Unpacking the Black-Box: Learning about Causal Mechanisms from Experimental and Observational Studies

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#### Identification of Causal Mechanisms

- Causal inference is a central goal of scientific research
- Scientists care about causal mechanisms, not just about causal effects
- Randomized experiments often only determine whether the treatment causes changes in the outcome
- Not how and why the treatment affects the outcome
- Common criticism of experiments and statistics:

**black box** view of causality

• Question: How can we learn about causal mechanisms from experimental and observational studies?

Present a general framework for statistical design and analysis of causal mechanisms:

Show that the sequential ignorability assumption is required to identify mechanisms even in experiments

Offer a flexible estimation strategy under this assumption

Propose a sensitivity analysis to probe this assumption

Propose new experimental designs that do not rely on sequential ignorability

Extend these methods to observational studies

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## **Project Reference**

• Project Website:

http://imai.princeton.edu/projects/mechanisms.html

- Papers:
  - "Unpacking the Black Box: Learning about Causal Mechanisms from Experimental and Observational Studies."
  - "Identification, Inference, and Sensitivity Analysis for Causal Mediation Effects." *Statistical Science*
  - "A General Approach to Causal Mediation Analysis." *Psychological Methods*
  - "Experimental Identification of Causal Mechanisms."
  - "Causal Mediation Analysis Using R." *Advances in Social Science Research Using R*
- Software: R package mediation implements all methods

#### What Is a Causal Mechanism?

- Mechanisms as alternative causal pathways
- Causal mediation analysis



- Quantities of interest: Direct and indirect effects
- Fast growing methodological literature

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## **Two American Politics Examples**



- Media cues referencing ethnic groups effectively affect attitudes towards immigration policy
- Brader, Valentino, and Suhay (2008, AJPS): Anxiety transmits the effect of cues on attitudes
- Experimental study with randomized treatment

#### Incumbency advantage

- Incumbency advantage has been positive and growing
- Cox and Katz (1996, AJPS): incumbents deter high-quality challengers from entering the race
- Observational study with non-random treatment

Framework: Potential outcomes model of causal inference

- Binary treatment:  $T_i \in \{0, 1\}$
- Mediator:  $M_i \in \mathcal{M}$
- Outcome:  $Y_i \in \mathcal{Y}$
- Observed pre-treatment covariates:  $X_i \in \mathcal{X}$
- Potential mediators:  $M_i(t)$ , where  $M_i = M_i(T_i)$  observed
- Potential outcomes:  $Y_i(t, m)$ , where  $Y_i = Y_i(T_i, M_i(T_i))$  observed
- In a standard experiment, **only one potential outcome** can be observed for each *i*

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# **Causal Mediation Effects**

• Total causal effect:

$$\tau_i \equiv Y_i(1, M_i(1)) - Y_i(0, M_i(0))$$

• Causal mediation (Indirect) effects:

$$\delta_i(t) \equiv Y_i(t, M_i(1)) - Y_i(t, M_i(0))$$

- Causal effect of the change in *M<sub>i</sub>* on *Y<sub>i</sub>* that would be induced by treatment
- Change the mediator from M<sub>i</sub>(0) to M<sub>i</sub>(1) while holding the treatment constant at t
- Represents the mechanism through *M<sub>i</sub>*

#### Total Effect = Indirect Effect + Direct Effect

• Direct effects:

$$\zeta_i(t) \equiv Y_i(1, M_i(t)) - Y_i(0, M_i(t))$$

- Causal effect of  $T_i$  on  $Y_i$ , holding mediator constant at its potential value that would realize when  $T_i = t$
- Change the treatment from 0 to 1 while holding the mediator constant at M<sub>i</sub>(t)
- Represents all mechanisms other than through  $M_i$
- Total effect = mediation (indirect) effect + direct effect:

$$\tau_i = \delta_i(t) + \zeta_i(1-t) = \frac{1}{2} \{ \delta_i(0) + \delta_i(1) + \zeta_i(0) + \zeta_i(1) \}$$

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#### What Does the Observed Data Tell Us?

• Quantity of Interest: Average causal mediation effects

$$\overline{\delta}(t) \equiv \mathbb{E}(\delta_i(t)) = \mathbb{E}\{Y_i(t, M_i(1)) - Y_i(t, M_i(0))\}$$

- Average direct effects  $(\bar{\zeta}(t))$  are defined similarly
- Problem: Y<sub>i</sub>(t, M<sub>i</sub>(t)) is observed but Y<sub>i</sub>(t, M<sub>i</sub>(t')) can never be observed
- We have an identification problem
- $\implies$  Need additional assumptions to make progress

#### Identification under Sequential Ignorability

• Proposed identification assumption: Sequential Ignorability

$$\{Y_i(t',m),M_i(t)\} \perp T_i \mid X_i = x$$

$$(1)$$

$$Y_i(t',m) \perp M_i(t) \mid T_i = t, X_i = x$$
 (2)

