

Hockey

24 July 2020

Salaries and Performance in the National Hockey League (NHL)

By looking at third league modeled on the North American system we can get a better understanding of the three variables we have used to explain win percentage: salaries, lagged win percentage, and fixed effects.

We follow the same steps as we did for both those leagues.

```
# As usual, we begin by loading the packages we will need
```

```
options(warn = -1)
library("readxl",quietly = TRUE)
library("tidyverse",quietly = TRUE)
```

```
# Now we load the data
```

```
Hockey = read_excel("NHL pay and performance.xlsx")
```

```
Hockey %>% summary()
```

##	Team	season	wpc	salaries
##	Length:301	Min. :2009	Min. :0.2561	Min. :29727500
##	Class :character	1st Qu.:2011	1st Qu.:0.4268	1st Qu.:56400000
##	Mode :character	Median :2014	Median :0.5000	Median :64093628
##		Mean :2014	Mean :0.5000	Mean :62101877
##		3rd Qu.:2016	3rd Qu.:0.5610	3rd Qu.:69553691
##		Max. :2018	Max. :0.7500	Max. :78205257

```
Hockey %>% str()
```

```
## Classes 'tbl_df', 'tbl' and 'data.frame': 301 obs. of 4 variables:
## $ Team : chr "Anaheim Mighty Ducks" "Atlanta Flames/Thrashers" "Boston Bruins" "
## $ season : num 2009 2009 2009 2009 2009 ...
## $ wpc : num 0.512 0.427 0.646 0.5 0.561 ...
## $ salaries: num 49838000 34262500 51535000 52225700 63100000 ...
```

We can see that we have 301 observations in total covering the seasons 2009 to 2018. This is somewhat more than we have in the NBA case, but much less than the MLB case. We can now look at the changes in total salary spending across the seasons:

```
Sumsal <- Hockey %>%
  group_by(season)%>%
  dplyr::summarise(salaries = sum(salaries))%>%rename(allsal = salaries)
Sumsal
```

```
## # A tibble: 10 x 2
##   season    allsal
##   <dbl>    <dbl>
## 1  2009 1541615281
## 2  2010 1552508107
## 3  2011 1625195685
## 4  2012 2083240145
## 5  2013 1875078749
## 6  2014 1870670657
## 7  2015 1936588513
## 8  2016 2010863335
## 9  2017 2044256803
## 10 2018 2152647770
```

Salary inflation has not been as dramatic in the NHL as in other leagues we have looked at, but they have still increased by more than one third in a decade, which is very unlikely to be caused by improving player quality on average. As with the other leagues, the main driver of increasing salaries has been increasing team revenues and the capacity of the players to bargain for higher wages.

As before, we use `left_join()` to add the aggregate salaries for each season to our original dataframe:

```
Hockey <- left_join(Hockey, Sumsal, by="season")
head(Hockey)
```

```
## # A tibble: 6 x 5
##   Team                season  wpc salaries    allsal
##   <chr>              <dbl> <dbl>    <dbl>    <dbl>
## 1 Anaheim Mighty Ducks  2009 0.512 49838000 1541615281
## 2 Atlanta Flames/Thrashers 2009 0.427 34262500 1541615281
## 3 Boston Bruins        2009 0.646 51535000 1541615281
## 4 Buffalo Sabres       2009 0.5    52225700 1541615281
## 5 Calgary Flames       2009 0.561 63100000 1541615281
## 6 Carolina Hurricanes   2009 0.549 49075000 1541615281
```

```
tail(Hockey)
```

```
## # A tibble: 6 x 5
##   Team                season  wpc salaries    allsal
##   <chr>              <dbl> <dbl>    <dbl>    <dbl>
## 1 St. Louis Eagles/Blues 2018 0.537 65500832 2152647770
```

## 2 Tampa Bay Lightning	2018	0.659	73324166	2152647770
## 3 Toronto Arenas/St. Patricks/Maple Leafs	2018	0.598	63934167	2152647770
## 4 Vancouver Canucks	2018	0.378	72819166	2152647770
## 5 Washington Capitals	2018	0.598	74965962	2152647770
## 6 Winnipeg Jets	2018	0.634	68507499	2152647770

