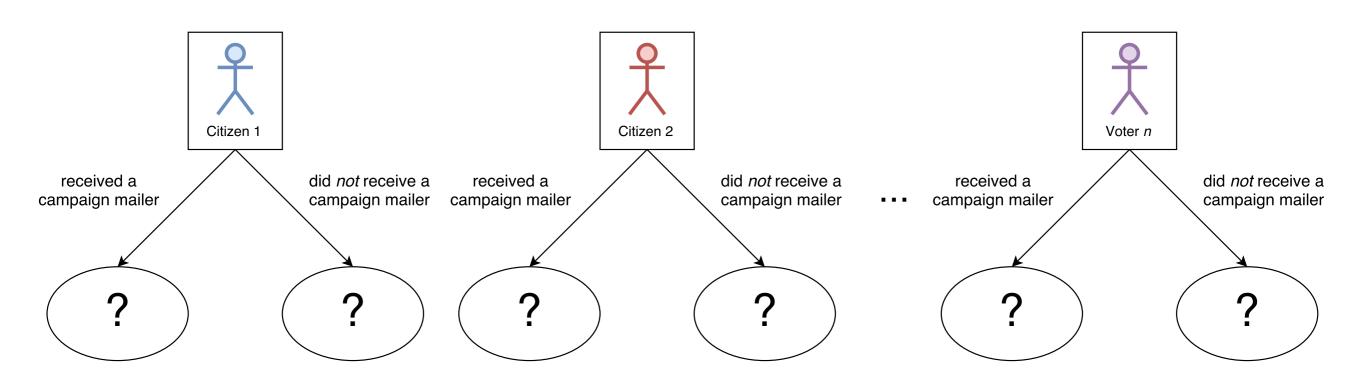
- A. we have *n* potential voters,
- B. the election hasn't yet happened, and
- C. we can control the assignment of the treatment.



 $R_T^{hyp}$ : The hypothetical turnout <u>Rate</u> if everyone was in the <u>Treatment</u> group.

 $R_C^{hyp}$ : The hypothetical turnout <u>Rate</u> if everyone was in the <u>Control</u> group.

 $R_T^{hyp} - R_C^{hyp}$ : average treatment effect (ATE)



 $R_T^{obs}$ : The <u>observed</u> turnout <u>Rate</u> in the <u>Treatment</u> group.

 $R_C^{obs}$ : The <u>obs</u>erved turnout <u>Rate</u> in the <u>Control</u> group.

$$R_T^{obs} - R_C^{obs} \approx R_T^{hyp} - R_C^{hyp}$$

 $R_T^{obs}$ : The <u>observed</u> turnout <u>Rate</u> in the <u>Treatment</u> group.

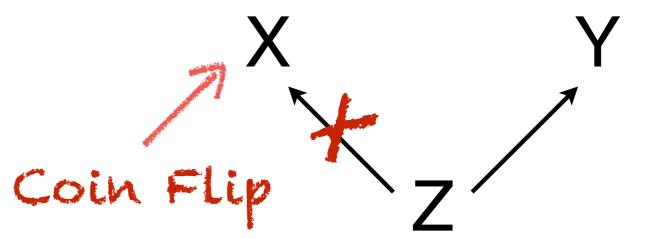
 $R_C^{obs}$ : The <u>obs</u>erved turnout <u>Rate</u> in the <u>Control</u> group.

$$R_T^{obs} - R_C^{obs} \approx R_T^{hyp} - R_C^{hyp}$$
 estimate

### causation

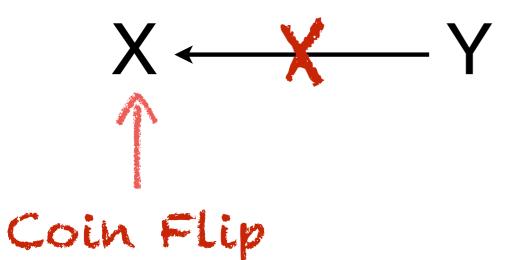
### spuriousness





### reverse causation

### chance



no systematic relationship; correlation simply due to chance

TABLE 2. Effects of Four Mail Treatments on Voter Turnout in the August 2006 Primary Election						
	Experimental Group					
	Control	Civic Duty	Hawthorne	Self	Neighbors	
Percentage Voting N of Individuals						

