# Statistical Analysis of List Experiments 

Graeme Blair Kosuke Imai

Princeton University

December 17, 2010

## Motivation

- Surveys are used widely in social sciences
- Validity of surveys depends on the accuracy of self-reports
- Sensitive questions $\Longrightarrow$ social desirability, privacy concerns e.g., racial prejudice, corruptions, fraud, support for militant groups
- Lies and non-responses
- How can we elicit truthful answers to sensitive questions?
- Survey methodology: protect privacy through indirect questioning
- Statistical methodology: efficiently recover underlying responses


## Project Overview

- List Experiments
- Also known as total block response, item count technique, and unmatched count technique
- Use aggregation to protect privacy
- An alternative to randomized response technique
- Little methodological work
- Goals of this project:
(1) Formalize the key identification assumptions
(2) Develop methods for multivariate regression analysis
(3) Develop a statistical test to detect failures of list experiments
(4) Develop methods to adjust for deviations from the assumptions
(5) Develop software to implement all suggestions
(6) Extend the methods to measure spacial variation of citizens' support for militant groups and foreign forces


## Project Reference

- Papers:
(1) Imai. "Statistical Inference for the Item Count Technique."
(2) Blair and Imai. "Statistical Analysis of List Experiments."
- Software:

Blair and Imai. list: Multivariate Statistical Analysis for the Item Count Technique. R package

- Applications (in Progress):
(1) Measuring support for foreign forces and Taliban in Afghanistan (joint with Jason Lyall)
(2) Measuring support for insurgent groups in the Niger Delta
- Project Website:
http://imai.princeton.edu/projects/sensitive.html


## The 1991 National Race and Politics Survey

- 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.

How many, if any, of these things upset you?

## The 1991 National Race and Politics Survey

- Randomize the sample into the treatment and control groups
- The script for the treatment group

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.

How many, if any, of these things upset you?

## Notation and Setup

- J: number of non-sensitive items
- $N$ : number of respondents
- $T_{i}$ : binary treatment indicator $(1=$ treatment, $0=$ control $)$
- Potential outcomes notation
- $Z_{i j}(t)$ : potential response to the $j$ th non-sensitive item under treatment status $T_{i}=t$ for $j=1, \ldots, J$ and $t=0,1$
- $Z_{i, J+1}(t)$ : potential response to the sensitive item under treatment status $T_{i}=t$ where $Z_{i, J+1}(0)$ represents truthful answer
- $Y_{i}(0)=\sum_{j=1}^{J} Z_{i j}(0)$ : potential response under control condition
- $Y_{i}(1)=\sum_{j=1}^{J+1} Z_{i j}(1)$ : potential response under treatment condition
- $Y_{i}=Y_{i}\left(T_{i}\right)$ : observed response


## Identification Assumptions

(1) No Design Effect: The inclusion of the sensitive item does not affect answers to non-sensitive items

$$
\sum_{j=1}^{J} z_{i j}(0)=\sum_{j=1}^{J} z_{i j}(1)
$$

(2) No Liars: Answers about the sensitive item are truthful

$$
Z_{i, J+1}(0)=Z_{i, J+1}(1)
$$

## Limitations to the Standard Techniques

- Difference-in-means estimator:

$$
\hat{\tau}=\text { average of the treated }- \text { average of the control }
$$

- Straightforward and unbiased under the above assumptions
- But, potentially inefficient
- Difficult to explore multivariate relationship
- No existing method allows for multivariate regression analysis


## Nonlinear Least Squares (NLS) Estimator

- Generalize the difference-in-means estimator to a multivariate regression estimator
- The Model:

$$
Y_{i}=\underbrace{f\left(X_{i}, \gamma\right)}_{\text {non-sensitive }}+T_{i} \times \underbrace{g\left(X_{i}, \delta\right)}_{\text {sensitive }}+\epsilon_{i}
$$

- $X_{i}$ : covariates
- $f(x, \gamma)$ : model for non-sensitive items, e.g., $J \times \operatorname{logit}^{-1}\left(x^{\top} \gamma\right)$
- $g(x, \delta)$ : model for sensitive item, e.g., $\operatorname{logit}^{-1}\left(x^{\top} \delta\right)$
- Two-step estimation procedure:
(1) Fit $f(x, \gamma)$ to the control group via NLS and obtain $\hat{\gamma}$
(2) Fit $g(x, \delta)$ to the treatment group via NLS after subtracting $f\left(X_{i}, \hat{\gamma}\right)$ from $Y_{i}$ and obtain $\hat{\delta}$
- Standard errors via the generalized method of moments
- With no covariates, it reduces to the difference-in-means estimator