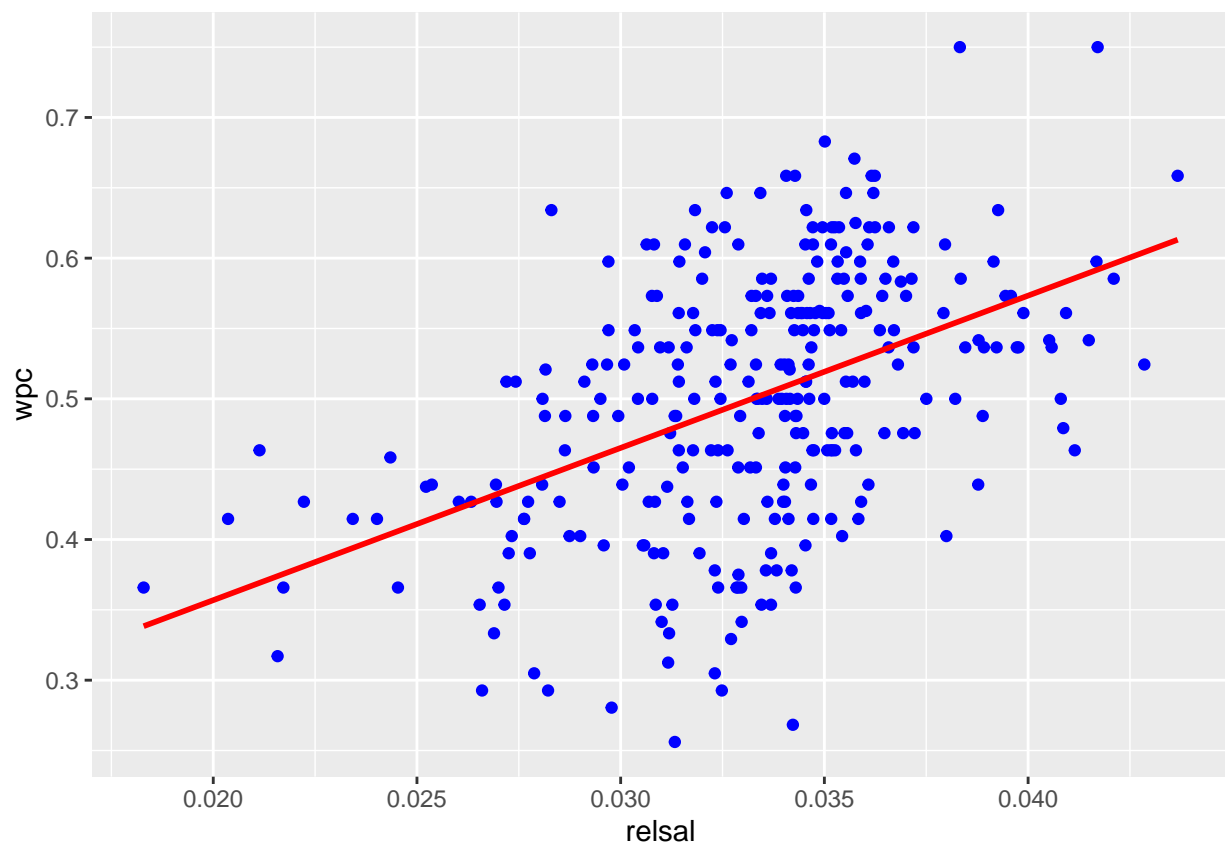
We can now create a variable which we call 'relsal', which measures the share of a team's salary spend in the total spending of all teams in that season:

```
# Here we create the variable 'relsal' for the Hockey
```

```
Hockey[, 'relsal'] = Hockey[, 'salaries'] / Hockey[, 'allsal']
```

Before running a regression, it makes sense to look at the relationship between salaries and win percentage on a chart. To do this we use `ggplot()`. Since our argument is that higher relative salaries mean better players which in turns leads to more wins, we put `relsal` on the x axis and `wpc` on the y axis.

```
ggplot(data = Hockey, aes(x = relsal, y = wpc )) + geom_point(color='blue') +  
  geom_smooth(method = "lm", se = FALSE, color = "red")
```