- (1) is guaranteed to hold in a standard experiment
- (2) does **not** hold unless X<sub>i</sub> includes all confounders

**Theorem:** Under sequential ignorability, ACME and average direct effects are nonparametrically identified

(= consistently estimated from observed data)



## Nonparametric Identification

**Theorem:** Under SI, both ACME and average direct effects are given by,

- ACME  $\overline{\delta}(t)$  $\int \int \mathbb{E}(Y_i \mid M_i, T_i = t, X_i) \left\{ dP(M_i \mid T_i = 1, X_i) - dP(M_i \mid T_i = 0, X_i) \right\} dP(X_i)$
- Average direct effects  $\bar{\zeta}(t)$

$$\int \int \left\{ \mathbb{E}(Y_i \mid M_i, T_i = 1, X_i) - \mathbb{E}(Y_i \mid M_i, T_i = 0, X_i) \right\} dP(M_i \mid T_i = t, X_i) dP(X_i)$$

#### **Traditional Estimation Method**

• Linear structural equation model (LSEM):

$$M_i = \alpha_2 + \beta_2 T_i + \xi_2^\top X_i + \epsilon_{i2},$$
  

$$Y_i = \alpha_3 + \beta_3 T_i + \gamma M_i + \xi_3^\top X_i + \epsilon_{i3}.$$

together implying

$$Y_i = \alpha_1 + \beta_1 T_i + \epsilon_{i1}$$

- Fit two least squares regressions separately
- Use product of coefficients  $(\hat{\beta}_2 \hat{\gamma})$  to estimate ACME
- Use asymptotic variance to test significance (Sobel test)
- Under SI and the no-interaction assumption  $(\bar{\delta}(1) \neq \bar{\delta}(0))$ ,  $\hat{\beta}_2 \hat{\gamma}$  consistently estimates ACME
- Can be extended to LSEM with interaction terms
- Problem: Only valid for the simplest LSEM

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#### **Proposed General Estimation Algorithm**



Model outcome and mediator

- Outcome model:  $p(Y_i | T_i, M_i, X_i)$
- Mediator model:  $p(M_i | T_i, X_i)$
- These models can be of any form (linear or nonlinear, semi- or nonparametric, with or without interactions)



**③** Predict outcome by first setting  $T_i = 1$  and  $M_i = M_i(0)$ , and then  $T_i = 1$  and  $M_i = M_i(1)$ 

Compute the average difference between two outcomes to obtain a consistent estimate of ACME

Monte Carlo simulation or bootstrap to estimate uncertainty

#### Reanalysis of Brader et al. (2008)

- ACME = Average difference in immigration attitudes due to the change in anxiety induced by the media cue treatment
- Sequential ignorability = No unobserved covariate affecting both anxiety and immigration attitudes
- Original method: Product of coefficients with the Sobel test

   Valid only when both models are linear w/o *T*-*M* interaction (which they are not)
- Our method: Calculate ACME using our general algorithm

			Product of Coefficients	Average Causal Mediation Effect	
	Decrease Immigrat	ion	.399 [0.066, .732]	.089 [0.023, .178]	
	Request Anti-Immigration Info		.295 [0.023, 0.567]	.049 [0.007, 0.121]	
	Send Anti-Immigrat	ion Message	.303 [0.046, .561]	.105 [0.021, 0.191]	
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# Reanalysis of Cox and Katz (1996)



- Original findings:
  - Incumbency advantage has increased over time
  - This increase is attributed to increase in scare-off/quality effect
- Our findings: Increasing incumbency advantage may be attributable to mechanisms other than the scare-off/quality effect

#### Need for Sensitivity Analysis

- Standard experiments require sequential ignorability to identify mechanisms
- The sequential ignorability assumption is often too strong
- Need to assess the robustness of findings via sensitivity analysis
- Question: How large a departure from the key assumption must occur for the conclusions to no longer hold?
- Parametric sensitivity analysis by assuming

$$\{Y_i(t',m),M_i(t)\}\perp T_i \mid X_i = x$$

but not

$$Y_i(t', m) \perp M_i(t) \mid T_i = t, X_i = x$$

• Possible existence of unobserved pre-treatment confounder

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#### Parametric Sensitivity Analysis

- Sensitivity parameter:  $\rho \equiv Corr(\epsilon_{i2}, \epsilon_{i3})$
- Sequential ignorability implies  $\rho = 0$
- Set ρ to different values and see how ACME changes
- Interpreting  $\rho$ : how small is too small?
- An unobserved (pre-treatment) confounder formulation:

 $\epsilon_{i2} = \lambda_2 U_i + \epsilon'_{i2}$  and  $\epsilon_{i3} = \lambda_3 U_i + \epsilon'_{i3}$ 

• How much does  $U_i$  have to explain for our results to go away?