## Extracting More Information from the Data

- Define a "type" of each respondent by $\left(Y_{i}(0), Z_{i, J+1}(0)\right)$
- $Y_{i}(0)$ : total number of yes for non-sensitive items $\in\{0,1, \ldots, J\}$
- $Z_{i, J+1}(0)$ : truthful answer to the sensitive item $\in\{0,1\}$
- A total of $2 \times(J+1)$ types
- Example: two non-sensitive 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 | $(0,0)$ | $(0,1)(0,0)$ |

- Joint distribution is identified


## Extracting More Information from the Data

- Define a "type" of each respondent by $\left(Y_{i}(0), Z_{i, J+1}(0)\right)$
- $Y_{i}(0)$ : total number of yes for non-sensitive items $\{0,1, \ldots, J\}$
- $Z_{i, J+1}(0)$ : truthful answer to the sensitive item $\{0,1\}$
- A total of $2 \times(J+1)$ types
- Example: two non-sensitive 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 | $(0,0)$ | $(0,1)(0,0)$ |

- Joint distribution is identified:

$$
\operatorname{Pr}(\text { type }=(y, 1))=\operatorname{Pr}\left(Y_{i} \leq y \mid T_{i}=0\right)-\operatorname{Pr}\left(Y_{i} \leq y \mid T_{i}=1\right)
$$

## Extracting More Information from the Data

- Define a "type" of each respondent by $\left(Y_{i}(0), Z_{i, J+1}(0)\right)$
- $Y_{i}(0)$ : total number of yes for non-sensitive items $\{0,1, \ldots, J\}$
- $Z_{i, J+1}(0)$ : truthful answer to the sensitive item $\{0,1\}$
- A total of $2 \times(J+1)$ types
- Example: two non-sensitive 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 | $(0,0)$ | $(0,1)(0,0)$ |

- Joint distribution is identified:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \operatorname{Pr}(\text { type }=(y, 1))=\operatorname{Pr}\left(Y_{i} \leq y \mid T_{i}=0\right)-\operatorname{Pr}\left(Y_{i} \leq y \mid T_{i}=1\right) \\
& \operatorname{Pr}(\text { type }=(y, 0))=\operatorname{Pr}\left(Y_{i} \leq y \mid T_{i}=1\right)-\operatorname{Pr}\left(Y_{i}<y \mid T_{i}=0\right)
\end{aligned}
$$

## The Maximum Likelihood (ML) Estimator

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

$$
\operatorname{Pr}\left(Z_{i, J+1}(0)=1 \mid X_{i}=x\right)=\operatorname{logit}^{-1}\left(x^{\top} \delta\right)
$$

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

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

- Difficult to maximize the resulting likelihood function
- Develop the EM algorithm for reliable estimation


## The Likelihood Function

- $g(x, \delta)=\operatorname{Pr}\left(Z_{i, J+1}(0)=1 \mid X_{i}=x\right)$
- $h_{z}\left(y ; x, \psi_{z}\right)=\operatorname{Pr}\left(Y_{i}(0)=y \mid X_{i}=x, Z_{i, J+1}(0)=z\right)$
- The likelihood function consists of mixtures:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \prod_{i \in \mathcal{J}(1,0)}\left(1-g\left(X_{i}, \delta\right)\right) h_{0}\left(0 ; X_{i}, \psi_{0}\right) \prod_{i \in \mathcal{J}(1, J+1)} g\left(X_{i}, \delta\right) h_{1}\left(J ; X_{i}, \psi_{1}\right) \\
\times & \prod_{y=1}^{J} \prod_{i \in \mathcal{J}(1, y)}\left\{g\left(X_{i}, \delta\right) h_{1}\left(y-1 ; X_{i}, \psi_{1}\right)+\left(1-g\left(X_{i}, \delta\right)\right) h_{0}\left(y ; X_{i}, \psi_{0}\right)\right\} \\
\times & \prod_{y=0}^{J} \prod_{i \in \mathcal{J}(0, y)}\left\{g\left(X_{i}, \delta\right) h_{1}\left(y ; X_{i}, \psi_{1}\right)+\left(1-g\left(X_{i}, \delta\right)\right) h_{0}\left(y ; X_{i}, \psi_{0}\right)\right\}
\end{aligned}
$$

where $\mathcal{J}(t, y)$ represents a set of respondents with $\left(T_{i}, Y_{i}\right)=(t, y)$