Self Test

Re-run the regplot with smaller dots so that there is no overlap.

```
wpcsal1_lm = lm(formula = 'wpc ~ relsal', data = Hockey)
wpcsal1_lm %>% summary()

##
## Call:
## lm(formula = "wpc ~ relsal", data = Hockey)
##
## Residuals:
##      Min       1Q   Median       3Q      Max
## -0.242579 -0.053059  0.004707  0.058350  0.194760
##
## Coefficients:
##              Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|)
## (Intercept)  0.14039     0.03943   3.560 0.000431 ***
## relsal      10.82427     1.17868   9.183 < 2e-16 ***
## ---
## Signif. codes:  0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1
##
## Residual standard error: 0.0808 on 299 degrees of freedom
## Multiple R-squared:  0.22, Adjusted R-squared:  0.2174
## F-statistic: 84.33 on 1 and 299 DF, p-value: < 2.2e-16
```

For the NHL we find that the coefficient of relsal is quite similar to that of the NBA. In fact, the regression looks quite similar in terms of the intercept (this is the value of win percentage if relsal were zero) and the R-squared.

Self Test

Create a subset of the data which includes only the 2018 season and run the regression of wpc on relsal. How do the results compare to the results above?

Let's see how the addition of the lagged dependent variable changes our relsal estimate.

```
Hockey <- Hockey %>% arrange(Team, season)
head(Hockey)

## # A tibble: 6 x 6
##   Team          season  wpc salaries  allsal relsal
##   <chr>         <dbl> <dbl>    <dbl>    <dbl> <dbl>
## 1 Anaheim Mighty Ducks 2009 0.512 49838000 1541615281 0.0323
## 2 Anaheim Mighty Ducks 2010 0.476 55207500 1552508107 0.0356
## 3 Anaheim Mighty Ducks 2011 0.573 53977500 1625195685 0.0332
## 4 Anaheim Mighty Ducks 2012 0.415 74655277 2083240145 0.0358
## 5 Anaheim Mighty Ducks 2013 0.625 67064166 1875078749 0.0358
```

```
## 6 Anaheim Mighty Ducks    2014 0.659 64127746 1870670657 0.0343
```

```
tail(Hockey)
```

```
## # A tibble: 6 x 6
```

```
##   Team          season  wpc salaries    allsal relsal
##   <chr>         <dbl> <dbl>    <dbl>    <dbl> <dbl>
## 1 Winnipeg Jets   2013 0.5    57705244 1875078749 0.0308
## 2 Winnipeg Jets   2014 0.451 63682588 1870670657 0.0340
## 3 Winnipeg Jets   2015 0.524 63322574 1936588513 0.0327
## 4 Winnipeg Jets   2016 0.427 52338400 2010863335 0.0260
## 5 Winnipeg Jets   2017 0.488 64113622 2044256803 0.0314
## 6 Winnipeg Jets   2018 0.634 68507499 2152647770 0.0318
```

```
Hockey <- Hockey %>%
  group_by(Team)%>%
  mutate(wpc_lag = dplyr::lag(wpc))%>%
  ungroup()
head(Hockey)
```

```
## # A tibble: 6 x 7
```

```
##   Team          season  wpc salaries    allsal relsal wpc_lag
##   <chr>         <dbl> <dbl>    <dbl>    <dbl> <dbl> <dbl>
## 1 Anaheim Mighty Ducks 2009 0.512 49838000 1541615281 0.0323 NA
## 2 Anaheim Mighty Ducks 2010 0.476 55207500 1552508107 0.0356 0.512
## 3 Anaheim Mighty Ducks 2011 0.573 53977500 1625195685 0.0332 0.476
## 4 Anaheim Mighty Ducks 2012 0.415 74655277 2083240145 0.0358 0.573
## 5 Anaheim Mighty Ducks 2013 0.625 67064166 1875078749 0.0358 0.415
## 6 Anaheim Mighty Ducks 2014 0.659 64127746 1870670657 0.0343 0.625
```

```
tail(Hockey)
```

```
## # A tibble: 6 x 7
```

```
##   Team          season  wpc salaries    allsal relsal wpc_lag
##   <chr>         <dbl> <dbl>    <dbl>    <dbl> <dbl> <dbl>
## 1 Winnipeg Jets   2013 0.5    57705244 1875078749 0.0308 0.451
## 2 Winnipeg Jets   2014 0.451 63682588 1870670657 0.0340 0.5
## 3 Winnipeg Jets   2015 0.524 63322574 1936588513 0.0327 0.451
## 4 Winnipeg Jets   2016 0.427 52338400 2010863335 0.0260 0.524
## 5 Winnipeg Jets   2017 0.488 64113622 2044256803 0.0314 0.427
## 6 Winnipeg Jets   2018 0.634 68507499 2152647770 0.0318 0.488
```

