Homophily, Contagion, Confounding: Pick Any Three

Cosma Shalizi

Statistics Department, Carnegie Mellon University

Santa Fe Institute

19 May 2011 Atlantic Causal Inference Conference

ヘロト 人間 ト ヘヨト ヘヨト

My real interest: how much of the mechanism of a complex system can we reconstruct from observations?

・ロト ・ 同ト ・ ヨト ・ ヨト … ヨ

My real interest: how much of the mechanism of a complex system can we reconstruct from observations? As Yet Another Ex-Physicist, social networks are just large coupled dynamical assemblage...

ヘロト ヘアト ヘビト ヘビト

My real interest: how much of the mechanism of a complex system can we reconstruct from observations?

As Yet Another Ex-Physicist, social networks are just large coupled dynamical assemblage...

Got interested in this problem with Sperber (1996) and especially Christakis and Fowler (2007)

ヘロト ヘアト ヘビト ヘビト

My real interest: how much of the mechanism of a complex system can we reconstruct from observations?

As Yet Another Ex-Physicist, social networks are just large coupled dynamical assemblage...

Got interested in this problem with Sperber (1996) and especially Christakis and Fowler (2007)

... and expected to reach much more positive conclusions

ヘロト ヘアト ヘビト ヘビト

My real interest: how much of the mechanism of a complex system can we reconstruct from observations?

As Yet Another Ex-Physicist, social networks are just large coupled dynamical assemblage...

Got interested in this problem with Sperber (1996) and especially Christakis and Fowler (2007)

... and expected to reach much more positive conclusions Apologies in advance for social-scientific and etiological naivete

ヘロト ヘアト ヘビト ヘビト

My real interest: how much of the mechanism of a complex system can we reconstruct from observations?

As Yet Another Ex-Physicist, social networks are just large coupled dynamical assemblage...

Got interested in this problem with Sperber (1996) and especially Christakis and Fowler (2007)

... and expected to reach much more positive conclusions Apologies in advance for social-scientific and etiological naivete Joint work with Andrew Thomas, CMU Statistics Details: Shalizi and Thomas (2011)

ヘロン 人間 とくほ とくほ とう

"If your friend Joey jumped off a bridge, would you jump too?"



ヘロア 人間 アメヨア 人口 ア

э

"If your friend Joey jumped off a bridge, would you jump too?"

yes: Joey inspires you (social contagion or influence)

くロト (過) (目) (日)

"If your friend Joey jumped off a bridge, would you jump too?"

- yes: Joey inspires you (social contagion or influence)
- yes: Joey infects you with a parasite which suppresses fear of falling (biological contagion)

ヘロト 人間 ト 人 ヨ ト 人 ヨ ト

"If your friend Joey jumped off a bridge, would you jump too?"

- yes: Joey inspires you (social contagion or influence)
- yes: Joey infects you with a parasite which suppresses fear of falling (biological contagion)
- yes: you're friends because you both like to jump off bridges (manifest homophily)

くロト (過) (目) (日)

"If your friend Joey jumped off a bridge, would you jump too?"

- yes: Joey inspires you (social contagion or influence)
- yes: Joey infects you with a parasite which suppresses fear of falling (biological contagion)
- yes: you're friends because you both like to jump off bridges (manifest homophily)
- yes: you're friends because you both like roller-coasters, and have a common risk-seeking propensity (latent homophily)

ヘロト ヘアト ヘビト ヘビト

"If your friend Joey jumped off a bridge, would you jump too?"

- yes: Joey inspires you (social contagion or influence)
- yes: Joey infects you with a parasite which suppresses fear of falling (biological contagion)
- yes: you're friends because you both like to jump off bridges (manifest homophily)
- yes: you're friends because you both like roller-coasters, and have a common risk-seeking propensity (latent homophily)
- yes: because sometimes jumping off a bridge is the only sane thing to do (external causation)

ヘロン 人間 とくほ とくほ とう



Wikipedia, s.v. "Tacoma Narrows Bridge (1940)" > < 🗇 > < 🖹 > < 🖹 >

Are these distinctions with observational differences?



◆□> ◆□> ◆豆> ◆豆> ・豆 ・ のへで

Are these distinctions with observational differences?

Can't experiment by pushing Joey off the bridge



◆□ ▶ ◆□ ▶ ◆ □ ▶ ◆ □ ▶ ● □ ● ● ● ●

Are these distinctions with observational differences?

- Can't experiment by pushing Joey off the bridge
- Can't experiment by keeping Joey and Irene apart, or pushing them together

ヘロト 人間 とくほ とくほ とう

Are these distinctions with observational differences?