- Maximizing this function is difficult


## Missing Data Framework and the EM Algorithm

- Consider $Z_{i, J+1}(0)$ as missing data
- For some respondents, $Z_{i, J+1}(0)$ is "observed"
- The complete-data likelihood has a simple form:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \prod_{i=1}^{N}\left\{g\left(X_{i}, \delta\right) h_{1}\left(Y_{i}-1 ; X_{i}, \psi_{1}\right)^{T_{i}} h_{1}\left(Y_{i} ; X_{i}, \psi_{1}\right)^{1-T_{i}}\right\}^{Z_{i, J+1}(0)} \\
& \times\left\{\left(1-g\left(X_{i}, \delta\right)\right) h_{0}\left(Y_{i} ; X_{i}, \psi_{0}\right)\right\}^{1-Z_{i, J+1}(0)}
\end{aligned}
$$

- The EM algorithm: only separate optimization of $g(x, \delta)$ and $h_{z}\left(y ; x, \psi_{z}\right)$ is required
- weighted logistic regression
- weighted binomial logistic regression
- Both can be implemented in standard statistical software


## Empirical Application: Racial Prejudice in the US

- Kuklinski, Cobb, and Gilens (1997) analyze the 1991 National Race and Politics survey with the difference-in-means estimator
- Finding: Southern whites are more prejudiced against blacks than non-southern whites - no evidence for the "New South"
- The limitation acknowledged by the authors:
"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, leaving culture as little more than a small and relatively insignificant residual."
- Need for a multivariate regression analysis


## Results of the Multivariate Analysis

- Logistic regression model for sensitive item
- Binomial regression model for non-sensitive item (not shown)
- Little over-dispersion
- Likelihood ratio test supports the constrained model

|  | Nonlinear Least |  | Maximum Likelihood |  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
|  | Squares |  | Constrained |  | Unconstrained |  |
| Variables | est. | s.e. | est. | s.e. | est. | s.e. |
| Intercept | -7.084 | 3.669 | -5.508 | 1.021 | -6.226 | 1.045 |
| South | 2.490 | 1.268 | 1.675 | 0.559 | 1.379 | 0.820 |
| Age | 0.026 | 0.031 | 0.064 | 0.016 | 0.065 | 0.021 |
| Male | 3.096 | 2.828 | 0.846 | 0.494 | 1.366 | 0.612 |
| College | 0.612 | 1.029 | -0.315 | 0.474 | -0.182 | 0.569 |

- The original conclusion is supported
- Standard errors are smaller for ML estimator


## Estimated Proportion of Prejudiced Whites



Difference in Means
Nonlinear Least Squares
Maximum Likelihood

- Regression adjustments and MLE yield more efficient estimates


## Simulation Evidence

Bias





Coverage of 90\% Confidence Intervals


## The Design with Multiple Sensitive Items

- The 1991 National Race and Politics Survey includes another treatment group with the following sensitive item

```
(4) "black leaders asking the government for
    affirmative action"
```

- Use of the same non-sensitive items permits joint-modeling
- Same assumptions: No Design Effect and No Liars
- Extension to the design with $K$ sensitive items:

$$
\begin{aligned}
h(y ; x, \psi) & =\operatorname{Pr}\left(Y_{i}(0)=y \mid X_{i}=x\right) \\
g_{t}\left(x, y, \delta_{t y}\right) & =\operatorname{Pr}\left(Z_{i, J+t}(0)=1 \mid Y_{i}(0)=y, X_{i}=x\right)
\end{aligned}
$$

for each $t=1, \ldots, K$

- The EM algorithm for the ML estimation


## Results of Multivariate Analysis with Joint Modeling

- Multivariate analysis results:

Sensitive Items
Non-Sensitive Items
Black Family Affirmative Action

| Variables | est. | s.e. | est. | s.e. | est. | s.e. |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Intercept | -6.886 | 1.357 | -4.203 | 1.137 | 1.296 | 0.127 |
| Male | 0.782 | 0.524 | 0.083 | 0.407 | -0.262 | 0.073 |
| College | -0.356 | 0.494 | -0.445 | 0.386 | -0.543 | 0.074 |
| Age | 0.669 | 0.169 | 0.431 | 0.129 | 0.025 | 0.024 |
| South | 1.663 | 0.580 | 1.332 | 0.542 | -0.228 | 0.088 |
| $Y_{i}(0)$ | 0.424 | 0.309 | 0.890 | 0.248 |  |  |

- Results are consistent with the "No New-South" finding


## Estimated Proportion of Prejudiced Whites



Black Family
Affirmative Action

## The Design with Non-Sensitive Items Asked Directly

- Motivation: Indirect questioning $\Longrightarrow$ loss of information
- Recoup lost efficiency by asking non-sensitive items directly (for the control group)
- Corstange (2009) proposes a multivariate regression model based on separate logistic regression for each item (LISTIT)
- Concern of design effect raised by Flavin and Keane (2010)
- Likelihood must be based on Poisson-Binomial instead of Binomial
- Develop the EM algorithm for reliable ML estimation
- Also extend the NLS estimator to this design


