

# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Ian Lundberg

Princeton University  
Department of Sociology  
[ilundberg@princeton.edu](mailto:ilundberg@princeton.edu)

3 March 2021  
Cornell Information Science Colloquium

Replication code is available in links on my CV at [ianlundberg.org](http://ianlundberg.org). Research reported in this talk was supported by The Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health & Human Development of the National Institutes of Health under Award Number P2CHD047879, and by the Russell Sage Foundation.

# Prediction in Social Science

A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Three possible uses:

# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Three possible uses:

- 1) Prediction for individuals

# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

### Three possible uses:

# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

### Three possible uses:

# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Three possible uses:

- |                               |           |
|-------------------------------|-----------|
| 1) Prediction for individuals | very hard |
| 2) Prediction for description | useful    |

# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Three possible uses:

- |                                 |           |
|---------------------------------|-----------|
| 1) Prediction for individuals   | very hard |
| 2) Prediction for description   | useful    |
| 3) Prediction for causal claims |           |

# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Three possible uses:

- |                                 |                         |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1) Prediction for individuals   | very hard               |
| 2) Prediction for description   | useful                  |
| 3) Prediction for causal claims | opportunities<br>abound |

# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Three possible uses:

- |                                 |                         |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1) Prediction for individuals   | very hard               |
| 2) Prediction for description   | useful                  |
| 3) Prediction for causal claims | opportunities<br>abound |
| — Define the intervention       |                         |
| — Causal assumptions            |                         |
| — Estimation                    |                         |
| — Empirical examples            |                         |

# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

## Three possible uses:

- 1) Prediction for individuals very hard

2) Prediction for description useful

3) Prediction for causal claims opportunities abound

  - Define the intervention
  - Causal assumptions
  - Estimation
  - Empirical examples

## Standard prediction setting



## Standard prediction setting

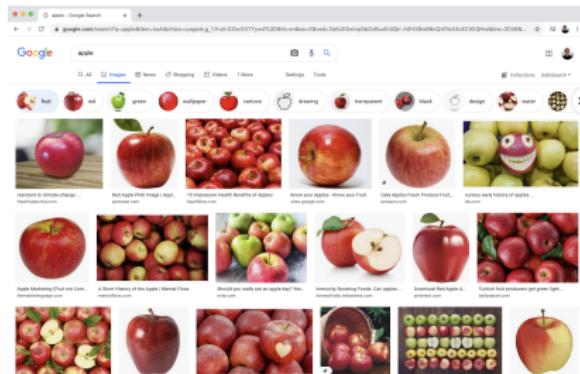


Apple

# Standard prediction setting



Apple



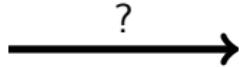
## Standard prediction setting



Apple

## Social settings

Social Data



Social Outcome



FEATURE

# Can an Algorithm Tell When Kids Are in Danger?

Child protective agencies are haunted when they fail to save kids. Pittsburgh officials believe a new data analysis program is helping them make better judgment calls.





Bernard Parker, left, was rated high risk; Dylan Fuggett was rated low risk. (Josh Ritchie for ProPublica)

# Machine Bias

There's software used across the country to predict future criminals.  
And it's biased against blacks.

by Julia Angwin, Jeff Larson, Surya Mattu and Lauren Kirchner, ProPublica

May 23, 2016

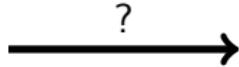
## Standard prediction setting



Apple

## Social settings

Social Data



Social Outcome

# Measuring the predictability of life outcomes with a scientific mass collaboration

Matthew J. Salganik<sup>a,1</sup>, Ian Lundberg<sup>a</sup> , Alexander T. Kindel<sup>a</sup>, Caitlin E. Ahearn<sup>b</sup>, Khaled Al-Ghoneim<sup>c</sup>, Abdullah Almaatouq<sup>d,e</sup> , Drew M. Altschul<sup>f</sup> , Jennie E. Brand<sup>g,h</sup>, Nicole Bohme Carnegie<sup>i</sup> , Ryan James Compton<sup>j</sup>, Debanjan Datta<sup>j</sup>, Thomas Davidson<sup>k</sup>, Anna Filippova<sup>l</sup>, Connor Gilroy<sup>m</sup>, Brian J. Goode<sup>n</sup>, Eaman Jahani<sup>o</sup>, Ridhi Kashyap<sup>p,q,r</sup> , Antje Kirchner<sup>s</sup>, Stephen McKay<sup>t</sup> , Allison C. Morgan<sup>u</sup> , Alex Pentland<sup>d</sup>, Kivan Polimis<sup>v</sup>, Louis Raes<sup>w</sup> , Daniel E. Rigobon<sup>x</sup>, Claudia V. Roberts<sup>y</sup>, Diana M. Stanescu<sup>z</sup>, Yoshihiko Suhara<sup>e</sup>, Adaner Usmani<sup>aa</sup>, Erik H. Wang<sup>z</sup>, Muna Adem<sup>bb</sup>, Abdulla Alhajri<sup>cc</sup>, Bedoor AlShebli<sup>dd</sup>, Redwane Amin<sup>ee</sup>, Ryan B. Amos<sup>y</sup>, Lisa P. Argyle<sup>ff</sup> , Livia Baer-Bositis<sup>gg</sup>, Moritz Büchi<sup>hh</sup> , Bo-Ryeahn Chung<sup>ii</sup>, William Eggert<sup>jj</sup>, Gregory Faletto<sup>kk</sup>, Zhilin Fan<sup>ll</sup>, Jeremy Freese<sup>gg</sup>, Tejomay Gadgil<sup>mm</sup>, Josh Gagné<sup>gg</sup>, Yue Gao<sup>nn</sup>, Andrew Halpern-Manners<sup>bb</sup>, Sonia P. Hashim<sup>y</sup>, Sonia Hausen<sup>gg</sup>, Guanhua He<sup>oo</sup>, Kimberly Higura<sup>gg</sup>, Bernie Hogan<sup>pp</sup>, Ilana M. Horwitz<sup>qq</sup>, Lisa M. Hummel<sup>gg</sup>, Naman Jain<sup>x</sup>, Kun Jin<sup>rr</sup> , David Jurgens<sup>ss</sup>, Patrick Kaminski<sup>bb,tt</sup>, Areg Karapetyan<sup>uu,vv</sup>, E. H. Kim<sup>gg</sup>, Ben Leizman<sup>y</sup>, Naijia Liu<sup>z</sup>, Malte Möser<sup>r</sup>, Andrew E. Mack<sup>s</sup>, Mayank Mahajan<sup>y</sup>, Noah Mandell<sup>ww</sup>, Helge Marahrens<sup>bb</sup>, Diana Mercado-Garcia<sup>gg</sup>, Viola Mocz<sup>xx</sup>, Katarina Mueller-Gastell<sup>gg</sup>, Ahmed Musse<sup>yy</sup>, Qiankun Niu<sup>ee</sup>, William Nowak<sup>zz</sup>, Hamidreza Omidvar<sup>aa</sup>, Andrew Or<sup>y</sup>, Karen Ouyang<sup>y</sup>, Katy M. Pinto<sup>bbb</sup>, Ethan Porter<sup>cc</sup>, Kristin E. Porter<sup>ddd</sup>, Crystal Qian<sup>y</sup>, Tamkinat Rauf<sup>gg</sup>, Anahit Sargsyan<sup>eee</sup>, Thomas Schaffner<sup>y</sup>, Landon Schnabel<sup>gg</sup>, Bryan Schonfeld<sup>z</sup>, Ben Sender<sup>ff</sup>, Jonathan D. Tang<sup>y</sup>, Emma Tsurkov<sup>gg</sup>, Austin van Loon<sup>gg</sup>, Onur Varol<sup>gg, hh</sup> , Xiafei Wang<sup>ii</sup>, Zhi Wang<sup>hhh, jjj</sup>, Julia Wang<sup>y</sup>, Flora Wang<sup>ff</sup>, Samantha Weissman<sup>y</sup>, Kirstie Whitaker<sup>kkk, ll</sup>, Maria K. Wolters<sup>mmmm</sup>, Wei Lee Woon<sup>nnn</sup>, James Wu<sup>ooo</sup>, Catherine Wu<sup>y</sup>, Kengran Yang<sup>aaa</sup>, Jingwen Yin<sup>ll</sup>, Bingyu Zhao<sup>ppp</sup>, Chenyun Zhu<sup>ll</sup>, Jeanne Brooks-Gunn<sup>qqq, rr</sup>, Barbara E. Engelhardt<sup>ii</sup>, Moritz Hardt<sup>sss</sup>, Dean Knox<sup>x</sup>, Karen Levy<sup>ttt</sup>, Arvind Narayanan<sup>y</sup>, Brandon M. Stewart<sup>a</sup>, Duncan J. Watts<sup>uu, vvv, www</sup> , and Sara McLanahan<sup>a,1</sup>

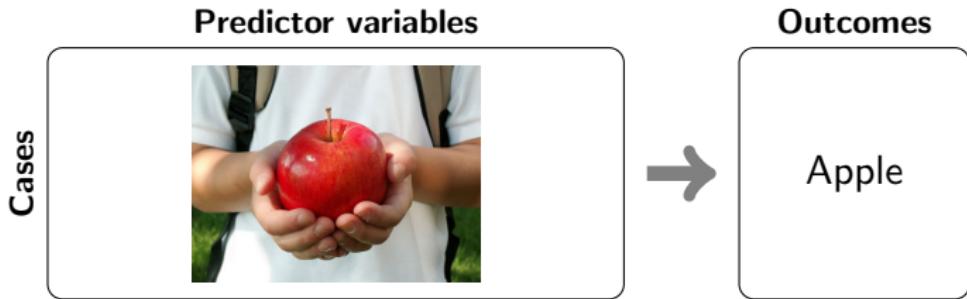
# FFragile Families

& Child Wellbeing Study  
PRINCETON | COLUMBIA



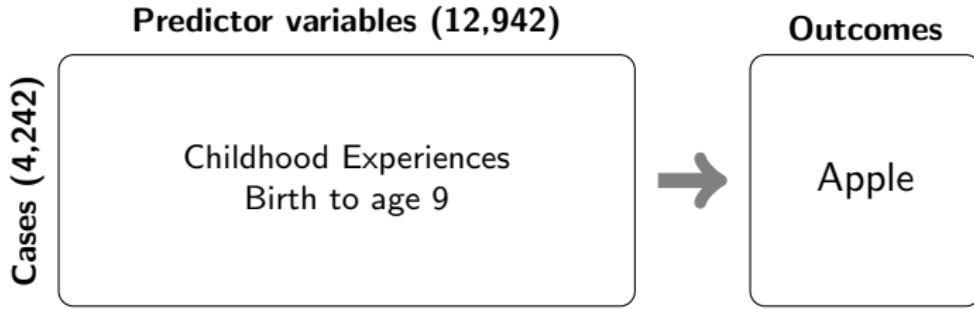
# FF Fragile Families

& Child Wellbeing Study  
PRINCETON | COLUMBIA



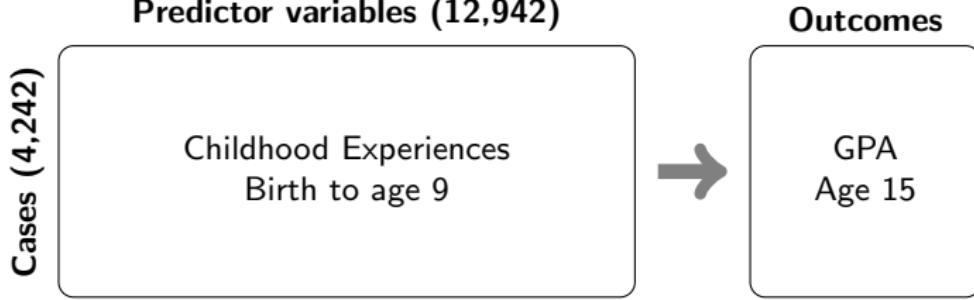
# FF Fragile Families

& Child Wellbeing Study  
PRINCETON | COLUMBIA



# FF Fragile Families

& Child Wellbeing Study  
PRINCETON | COLUMBIA



# FF Fragile Families

& Child Wellbeing Study  
PRINCETON | COLUMBIA



Cases (4,242)

Predictor variables (12,942)

Childhood Experiences  
Birth to age 9



Outcomes

GPA  
Age 15

GPA  
Age 15

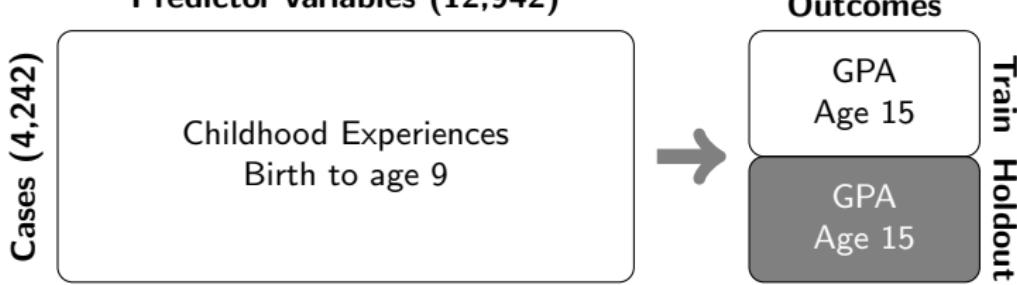
Train Holdout

# FF Fragile Families

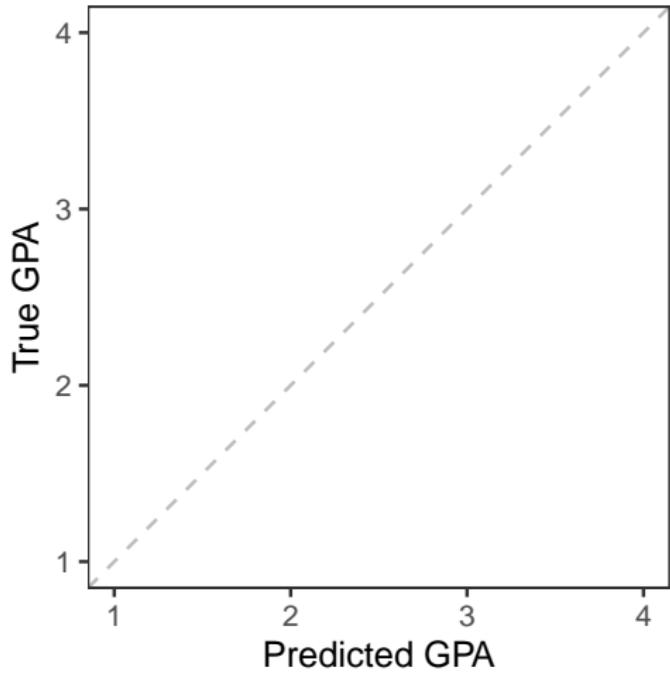
& Child Wellbeing Study  
PRINCETON | COLUMBIA



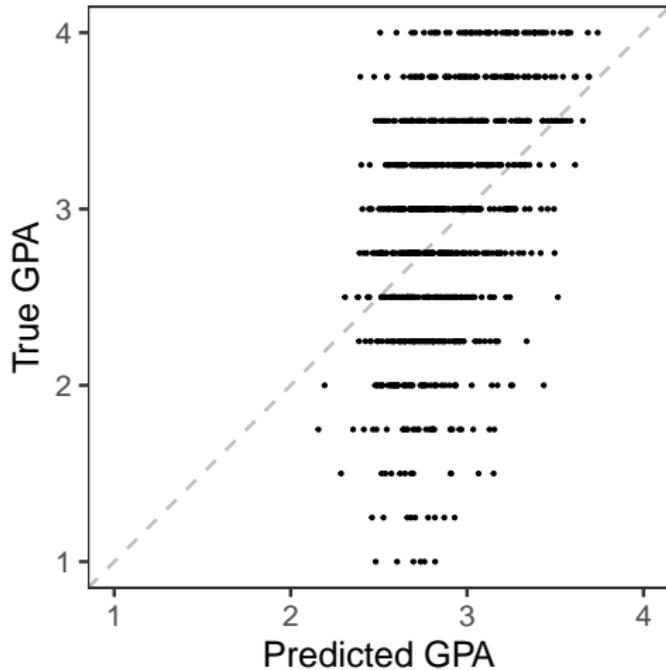
Mass collaboration  
160 teams attempted this task



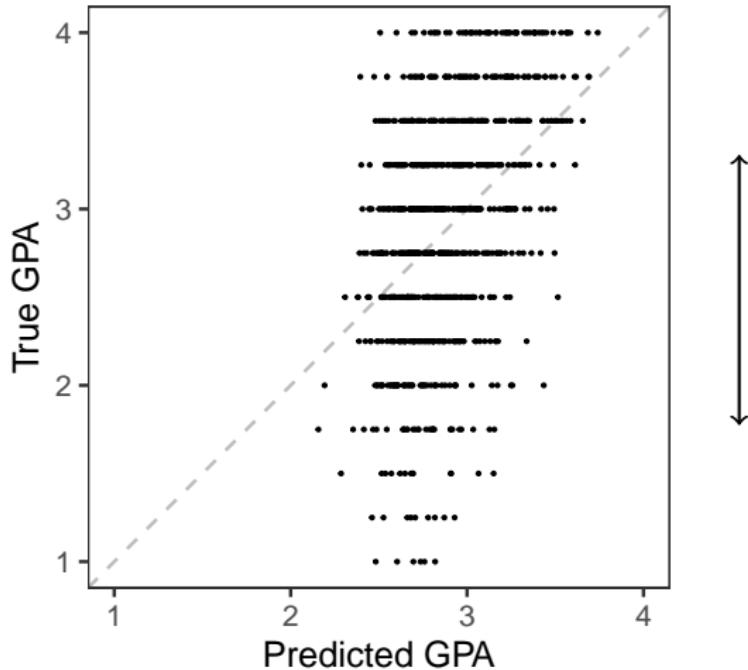
# The best of 160 submissions



# The best of 160 submissions

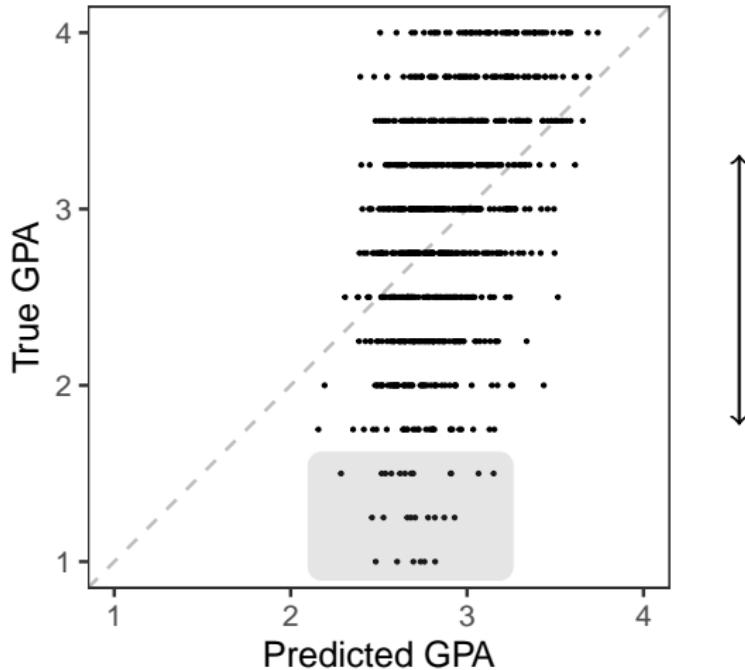


# The best of 160 submissions



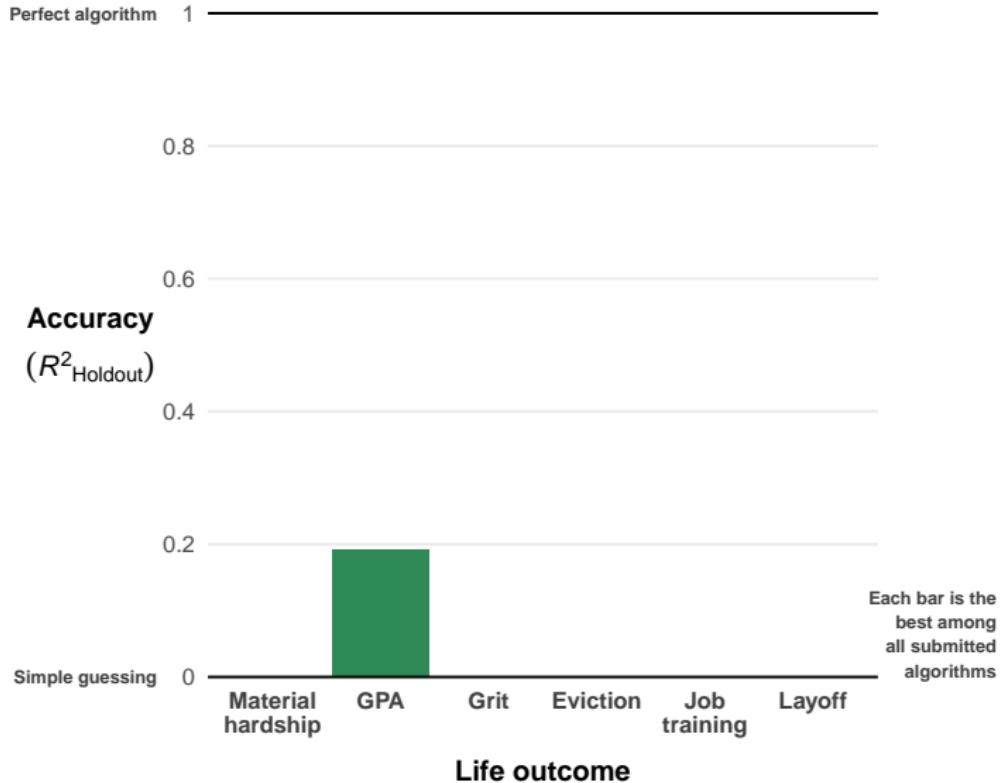
At any predicted GPA,  
the true GPA  
varies tremendously