We now run our regression again, but adding `wpc_lag` into the regression equation:

```
wpcsal2_lm = lm(formula = 'wpc ~ wpc_lag + relsal', data = Hockey)
wpcsal2_lm %>% summary()
```

```
##
```

```
## Call:
## lm(formula = "wpc ~ wpc_lag + relsal", data = Hockey)
##
## Residuals:
##      Min       1Q   Median       3Q      Max
## -0.232626 -0.055605  0.006524  0.054086  0.225338
##
## Coefficients:
##              Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|)
## (Intercept)  0.07164    0.04327   1.656   0.099 .
## wpc_lag      0.29664    0.05699   5.205 3.88e-07 ***
## relsal       8.42007    1.35197   6.228 1.84e-09 ***
## ---
## Signif. codes:  0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1
##
## Residual standard error: 0.07797 on 266 degrees of freedom
## (32 observations deleted due to missingness)
## Multiple R-squared:  0.2854, Adjusted R-squared:  0.2801
## F-statistic: 53.13 on 2 and 266 DF, p-value: < 2.2e-16
```

Once again adding the lagged dependent variable is justified both in terms of the statistical significance of the variable and the addition to R-squared (whether adjusted or not). However, the impact on our main variable of interest, relsal, is relatively small. Its value has fallen from 10.8 to 8.4, which while it does suggest that there was some omitted variable bias, it is not as great as in the NBA case, while in the MLB case the coefficient of relsal was much smaller to begin with.

Let's now see what changes if we include fixed effects:

```
wpcsal3_lm <- lm(wpc ~ wpc_lag + relsal + factor(Team),
                 data = Hockey)

wpcsal3_lm %>% summary()
```

```
##
## Call:
## lm(formula = wpc ~ wpc_lag + relsal + factor(Team), data = Hockey)
##
## Residuals:
##      Min       1Q   Median       3Q      Max
## -0.215744 -0.044546  0.001814  0.042355  0.205660
##
## Coefficients:
##              Estimate Std. Error
## (Intercept)  0.252704    0.063501
## wpc_lag      0.054225    0.064166
```