## Simulation Evidence

3 non-sensitive items
equal probabilities

unequal probabilities

symmetric probabilities
skewed probabilities











## When Can List Experiments Fail?

- Recall the two assumptions:
(1) No Design Effect: The inclusion of the sensitive item does not affect answers to non-sensitive items
(2) No Liars: Answers about the sensitive item are truthful
- Design Effect:
- Respondents evaluate non-sensitive items relative to sensitive item
- Lies:
- Ceiling effect: too many yeses for non-sensitive items
- Floor effect: too many noes for non-sensitive items
- Both types of failures are difficult to detect
- Importance of choosing non-sensitive 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

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \pi_{1}=\operatorname{Pr}(\text { type }=(y, 1))=\operatorname{Pr}\left(Y_{i} \leq y \mid T_{i}=0\right)-\operatorname{Pr}\left(Y_{i} \leq y \mid T_{i}=1\right) \geq 0 \\
& \pi_{0}=\operatorname{Pr}(\text { type }=(y, 0))=\operatorname{Pr}\left(Y_{i} \leq y \mid T_{i}=1\right)-\operatorname{Pr}\left(Y_{i}<y \mid T_{i}=0\right) \geq 0
\end{aligned}
$$

- Alternative hypothesis: At least one is negative
- A multivariate one-sided LR test for each $t=0,1$

$$
\hat{\lambda}_{t}=\min _{\pi_{t}}\left(\hat{\pi}_{t}-\pi_{t}\right)^{\top} \widehat{\Sigma}_{t}^{-1}\left(\hat{\pi}_{t}-\pi_{t}\right), \quad \text { subject to } \pi_{t} \geq 0
$$

where $\hat{\lambda}_{t}$ follows a mixture of $\chi^{2}$

- Difficult to characterize least favorable values under the joint null
- Bonferroni correction: Reject the joint null if $\min \left(\hat{p}_{0}, \hat{p}_{1}\right) \leq \alpha / 2$
- Failure to reject the null may arise from the lack of power
- We use the Generalized Moment Selection to improve power


## Statistical Power of the Proposed Test



## The Racial Prejudice Data Revisited

- Let's look at the black family item
- Did the negative proportion arise by chance?

|  | 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 |  |

- Minimum p-value: 0.022
- Fail to reject the null with $\alpha=0.05$
- For the affirmative action item, $p$-value is 0.394


## 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 | $(0,0)(0,1)^{*}$ | $(0,1)(0,0)$ |

- The above test does not detect these liars so long as there is no design effect
- Proposed strategy: model ceiling and/or floor effects under an additional assumption
- Identification assumption: conditional independence between items given covariates
- ML estimation can be extended to this situation


## Ceiling and Floor Effects for the Affirmative Action Item

|  | Ceiling Effects Alone |  | Floor Effects Alone |  | Both Ceiling and Floor Effects |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Variables | est. | s.e. | est. | s.e. | est. | s.e. |
| Intercept | -1.291 | 0.558 | -1.251 | 0.501 | -1.245 | 0.502 |
| Age | 0.294 | 0.101 | 0.314 | 0.092 | 0.313 | 0.092 |
| College | -0.345 | 0.336 | -0.605 | 0.298 | -0.606 | 0.298 |
| Male | 0.038 | 0.346 | -0.088 | 0.300 | -0.088 | 0.300 |
| South | 1.175 | 0.480 | 0.682 | 0.335 | 0.681 | 0.335 |
| Prop. of liars |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Ceiling | 0.0002 | 0.0017 |  |  | 0.0002 | 0.0016 |
| Floor |  |  | 0.0115 | 0.0000 | 0.0115 | 0.0000 |

- Essentially no ceiling and floor effects
- Main conclusion for the affirmative action item seems robust


## Concluding Remarks

- List experiments as alternative to randomized response method
- Advantages:
(1) some empirical evidence that list experiments "work" better
(2) easy to use, easy to understand
- Disadvantages:
(1) loss of information $\Longrightarrow$ inefficiency
(2) difficult to explore multivariate relationship
(3) identification assumptions may be violated
- Our proposed methods partially overcome the difficulties:
- multivariate regression analysis
- statistical test for detecting list experiment failures
- adjusting for ceiling and floor effects
- The importance of design: choice of non-sensitive items
- Future work:
- Applications in Afghanistan and Nigeria
- Extension to hierarchical models for identifying spatial variation