# The best of 160 submissions

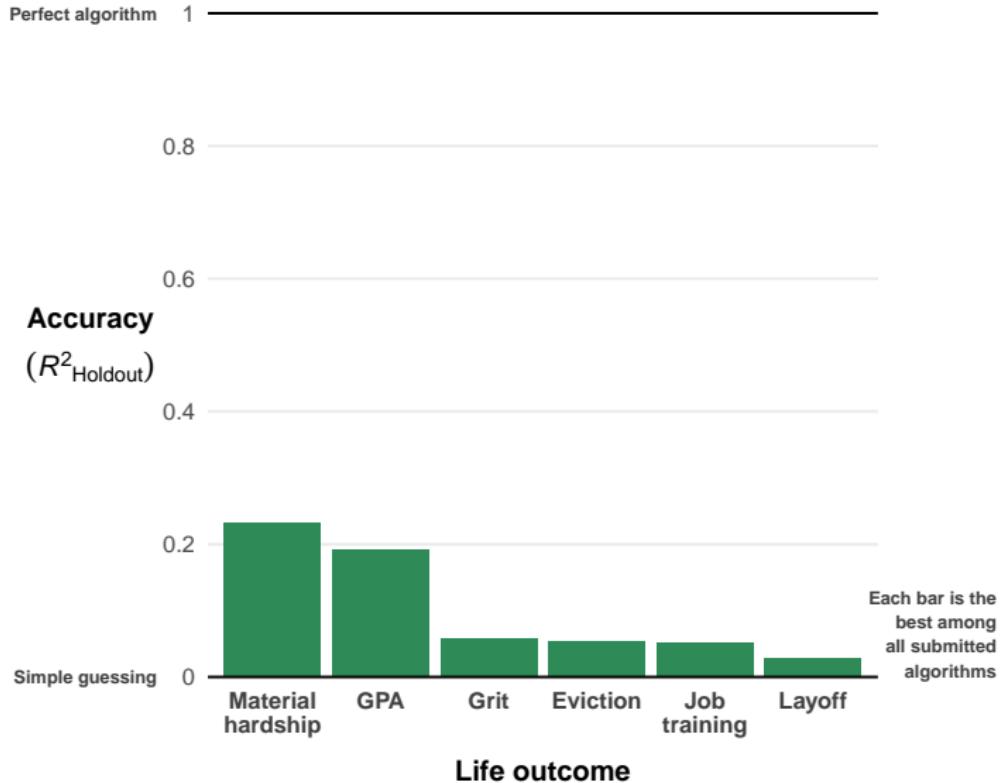


At any predicted GPA,  
the true GPA  
varies tremendously

## Best algorithms were not very accurate



## Best algorithms were not very accurate



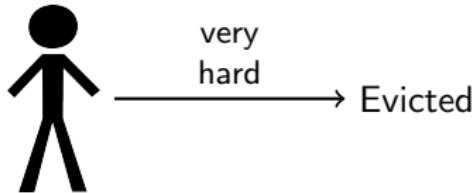
Machine learning was  
**really bad**  
at predicting individual outcomes in this social setting

Machine learning was  
**really bad**  
at predicting individual outcomes in this social setting

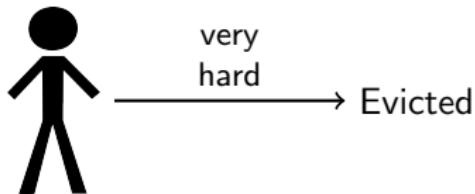


→ Apple

Machine learning was  
**really bad**  
at predicting individual outcomes in this social setting



Machine learning was  
**really bad**  
at predicting individual outcomes in this social setting



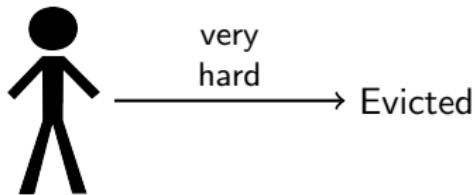
$$\text{MSE}(\hat{Y}, Y) = \text{E}\left(V(Y | \vec{X})\right) + \text{MSE}\left(\hat{Y}, \text{E}(Y | \vec{X})\right)$$

Mean squared  
prediction error

Outcome variance  
given signal

MSE for the  
conditional mean

Machine learning was  
**really bad**  
at predicting individual outcomes in this social setting



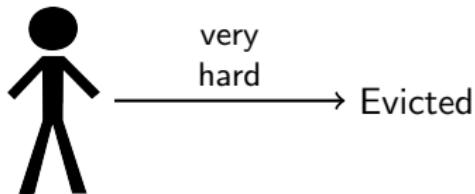
$$\text{MSE}(\hat{Y}, Y) = \text{E}\left(V(Y | \vec{X})\right) + \text{MSE}\left(\hat{Y}, \text{E}(Y | \vec{X})\right)$$

Mean squared  
prediction error

Outcome variance  
given signal

MSE for the  
conditional mean

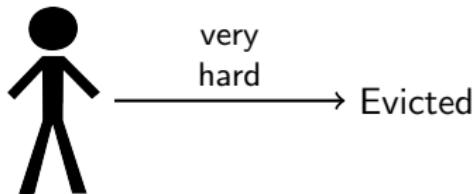
Machine learning was  
**really bad**  
at predicting individual outcomes in this social setting



$$\text{MSE}(\hat{Y}, Y) = \text{E}\left(V(Y | \vec{X})\right) + \text{MSE}\left(\hat{Y}, \text{E}(Y | \vec{X})\right)$$

Mean squared prediction error      Outcome variance given signal      MSE for the conditional mean

Machine learning was  
**really bad**  
at predicting individual outcomes in this social setting



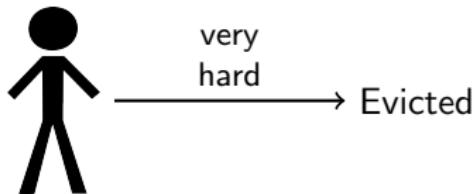
$$\text{MSE}(\hat{Y}, Y) = \text{E}\left(V(Y | \vec{X})\right) + \text{MSE}\left(\hat{Y}, \text{E}(Y | \vec{X})\right)$$

Mean squared  
prediction error

Outcome variance  
given signal

MSE for the  
conditional mean

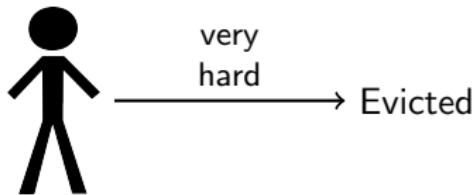
Machine learning was  
**really bad**  
at predicting individual outcomes in this social setting



$$\text{MSE}(\hat{Y}, Y) = \text{E}\left(V(Y | \vec{X})\right) + \text{MSE}\left(\hat{Y}, \text{E}(Y | \vec{X})\right)$$

Mean squared prediction error      Outcome variance given signal      MSE for the conditional mean

Machine learning was  
**really bad**  
at predicting individual outcomes in this social setting

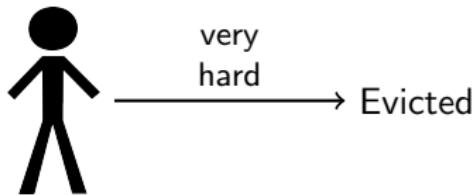


$$\text{MSE}(\hat{Y}, Y) = \text{E}\left(V(Y | \vec{X})\right) + \text{MSE}\left(\hat{Y}, \text{E}(Y | \vec{X})\right)$$

Mean squared prediction error      Outcome variance given signal      MSE for the conditional mean

Potentially large in social settings

Machine learning was  
**really bad**  
at predicting individual outcomes in this social setting



$$\text{MSE}(\hat{Y}, Y) = \text{E}\left(V(Y | \vec{X})\right) + \text{MSE}\left(\hat{Y}, \text{E}(Y | \vec{X})\right)$$

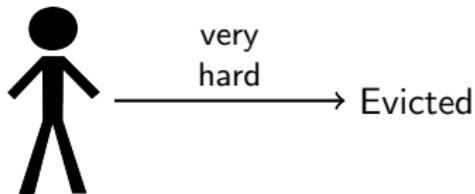
Mean squared  
prediction error

Outcome variance  
given signal

MSE for the  
conditional mean

↑  
Potentially large in  
social settings

Machine learning was  
**really bad**  
at predicting individual outcomes in this social setting



$$\text{MSE}(\hat{Y}, Y) = \text{E}\left(V(Y | \vec{X})\right) + \text{MSE}\left(\hat{Y}, \text{E}(Y | \vec{X})\right)$$

Mean squared  
prediction error

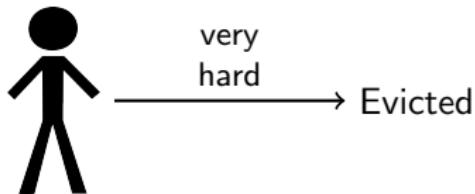
Outcome variance  
given signal

MSE for the  
conditional mean

Potentially large in  
social settings

Progress still possible  
for questions about  
conditional means

Machine learning was  
**really bad**  
at predicting individual outcomes in this social setting



$$\text{MSE}(\hat{Y}, Y) = \text{E}\left(V(Y | \vec{X})\right) + \text{MSE}\left(\hat{Y}, \text{E}(Y | \vec{X})\right)$$

Mean squared  
prediction error

Outcome variance  
given signal

MSE for the  
conditional mean

Potentially large in  
social settings

Progress still possible  
for questions about  
conditional means

Machine learning was  
**really bad**  
at predicting individual outcomes in this social setting



$$\text{MSE}(\hat{Y}, Y) = \text{E}\left(V(Y | \vec{X})\right) + \text{MSE}\left(\hat{Y}, \text{E}(Y | \vec{X})\right)$$

Mean squared  
prediction error

Outcome variance  
given signal

MSE for the  
conditional mean



Potentially large in  
social settings



Progress still possible  
for questions about  
conditional means

# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

### Three possible uses:

- 1) Prediction for individuals very hard

2) Prediction for description useful

3) Prediction for causal claims opportunities abound

  - Define the intervention
  - Causal assumptions
  - Estimation
  - Empirical examples

# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Three possible uses:

- |                                 |                         |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1) Prediction for individuals   | very hard               |
| → 2) Prediction for description | useful                  |
| 3) Prediction for causal claims | opportunities<br>abound |
| — Define the intervention       |                         |
| — Causal assumptions            |                         |
| — Estimation                    |                         |
| — Empirical examples            |                         |

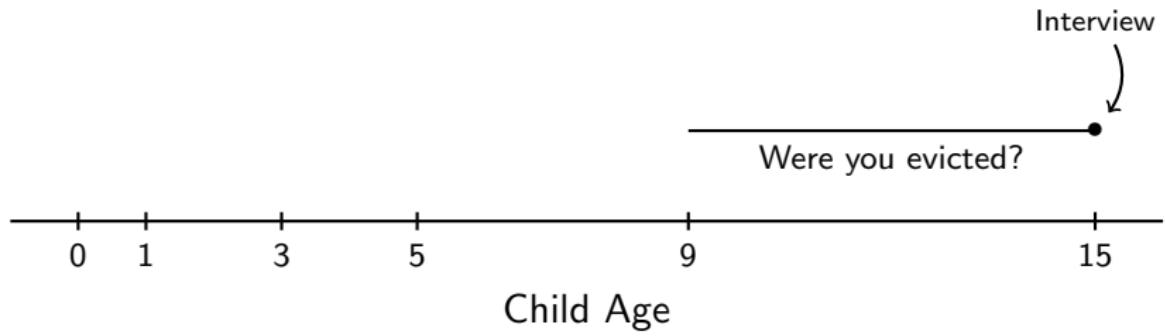
Demography (2019) 56:391–404  
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s13524-018-0735-y>

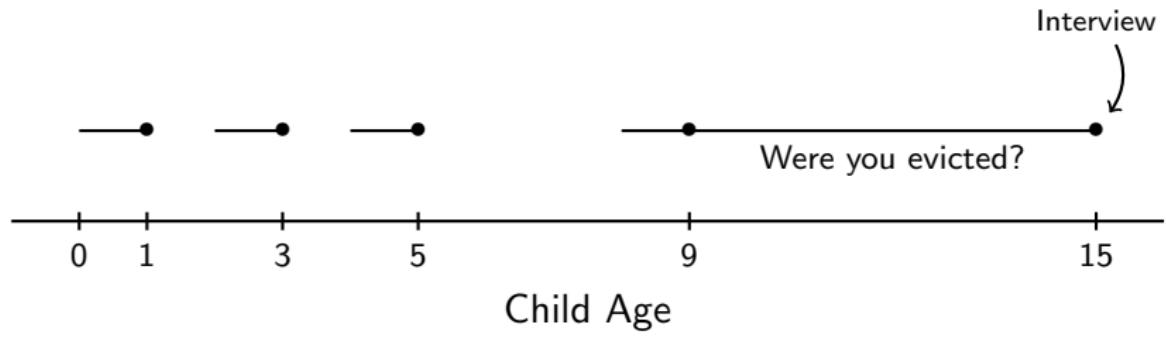
---

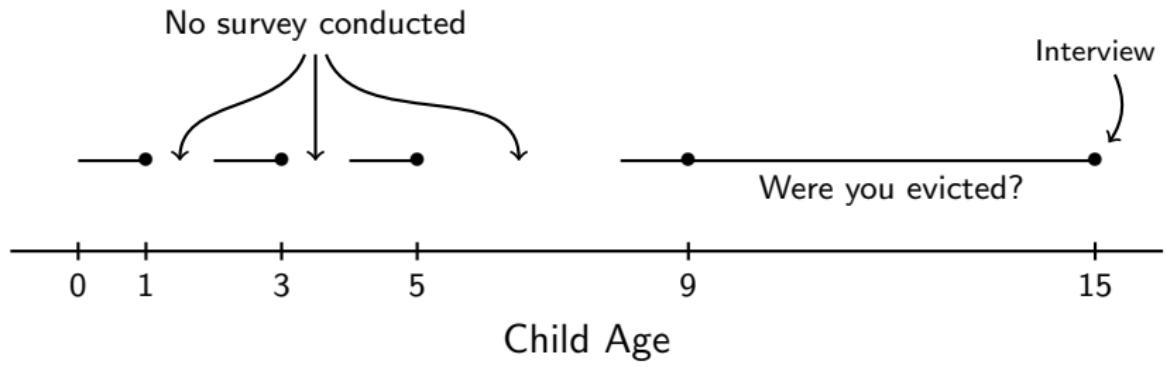


## A Research Note on the Prevalence of Housing Eviction Among Children Born in U.S. Cities

Ian Lundberg<sup>1</sup> · Louis Donnelly<sup>2</sup>

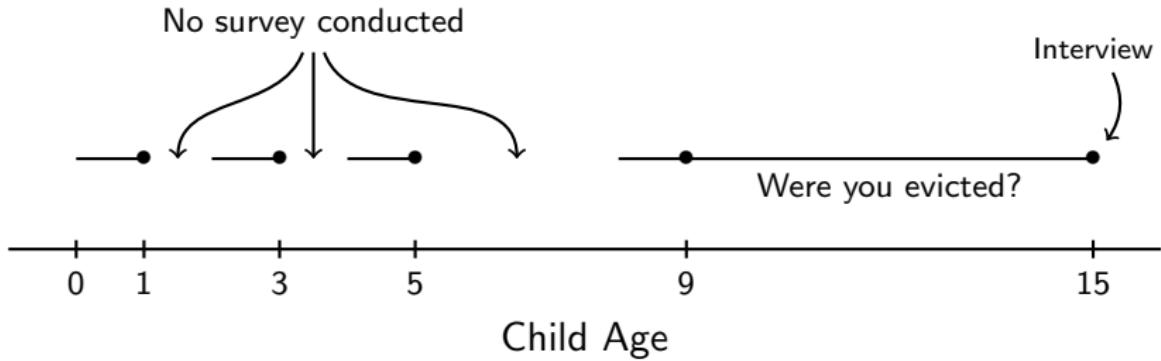






## Observed Data

	Ever Evicted?
Person 1	1
Person 2	?
Person 3	?
:	:
Average	?



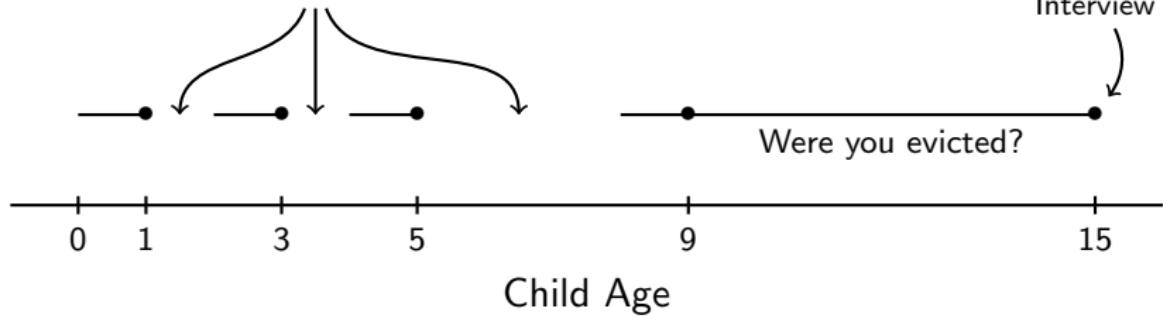
## Observed Data

	Ever Evicted?		Ever Evicted?
Person 1	1	Person 1	1
Person 2	?	Person 2	0
Person 3	?	Person 3	0
:	:	:	:
Average	?	Average	8%

## Lower Bound

No survey conducted

Interview



## Observed Data

	Ever Evicted?
Person 1	1
Person 2	?
Person 3	?
:	:
Average	?

## Lower Bound

	Ever Evicted?
Person 1	1
Person 2	0
Person 3	0
:	:
Average	8%

## Predicted Data

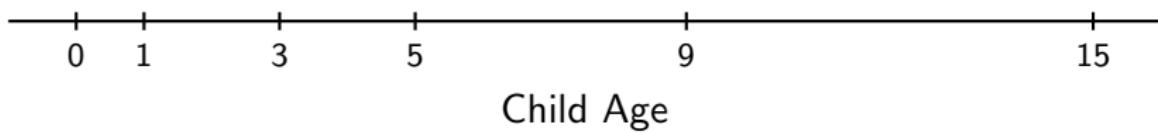
	Ever Evicted?
Person 1	$\hat{Y}_1$
Person 2	$\hat{Y}_2$
Person 3	$\hat{Y}_3$
:	:

No survey conducted

Interview



Were you evicted?



## Observed Data

	Ever Evicted?
Person 1	1
Person 2	?
Person 3	?
⋮	⋮
Average	?

## Lower Bound

	Ever Evicted?
Person 1	1
Person 2	0
Person 3	0
⋮	⋮
Average	8%

## Predicted Data

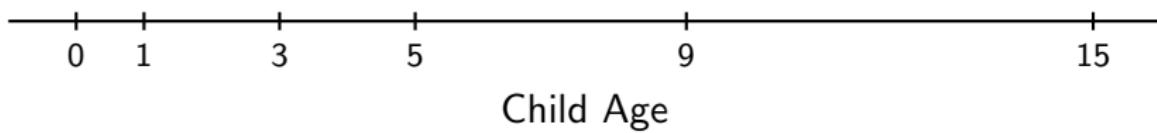
	Ever Evicted?
Person 1	$\hat{Y}_1$
Person 2	$\hat{Y}_2$
Person 3	$\hat{Y}_3$
⋮	⋮
Average	15%

No survey conducted

Interview



Were you evicted?



# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Three possible uses:

- |                                 |                         |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1) Prediction for individuals   | very hard               |
| → 2) Prediction for description | useful                  |
| 3) Prediction for causal claims | opportunities<br>abound |
| — Define the intervention       |                         |
| — Causal assumptions            |                         |
| — Estimation                    |                         |
| — Empirical examples            |                         |

# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

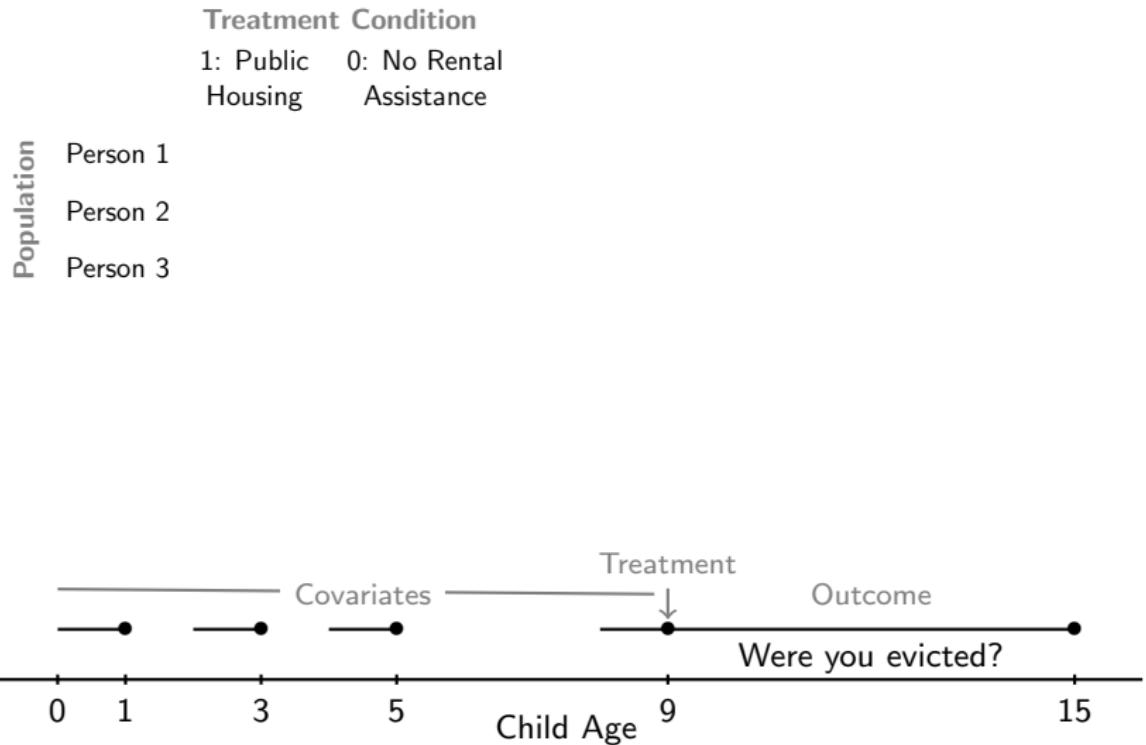
Three possible uses:

- |                                                                                                                   |                         |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1) Prediction for individuals                                                                                     | very hard               |
| 2) Prediction for description                                                                                     | useful                  |
|  3) Prediction for causal claims | opportunities<br>abound |
| — Define the intervention                                                                                         |                         |
| — Causal assumptions                                                                                              |                         |
| — Estimation                                                                                                      |                         |
| — Empirical examples                                                                                              |                         |

**Government Assistance  
Protects Low-Income  
Families from Eviction**

*Ian Lundberg  
Sarah L. Gold  
Louis Donnelly  
Jeanne Brooks-Gunn  
Sara S. McLanahan*

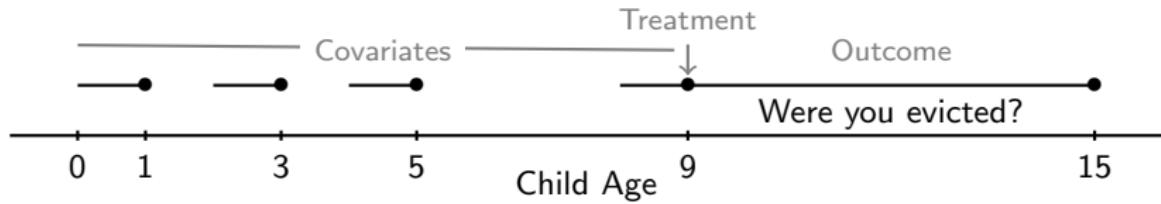
Journal of Policy Analysis and Management  
2021



**Treatment Condition**

1: Public Housing    0: No Rental Assistance

Population	Person 1	$Y_1(1)$	$Y_1(0)$
	Person 2	$Y_2(1)$	$Y_2(0)$
	Person 3	$Y_3(1)$	$Y_3(0)$