## relsal	8.070876	1.532997
## factor(Team)Atlanta Flames/Thrashers	-0.060812	0.059269
## factor(Team)Boston Bruins	-0.013688	0.034750
## factor(Team)Buffalo Sabres	-0.133202	0.035599
## factor(Team)Calgary Flames	-0.082288	0.034958
## factor(Team)Carolina Hurricanes	-0.088485	0.035998
## factor(Team)Chicago Blackhawks	0.009418	0.034757
## factor(Team)Colorado Rockies/Avalanche	-0.070699	0.035609
## factor(Team)Columbus Blue Jackets	-0.060764	0.035190
## factor(Team)Dallas Stars	-0.039750	0.035056
## factor(Team)Detroit Cougars/Red Wings	-0.063663	0.034717
## factor(Team)Edmonton Oilers	-0.144130	0.036344
## factor(Team)Florida Panthers	-0.085445	0.035976
## factor(Team)Los Angeles Kings	-0.021707	0.034723
## factor(Team)Minnesota North Stars/Wild	-0.050658	0.034843
## factor(Team)Montreal Canadiens	-0.057953	0.034757
## factor(Team)Nashville Predators	-0.010692	0.034982
## factor(Team)New Jersey Devils	-0.080442	0.035036
## factor(Team)New York Islanders	-0.055420	0.035745
## factor(Team)New York Rangers	-0.034675	0.034910
## factor(Team)Ottawa Eagles/Senators	-0.070489	0.034964
## factor(Team)Philadelphia Flyers	-0.072542	0.035053
## factor(Team)Phoenix Coyotes	-0.068486	0.035986
## factor(Team)Pittsburgh Pirates/Penguins	0.026207	0.034921
## factor(Team)San Jose Sharks	-0.003769	0.034665
## factor(Team)St. Louis Eagles/Blues	0.028620	0.034878
## factor(Team)Tampa Bay Lightning	-0.021701	0.034966
## factor(Team)Toronto Arenas/St. Patricks/Maple Leafs	-0.085818	0.035595
## factor(Team)Vancouver Canucks	-0.067311	0.034891
## factor(Team)Washington Capitals	0.009975	0.034824
## factor(Team)Winnipeg Jets	-0.025499	0.039277
##	t value Pr(> t)	
## (Intercept)	3.980	9.19e-05 ***
## wpc_lag	0.845	0.39893
## relsal	5.265	3.16e-07 ***
## factor(Team)Atlanta Flames/Thrashers	-1.026	0.30592
## factor(Team)Boston Bruins	-0.394	0.69401
## factor(Team)Buffalo Sabres	-3.742	0.00023 ***
## factor(Team)Calgary Flames	-2.354	0.01940 *
## factor(Team)Carolina Hurricanes	-2.458	0.01469 *
## factor(Team)Chicago Blackhawks	0.271	0.78665
## factor(Team)Colorado Rockies/Avalanche	-1.985	0.04825 *
## factor(Team)Columbus Blue Jackets	-1.727	0.08553 .
## factor(Team)Dallas Stars	-1.134	0.25799
## factor(Team)Detroit Cougars/Red Wings	-1.834	0.06795 .

```
## factor(Team)Edmonton Oilers -3.966 9.70e-05 ***
## factor(Team)Florida Panthers -2.375 0.01835 *
## factor(Team)Los Angeles Kings -0.625 0.53248
## factor(Team)Minnesota North Stars/Wild -1.454 0.14730
## factor(Team)Montreal Canadiens -1.667 0.09677 .
## factor(Team)Nashville Predators -0.306 0.76014
## factor(Team)New Jersey Devils -2.296 0.02256 *
## factor(Team)New York Islanders -1.550 0.12238
## factor(Team)New York Rangers -0.993 0.32160
## factor(Team)Ottawa Eagles/Senators -2.016 0.04493 *
## factor(Team)Philadelphia Flyers -2.069 0.03959 *
## factor(Team)Phoenix Coyotes -1.903 0.05824 .
## factor(Team)Pittsburgh Pirates/Penguins 0.750 0.45372
## factor(Team)San Jose Sharks -0.109 0.91350
## factor(Team)St. Louis Eagles/Blues 0.821 0.41271
## factor(Team)Tampa Bay Lightning -0.621 0.53544
## factor(Team)Toronto Arenas/St. Patricks/Maple Leafs -2.411 0.01668 *
## factor(Team)Vancouver Canucks -1.929 0.05491 .
## factor(Team)Washington Capitals 0.286 0.77480
## factor(Team)Winnipeg Jets -0.649 0.51684
## ---
## Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1
##
## Residual standard error: 0.0735 on 236 degrees of freedom
## (32 observations deleted due to missingness)
## Multiple R-squared: 0.4366, Adjusted R-squared: 0.3602
## F-statistic: 5.715 on 32 and 236 DF, p-value: 4.548e-16
```

