# Eliciting Truthful Responses to Sensitive Survey Questions Using List Experiments 

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Talk at the Inter-American Development Bank August 17, 2017

## Motivation

- Survey is used widely in social sciences
- Validity of survey depends on the accuracy of self-reports
- Sensitive questions $\rightsquigarrow$ social desirability, privacy concerns
- Prejudice, corruption, drug use, sexual behavior, etc.
- Lies and nonresponses $\rightsquigarrow$ potential bias
- Survey experiments as a solution:

1. aggregation $\rightsquigarrow$ List experiment (item count technique)
2. randomization $\rightsquigarrow$ Randomized response method
3. cueing $\rightsquigarrow$ Endorsement experiment

## Overview of the Talk

- Methodological developments for list experiments:

1. multivariate regression for list experiments (Imai, 2011; Imai, Park \& Greene 2015)
2. statistical test for violation of assumptions (Blair and Imai, 2012)
3. modeling ceiling and floor effects (Blair and Imai, 2012)

- Improving list experiments:

1. comparing and combining with other methods (Blair, Imai \& Lyall 2014)
2. incorporating auxiliary information (Chou, Imai, \& Rosenfeld, Forthcoming)

## List Experiment: An Example

- The 1991 National Race and Politics Survey (Sniderman et al.)
- Randomize the sample into the treatment and control groups
- The script for the control group

Now I'm going to read you three things that sometimes make people angry or upset. After I read all three, just tell me HOW MANY of them upset you. (I don't want to know which ones, just how many.)
(1) the federal government increasing the tax on gasoline;
(2) professional athletes getting million-dollar-plus salaries;
(3) large corporations polluting the environment.

## List Experiment: An Example

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Now I'm going to read you four things that sometimes make people angry or upset. After I read all four, just tell me HOW MANY of them upset you. (I don't want to know which ones, just how many.)
(1) the federal government increasing the tax on gasoline;
(2) professional athletes getting million-dollar-plus salaries;
(3) large corporations polluting the environment;
(4) a black family moving next door to you.

## Identification Assumptions

1. Randomization of the Treatment
2. No Design Effect: The inclusion of the sensitive item does not affect answers to control items
3. No Liars: Answers about the sensitive item are truthful

Under these assumptions, difference-in-means estimator is unbiased

## New Multivariate Regression Estimators

- Notation:
- J: number of control items
- $N$ : number of respondents
- $T_{i}$ : binary treatment indicator $(1=$ treatment, $0=$ control $)$
- $X_{i}$ : pre-treatment covariates
- $Y_{i}$ : outcome variable
- The nonlinear least squares regression model:

$$
Y_{i}=\underbrace{f\left(X_{i}, \gamma\right)}_{\text {control items }}+\underbrace{T_{i} \cdot g\left(X_{i}, \delta\right)}_{\text {sensitive item }}+\epsilon_{i}
$$

- Difference-in-means: no covariate
- Linear model: $f(x, \gamma)=x^{\top} \gamma$ and $g(x, \delta)=x^{\top} \delta$
- Logit model: $f(x, \gamma)=J \cdot \operatorname{logit}^{-1}\left(x^{\top} \gamma\right)$ and $g(x, \delta)=\operatorname{logit}^{-1}\left(x^{\top} \delta\right)$
- Two-step estimation with appropriate standard error


## Extracting More Information from List Experiments

- Define a type of each respondent by
- total number of yes for control items $Y_{i}(0)$
- truthful answer to the sensitive item $Z_{i}^{*}$
- A total of $(2 \times(J+1))$ types
- Example: three control items $(J=3)$

| $Y_{i}$ | Treatment group | Control group |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 4 | $(3,1)$ |  |  |
| 3 | $(2,1)(3,0)$ | $(3,1)(3,0)$ |  |
| 2 | $(1,1)(2,0)$ | $(2,1)$ | $(2,0)$ |
| 1 | $(0,1)(1,0)$ | $(1,1)$ | $(1,0)$ |
| 0 | $(0,0)$ | $(0,1)$ | $(0,0)$ |

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- Joint distribution of $\left(Y_{i}(0), Z_{i}^{*}\right)$ is identified