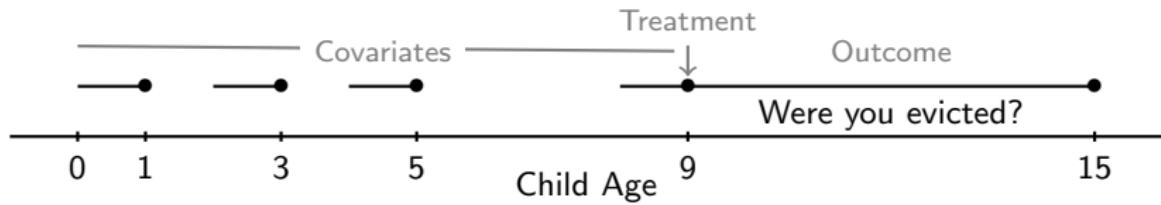
**Treatment Condition**

1: Public Housing    0: No Rental Assistance

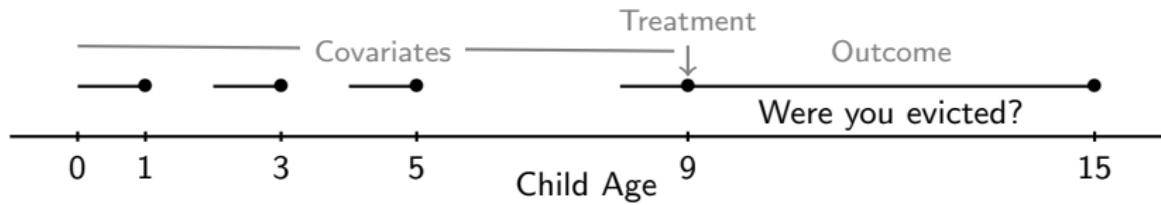
Population		$Y_1(1)$	$Y_1(0)$
Person 1		$Y_1(1)$	$Y_1(0)$
Person 2		$Y_2(1)$	$Y_2(0)$
Person 3		$Y_3(1)$	$Y_3(0)$



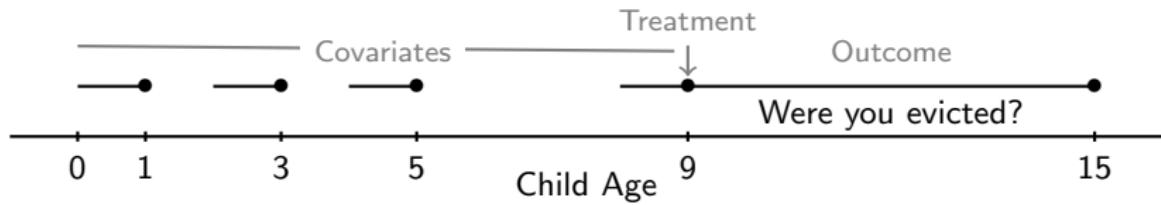
Treatment Condition		
	1: Public Housing	0: No Rental Assistance
Person 1	$Y_1(1)$	$Y_1(0)$
Person 2	$Y_2(1)$	$Y_2(0)$
Person 3	$Y_3(1)$	$Y_3(0)$



Treatment Condition		
	1: Public Housing	0: No Rental Assistance
Person 1	$Y_1(1)$	$Y_1(0)$
Person 2	$Y_2(1)$	$Y_2(0)$
Person 3	$Y_3(1)$	$Y_3(0)$



Treatment Condition		
	1: Public Housing	0: No Rental Assistance
Person 1	?	$Y_1(0)$
Person 2	$Y_2(1)$	?
Person 3	?	$Y_3(0)$



## Learn a prediction function

Treatment Condition		
	1: Public Housing	0: No Rental Assistance
Person 1	?	$Y_1(0)$
Person 2	$Y_2(1)$	?
Person 3	?	$Y_3(0)$



## Learn a prediction function

Population	Treatment Condition	
	1: Public Housing	0: No Rental Assistance
Person 1	?	$Y_1(0)$
Person 2	$Y_2(1)$	?
Person 3	?	$Y_3(0)$

## Predict the whole table

Population	Treatment Condition	
	1: Public Housing	0: No Rental Assistance
Person 1	$\hat{Y}_1(1)$	$\hat{Y}_1(0)$
Person 2	$\hat{Y}_2(1)$	$\hat{Y}_2(0)$
Person 3	$\hat{Y}_3(1)$	$\hat{Y}_3(0)$

Robins 1986  
Hahn 1998

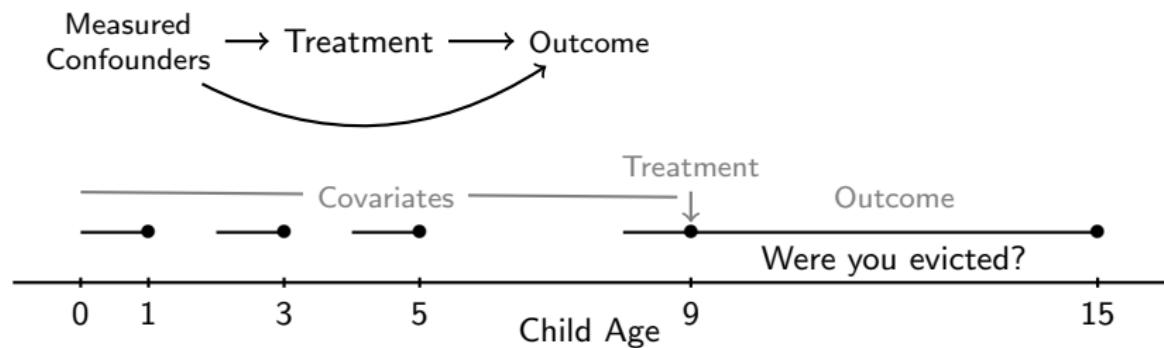


## Learn a prediction function

Population	Treatment Condition	
	1: Public Housing	0: No Rental Assistance
Person 1	?	$Y_1(0)$
Person 2	$Y_2(1)$	?
Person 3	?	$Y_3(0)$

## Predict the whole table

Population	Treatment Condition	
	1: Public Housing	0: No Rental Assistance
Person 1	$\hat{Y}_1(1)$	$\hat{Y}_1(0)$
Person 2	$\hat{Y}_2(1)$	$\hat{Y}_2(0)$
Person 3	$\hat{Y}_3(1)$	$\hat{Y}_3(0)$

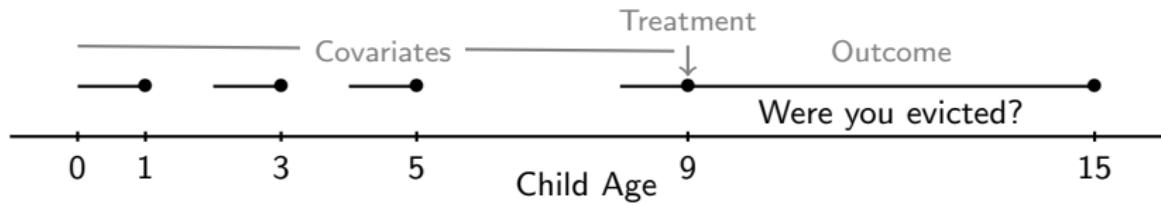
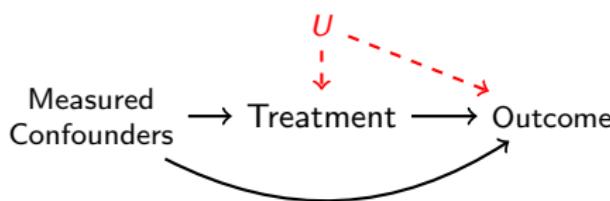


## Learn a prediction function

Population	Treatment Condition	
	1: Public Housing	0: No Rental Assistance
Person 1	?	$Y_1(0)$
Person 2	$Y_2(1)$	?
Person 3	?	$Y_3(0)$

## Predict the whole table

Population	Treatment Condition	
	1: Public Housing	0: No Rental Assistance
Person 1	$\hat{Y}_1(1)$	$\hat{Y}_1(0)$
Person 2	$\hat{Y}_2(1)$	$\hat{Y}_2(0)$
Person 3	$\hat{Y}_3(1)$	$\hat{Y}_3(0)$

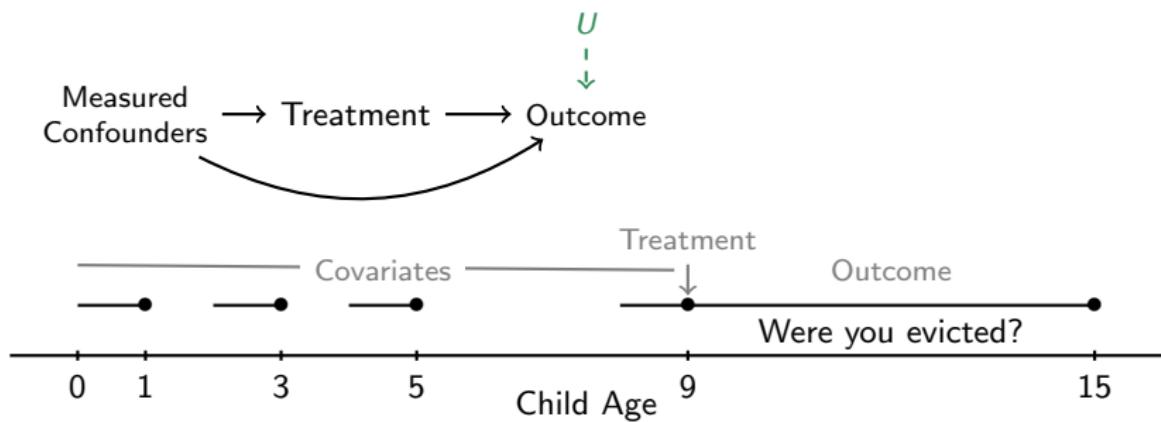


## Learn a prediction function

Population	Treatment Condition	
	1: Public Housing	0: No Rental Assistance
Person 1	?	$Y_1(0)$
Person 2	$Y_2(1)$	?
Person 3	?	$Y_3(0)$

## Predict the whole table

Population	Treatment Condition	
	1: Public Housing	0: No Rental Assistance
Person 1	$\hat{Y}_1(1)$	$\hat{Y}_1(0)$
Person 2	$\hat{Y}_2(1)$	$\hat{Y}_2(0)$
Person 3	$\hat{Y}_3(1)$	$\hat{Y}_3(0)$



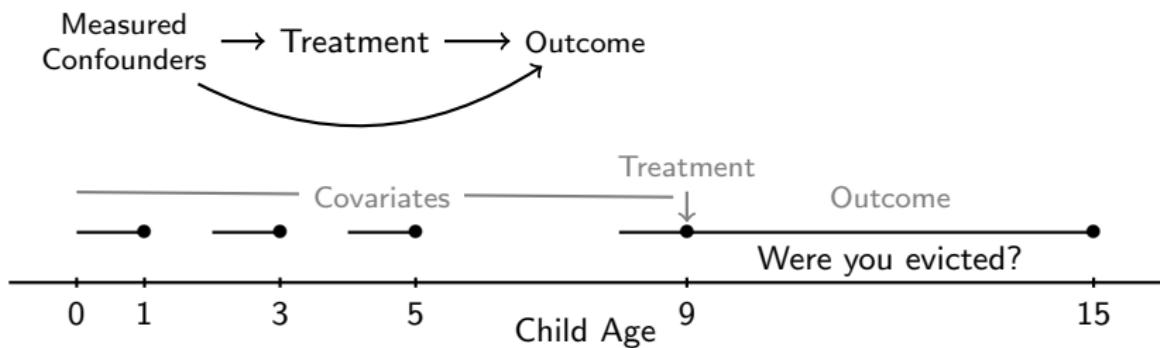
## Learn a prediction function

Population	Treatment Condition	
	1: Public Housing	0: No Rental Assistance
Person 1	?	$Y_1(0)$
Person 2	$Y_2(1)$	?
Person 3	?	$Y_3(0)$

Those  
factually in  
public housing

## Predict the whole table

Population	Treatment Condition	
	1: Public Housing	0: No Rental Assistance
Person 1	$\hat{Y}_1(1)$	$\hat{Y}_1(0)$
Person 2	$\hat{Y}_2(1)$	$\hat{Y}_2(0)$
Person 3	$\hat{Y}_3(1)$	$\hat{Y}_3(0)$



## Learn a prediction function

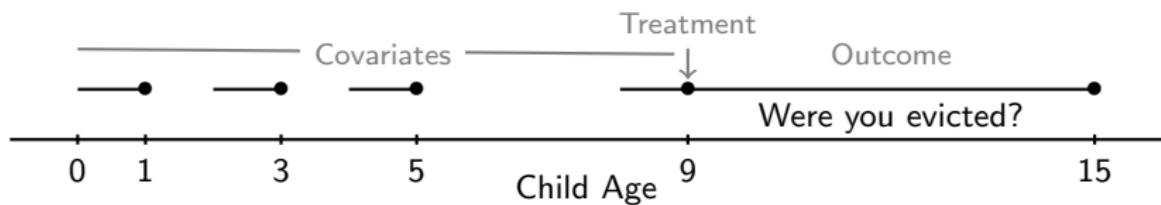
Population	Treatment Condition	
	1: Public Housing	0: No Rental Assistance
Person 1	?	$Y_1(0)$
Person 2	$Y_2(1)$	?
Person 3	?	$Y_3(0)$

Those  
factually in  
public housing

## Predict the whole table

Population	Treatment Condition	
	1: Public Housing	0: No Rental Assistance
Person 1	$\hat{Y}_1(1)$	$\hat{Y}_1(0)$
Person 2	$\hat{Y}_2(1)$	$\hat{Y}_2(0)$
Person 3	$\hat{Y}_3(1)$	$\hat{Y}_3(0)$

Average      3%



## Learn a prediction function

Population	Treatment Condition	
	1: Public Housing	0: No Rental Assistance
Person 1	?	$Y_1(0)$
Person 2	$Y_2(1)$	?
Person 3	?	$Y_3(0)$

Those  
factually in  
public housing

## Predict the whole table

Population	Treatment Condition	
	1: Public Housing	0: No Rental Assistance
Person 1	$\hat{Y}_1(1)$	$\hat{Y}_1(0)$
Person 2	$\hat{Y}_2(1)$	$\hat{Y}_2(0)$
Person 3	$\hat{Y}_3(1)$	$\hat{Y}_3(0)$

Average      3%      11%



That was an old question  
cast in a new way

(average treatment effect)  
(as a prediction task)

That was an old question  
cast in a new way

(average treatment effect)  
(as a prediction task)

Translating to a prediction task also unlocks  
**new causal questions**

# The Gap-Closing Estimand

## A Causal Approach to Study Interventions That Close Disparities Across Social Categories

That was an old question  
cast in a new way

(average treatment effect)  
(as a prediction task)

Translating to a prediction task also unlocks  
**new causal questions**

The **causal effect of race** is deeply fraught

The **causal effect of race** is deeply fraught

# 5

---

## Causation and Race

*Paul W. Holland*

The **causal effect of race** is deeply fraught

## 5

# CAUSAL EFFECTS OF PERCEIVED IMMUTABLE CHARACTERISTICS

D. James Greiner and Donald B. Rubin\*

... and

The **causal effect of race** is deeply fraught

# 5 CAUSAL I

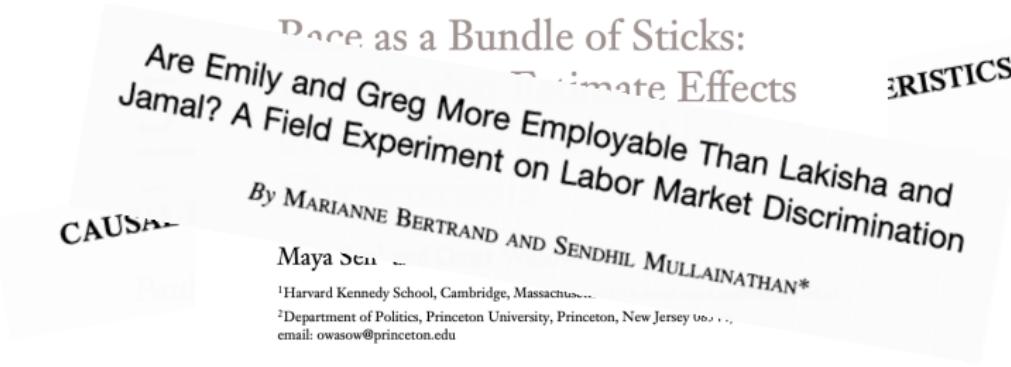
## Race as a Bundle of Sticks: Designs that Estimate Effects of Seemingly Immutable Characteristics

Maya Sen<sup>1</sup> and Omar Wasow<sup>2</sup>

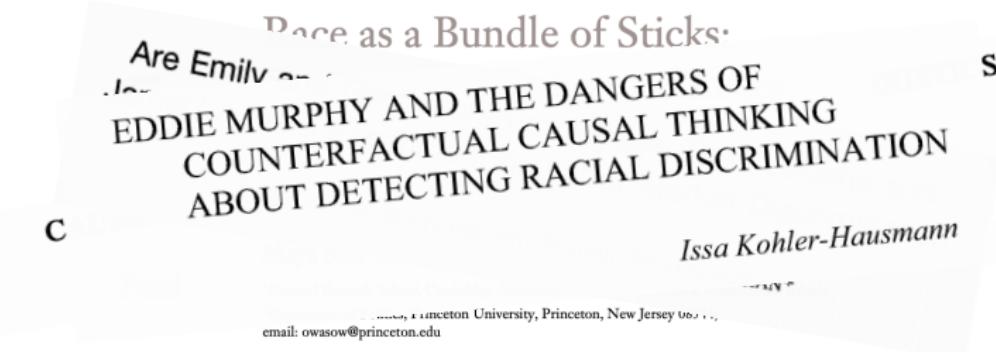
<sup>1</sup>Harvard Kennedy School, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138; email: maya\_sen@hks.harvard.edu

<sup>2</sup>Department of Politics, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey 08544;  
email: owasow@princeton.edu

The **causal effect of race** is deeply fraught



The **causal effect of race** is deeply fraught



The **causal effect of race** is deeply fraught

Population	Treatment Condition	
	Black	White
Person 1	$Y_1(\text{Black})$	$Y_1(\text{White})$
Person 2	$Y_2(\text{Black})$	$Y_2(\text{White})$
Person 3	$Y_3(\text{Black})$	$Y_3(\text{White})$
Person 4	$Y_4(\text{Black})$	$Y_4(\text{White})$
Person 5	$Y_5(\text{Black})$	$Y_5(\text{White})$
Person 6	$Y_6(\text{Black})$	$Y_6(\text{White})$

The **causal effect of race** is deeply fraught

Black	Person 1
	Person 2
	Person 3
White	Person 4
	Person 5
	Person 6

Black	Person 1
	Person 2
	Person 3
White	Person 4
	Person 5
	Person 6

		<u>As observed</u>
Black	Person 1	$Y_1$
	Person 2	$Y_2$
	Person 3	$Y_3$
White	Person 4	$Y_4$
	Person 5	$Y_5$
	Person 6	$Y_6$

		<u>As observed</u>
Black	Person 1	$Y_1$
	Person 2	$Y_2$
	Person 3	$Y_3$
White	Person 4	$Y_4$
	Person 5	$Y_5$
	Person 6	$Y_6$
		Descriptive Disparity

		As observed	Under intervention
Black	Person 1	$Y_1$	$Y_1(t)$
	Person 2	$Y_2$	$Y_2(t)$
	Person 3	$Y_3$	$Y_3(t)$
White	Person 4	$Y_4$	$Y_4(t)$
	Person 5	$Y_5$	$Y_5(t)$
	Person 6	$Y_6$	$Y_6(t)$
Descriptive Disparity			

		As observed	Under intervention
Black	Person 1	$Y_1$	$Y_1(t)$
	Person 2	$Y_2$	$Y_2(t)$
	Person 3	$Y_3$	$Y_3(t)$
White	Person 4	$Y_4$	$Y_4(t)$
	Person 5	$Y_5$	$Y_5(t)$
	Person 6	$Y_6$	$Y_6(t)$
		Descriptive Disparity	Gap-Closing Estimand

Can an intervention **close the gap**?

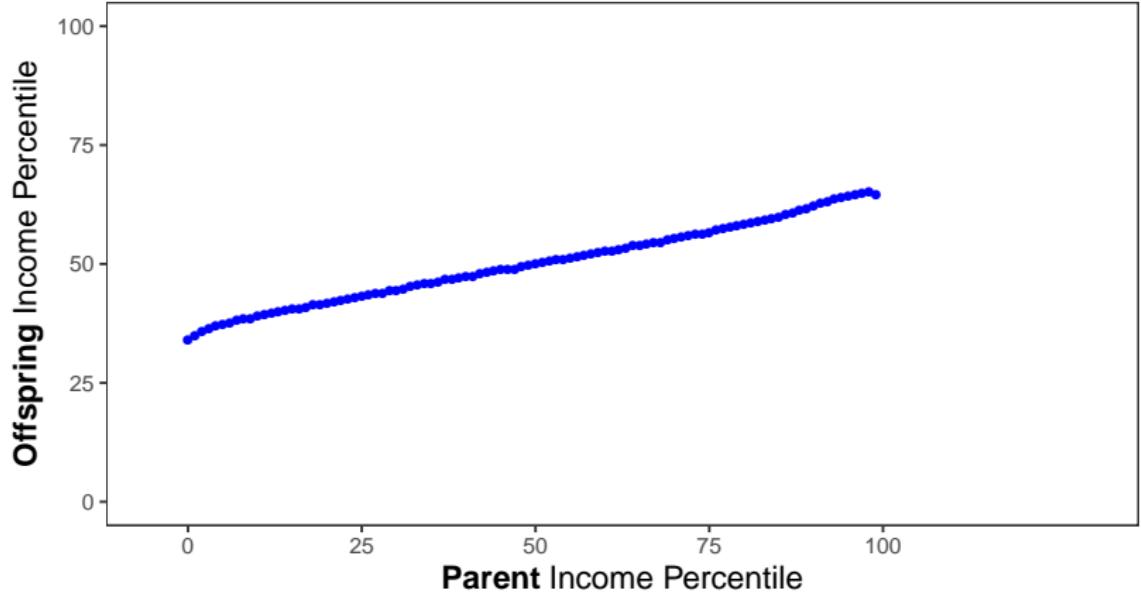
		As observed	Under intervention
Black	Person 1	$Y_1$	$Y_1(t)$
	Person 2	$Y_2$	$Y_2(t)$
	Person 3	$Y_3$	$Y_3(t)$
White	Person 4	$Y_4$	$Y_4(t)$
	Person 5	$Y_5$	$Y_5(t)$
	Person 6	$Y_6$	$Y_6(t)$
	Descriptive Disparity	Gap-Closing Estimand	

Can an intervention **close the gap?**

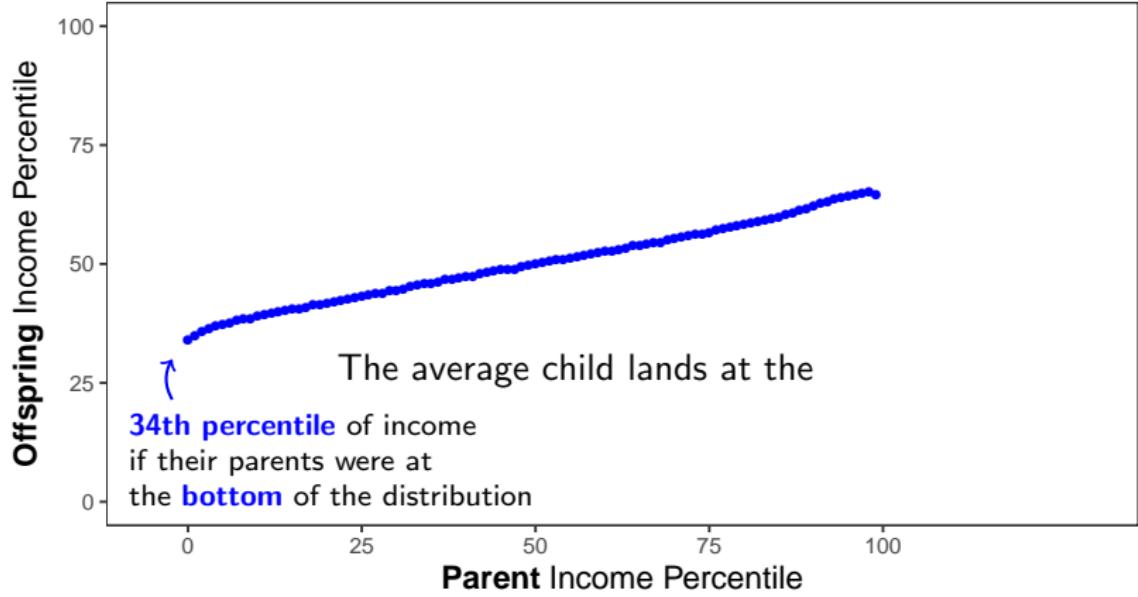
		As observed	Under intervention	
Black	Person 1	$Y_1$	$Y_1(t)$	Vanderweele & Robinson 2014
	Person 2	$Y_2$	$Y_2(t)$	
	Person 3	$Y_3$	$Y_3(t)$	
White	Person 4	$Y_4$	$Y_4(t)$	Jackson & Vanderweele 2018
	Person 5	$Y_5$	$Y_5(t)$	
	Person 6	$Y_6$	$Y_6(t)$	
	Descriptive Disparity	Gap-Closing Estimand		

Can an intervention **close the gap**?