TABLE 2. Effects of Four Mail Treatments on Voter Turnout in the August 2006 Primary Election					
		Ex	perimental Group		
	Control	Civic Duty	Hawthorne	Self	Neighbors
Percentage Voting	29.7%				
N of Individuals	191,243				

DO YOUR CIVIC DUTY AND VOTE!

Why do so many people fail to vote? We've been talking about this problem for years, but it only seems to get worse.

The whole point of democracy is that citizens are active participants in government; that we have a voice in government. Your voice starts with your vote. On August 8, remember your rights and responsibilities as a citizen. Remember to vote.

DO YOUR CIVIC DUTY — VOTE!

TABLE 2. Effects of Four Mail Treatments on Voter Turnout in the August 2006 Primary Election						
		Ex	perimental Group			
	Control	Civic Duty	Hawthorne	Self	Neighbors	
Percentage Voting	29.7%	31.5%				
N of Individuals	191,243	38,218				

#### YOU ARE BEING STUDIED!

Why do so many people fail to vote? We've been talking about this problem for years, but it only seems to get worse.

This year, we're trying to figure out why people do or do not vote. We'll be studying voter turnout in the August 8 primary election.

Our analysis will be based on public records, so you will not be contacted again or disturbed in any way. Anything we learn about your voting or not voting will remain confidential and will not be disclosed to anyone else.

DO YOUR CIVIC DUTY — VOTE!

TABLE 2. Election	Effects of Four Mail Treatments on Voter Turnout in the August 2006 Primary						
	Experimental Group						
	Control	Civic Duty	Hawthorne	Self	Neighbors		

32.2%

38,204

31.5%

38,218

Percentage Voting

N of Individuals

29.7%

191,243

WHO VOTES IS PUBLIC INFORMATION!

Why do so many people fail to vote? We've been talking about the problem for years, but it only seems to get worse.

This year, we're taking a different approach. We are reminding people that who votes is a matter of public record.

The chart shows your name from the list of registered voters, showing past votes, as well as an empty box which we will fill in to show whether you vote in the August 8 primary election. We intend to mail you an updated chart when we have that information.

We will leave the box blank if you do not vote.

DO YOUR	CIVIC DUTY—VOTE!			
	SERT WAYNE	Aug 04 Voted	Nov 04 Voted Voted	Aug 06

TABLE 2. Election	Effects of Four Mail Treatments on Voter Turnout in the August 2006 Primary
	Experimental Group

	Experimental Group				
	Control	Civic Duty	Hawthorne	Self	Neighbors
Percentage Voting	29.7%	31.5%	32.2%	34.5%	
N of Individuals	191,243	38,218	38,204	38,218	

#### WHAT IF YOUR NEIGHBORS KNEW WHETHER YOU VOTED?

Why do so many people fail to vote? We've been talking about the problem for years, but it only seems to get worse. This year, we're taking a new approach. We're sending this mailing to you and your neighbors to publicize who does and does not vote.

The chart shows the names of some of your neighbors, showing which have voted in the past. After the August 8 election, we intend to mail an updated chart. You and your neighbors will all know who voted and who did not.

#### DO YOUR CIVIC DUTY - VOTE!

6
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TABLE 2.	Effects of Four Mail Treatments on Voter Turnout in the August 2006 Primary
Election	

	Experimental Group				
	Control	Civic Duty	Hawthorne	Self	Neighbors
Percentage Voting	29.7%	31.5%	32.2%	34.5%	37.8%
N of Individuals	191,243	38,218	38,204	38,218	38,201