## The Maximum Likelihood Estimator

- Model for sensitive item as before: e.g., logistic regression

$$
\operatorname{Pr}\left(Z_{i, J+1}^{*}=1 \mid X_{i}=x\right)=\operatorname{logit}^{-1}\left(x^{\top} \delta\right)
$$

- Model for control items given the response to sensitive item: e.g., binomial or beta-binomial logistic regression

$$
\operatorname{Pr}\left(Y_{i}(0)=y \mid X_{i}=x, Z_{i, J+1}^{*}=z\right)=J \times \operatorname{logit}^{-1}\left(x^{\top} \psi_{z}\right)
$$

- Difficult to maximize the resulting complex likelihood function
- The EM algorithm for reliable estimation
- The ML estimator is more efficient but less robust than the NLS estimator
- Both NLS and ML estimators can be extended to use the latent response to a sensitive item as an explanatory variable in a regression


## Empirical Application: Racial Prejudice in the US

- Kuklinski et al. (1997 JOP): Southern whites are more prejudiced against blacks than non-southern whites - no "New South"
- The limitation of the original analysis:

So far our discussion has implicitly assumed that the higher level of prejudice among white southerners results from something uniquely "southern," what many would call southern culture. This assumption could be wrong. If white southerners were older, less educated, and the like - characteristics normally associated with greater prejudice then demographics would explain the regional difference in racial attitudes

- Need for a multivariate regression analysis


## Generational Changes in South and Non-South

Black Family


Affirmative Action


- Age is important even after controlling for gender and education


## When Can List Experiments Fail?

- No Design Effect
- Respondents may evaluate control items relative to sensitive item
- No Liars
- Ceiling effect: too many yeses for control items
- Floor effect: too many noes for control items
- Question: Can these failures be addressed statistically?


## Hypothesis Test for Detecting List Experiment Failures

- Under the null hypothesis of no design effect and no liars, we expect proportions of all "types" to be properly estimated
- Alternative hypothesis: At least one is negative
- Correction for multiple testing

|  | Observed Data |  |  |  | Estimated Proportion of |  |  |  |
| :---: | ---: | :---: | ---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Control |  | Treatment |  | Respondent Types |  |  |  |
| Response | counts | prop. | counts | prop. | $\hat{\pi}_{y 0}$ | s.e. | $\hat{\pi}_{y 1}$ | s.e. |
| 0 | 8 | $1.4 \%$ | 19 | $3.0 \%$ | $3.0 \%$ | 0.7 | $-1.7 \%$ | 0.8 |
| 1 | 132 | 22.4 | 123 | 19.7 | 21.4 | 1.7 | 1.0 | 2.4 |
| 2 | 222 | 37.7 | 229 | 36.7 | 35.7 | 2.6 | 2.0 | 2.8 |
| 3 | 227 | 38.5 | 219 | 35.1 | 33.1 | 2.2 | 5.4 | 0.9 |
| 4 |  |  | 34 | 5.4 |  |  |  |  |
| Total | 589 |  | 624 |  | 93.2 |  | 6.8 |  |

- $p$-value $=0.022$


## Modeling Ceiling and Floor Effects

- Potential liars:

| $Y_{i}$ | Treatment group | Control group |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 4 | $(3,1)$ |  |
| 3 | $(2,1)(3,0)(3,1)^{*}$ | $(3,1)(3,0)$ |
| 2 | $(1,1)(2,0)$ | $(2,1)(2,0)$ |
| 1 | $(0,1)(1,0)$ | $(1,1)(1,0)$ |
| 0 | $(0,0)(0,1)^{*}$ | $(0,1)(0,0)$ |

- Proposed strategy: model ceiling and/or floor effects under an additional assumption
- Identification assumption: conditional independence between items given covariates
- ML regression estimator can be extended to this situation
- A similar strategy applicable to design effects


## Practical Suggestions for List Experiments

- Suggestions for analysis:

1. Estimate proportions of types and test design effects
2. Conduct multivariate regression analyses
3. Investigate the robustness of findings to ceiling and floor effects

- Suggestions for design:

1. Select control items to avoid skewed response distribution
2. Avoid control items that are ambiguous and generate weak opinion
3. Conduct a pilot study
4. Consider alternative designs such as double list experiment