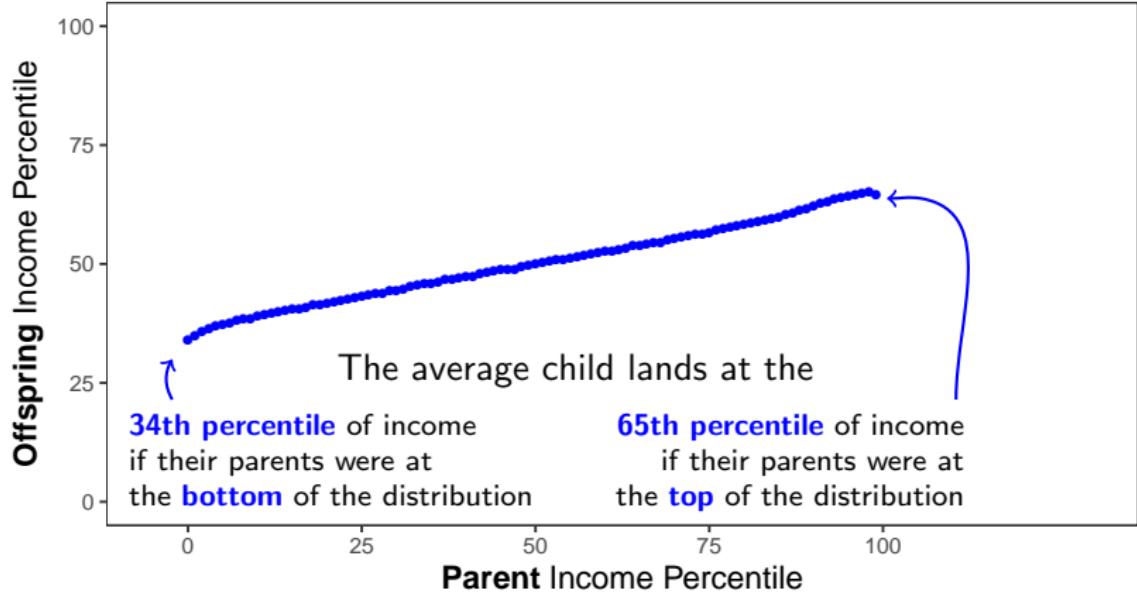
		As observed	Under intervention	
Category A	Person 1	$Y_1$	$Y_1(t)$	
	Person 2	$Y_2$	$Y_2(t)$	
	Person 3	$Y_3$	$Y_3(t)$	
Category B	Person 4	$Y_4$	$Y_4(t)$	Vanderweele & Robinson 2014
	Person 5	$Y_5$	$Y_5(t)$	
	Person 6	$Y_6$	$Y_6(t)$	Jackson & Vanderweele 2018
	Descriptive Disparity	Gap-Closing Estimand		



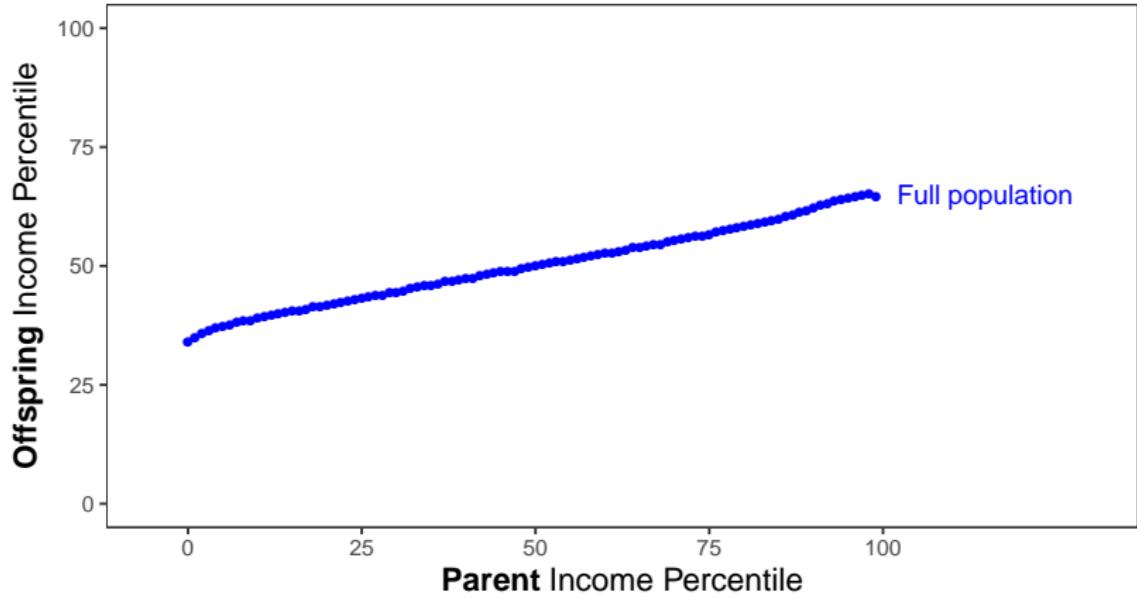
Chetty et al. 2017



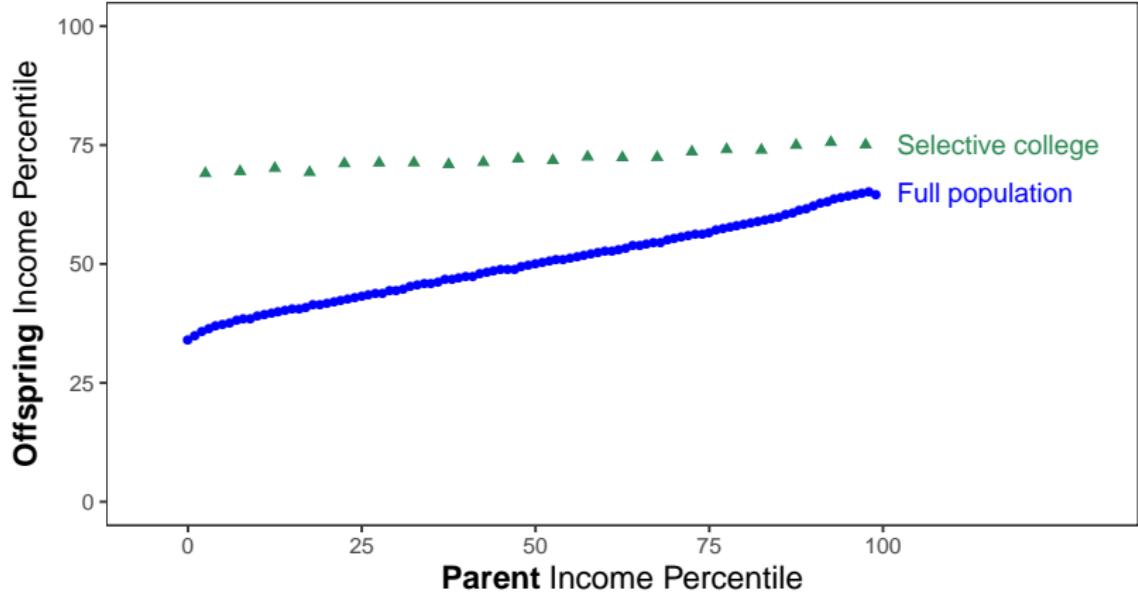
Chetty et al. 2017



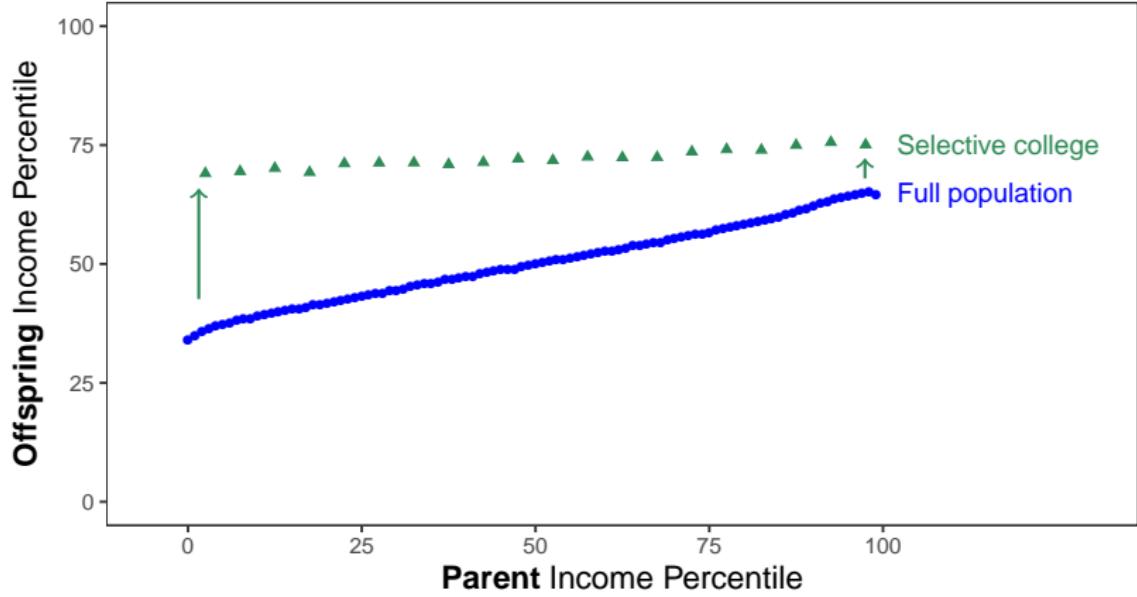
Chetty et al. 2017



Chetty et al. 2017



Chetty et al. 2017



Chetty et al. 2017

Define the research goal by a **target trial** (Hernán & Robins 2016)

Define the research goal by a **target trial** (Hernán & Robins 2016)

1. Sample  $S$  from the population

Define the research goal by a **target trial** (Hernán & Robins 2016)

1. Sample  $S$  from the population
2. Assign treatment  $T = 1$  to  $S$

Define the research goal by a **target trial** (Hernán & Robins 2016)

1. Sample  $\mathcal{S}$  from the population
2. Assign treatment  $T = 1$  to  $\mathcal{S}$
3. Observe the disparity  
across categories  $X$

Define the research goal by a **target trial** (Hernán & Robins 2016)

1. Sample  $\mathcal{S}$  from the population
2. Assign treatment  $T = 1$  to  $\mathcal{S}$
3. Observe the disparity  
across categories  $X$

Goal: Expected result over  
hypothetical samples  $\mathcal{S}$

Define the research goal by a **target trial** (Hernán & Robins 2016)

## Local intervention

1. Sample  $\mathcal{S}$  from the population
2. Assign treatment  $T = 1$  to  $\mathcal{S}$
3. Observe the disparity  
across categories  $X$

Goal: Expected result over  
hypothetical samples  $\mathcal{S}$

Define the research goal by a **target trial** (Hernán & Robins 2016)

Local intervention

Global intervention

1. Sample  $\mathcal{S}$  from the population
2. Assign treatment  $T = 1$  to  $\mathcal{S}$
3. Observe the disparity  
across categories  $X$

Goal: Expected result over  
hypothetical samples  $\mathcal{S}$

Define the research goal by a **target trial** (Hernán & Robins 2016)

### Local intervention

1. Sample  $\mathcal{S}$  from the population
2. Assign treatment  $T = 1$  to  $\mathcal{S}$
3. Observe the disparity  
across categories  $X$

Goal: Expected result over  
hypothetical samples  $\mathcal{S}$

### Global intervention

1. Take the entire population  $\mathcal{P}$

Define the research goal by a **target trial** (Hernán & Robins 2016)

### Local intervention

1. Sample  $\mathcal{S}$  from the population
2. Assign treatment  $T = 1$  to  $\mathcal{S}$
3. Observe the disparity  
across categories  $X$

Goal: Expected result over  
hypothetical samples  $\mathcal{S}$

### Global intervention

1. Take the entire population  $\mathcal{P}$
2. Assign treatment  $T = 1$  to  $\mathcal{P}$

Define the research goal by a **target trial** (Hernán & Robins 2016)

### Local intervention

1. Sample  $\mathcal{S}$  from the population
2. Assign treatment  $T = 1$  to  $\mathcal{S}$
3. Observe the disparity across categories  $X$

Goal: Expected result over hypothetical samples  $\mathcal{S}$

### Global intervention

1. Take the entire population  $\mathcal{P}$
2. Assign treatment  $T = 1$  to  $\mathcal{P}$
3. Observe the disparity across categories  $X$

Define the research goal by a **target trial** (Hernán & Robins 2016)

### Local intervention

1. Sample  $\mathcal{S}$  from the population
2. Assign treatment  $T = 1$  to  $\mathcal{S}$
3. Observe the disparity across categories  $X$

Goal: Expected result over hypothetical samples  $\mathcal{S}$

### Global intervention

1. Take the entire population  $\mathcal{P}$
2. Assign treatment  $T = 1$  to  $\mathcal{P}$
3. Observe the disparity across categories  $X$

Goal: Result of this procedure

Define the research goal by a **target trial** (Hernán & Robins 2016)

### Local intervention

1. Sample  $\mathcal{S}$  from the population
2. Assign treatment  $T = 1$  to  $\mathcal{S}$
3. Observe the disparity across categories  $X$

Goal: Expected result over hypothetical samples  $\mathcal{S}$

Difficulty: Causal inference

### Global intervention

1. Take the entire population  $\mathcal{P}$
2. Assign treatment  $T = 1$  to  $\mathcal{P}$
3. Observe the disparity across categories  $X$

Goal: Result of this procedure

Difficulty: Causal inference

Define the research goal by a **target trial** (Hernán & Robins 2016)

### Local intervention

1. Sample  $\mathcal{S}$  from the population
2. Assign treatment  $T = 1$  to  $\mathcal{S}$
3. Observe the disparity across categories  $X$

Goal: Expected result over hypothetical samples  $\mathcal{S}$

Difficulty: Causal inference

### Global intervention

1. Take the entire population  $\mathcal{P}$
2. Assign treatment  $T = 1$  to  $\mathcal{P}$
3. Observe the disparity across categories  $X$

Goal: Result of this procedure

Difficulty: Causal inference  
Equilibrium dynamics

Define the research goal by a **target trial** (Hernán & Robins 2016)



Local intervention

1. Sample  $\mathcal{S}$  from the population
2. Assign treatment  $T = 1$  to  $\mathcal{S}$
3. Observe the disparity across categories  $X$

Goal: Expected result over hypothetical samples  $\mathcal{S}$

Difficulty: Causal inference

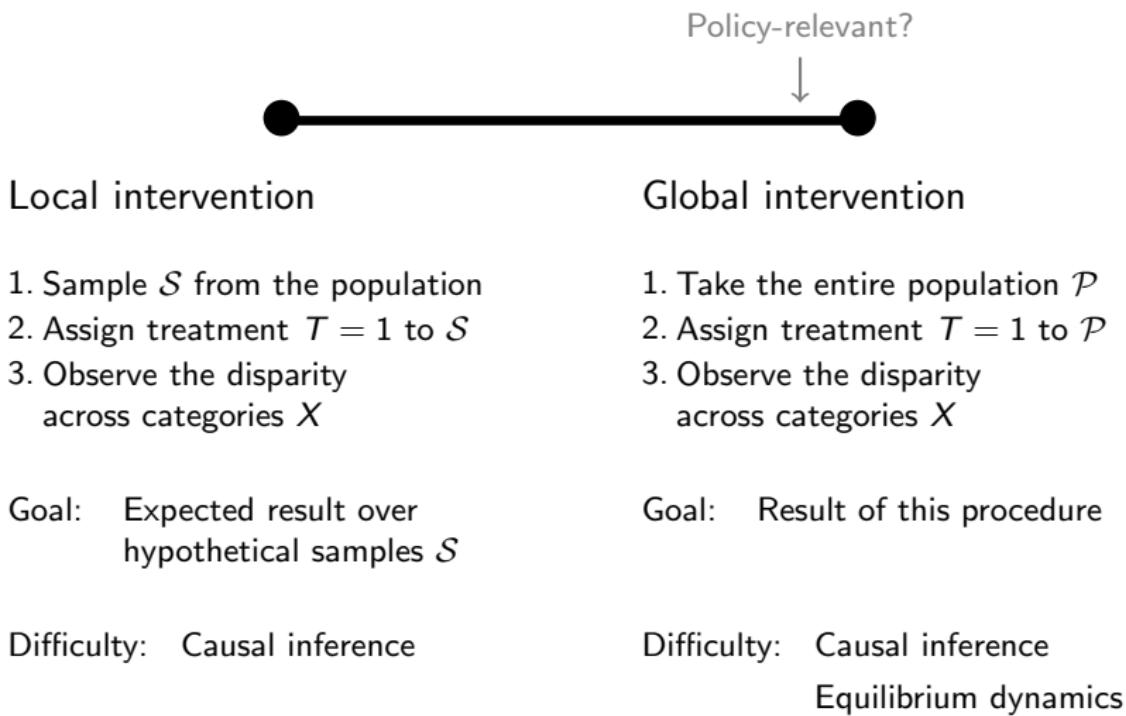
Global intervention

1. Take the entire population  $\mathcal{P}$
2. Assign treatment  $T = 1$  to  $\mathcal{P}$
3. Observe the disparity across categories  $X$

Goal: Result of this procedure

Difficulty: Causal inference  
Equilibrium dynamics

Define the research goal by a **target trial** (Hernán & Robins 2016)



Define the research goal by a **target trial** (Hernán & Robins 2016)



Local intervention

1. Sample  $\mathcal{S}$  from the population
2. Assign treatment  $T = 1$  to  $\mathcal{S}$
3. Observe the disparity across categories  $X$

Goal: Expected result over hypothetical samples  $\mathcal{S}$

Difficulty: Causal inference

Global intervention

1. Take the entire population  $\mathcal{P}$
2. Assign treatment  $T = 1$  to  $\mathcal{P}$
3. Observe the disparity across categories  $X$

Goal: Result of this procedure

Difficulty: Causal inference  
Equilibrium dynamics

# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Three possible uses:

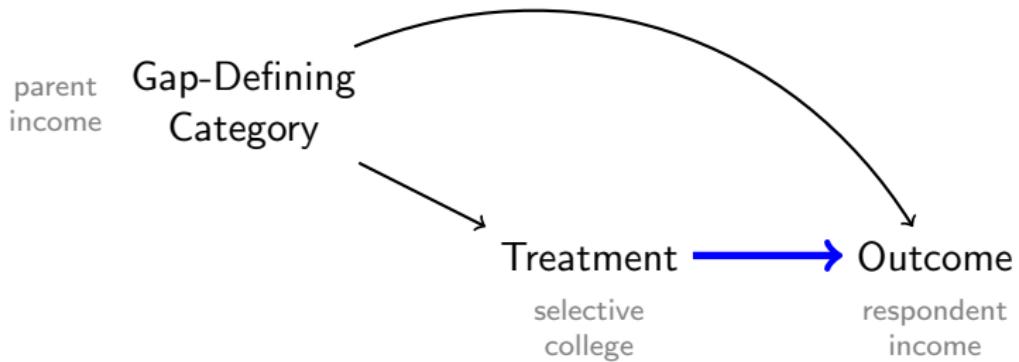
- |                                 |                         |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1) Prediction for individuals   | very hard               |
| 2) Prediction for description   | useful                  |
| 3) Prediction for causal claims | opportunities<br>abound |
- — Define the intervention  
— Causal assumptions  
— Estimation  
— Empirical examples

# Prediction in Social Science

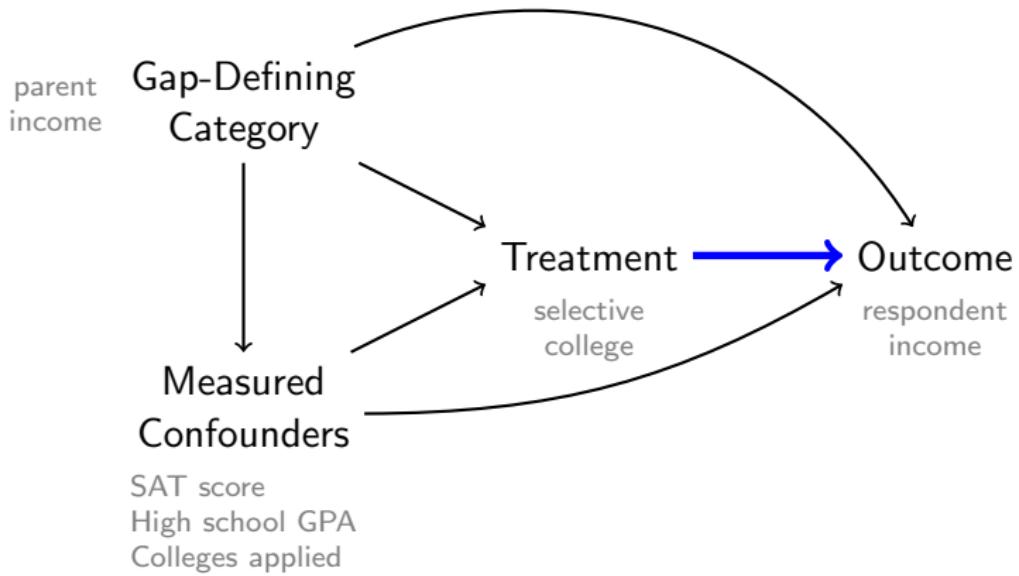
## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Three possible uses:

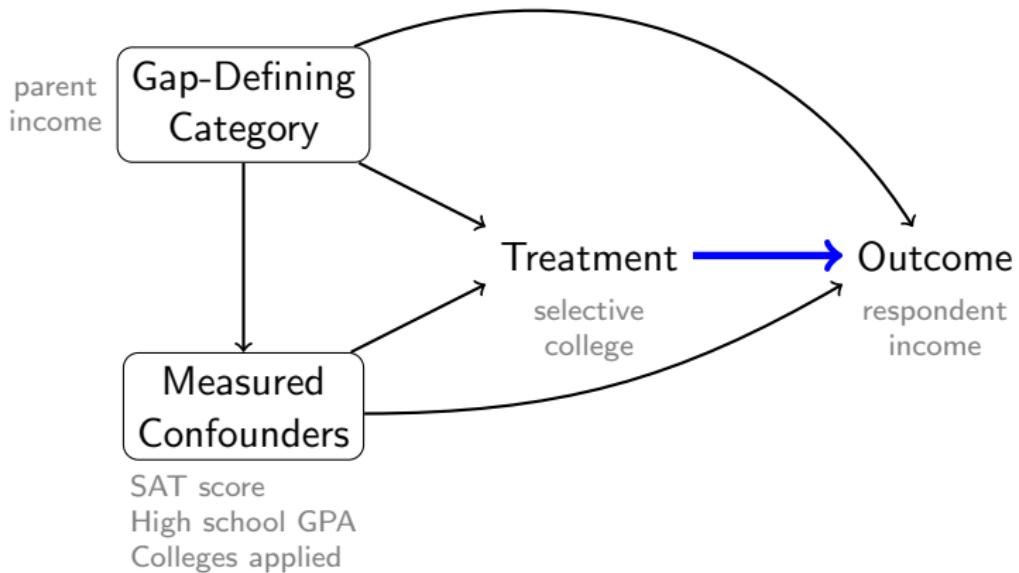
- |                                 |                         |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1) Prediction for individuals   | very hard               |
| 2) Prediction for description   | useful                  |
| 3) Prediction for causal claims | opportunities<br>abound |
- Define the intervention
  - — Causal assumptions
  - Estimation
  - Empirical examples



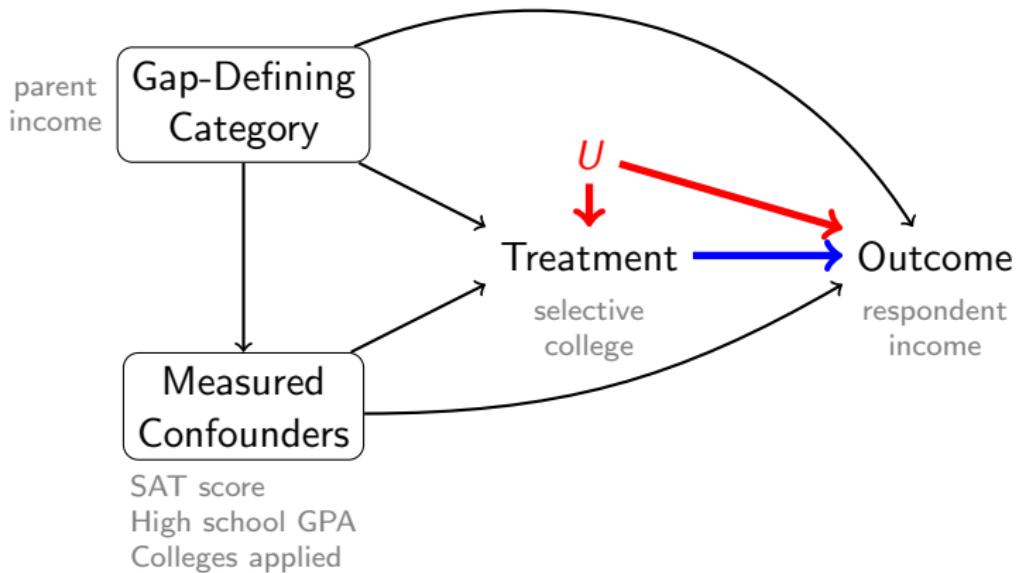
Pearl 2009



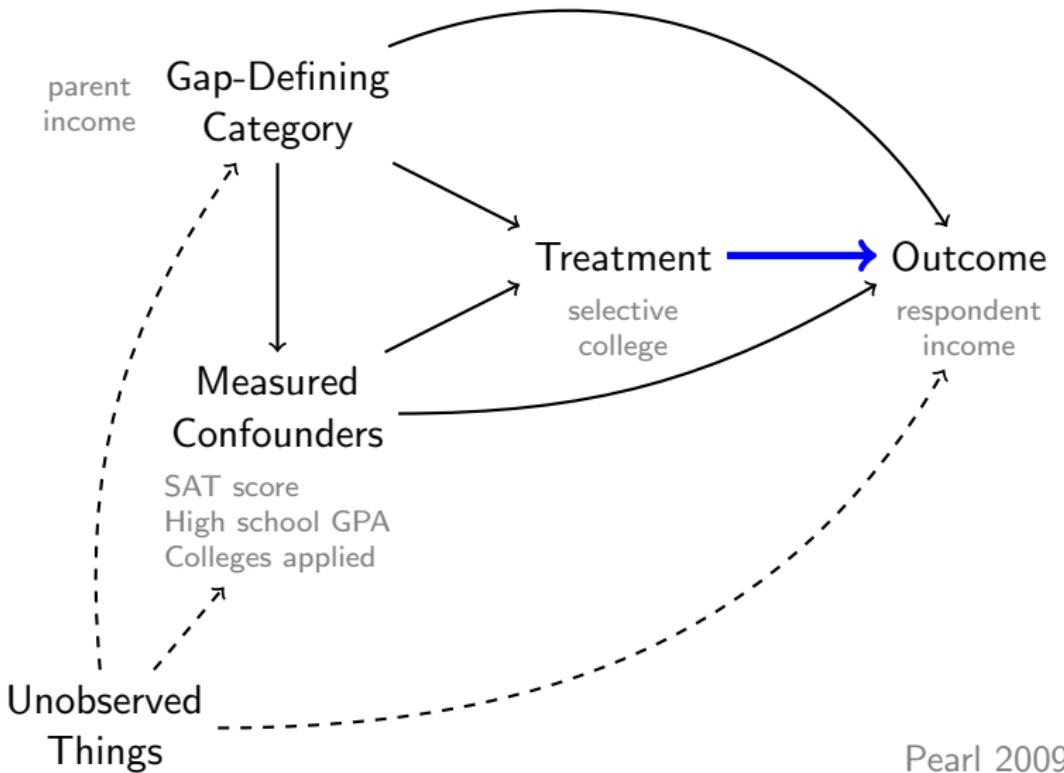
Pearl 2009



Pearl 2009



Pearl 2009



Pearl 2009

# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Three possible uses:

- |                                 |                         |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1) Prediction for individuals   | very hard               |
| 2) Prediction for description   | useful                  |
| 3) Prediction for causal claims | opportunities<br>abound |
- Define the intervention
  - — Causal assumptions
  - Estimation
  - Empirical examples

# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Three possible uses:

- |                                 |                         |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1) Prediction for individuals   | very hard               |
| 2) Prediction for description   | useful                  |
| 3) Prediction for causal claims | opportunities<br>abound |
| — Define the intervention       |                         |
| — Causal assumptions            |                         |
| — Estimation                    |                         |
| — Empirical examples            |                         |
-

		Outcome under treatment	Outcome under control
People in category 1	Person 1	?	$Y_1$
	Person 2	$Y_2$	?
	Person 3	$Y_3$	?
People in category 2	Person 4	?	$Y_4$
	Person 5	$Y_5$	?
	Person 6	?	$Y_6$

		Outcome under treatment	Outcome under control
People in category 1	Person 1	?	$Y_1$
	Person 2	$Y_2$	?
	Person 3	$Y_3$	?
People in category 2	Person 4	?	$Y_4$
	Person 5	$Y_5$	?
	Person 6	?	$Y_6$

## Learn a prediction function

---

	Outcome under treatment	Outcome under control
People in category 1	Person 1	?
	Person 2	$Y_1$
	Person 3	?
People in category 2	Person 4	?
	Person 5	$Y_2$
	Person 6	?

## Learn a prediction function

		Outcome under treatment	Outcome under control
		Person 1	?
People in category 1	Person 2	$Y_2$	?
	Person 3	$Y_3$	?
	Person 4	?	$Y_4$
People in category 2	Person 5	$Y_5$	?
	Person 6	?	$Y_6$

## Predict the whole table

		Outcome under treatment	Outcome under control
		Person 1	$\hat{Y}_1(1)$
People in category 1	Person 2	$\hat{Y}_2(1)$	$\hat{Y}_2(0)$
	Person 3	$\hat{Y}_3(1)$	$\hat{Y}_3(0)$
	Person 4	$\hat{Y}_4(1)$	$\hat{Y}_4(0)$
People in category 2	Person 5	$\hat{Y}_5(1)$	$\hat{Y}_5(0)$
	Person 6	$\hat{Y}_6(1)$	$\hat{Y}_6(0)$

Robins 1986  
Hahn 1998

## Learn a prediction function

		Outcome under treatment	Outcome under control
People in category 1	Person 1	?	$Y_1$
	Person 2	$Y_2$	?
	Person 3	$Y_3$	?
People in category 2	Person 4	?	$Y_4$
	Person 5	$Y_5$	?
	Person 6	?	$Y_6$

## Predict the whole table

		Outcome under treatment	Outcome under control
People in category 1	Person 1	$\hat{Y}_1(1)$	$\hat{Y}_1(0)$
	Person 2	$\hat{Y}_2(1)$	$\hat{Y}_2(0)$
	Person 3	$\hat{Y}_3(1)$	$\hat{Y}_3(0)$
People in category 2	Person 4	$\hat{Y}_4(1)$	$\hat{Y}_4(0)$
	Person 5	$\hat{Y}_5(1)$	$\hat{Y}_5(0)$
	Person 6	$\hat{Y}_6(1)$	$\hat{Y}_6(0)$

Robins 1986  
Hahn 1998

## Learn a prediction function

	Outcome under treatment	Outcome under control
People in category 1	Person 1	?
	Person 2	$Y_2$
	Person 3	$Y_3$
People in category 2	Person 4	?
	Person 5	$Y_5$
	Person 6	?

## Predict the whole table

	Outcome under treatment	Outcome under control
People in category 1	Person 1	$\hat{Y}_1(1)$
	Person 2	$\hat{Y}_2(1)$
	Person 3	$\hat{Y}_3(1)$
People in category 2	Person 4	$\hat{Y}_4(1)$
	Person 5	$\hat{Y}_5(1)$
	Person 6	$\hat{Y}_6(1)$

## Problem: Optimization for the wrong task

## Learn a prediction function

		Outcome under treatment	Outcome under control
		Person 1	?
People in category 1	Person 2	$Y_2$	?
	Person 3	$Y_3$	?
	Person 4	?	$Y_4$
People in category 2	Person 5	$Y_5$	?
	Person 6	?	$Y_6$

## Predict the whole table

		Outcome under treatment	Outcome under control
		Person 1	$\hat{Y}_1(1)$
People in category 1	Person 2	$\hat{Y}_2(1)$	$\hat{Y}_2(0)$
	Person 3	$\hat{Y}_3(1)$	$\hat{Y}_3(0)$
	Person 4	$\hat{Y}_4(1)$	$\hat{Y}_4(0)$
People in category 2	Person 5	$\hat{Y}_5(1)$	$\hat{Y}_5(0)$
	Person 6	$\hat{Y}_6(1)$	$\hat{Y}_6(0)$

## Problem: Optimization for the wrong task

Prediction error over  
observed  
cases

## Learn a prediction function

	Outcome under treatment	Outcome under control
People in category 1	Person 1	?
	Person 2	$Y_1$
	Person 3	?
People in category 2	Person 4	?
	Person 5	$Y_2$
	Person 6	?

## Predict the whole table

	Outcome under treatment	Outcome under control
People in category 1	Person 1	$\hat{Y}_1(1)$
	Person 2	$\hat{Y}_1(0)$
	Person 3	?
People in category 2	Person 4	$\hat{Y}_2(1)$
	Person 5	$\hat{Y}_2(0)$
	Person 6	?

## Problem: Optimization for the wrong task

Prediction error over  
observed  
cases

vs

Prediction error over  
all  
cases

Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

---

## Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

---

Prediction under treatment	
People in category 1	Person 1 $\hat{Y}_1(1)$
	Person 2 $\hat{Y}_2(1)$
	Person 3 $\hat{Y}_3(1)$
People in category 2	Person 4 $\hat{Y}_4(1)$
	Person 5 $\hat{Y}_5(1)$
	Person 6 $\hat{Y}_6(1)$

## Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

---

	Prediction under treatment	Outcome under treatment
People in category 1	Person 1 $\hat{Y}_1(1)$	?
	Person 2 $\hat{Y}_2(1)$	$Y_2$
	Person 3 $\hat{Y}_3(1)$	$Y_3$
People in category 2	Person 4 $\hat{Y}_4(1)$	?
	Person 5 $\hat{Y}_5(1)$	$Y_5$
	Person 6 $\hat{Y}_6(1)$	?

## Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

---

	Prediction under treatment	Outcome under treatment	Error
People in category 1	Person 1 $\hat{Y}_1(1)$	?	?
	Person 2 $\hat{Y}_2(1)$	$Y_2$	$\hat{Y}_2(1) - Y_2$
	Person 3 $\hat{Y}_3(1)$	$Y_3$	$\hat{Y}_3(1) - Y_3$
People in category 2	Person 4 $\hat{Y}_4(1)$	?	?
	Person 5 $\hat{Y}_5(1)$	$Y_5$	$\hat{Y}_5(1) - Y_5$
	Person 6 $\hat{Y}_6(1)$	?	?

## Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

---

	Prediction under treatment	Outcome under treatment	Error	Weight on error
People in category 1	Person 1 $\hat{Y}_1(1)$	?	?	
	Person 2 $\hat{Y}_2(1)$	$Y_2$	$\hat{Y}_2(1) - Y_2$	3 / 2
	Person 3 $\hat{Y}_3(1)$	$Y_3$	$\hat{Y}_3(1) - Y_3$	3 / 2
People in category 2	Person 4 $\hat{Y}_4(1)$	?	?	
	Person 5 $\hat{Y}_5(1)$	$Y_5$	$\hat{Y}_5(1) - Y_5$	3
	Person 6 $\hat{Y}_6(1)$	?	?	

## Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

---

Estimated bias:  $\text{Mean}(\hat{Y}_i - Y_i)$  with  
inverse probability of treatment weights

		Prediction under treatment	Outcome under treatment	Error	Weight on error
People in category 1	Person 1	$\hat{Y}_1(1)$	?	?	
	Person 2	$\hat{Y}_2(1)$	$Y_2$	$\hat{Y}_2(1) - Y_2$	$3 / 2$
	Person 3	$\hat{Y}_3(1)$	$Y_3$	$\hat{Y}_3(1) - Y_3$	$3 / 2$
People in category 2	Person 4	$\hat{Y}_4(1)$	?	?	
	Person 5	$\hat{Y}_5(1)$	$Y_5$	$\hat{Y}_5(1) - Y_5$	$3$
	Person 6	$\hat{Y}_6(1)$	?	?	

## Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

---

Estimated bias:  $\text{Mean}(\hat{Y}_i - Y_i)$  with  
inverse probability of treatment weights

New Estimate: (Original Estimate) – (Estimated Bias)

## Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

---

Estimated bias:  $\text{Mean}(\hat{Y}_i - Y_i)$  with  
inverse probability of treatment weights

New Estimate:  $(\text{Original Estimate}) - (\text{Estimated Bias})$       Doubly  
Robust  
Estimation

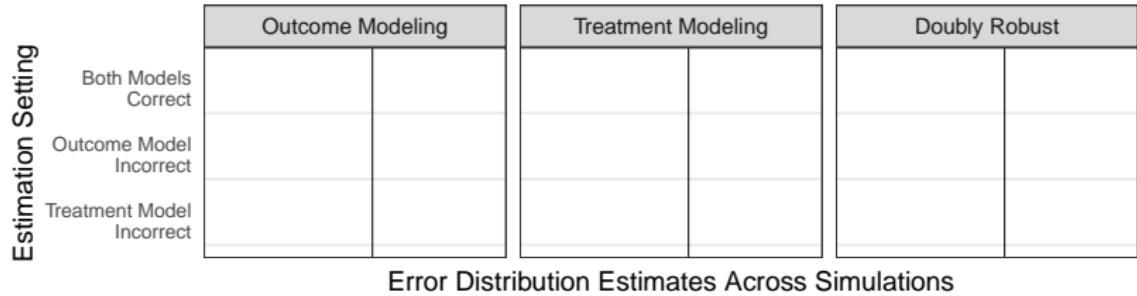
Robins, Rotnitzky, & Zhao 1994  
Bang & Robins 2005

## Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

---

Estimated bias:  $\text{Mean}(\hat{Y}_i - Y_i)$  with  
inverse probability of treatment weights

New Estimate:  $(\text{Original Estimate}) - (\text{Estimated Bias})$       Doubly Robust Estimation



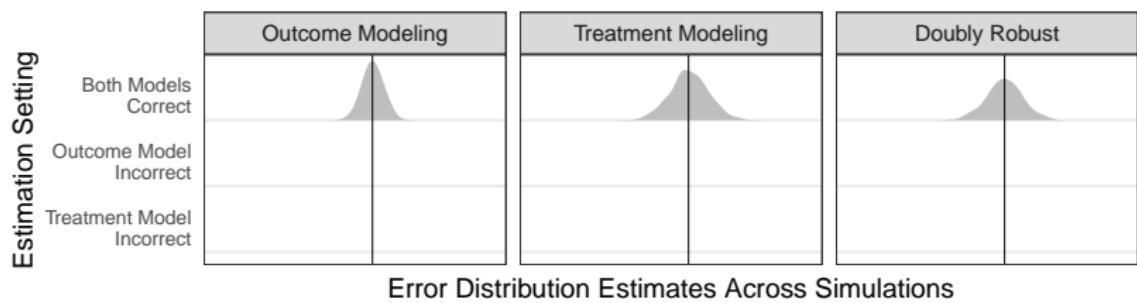
Robins, Rotnitzky, & Zhao 1994  
Bang & Robins 2005

## Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

---

Estimated bias:  $\text{Mean}(\hat{Y}_i - Y_i)$  with  
inverse probability of treatment weights

New Estimate:  $(\text{Original Estimate}) - (\text{Estimated Bias})$       Doubly  
Robust  
Estimation



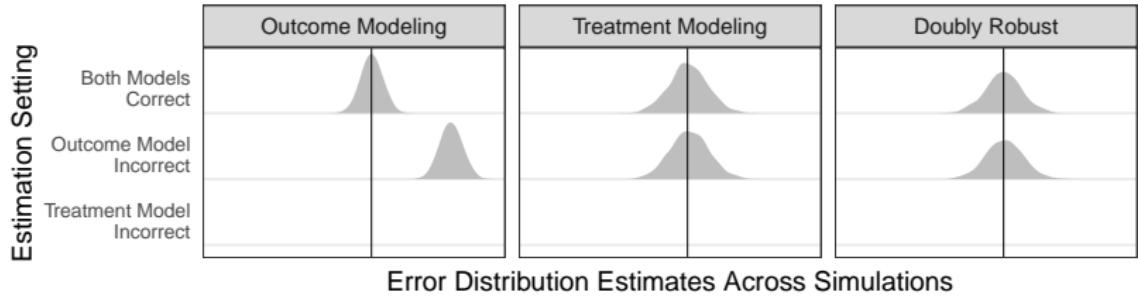
Robins, Rotnitzky, & Zhao 1994  
Bang & Robins 2005

## Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

---

Estimated bias:  $\text{Mean}(\hat{Y}_i - Y_i)$  with  
inverse probability of treatment weights

New Estimate:  $(\text{Original Estimate}) - (\text{Estimated Bias})$       Doubly Robust Estimation

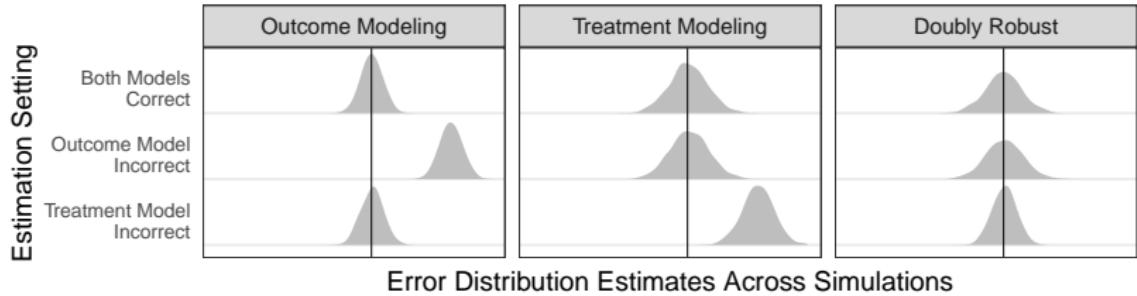


Robins, Rotnitzky, & Zhao 1994  
Bang & Robins 2005

## Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

Estimated bias:  $\text{Mean}(\hat{Y}_i - Y_i)$  with  
inverse probability of treatment weights

New Estimate:  $(\text{Original Estimate}) - (\text{Estimated Bias})$       Doubly Robust Estimation



Robins, Rotnitzky, & Zhao 1994  
Bang & Robins 2005

## Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

---

Estimated bias:  $\text{Mean}(\hat{Y}_i - Y_i)$  with  
inverse probability of treatment weights

New Estimate:  $(\text{Original Estimate}) - (\text{Estimated Bias})$       Doubly  
Robust  
Estimation

Even better:

Chernozhukov et al. 2018  
Bickel 1982

## Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

---

Estimated bias:  $\text{Mean}(\hat{Y}_i - Y_i)$  with  
inverse probability of treatment weights

New Estimate:  $(\text{Original Estimate}) - (\text{Estimated Bias})$       Doubly  
Robust  
Estimation

Even better:  
— Learn  $\hat{Y}_i$  in sample A  
— Estimate bias in sample B

Chernozhukov et al. 2018  
Bickel 1982

## Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

---

Estimated bias:  $\text{Mean}(\hat{Y}_i - Y_i)$  with  
inverse probability of treatment weights

New Estimate:  $(\text{Original Estimate}) - (\text{Estimated Bias})$       Doubly  
Robust  
Estimation

Even better:

- Learn  $\hat{Y}_i$  in sample A
- Estimate bias in sample B
- Cross fit: Swap roles and average

Chernozhukov et al. 2018  
Bickel 1982

## Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

---

Estimated bias:  $\text{Mean}(\hat{Y}_i - Y_i)$  with  
inverse probability of treatment weights

New Estimate:  $(\text{Original Estimate}) - (\text{Estimated Bias})$       Doubly  
Robust  
Estimation

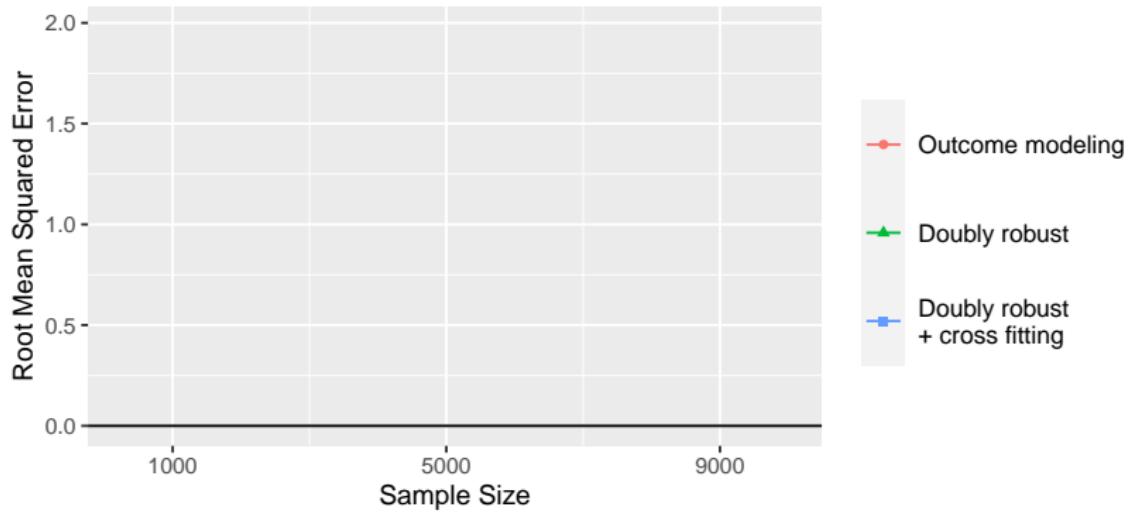
Even better:

- Learn  $\hat{Y}_i$  in sample A
- Estimate bias in sample B
- Cross fit: Swap roles and average

Chernozhukov et al. 2018  
Bickel 1982

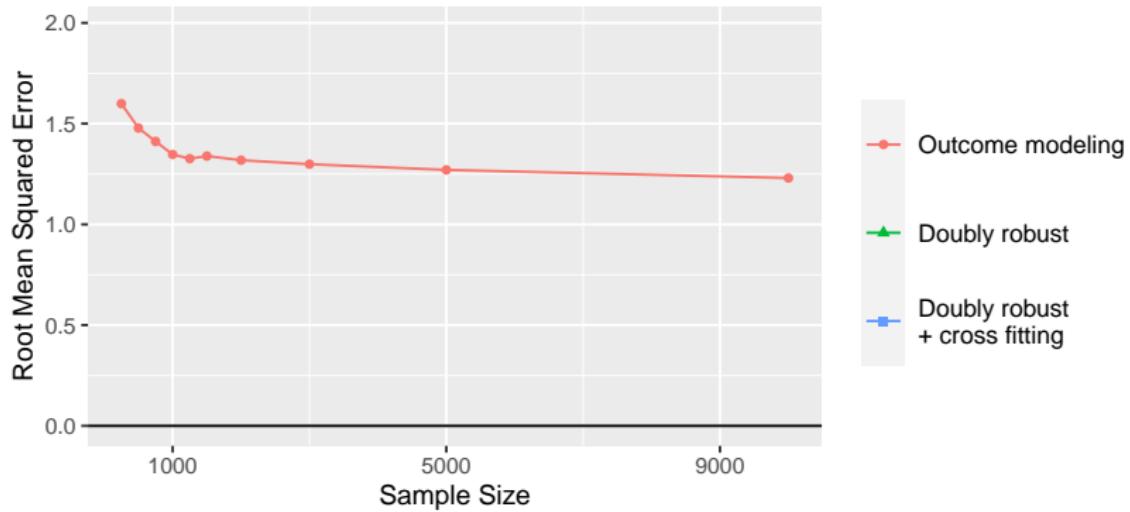
## Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

---



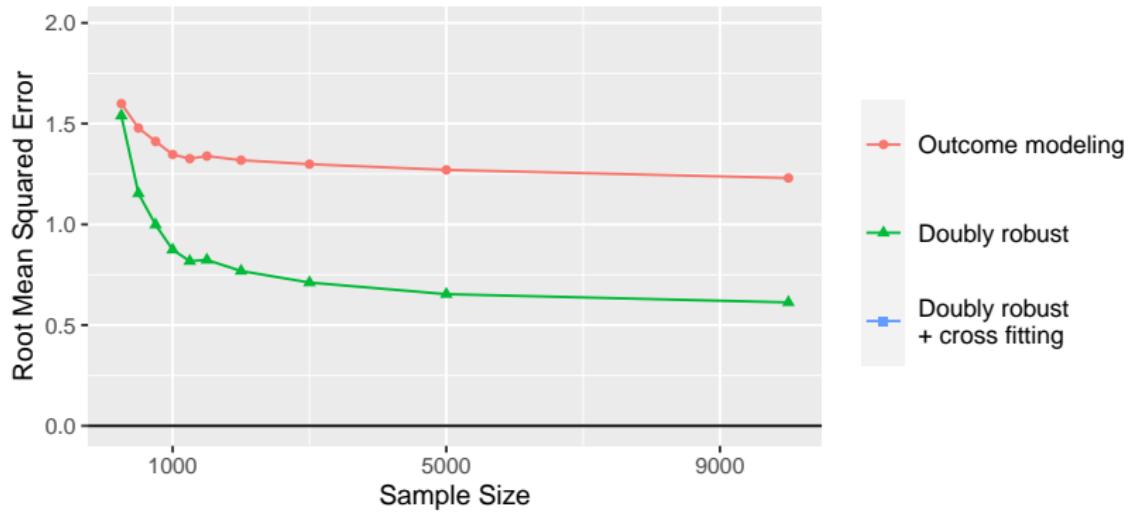
## Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

---



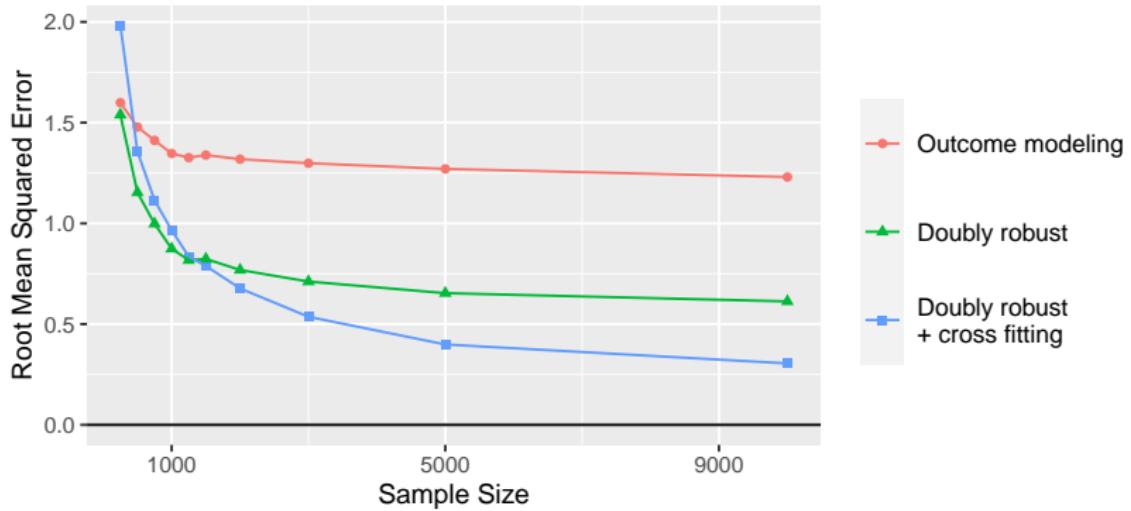
## Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

---



## Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

---



## Solution: Reweighting errors to approximate the correct task

---

Estimated bias:  $\text{Mean}(\hat{Y}_i - Y_i)$  with  
inverse probability of treatment weights

New Estimate:  $(\text{Original Estimate}) - (\text{Estimated Bias})$       Doubly  
Robust  
Estimation

Even better: — Learn  $\hat{Y}_i$  in sample A      Double  
— Estimate bias in sample B      Machine  
— Cross fit: Swap roles and average      Learning

Chernozhukov et al. 2018  
Bickel 1982

## Solution: Reweighting errors to approximate the correct task

---

Estimated bias:  $\text{Mean}(\hat{Y}_i - Y_i)$  with  
inverse probability of treatment weights

New Estimate:  $(\text{Original Estimate}) - (\text{Estimated Bias})$       Doubly  
Robust  
Estimation

Even better: — Learn  $\hat{Y}_i$  in sample A      Double  
— Estimate bias in sample B      Machine  
— Cross fit: Swap roles and average      Learning

So complicated!

# gapclosing

An R package to estimate gap closing estimands. Install this package with the command

```
devtools::install_github("ilundberg/gapclosing").
```

```
estimate <- gapclosing(  
  data = simulated_data,  
  outcome_formula = formula(outcome ~ category + confounder),  
  treatment_formula = formula(treatment ~ category + confounder),  
  category_name = "category",  
  counterfactual_assignments = 1,  
  outcome_algorithm = "ranger",  
  treatment_algorithm = "ranger",  
  sample_split = "cross_fit",  
  se = T  
)  
  
      description estimate     se ci.min ci.max  
Factual gap      2.14 0.40   1.36    2.9  
Counterfactual gap  0.67 0.44  -0.19    1.5
```

# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Three possible uses:

- |                                 |                         |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1) Prediction for individuals   | very hard               |
| 2) Prediction for description   | useful                  |
| 3) Prediction for causal claims | opportunities<br>abound |
| — Define the intervention       |                         |
| — Causal assumptions            |                         |
| →     — Estimation              |                         |
| — Empirical examples            |                         |



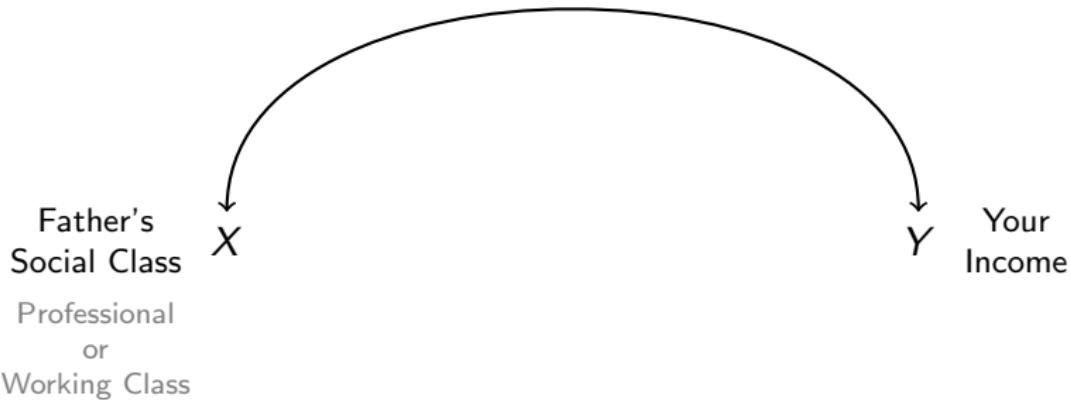
# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

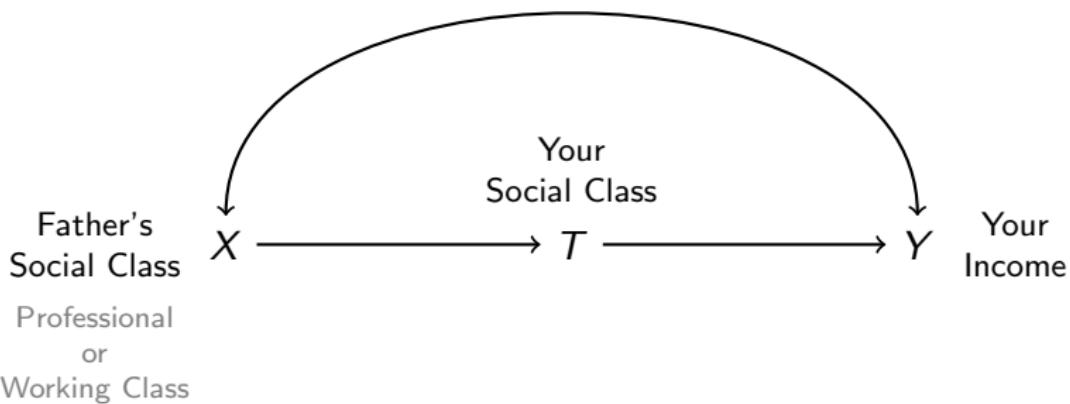
Three possible uses:

- |                                 |                         |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1) Prediction for individuals   | very hard               |
| 2) Prediction for description   | useful                  |
| 3) Prediction for causal claims | opportunities<br>abound |
| — Define the intervention       |                         |
| — Causal assumptions            |                         |
| — Estimation                    |                         |
| → — Empirical examples          |                         |

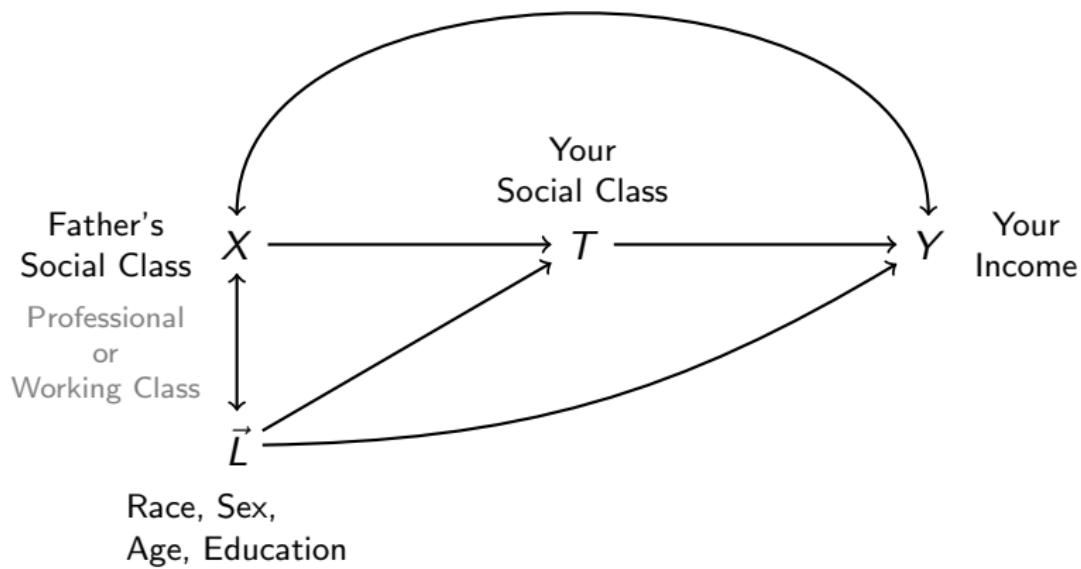
## Empirical Example 1: Economic Mobility



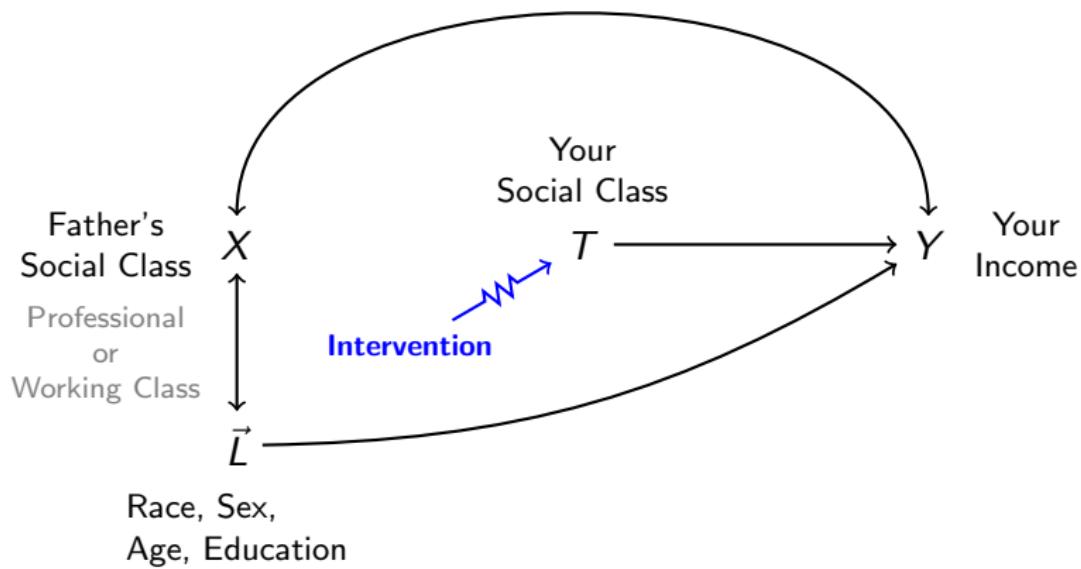
## Empirical Example 1: Economic Mobility



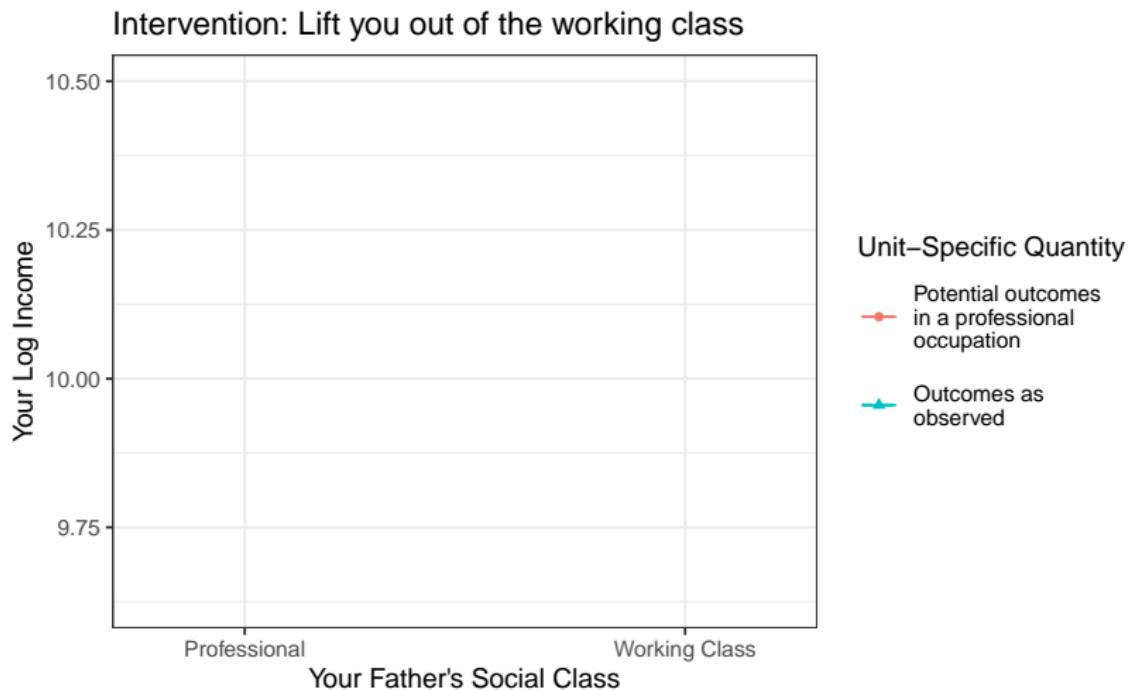
## Empirical Example 1: Economic Mobility



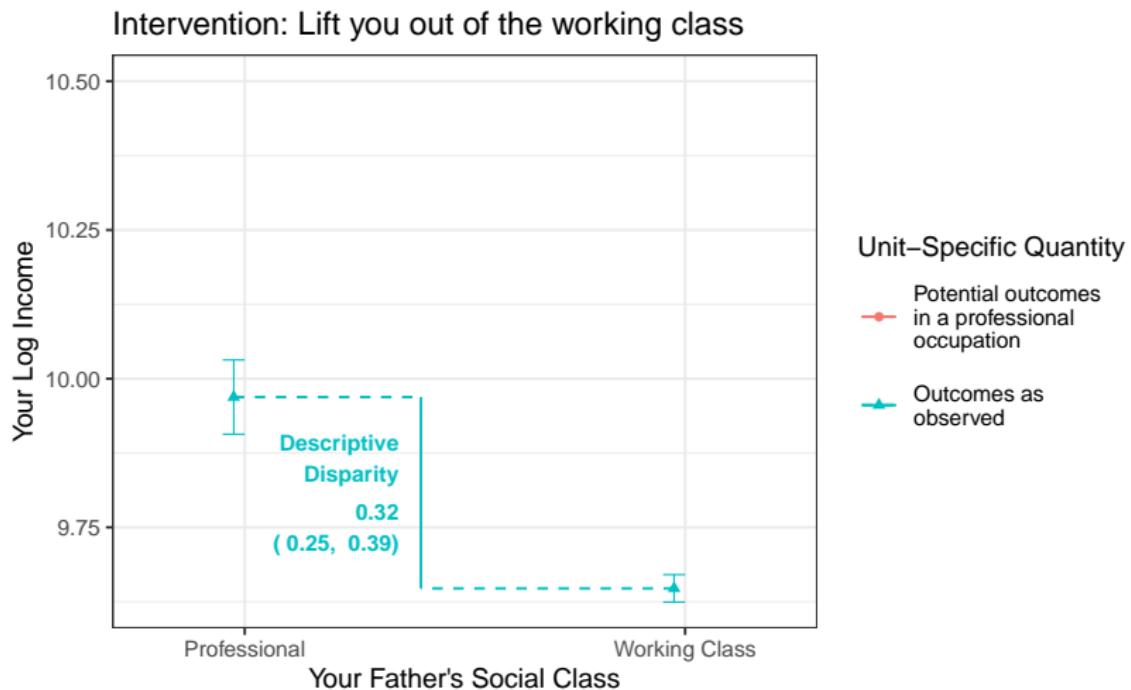
## Empirical Example 1: Economic Mobility



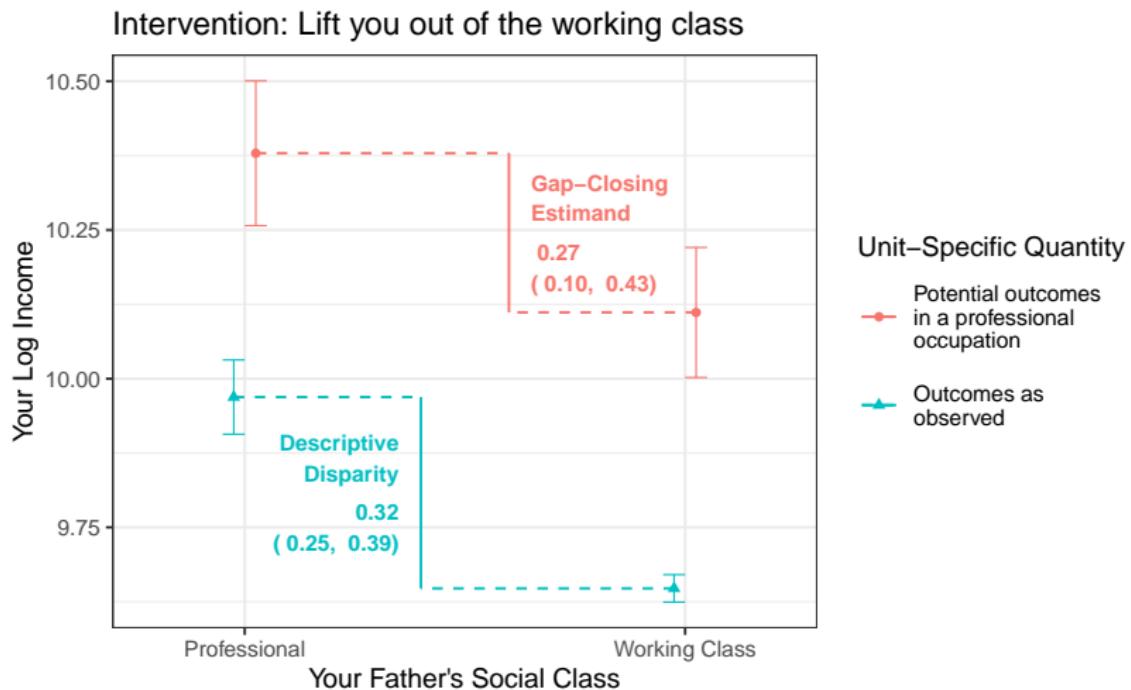
## Empirical Example 1: Economic Mobility