Here we find ten fixed effects that are statistically significant. The fixed effects add considerably to the R-squared of the regression, and only marginally reduce the value of relsal. However, the most striking impact of the fixed effects is to reduce the value of the lagged dependent variable to the point where it is statistically insignificant. This is in contrast to what we found in all three of the other other leagues. Because it is statistically insignificant in this version, and since we want to keep the fixed effects, we can drop the lagged dependent variable, which we do in this regression:

```
wpcsal4_lm <- lm(wpc ~ relsal + factor(Team),
                 data = Hockey)
```

```
wpcsal4_lm %>% summary()
```

```
##
## Call:
## lm(formula = wpc ~ relsal + factor(Team), data = Hockey)
##
## Residuals:
```



```
##      Min      1Q      Median      3Q      Max
## -0.207166 -0.045519  0.000437  0.043597  0.210607
##
```

```
## Coefficients:
```

```
##                                     Estimate Std. Error
## (Intercept)                        0.2562708  0.0522363
## relsal                             8.7600186  1.3796018
## factor(Team)Atlanta Flames/Thrashers -0.0472432  0.0497402
## factor(Team)Boston Bruins           -0.0005806  0.0326583
## factor(Team)Buffalo Sabres          -0.1277661  0.0326180
## factor(Team)Calgary Flames          -0.0801552  0.0325899
## factor(Team)Carolina Hurricanes     -0.0783579  0.0331344
## factor(Team)Chicago Blackhawks       0.0137214  0.0326038
## factor(Team)Colorado Rockies/Avalanche -0.0806411  0.0327971
## factor(Team)Columbus Blue Jackets    -0.0601293  0.0326860
## factor(Team)Dallas Stars             -0.0482120  0.0326736
## factor(Team)Detroit Cougars/Red Wings -0.0517945  0.0325915
## factor(Team)Edmonton Oilers          -0.1436206  0.0327036
## factor(Team)Florida Panthers         -0.0826116  0.0329827
## factor(Team)Las Vegas Golden Knights  0.0832319  0.0764354
## factor(Team)Los Angeles Kings        -0.0232854  0.0325904
## factor(Team)Minnesota North Stars/Wild -0.0527307  0.0325993
## factor(Team)Montreal Canadiens       -0.0607271  0.0326336
## factor(Team)Nashville Predators      -0.0096055  0.0328027
## factor(Team)New Jersey Devils        -0.0680370  0.0325851
## factor(Team)New York Islanders       -0.0624305  0.0333040
## factor(Team)New York Rangers         -0.0407972  0.0329456
## factor(Team)Ottawa Eagles/Senators    -0.0790807  0.0325838
## factor(Team)Philadelphia Flyers      -0.0728543  0.0328197
## factor(Team)Phoenix Coyotes          -0.0646767  0.0334408
## factor(Team)Pittsburgh Pirates/Penguins 0.0242823  0.0327659
## factor(Team)San Jose Sharks           0.0070410  0.0325944
## factor(Team)St. Louis Eagles/Blues    0.0289372  0.0327680
## factor(Team)Tampa Bay Lightning       -0.0407336  0.0326338
## factor(Team)Toronto Arenas/St. Patricks/Maple Leafs -0.0913668  0.0326703
## factor(Team)Vancouver Canucks        -0.0616002  0.0327150
## factor(Team)Washington Capitals       0.0141051  0.0327453
## factor(Team)Winnipeg Jets            -0.0345894  0.0360771
##                                     t value Pr(>|t|)
## (Intercept)                        4.906 1.62e-06 ***
## relsal                             6.350 9.19e-10 ***
## factor(Team)Atlanta Flames/Thrashers -0.950 0.343070
## factor(Team)Boston Bruins           -0.018 0.985830
## factor(Team)Buffalo Sabres          -3.917 0.000114 ***
## factor(Team)Calgary Flames          -2.460 0.014545 *
```

```

## factor(Team)Carolina Hurricanes -2.365 0.018750 *
## factor(Team)Chicago Blackhawks 0.421 0.674199
## factor(Team)Colorado Rockies/Avalanche -2.459 0.014573 *
## factor(Team)Columbus Blue Jackets -1.840 0.066932 .
## factor(Team)Dallas Stars -1.476 0.141235
## factor(Team)Detroit Cougars/Red Wings -1.589 0.113193
## factor(Team)Edmonton Oilers -4.392 1.62e-05 ***
## factor(Team)Florida Panthers -2.505 0.012850 *
## factor(Team)Las Vegas Golden Knights 1.089 0.277168
## factor(Team)Los Angeles Kings -0.714 0.475549
## factor(Team)Minnesota North Stars/Wild -1.618 0.106938
## factor(Team)Montreal Canadiens -1.861 0.063857 .
## factor(Team)Nashville Predators -0.293 0.769881
## factor(Team)New Jersey Devils -2.088 0.037744 *
## factor(Team)New York Islanders -1.875 0.061940 .
## factor(Team)New York Rangers -1.238 0.216681
## factor(Team)Ottawa Eagles/Senators -2.427 0.015884 *
## factor(Team)Philadelphia Flyers -2.220 0.027267 *
## factor(Team)Phoenix Coyotes -1.934 0.054158 .
## factor(Team)Pittsburgh Pirates/Penguins 0.741 0.459292
## factor(Team)San Jose Sharks 0.216 0.829136
## factor(Team)St. Louis Eagles/Blues 0.883 0.377977
## factor(Team)Tampa Bay Lightning -1.248 0.213046
## factor(Team)Toronto Arenas/St. Patricks/Maple Leafs -2.797 0.005538 **
## factor(Team)Vancouver Canucks -1.883 0.060792 .
## factor(Team)Washington Capitals 0.431 0.666995
## factor(Team)Winnipeg Jets -0.959 0.338543
## ---
## Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1
##
## Residual standard error: 0.07284 on 268 degrees of freedom
## Multiple R-squared: 0.4318, Adjusted R-squared: 0.364
## F-statistic: 6.366 on 32 and 268 DF, p-value: < 2.2e-16