- Open-source software:
- R package list: Statistical Methods for the Item Count Technique and List Experiment
- Implements all methods mentioned so far and more


## Two Ways to Improve Sensitive Question Survey Methods

1. Comparing and combining multiple measurements (Blair, Imai \& Lyall 2014)

- Agreement among multiple measurements $\rightsquigarrow$ more credible
- Combining multiple measurements $\rightsquigarrow$ more powerful
- Application: Hearts and minds in Afghanistan

2. Using auxiliary information (Chou, Imai, \& Rosenfeld Forthcoming)

- Sometimes aggregate truths are available
- Turnout rates and voting outcomes
- Administrative records, e.g., crime and incarceration
- Use auxiliary information to improve individual-level inference
- Application: Missisippi anti-abortion referendum


## Hearts and Minds in Afghanistan (Blair, Imai \& Lyall, 2014)

- How do we measure civilian attitudes in a conflict setting?
- Current efforts in Afghanistan rely on direct questions:

1. USAID (TCAPF): "Who do you believe can solve your problems?"
2. ISAF (ANQAR): "Over the past 6 months, do you think the Taliban have grown stronger, grown weaker, or remained the same?"

- Why are direct questions a bad idea?

1. Threats to enumerators and respondents
2. Nonresponse, social desirability bias
3. Interviews are public
4. Danger of selection bias in sampling locations (role of gatekeepers)

- ANQAR (November-December 2011): 50\% refusal rate


## Public Nature of Interviews



## List Experiments

- Script for the control group:

I'm going to read you a list with the names of different groups and individuals on it. After I read the entire list, I'd like you to tell me how many of these groups and individuals you broadly support, meaning that you generally agree with the goals and policies of the group or individual. Please don't tell me which ones you generally agree with; only tell me how many groups or individuals you broadly support.

Karzai Government; National Solidarity Program; Local Farmers

## List Experiments

- Script for the treatment group:

I'm going to read you a list with the names of different groups and individuals on it. After I read the entire list, I'd like you to tell me how many of these groups and individuals you broadly support, meaning that you generally agree with the goals and policies of the group or individual. Please don't tell me which ones you generally agree with; only tell me how many groups or individuals you broadly support.

Karzai Government; National Solidarity Program; Local Farmers; ISAF

## The Data from the List Experiment

| response <br> value | Control Group |  | ISAF Treatment Group |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| frequency | proportion | frequency | proportion |  |
| 0 | 188 | $20.5 \%$ | 174 | $19.0 \%$ |
| 1 | 265 | 28.9 | 278 | 30.3 |
| 2 | 265 | 28.9 | 260 | 28.3 |
| 3 | 200 | 21.8 | 182 | 19.8 |
| 4 |  |  | 24 | 2.6 |
| Total | 918 |  | 918 |  |

## Endorsement Experiments

- Script for the control group:

A recent proposal calls for the sweeping reform of the Afghan prison system, including the construction of new prisons in every district to help alleviate overcrowding in existing facilities. Though expensive, new programs for inmates would also be offered, and new judges and prosecutors would be trained. How do you feel about this proposal?

Strongly agree; Agree; Indifferent; Disagree; Strongly disagree; Don't Know; Refuse to answer

## Endorsement Experiments

- Script for the treatment group:

A recent proposal by ISAF calls for the sweeping reform of the Afghan prison system, including the construction of new prisons in every district to help alleviate overcrowding in existing facilities. Though expensive, new programs for inmates would also be offered, and new judges and prosecutors would be trained. How do you feel about this proposal?

Strongly agree; Agree; Indifferent; Disagree; Strongly disagree; Don't Know; Refuse to answer

## Data from the Endorsement Experiments



## Descriptive Comparison: Overall

- Need for validation $\rightsquigarrow$ Multiple measurement strategy
- Two measures should give similar results

Control Group


ISAF Treatment Group

|  | 1 | 1 | 1 |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Endorsement Experiment

Endorsement Experiment

## Comparing and Combining List and Endorse Experiments

- Formal comparison and integration
- What is the probability of supporting ISAF?