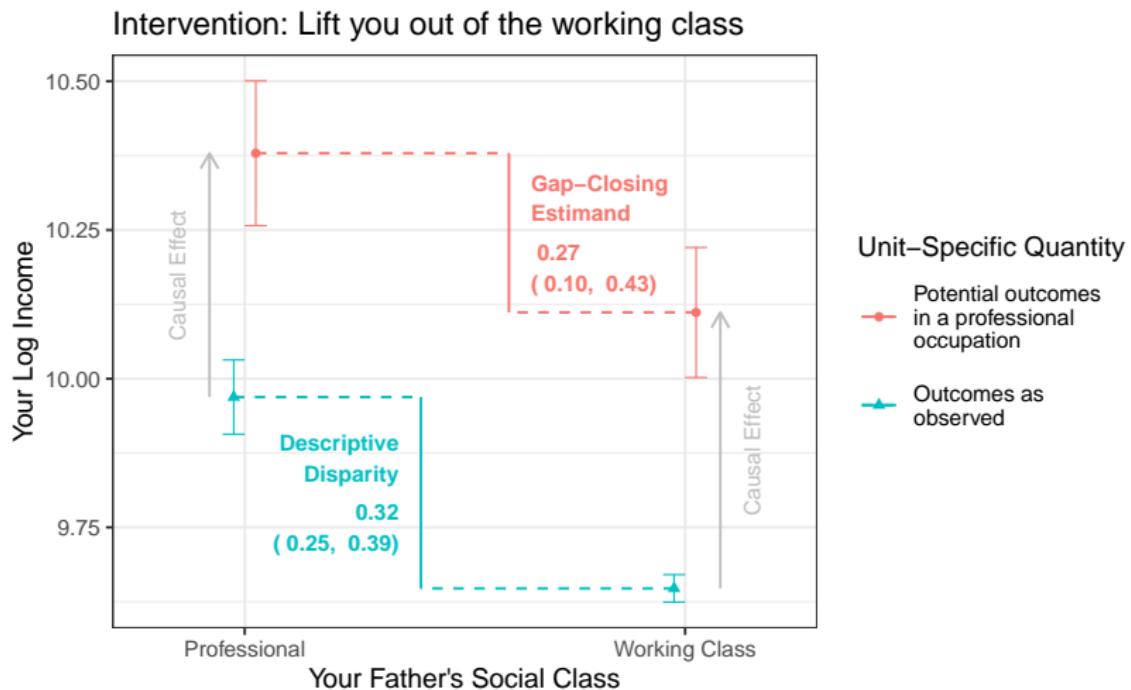
## Empirical Example 1: Economic Mobility



## Empirical Example 1: Economic Mobility



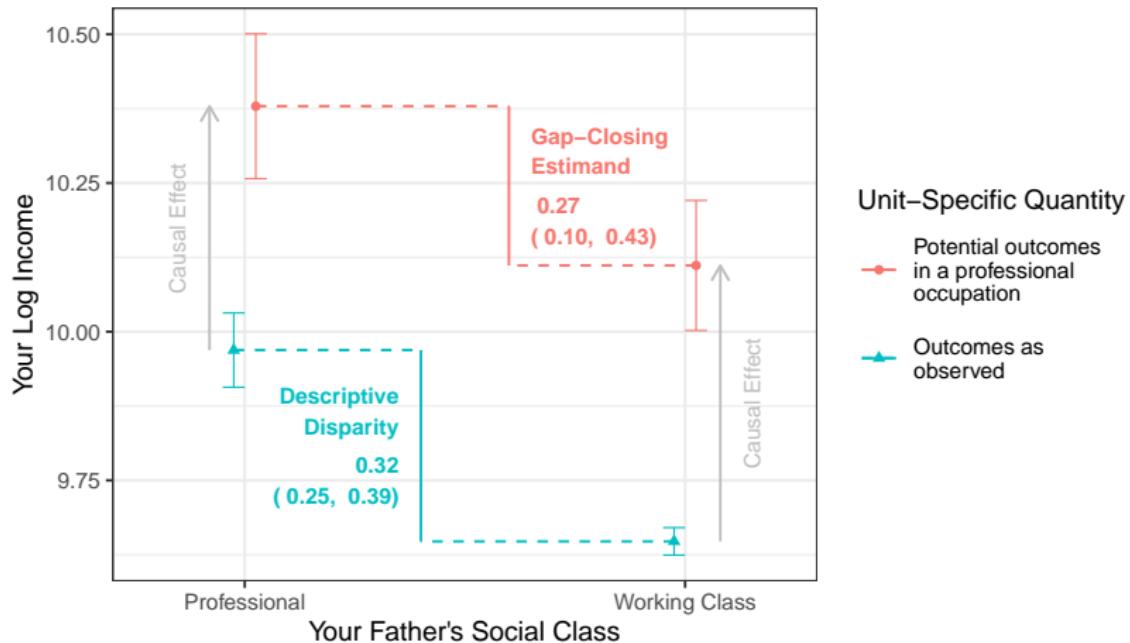
## Empirical Example 1: Economic Mobility



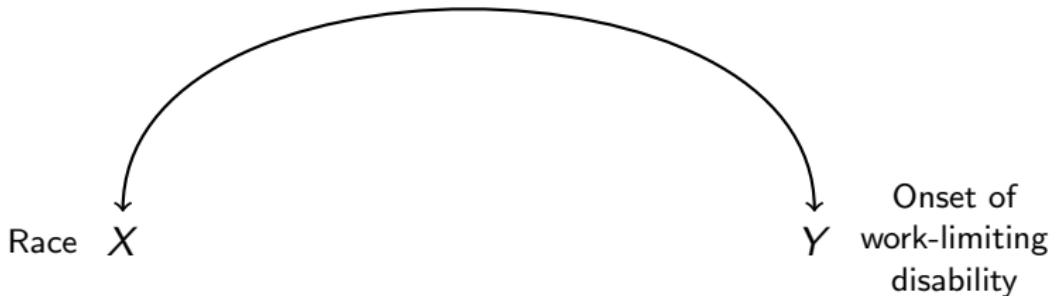
## Empirical Example 1: Economic Mobility

plot\_two\_categories()

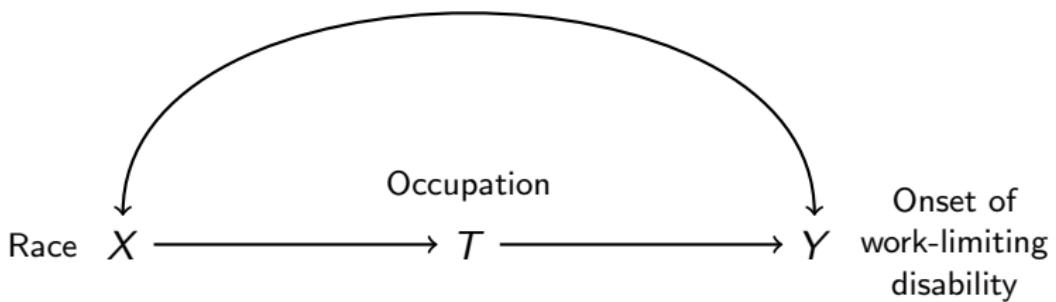
Intervention: Lift you out of the working class



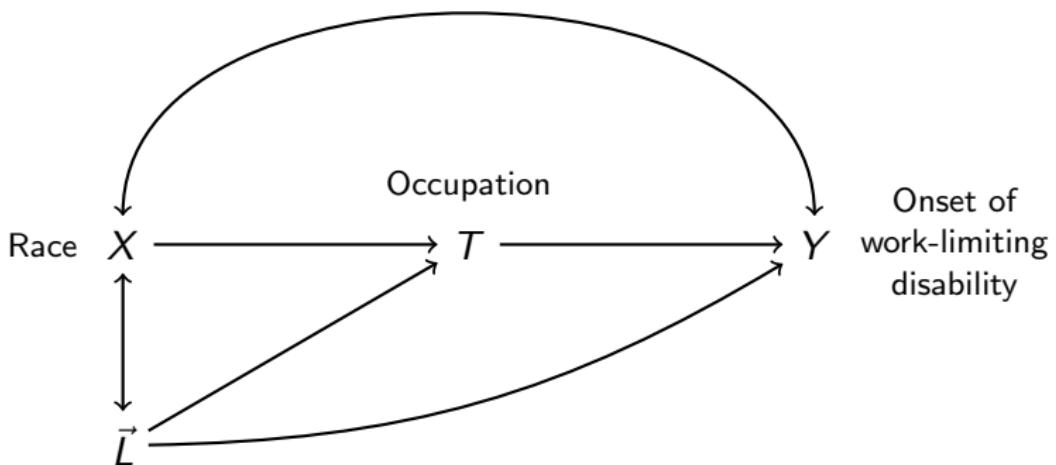
## Empirical Example 2: Racial Disparities in Health



## Empirical Example 2: Racial Disparities in Health

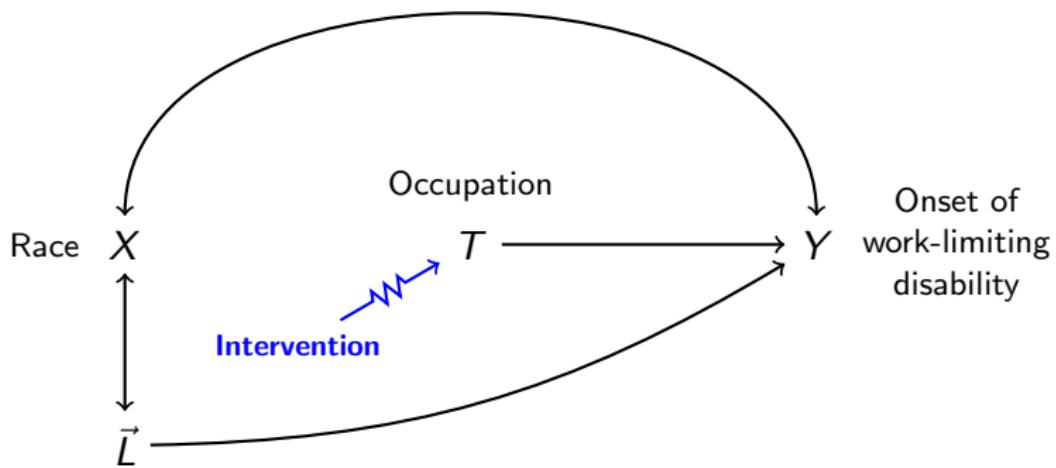


## Empirical Example 2: Racial Disparities in Health



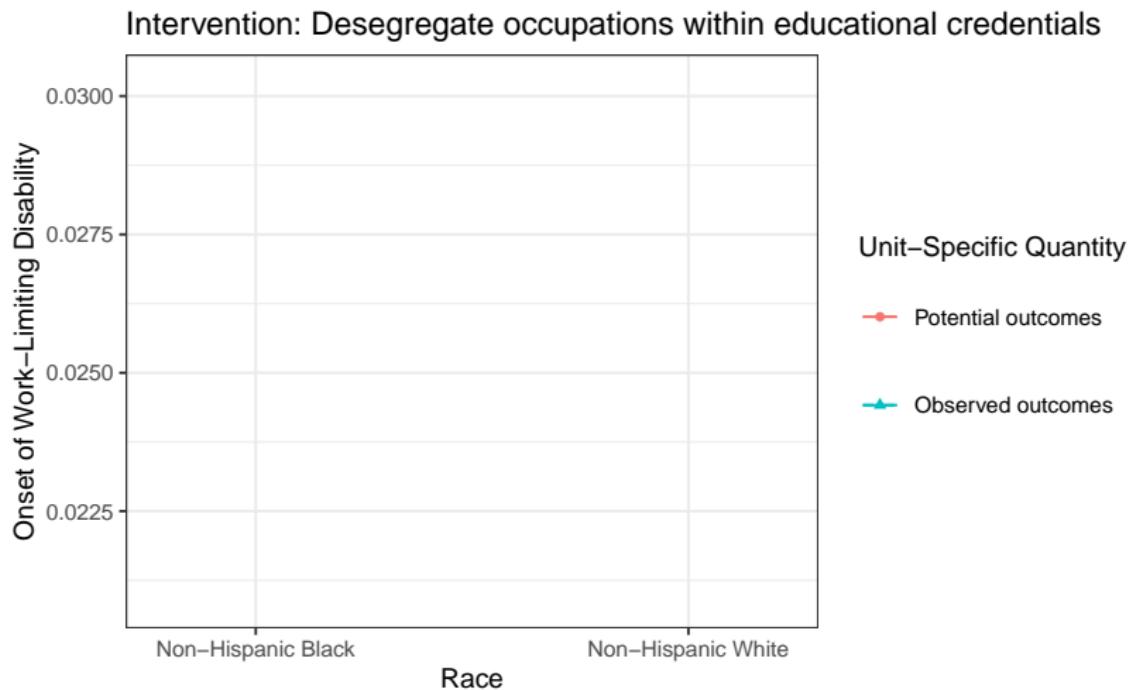
Sex,  
Age, Education  
Foreign born,  
Lagged outcome,  
Lagged health

## Empirical Example 2: Racial Disparities in Health

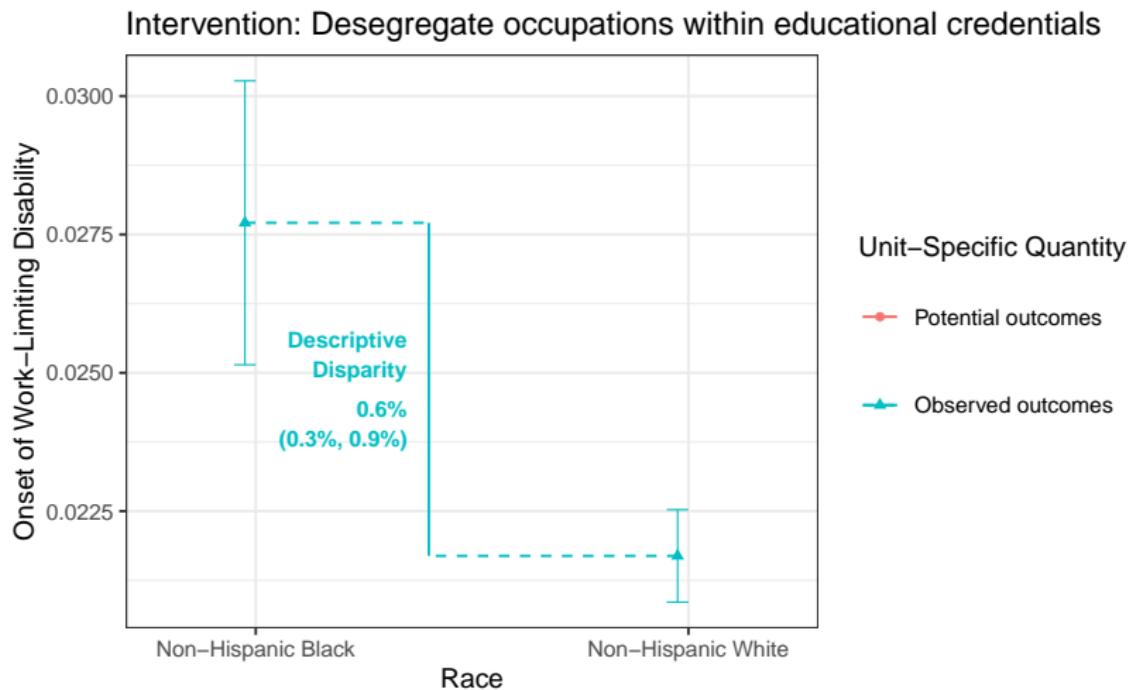


Sex,  
Age, Education  
Foreign born,  
Lagged outcome,  
Lagged health

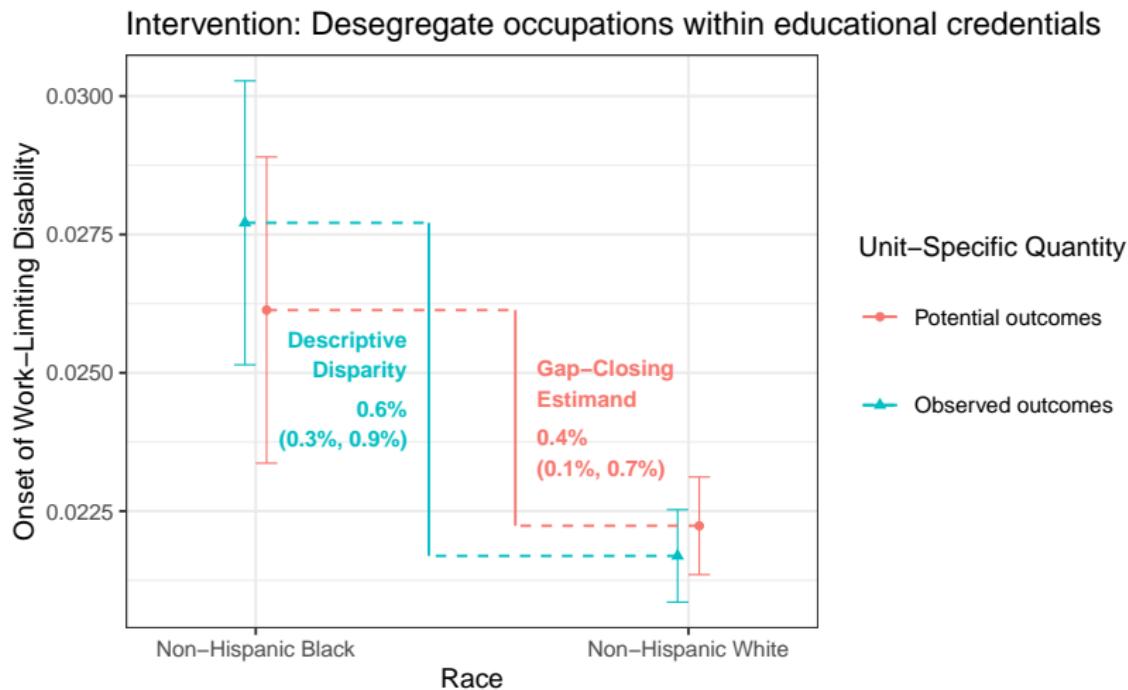
## Empirical Example 2: Racial Disparities in Health



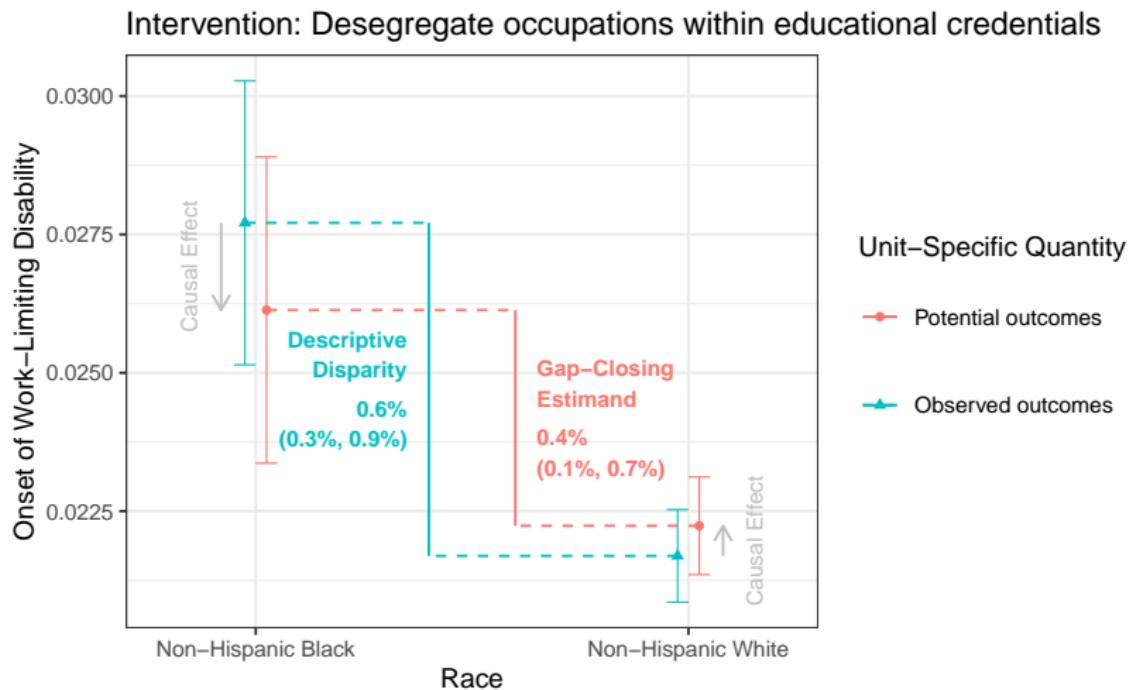
## Empirical Example 2: Racial Disparities in Health



## Empirical Example 2: Racial Disparities in Health



## Empirical Example 2: Racial Disparities in Health



## Future applications

The gap-closing estimand can help us understand disparities by

- Race
- Class
- Gender

## Future applications

The gap-closing estimand can help us understand disparities by

- Race
- Class
- Gender

and develop interventions to **close those gaps.**

## Contribution to methodology: Bringing perspectives together

# Contribution to methodology: Bringing perspectives together

Interventions to Close Disparities

Biostatistics: Jackson & Vanderweele 2018

## Contribution to methodology: Bringing perspectives together

Interventions to Close Disparities

Biostatistics: Jackson & Vanderweele 2018

Doubly Robust Estimators

Biostatistics: Bang & Robins 2005

## Contribution to methodology: Bringing perspectives together

Interventions to Close Disparities

Biostatistics: Jackson & Vanderweele 2018

Doubly Robust Estimators

Biostatistics: Bang & Robins 2005

Double Machine Learning

Econometrics: Chernozhukov et al. 2018

## Contribution to methodology: Bringing perspectives together

Interventions to Close Disparities

Biostatistics: Jackson & Vanderweele 2018

Doubly Robust Estimators

Biostatistics: Bang & Robins 2005

Double Machine Learning

Econometrics: Chernozhukov et al. 2018

Variance Estimation by Balanced Repeated Replicates

Survey Methodology: Krewski & Rao 1981

# Contribution to methodology: Bringing perspectives together

Interventions to Close Disparities

Biostatistics: Jackson & Vanderweele 2018

Doubly Robust Estimators

Biostatistics: Bang & Robins 2005

Double Machine Learning

Econometrics: Chernozhukov et al. 2018

Variance Estimation by Balanced Repeated Replicates

Survey Methodology: Krewski & Rao 1981

Social Construction of Race

Sociology: Omi & Winant 1994

Law: Kohler-Hausmann 2018

# Contribution to methodology: Bringing perspectives together

Interventions to Close Disparities

Biostatistics: Jackson & Vanderweele 2018

Doubly Robust Estimators

Biostatistics: Bang & Robins 2005

Double Machine Learning

Econometrics: Chernozhukov et al. 2018

Variance Estimation by Balanced Repeated Replicates

Survey Methodology: Krewski & Rao 1981

Social Construction of Race

Sociology: Omi & Winant 1994

Law: Kohler-Hausmann 2018

Local Interpretation

# Contribution to methodology: Bringing perspectives together

Interventions to Close Disparities

Biostatistics: Jackson & Vanderweele 2018

Doubly Robust Estimators

Biostatistics: Bang & Robins 2005

Double Machine Learning

Econometrics: Chernozhukov et al. 2018

Variance Estimation by Balanced Repeated Replicates

Survey Methodology: Krewski & Rao 1981

Social Construction of Race

Sociology: Omi & Winant 1994

Law: Kohler-Hausmann 2018

Local Interpretation

Gap-Closing Estimand

# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Three possible uses:

- |                                                                                                                   |                         |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1) Prediction for individuals                                                                                     | very hard               |
| 2) Prediction for description                                                                                     | useful                  |
|  3) Prediction for causal claims | opportunities<br>abound |
| — Define the intervention                                                                                         |                         |
| — Causal assumptions                                                                                              |                         |
| — Estimation                                                                                                      |                         |
| — Empirical examples                                                                                              |                         |

# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Three possible uses:

- |                                 |                         |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1) Prediction for individuals   | very hard               |
| 2) Prediction for description   | useful                  |
| 3) Prediction for causal claims | opportunities<br>abound |
| — Define the intervention       |                         |
| — Causal assumptions            |                         |
| — Estimation                    |                         |
| — Empirical examples            |                         |

# Prediction in Social Science

A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Data scientists:

Predict for individuals!