Sensitivity Analysis of Brader et al. (2008) I



 ACME > 0 as long as the error correlation is less than 0.39 (0.30 with 95% CI)

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Sensitivity Analysis of Brader et al. (2008) II



 An unobserved confounder can account for up to 26.5% of the variation in both Y<sub>i</sub> and M<sub>i</sub> before ACME becomes zero

## Sensitivity Analysis of Cox and Katz (1996)



## **Beyond Sequential Ignorability**

- Without sequential ignorability, standard experimental design lacks identification power
- Even the sign of ACME is not identified
- Need to develop alternative experimental designs for more credible inference
- Possible when the mediator can be directly or indirectly manipulated



- Must assume no direct effect of manipulation on outcome
- More informative than standard single experiment
- If we assume no T-M interaction, ACME is point identified

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#### Example from Behavioral Neuroscience

Why study brain?: Social scientists' search for causal mechanisms underlying human behavior

• Psychologists, economists, and even political scientists

**Question**: What mechanism links low offers in an ultimatum game with "irrational" rejections?

• A brain region known to be related to fairness becomes more active when unfair offer received (single experiment design)

Design solution: manipulate mechanisms with TMS

• Knoch et al. use TMS to manipulate — turn off — one of these regions, and then observes choices (parallel design)

#### Limitations

• Difference between manipulation and mechanism

Prop.	$M_{i}(1)$	$M_i(0)$	$Y_{i}(t, 1)$	$Y_{i}(t, 0)$	$\delta_i(t)$
0.3	1	0	0	1	-1
0.3	0	0	1	0	0
0.1	0	1	0	1	1
0.3	1	1	1	0	0

- Here,  $\mathbb{E}(M_i(1) M_i(0)) = \mathbb{E}(Y_i(t, 1) Y_i(t, 0)) = 0.2$ , but  $\overline{\delta}(t) = -0.2$
- Limitations:
  - Direct manipulation of the mediator is often impossible
  - Even if possible, manipulation can directly affect outcome
- Need to allow for subtle and indirect manipulations

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#### **Encouragement Design**

- Randomly encourage subjects to take particular values of the mediator M<sub>i</sub>
- Standard instrumental variable assumptions (Angrist et al.)

Use a  $2 \times 3$  factorial design:

- Randomly assign T<sub>i</sub>
- Also randomly decide whether to positively encourage, negatively encourage, or do nothing
- Measure mediator and outcome
- Informative inference about the "complier" ACME
- Reduces to the parallel design if encouragement is perfect
- Possible application to the immigration experiment: Use autobiographical writing tasks to encourage anxiety

- Recall ACME can be identified if we observe  $Y_i(t', M_i(t))$
- Get  $M_i(t)$ , then switch  $T_i$  to t' while holding  $M_i = M_i(t)$
- Crossover design:
  - Round 1: Conduct a standard experiment
  - 2 Round 2: Change the treatment to the opposite status but fix the mediator to the value observed in the first round
- Very powerful identifies mediation effects for each subject
- Must assume no carryover effect: Round 1 must not affect Round
   2
- Can be made plausible by design

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## Example from Labor Economics

Bertrand & Mullainathan (2004, AER)

- Treatment: Black vs. White names on CVs
- Mediator: Perceived qualifications of applicants
- Outcome: Callback from employers
- Quantity of interest: Direct effects of (perceived) race
- Would Jamal get a callback if his name were Greg but his qualifications stayed the same?
- Round 1: Send Jamal's actual CV and record the outcome
- Round 2: Send his CV as Greg and record the outcome
- No carryover effect: send two CVs to randomly selected, different potential employers
- Assumption: perceived qualifications don't depend on applicant's race

- Key difference between experimental and observational studies: treatment assignment
- Sequential ignorability:
  - Ignorability of treatment given covariates
  - Ignorability of mediator given treatment and covariates
- Both (1) and (2) are suspect in observational studies
- Statistical control: matching, regressions, etc.
- Search for quasi-randomized treatments: "natural" experiments
- How can we design observational studies?
- Experiments can serve as templates for observational studies

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## Example from Imcumbency Advantage

- Use of cross-over design (Levitt and Wolfram)
  - 1st Round: two non-incumbents in an open seat
  - 2nd Round: same candidates with one being an incumbent
- Assume challenger quality (mediator) stays the same
- Estimation of direct effect is possible
- Redistricting as natural experiments (Ansolabehere et al.)
  - Inst Round": incumbent in the old part of the district
  - 2 "2nd Round": incumbent in the new part of the district
- Challenger quality is the same but treatment is different
- Estimation of direct effect is possible

# Concluding Remarks

- Even in a randomized experiment, a strong assumption is needed to identify causal mechanisms
- However, progress can be made toward this fundamental goal of scientific research with modern statistical tools
- A general, flexible estimation method is available once we assume sequential ignorability
- Sequential ignorability can be probed via sensitivity analysis
- More credible inferences are possible using clever experimental designs
- Insights from new experimental designs can be directly applied when designing observational studies

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