1. List: prob. of saying yes to the sensitive item
2. Endorsement: prob. of endorsement having a positive effect on support for policy

- These probabilities should be similar!
- They can be estimated with a new multivariate regression method
- Endorsement and list experiments can even be combined for a joint analysis


## Overall Proportion of ISAF Supporters



## The Mississippi Validation Study (Rosenfeld, Imai \& Shapiro 2016)

- Estimate voting on anti-abortion referendum using:
- direct question
- list experiment (item/unmatched count technique)
- endorsement experiment
- randomized response
- Validate estimates against official election outcome:
- sample from voter history file
- county-level voting recap reports for validation
- Case selection:
- a poll conducted 24 hours before the election predicts $44 \%$ no votes
- the amendment was defeated $58 \%$ to $42 \%$
- Findings:
- direct question $\rightsquigarrow$ significant under-estimation though efficient
- indirect methods $\rightsquigarrow$ much less biased though more variable
- endorsement and randomized response $\rightsquigarrow$ least bias


## Direct Question

Did you vote YES or NO on the Personhood Initiative, which appeared on the November 2011 Mississippi General Election ballot?

Voted Yes<br>Voted No<br>Did not vote<br>Don't know<br>Refused

## Bias of the Direct Question



## List Experiment

Here is a list of four things that some people have done and some people have not. Please listen to them and then tell me HOW MANY of them you have done in the past two years. Do not tell me which you have and have not done. Just tell me how many:

Discussed politics with family or friends
Cast a ballot for Governor Phil Bryant
Paid dues to a union
Given money to a Tea Party candidate or organization (treatment) Voted 'YES' on the 'Personhood' Initiative

How many of these things have you done in the past two years?

## Endorsement Experiment

We'd like to get your overall opinion of some people in the news. As I read each name, please say if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of each person.
(control) Phil Bryant, Governor of Mississippi?
(treatment) Phil Bryant, Governor of Mississippi, who campaigned in favor of the 'Personhood' Initiative on the 2011 Mississippi General Election ballot?

## Pooled Analysis



## The Proposed Methodology for List Experiment

- List experiment can be analyzed by method of moments:

$$
\mathbb{E}\left(Y_{i} \mid T_{i}, X_{i}\right)=\underbrace{f\left(X_{i}, \gamma\right)}_{\text {Control Items }}+T_{i} \underbrace{g\left(X_{i}, \delta\right)}_{\text {Sensitive Trait }}
$$

- We simply add moment conditions of the form

$$
\begin{aligned}
\mathbb{E}\left[g\left(X_{i}, \delta\right)\right] & =h \\
\mathbb{E}\left[g\left(X_{i}, \delta\right) \mid G_{i}=k\right] & =h_{k}
\end{aligned}
$$

- A similar strategy works for randomized experiment
- (Testable) Assumption: Same parameters solve all moment conditions $\rightsquigarrow$ Constant parameters across groups.


## Efficiency Comparison with Direct Questioning

|  | List Experiment $\mathrm{N}=1,325$ |  | Randomized Response $\mathrm{N}=818$ |  | Endorsement Experiment $\mathrm{N}=1,841$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | s.e. | ratio | s.e. | ratio | s.e. | ratio |
| Direct questioning | 0.017 |  | 0.021 |  | 0.289 |  |
| No auxiliary info. | 0.067 | 3.963 | 0.040 | 1.928 | 0.348 | 1.204 |
| With auxiliary info. | 0.019 | 1.150 | 0.018 | 0.855 | 0.276 | 0.955 |

## Auxiliary Information Improves List Experiment



- Improves endorsement experiment and randomized response method
- Improve multivariate regression estimates


## Concluding Remarks

- Direct question is often severely biased
- All indirect methods can reduce bias:
- Degree of privacy protection: endorse $>$ randomized response $>$ list
- Ease of implementation: list $>$ endorse $>$ randomized response
- But, they are inefficient: bias-variance tradeoff
- Two ways to improve indirect question methods:

1. Use of multiple-measurement strategies when truth is not available
2. Use aggregate-level truth to improve individual-level estimates

- Open-source software:
- list for list experiment
- endorse for endorsement experiment
- rr for randomized response

The project website for papers and software: http://imai.princeton.edu/projects/sensitive.html

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