Social scientists:

I don't do prediction.

# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Data scientists:

Predict for individuals!

Social scientists:

I don't do prediction.

# Prediction in Social Science

A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Data scientists:

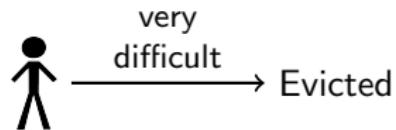
Predict for individuals!

Social scientists:

I don't do prediction.



→ Apple



# Prediction in Social Science

A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Data scientists:

Predict for individuals!

Social scientists:

I don't do prediction.

# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Data scientists:

Predict for individuals!

Social scientists:

I don't do prediction.



I take [data source]

I estimate  $\beta_1$

$$Y = \beta_0 + X_1\beta_1$$

$$+ X_2\beta_2 + \epsilon$$

# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Data scientists:

Predict for individuals!

What if the  
model is wrong?

Social scientists:

I don't do prediction.



I take [data source]  
I estimate  $\beta_1$

$$Y = \beta_0 + X_1\beta_1$$

$$+ X_2\beta_2 + \epsilon$$

# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Data scientists:

Predict for individuals!

What if the  
model is wrong?

The model is an  
approximation

Social scientists:

I don't do prediction.



I take [data source]

I estimate  $\beta_1$

$$Y = \beta_0 + X_1\beta_1$$

$$+ X_2\beta_2 + \epsilon$$

# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Data scientists:

Predict for individuals!

What if the  
model is wrong?

So  $\beta_1$  is an  
approximation to...

The model is an  
approximation

Social scientists:

I don't do prediction.



I take [data source]  
I estimate  $\beta_1$

$$Y = \beta_0 + X_1\beta_1 + X_2\beta_2 + \epsilon$$

# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Data scientists:

Predict for individuals!

What if the  
model is wrong?

So  $\beta_1$  is an  
approximation to...

The model is an  
approximation

Something. I just  
haven't said what.

Social scientists:

I don't do prediction.



I take [data source]  
I estimate  $\beta_1$

$$Y = \beta_0 + X_1\beta_1$$

$$+ X_2\beta_2 + \epsilon$$

# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Data scientists:

Predict for individuals!

What if the  
model is wrong?

So  $\beta_1$  is an  
approximation to...

Is it a good  
approximation?

The model is an  
approximation

Something. I just  
haven't said what.

Social scientists:

I don't do prediction.

I take [data source]  
I estimate  $\beta_1$

$$Y = \beta_0 + X_1\beta_1 + X_2\beta_2 + \epsilon$$

# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Data scientists:

Predict for individuals!

What if the  
model is wrong?

So  $\beta_1$  is an  
approximation to...

Is it a good  
approximation?

The model is an  
approximation

Something. I just  
haven't said what.

Social scientists:

I don't do prediction.

I take [data source]  
I estimate  $\beta_1$

$$Y = \beta_0 + X_1\beta_1 + X_2\beta_2 + \epsilon$$

Epistemological  
crisis

# Prediction in Social Science

A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Data scientists:

Predict for individuals!

Social scientists:

I don't do prediction.

# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Data scientists:

Predict for individuals!

Social scientists:

I don't do prediction.

The **estimand**

connects social science  
to data science  
via **prediction**

Lundberg, Johnson, Stewart

**What is Your Estimand?**

Forthcoming, *American Sociological Review*

# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Data scientists:

Predict for individuals!

Social scientists:

I don't do prediction.

The **estimand**

connects social science  
to data science  
via **prediction**



A unit-specific  
quantity

Lundberg, Johnson, Stewart

**What is Your Estimand?**

Forthcoming, *American Sociological Review*

# Prediction in Social Science

A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Data scientists:

Predict for individuals!

Social scientists:

I don't do prediction.

The **estimand**

connects social science  
to data science  
via **prediction**

 $Y_i$ 

A unit-specific  
quantity

Lundberg, Johnson, Stewart

**What is Your Estimand?**

Forthcoming, *American Sociological Review*

# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Data scientists:

Predict for individuals!

Social scientists:

I don't do prediction.

The **estimand**

connects social science  
to data science  
via **prediction**

$Y_i(t)$

A unit-specific  
quantity

Lundberg, Johnson, Stewart

**What is Your Estimand?**

Forthcoming, *American Sociological Review*

# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Data scientists:

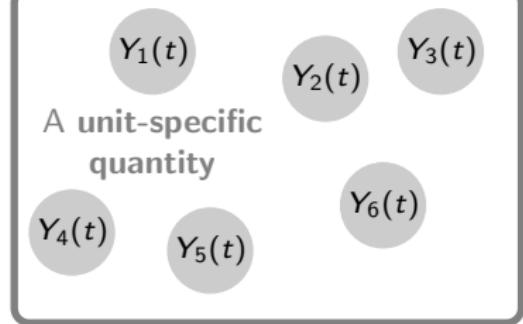
Predict for individuals!

Social scientists:

I don't do prediction.

The **estimand**

connects social science  
to data science  
via **prediction**



Aggregated over a  
target population

Lundberg, Johnson, Stewart

**What is Your Estimand?**

Forthcoming, *American Sociological Review*

# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Data scientists:

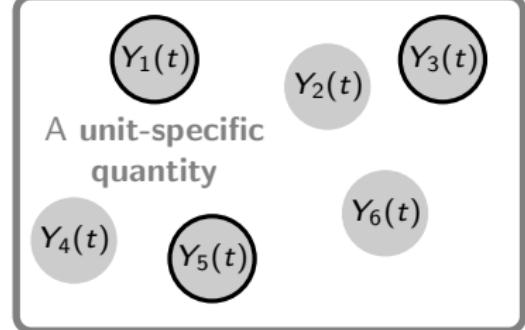
Predict for individuals!

Social scientists:

I don't do prediction.

The **estimand**

connects social science  
to data science  
via **prediction**



Aggregated over a  
target population

Lundberg, Johnson, Stewart

**What is Your Estimand?**

Forthcoming, *American Sociological Review*

# Prediction in Social Science

A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Data scientists:

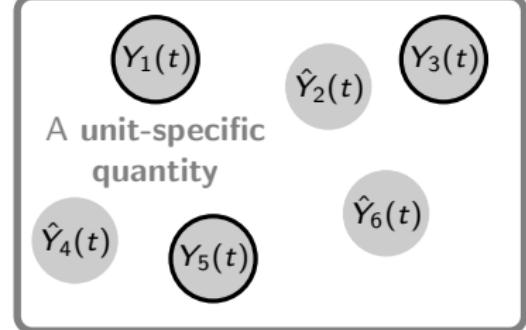
Predict for individuals!

Social scientists:

I don't do prediction.

The **estimand**

connects social science  
to data science  
via **prediction**



Aggregated over a  
target population

Lundberg, Johnson, Stewart

**What is Your Estimand?**

Forthcoming, *American Sociological Review*

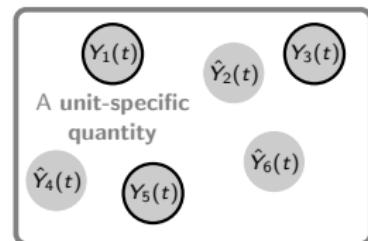
# Prediction in Social Science

## A Tool to Study Inequality in Populations

Ian Lundberg  
Princeton University  
[ianlundberg.org](http://ianlundberg.org)

### Three possible uses:

- |                                 |                         |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1) Prediction for individuals   | very hard               |
| 2) Prediction for description   | useful                  |
| 3) Prediction for causal claims | opportunities<br>abound |
| — Define the intervention       |                         |
| — Causal assumptions            |                         |
| — Estimation                    |                         |
| — Empirical examples            |                         |



For replication code,  
visit [ianlundberg.org/cv](http://ianlundberg.org/cv).

Aggregated over a target population

## APPENDIX

# MSE proof

$$\text{MSE}(Y, \hat{Y}) = E\left(\left(Y - \hat{Y}\right)^2\right) \quad (1)$$

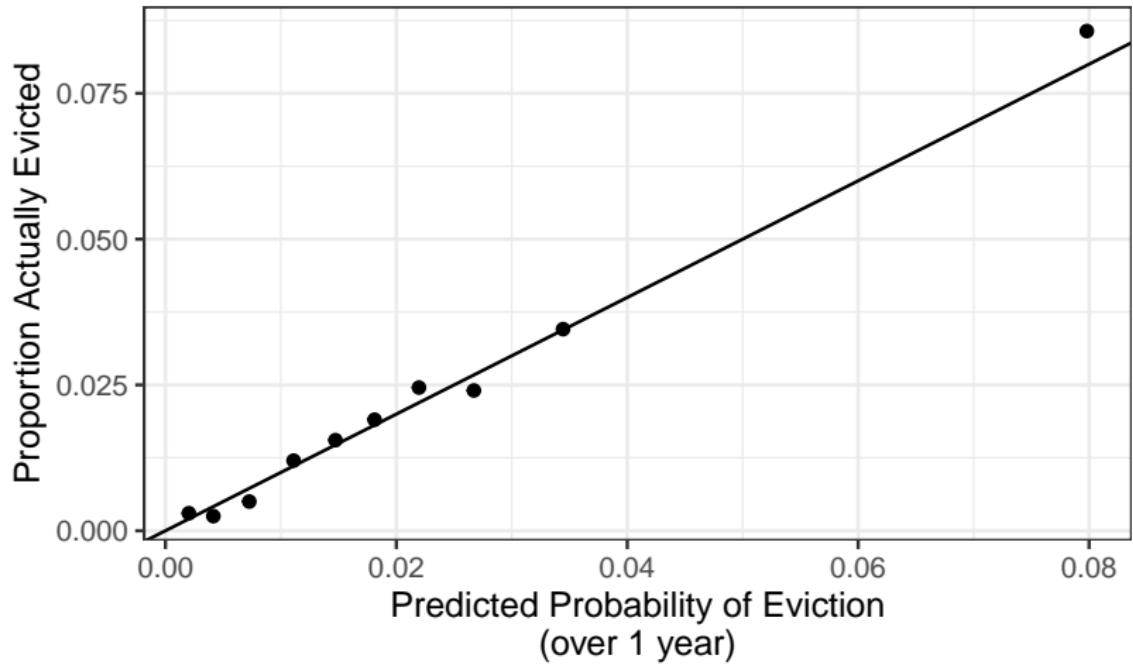
Add 0

$$= E\left(\left(Y - E(Y | \vec{X}) + E(Y | \vec{X}) - \hat{Y}\right)^2\right) \quad (2)$$

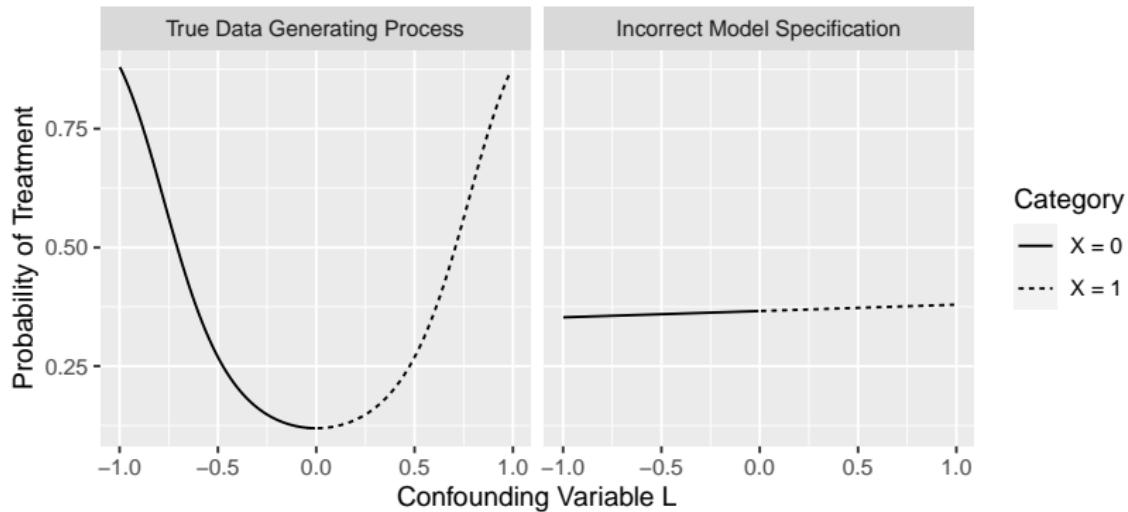
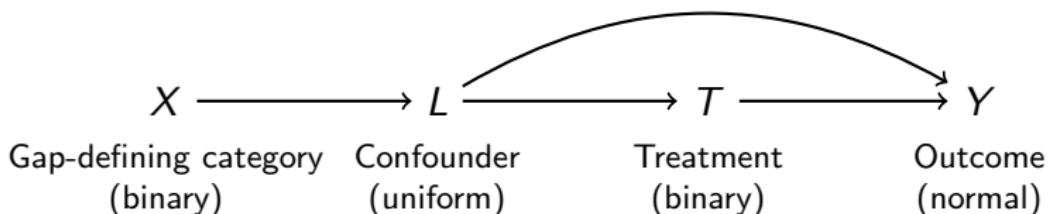
$$\begin{aligned} &= \underbrace{E\left(\left(Y - E(Y | \vec{X})\right)^2\right)}_{=E(V(Y|\vec{X}))} + \underbrace{E\left(\left(E(Y | \vec{X}) - \hat{Y}\right)^2\right)}_{=\text{MSE}(\hat{Y}, E(Y | \vec{X}))} \\ &\quad + \underbrace{E\left(\left(Y - E(Y | \vec{X})\right)\left(\hat{Y} - E(Y | \vec{X})\right)\right)}_{=0 \text{ with sample splitting}} \quad (3) \end{aligned}$$

$$= E\left(V(Y | \vec{X})\right) + \text{MSE}\left(\hat{Y}, E(Y | \vec{X})\right) \quad (4)$$

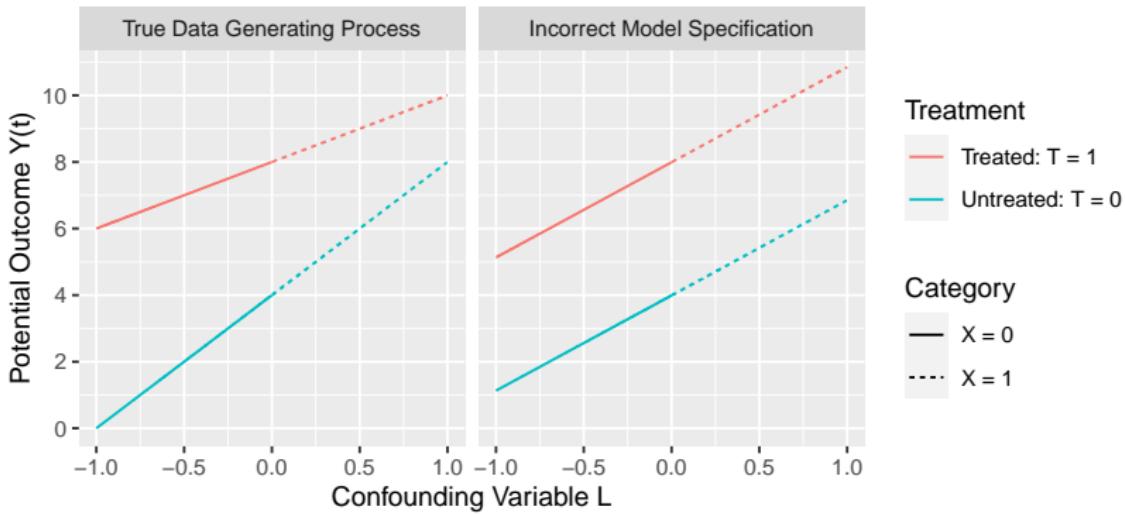
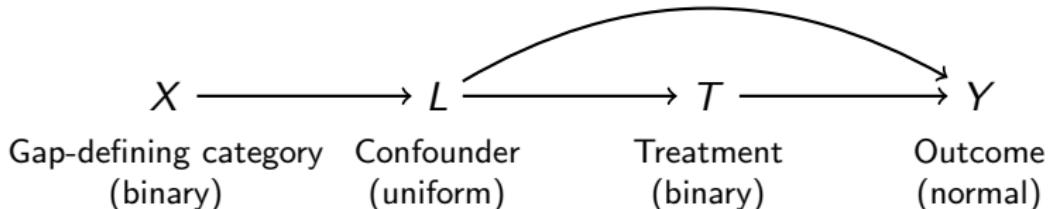
# Calibration of eviction probabilities



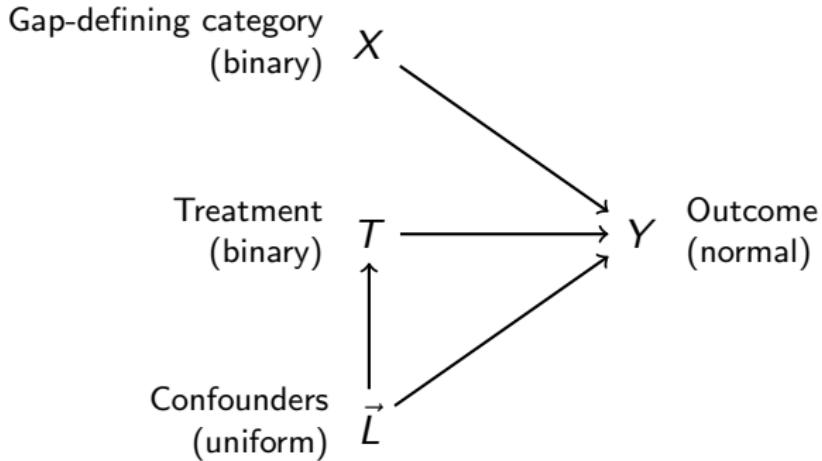
# Simulated details for doubly robust GLMs



# Simulated details for doubly robust GLMs



# Simulated details for cross-fitting



- ▶ True outcome model is linear and additive
- ▶ True treatment model is additive logistic regression

## Simulation details for cross-fitting

$$X \sim \text{Bernoulli}(.5) \quad (5)$$

$$L_1, \dots, L_{10} \sim \text{Uniform}(-1, 1) \quad (6)$$

$$\text{P} (T = 1 | X, \vec{L}) = \text{logit}^{-1} (.3L_1 + \dots + .3L_{10}) \quad (7)$$

$$T \sim \text{Bernoulli} \left( \text{P} (T = 1 | X, \vec{L}) \right) \quad (8)$$

$$Y \sim \begin{cases} L_1 + \dots + L_{10} + T & \text{if } X = 1 \\ L_1 + \dots + L_{10} - T & \text{if } X = 0 \end{cases} \quad (9)$$

## An Empirical Analysis of Racial Differences in Police Use of Force

It is the most surprising  
result of my career.  
— Roland Fryer

---

Roland G. Fryer Jr.

*Harvard University and National Bureau of Economic Research*

## An Empirical Analysis of Racial Differences in Police Use of Force

It is the most surprising  
result of my career.  
— Roland Fryer

---

Roland G. Fryer Jr.

*Harvard University and National Bureau of Economic Research*

The Upshot

DATA DIVE

*Surprising New Evidence Shows Bias  
in Police Use of Force but Not in  
Shootings*

## An Empirical Analysis of Racial Differences in Police Use of Force

It is the most surprising result of my career.  
— Roland Fryer

---

Roland G. Fryer Jr.

*Harvard University and National Bureau of Economic Research*

The Upshot

DATA DIVE

### Surprising New Evidence Shows Bias in Police Use of Force but Not in Shootings

OPINION / COMMENTARY

### The Myth of Systemic Police Racism

WSJ / OPINION

Hold officers accountable who use excessive force. But there's no evidence of widespread racial bias.

By Heather Mac Donald  
June 2, 2020 144pm ET

## An Empirical Analysis of Racial Differences in Police Use of Force

It is the most surprising result of my career.  
— Roland Fryer

---

Roland G. Fryer Jr.

*Harvard University and National Bureau of Economic Research*

The Upshot

DATA DIVE

**Surprising New Evidence Shows Bias in Police Use of Force but Not in Shootings**

OPINION / COMMENTARY

**The Myth of Systemic Police Racism** WSJ / OPINION

Hold officers accountable who use excessive force. But there's no evidence of widespread racial bias.

By Heather Mac Donald  
June 2, 2020 144pm ET

**Reality check: study finds no racial bias in police shootings**

The  
Guardian

## An Empirical Analysis of Racial Differences in Police Use of Force

Roland G. Fryer Jr.

*Harvard University and National Bureau of Economic Research*<sup>1</sup>

The Upshot

DATA DIVE

### Surprising New Evidence Shows Bias in Police Use of Force but Not in Shootings

OPINION / COMMENTARY

### The Myth of Systemic Police Racism

WSJ

OPINION

Hold officers accountable who use excessive force. But there's no evidence of widespread racial bias.

By Heather Mac Donald  
June 2, 2020 144 pm ET

Reality check: study finds no racial bias in police shootings

The  
Guardian

It is the most surprising result of my career.

— Roland Fryer

Perceived as black

Safe	Crime
Safe	Crime
Safe	Safe

Perceived as white

Safe	Crime
Safe	Crime
Safe	Safe

## An Empirical Analysis of Racial Differences in Police Use of Force

Roland G. Fryer Jr.

*Harvard University and National Bureau of Economic Research*<sup>1</sup>

The Upshot

DATA DIVE

**Surprising New Evidence Shows Bias in Police Use of Force but Not in Shootings**

OPINION / COMMENTARY

**The Myth of Systemic Police Racism** WSJ / OPINION

Hold officers accountable who use excessive force. But there's no evidence of widespread racial bias.

By Heather Mac Donald  
June 2, 2020 144 pm ET

**Reality check: study finds no racial bias in police shootings**

The  
Guardian

It is the most surprising result of my career.

— Roland Fryer

Perceived as black



Perceived as white



## An Empirical Analysis of Racial Differences in Police Use of Force

Roland G. Fryer Jr.

*Harvard University and National Bureau of Economic Research*<sup>1</sup>

The Upshot

DATA DIVE

**Surprising New Evidence Shows Bias in Police Use of Force but Not in Shootings**

OPINION / COMMENTARY

**The Myth of Systemic Police Racism** WSJ / OPINION

Hold officers accountable who use excessive force. But there's no evidence of widespread racial bias.

By Heather Mac Donald  
June 2, 2020 144 pm ET

**Reality check: study finds no racial bias in police shootings**

The  
Guardian

It is the most surprising result of my career.

— Roland Fryer

Perceived as black



Perceived as white



## An Empirical Analysis of Racial Differences in Police Use of Force

Roland G. Fryer Jr.

*Harvard University and National Bureau of Economic Research*

Equal use of force  
among those stopped  
is actually **consistent**  
with bias

See Knox et al. 2020 for a fuller critique

It is the most surprising  
result of my career.  
— Roland Fryer

Perceived as black



Perceived as white