```

This model has a very simple interpretation: $wpc = 0.256 + 8.76 \times relsal + \text{fixed effects}$. If we ignore fixed effects, we can identify the expected win percentage for low, average and high relative spending:

```
print(0.256 + 8.76*0.02)
```

```
## [1] 0.4312
```

```
print(0.256 + 8.76*0.0325)
```

```
## [1] 0.5407
```

```
print(0.256 + 8.76*0.045)
```

```
## [1] 0.6502
```

Self Test

Based on the fixed effects regression, calculate the win percentage of:

- (a) The Calgary Flames assuming the value of relsal for the team is 0.03
- (b) The Edmonton Oilers assuming the value of relsal for the team is 0.04
- (c) The Montreal Canadiens assuming the value of relsal for the team is 0.05

Looking at this, we can see that the numbers are slightly skewed- the performance levels are higher than one might expect at each level, and this most likely reflects the impacts of the fixed effects. It's clear that most of the fixed effects are negative, and this would bring down teams to a lower level of performance. It suggests that those teams that are able to dominate, are capable of doing so (or at least were capable of doing so during this era) because of factors other than wage spending.

Conclusion

This week we have looked at four different leagues and used salary data to assess the impact of wage spending on team performance. In every case we found it had a significant impact, but that impact varied depending on the league. The league system also mattered, as we saw when contrasting the cases of the EPL with the NBA, MLB and NHL.

We also introduced two issues which should always be considered when running regressions: omitted variable bias and heterogeneity.

Finally, we should mention one issue which arises in the context of this type of exercise. The data we study here is “observational”, meaning that we collect the data based on what actually happened, during events over which we had no control. This raises the question, “How would outcomes have been different if some particular variable had had a different value?” The regression coefficients produced some answers for us, but how can we be sure that there was not some other factor which we have omitted, which was what really mattered? We can't be sure.

Scientists in laboratories typically don't have this problem - they use “experimental data” which they create in a controlled environment, so that they can control all observable factors. You can use that kind of data to measure the aerobic capacity of an athlete but, since you can't directly control the game, you can never use it to analyze game outcomes.

Some experimental scientists would go so far as to say that we can infer nothing from observational data. This is the logic of a phrase you may have encountered: “correlation is not causation”. We have observed correlations in the data using regression analysis, but that does not prove that the links were causal (you could go so far as to argue that win percentage causes salaries to increase, and not vice versa).

We think that is too pessimistic a view. Observational data is certainly more challenging to work with, but it is possible for us to gain insight into the underlying relationships through careful study. It is important to be aware of the pitfalls, and it is important to focus on the logical coherence of the analysis rather than just running regressions. Another way to say this is that one should always have in mind a theory that one is trying to test, and be willing to discard that theory if the data renders it untenable. With careful thought and attention to details, it is possible to generate results which can enhance our understanding.