- Can't experiment by pushing Joey off the bridge
- Can't experiment by keeping Joey and Irene apart, or pushing them together
- On't want to impose strong parametric assumptions

ヘロン 人間 とくほ とくほ とう

Are these distinctions with observational differences?

- Can't experiment by pushing Joey off the bridge
- Can't experiment by keeping Joey and Irene apart, or pushing them together
- On't want to impose strong parametric assumptions

Manski (1993) suggests this is just not identifiable, but does not quite settle the problem

Influence due to group average vs. individuals

ヘロン 人間 とくほ とくほ とう

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

Contagion, Influence

Whether some does something at one time can be predicted from whether their neighbors have already done

ヘロト ヘ戸ト ヘヨト ヘヨト

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

Contagion, Influence

Whether some does something at one time can be predicted from whether their neighbors have already done

Infectious disease

くロト (過) (目) (日)

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

Contagion, Influence

Whether some does something at one time can be predicted from whether their neighbors have already done

- Infectious disease
- Diffusion of innovations
- Diffusion of ideologies

Pliny (+110): Christianity is a "contagious superstition"

< < >> < <</>

→ Ξ → < Ξ →</p>

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

Contagion, Influence

Whether some does something at one time can be predicted from whether their neighbors have already done

- Infectious disease
- Diffusion of innovations
- Diffusion of ideologies

Pliny (+110): Christianity is a "contagious superstition"

 Not-obviously-infectious conditions (e.g., obesity, loneliness, divorce) . . .

くロト (過) (目) (日)

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

Contagion, Influence

Whether some does something at one time can be predicted from whether their neighbors have already done

- Infectious disease
- Diffusion of innovations
- Diffusion of ideologies

Pliny (+110): Christianity is a "contagious superstition"

 Not-obviously-infectious conditions (e.g., obesity, loneliness, divorce) . . .

This can be due to influence or contagion

ヘロア 人間 アメヨア 人口 ア

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

Contagion, Influence

Whether some does something at one time can be predicted from whether their neighbors have already done

- Infectious disease
- Diffusion of innovations
- Diffusion of ideologies

Pliny (+110): Christianity is a "contagious superstition"

 Not-obviously-infectious conditions (e.g., obesity, loneliness, divorce) . . .

This *can* be due to influence or contagion Can the same *observational* consequences can follow from latent homophily?

ヘロト ヘアト ヘビト ヘビト

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

Causal Inference

This is a causal inference question



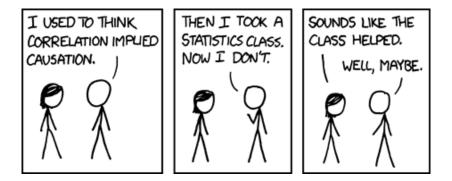
ヘロア 人間 アメヨア 人口 ア

э

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

Causal Inference

This is a causal inference question



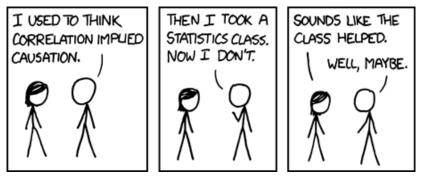
ヘロン ヘアン ヘビン ヘビン

э

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

Causal Inference

This is a causal inference question



"Correlation doesn't imply causation, but it does waggle its eyebrows suggestively and gesture furtively while mouthing 'look over there"

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

Looking Over There

Causal inference becomes a lot clearer once you start drawing graphs (Pearl, 2009; Morgan and Winship, 2007)

イロト イポト イヨト イヨト

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

Looking Over There

Causal inference becomes a lot clearer once you start drawing graphs (Pearl, 2009; Morgan and Winship, 2007) nodes = variables, arrows = direct causal influence

イロト イポト イヨト イヨト

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

Looking Over There

Causal inference becomes a lot clearer once you start drawing graphs (Pearl, 2009; Morgan and Winship, 2007) nodes = variables, arrows = direct causal influence Do controls block off indirect paths between variables?

< □ > < 同 > < 三 > <

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

Looking Over There

Causal inference becomes a lot clearer once you start drawing graphs (Pearl, 2009; Morgan and Winship, 2007) nodes = variables, arrows = direct causal influence Do controls block off indirect paths between variables? Do controls *activate* indirect paths?

< □ > < 同 > < 三 > <

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

Looking Over There

Causal inference becomes a lot clearer once you start drawing graphs (Pearl, 2009; Morgan and Winship, 2007) nodes = variables, arrows = direct causal influence Do controls block off indirect paths between variables? Do controls *activate* indirect paths?

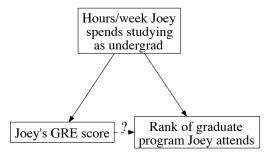
Separate question: what causal diagrams are compatible with the correlation pattern? (Spirtes *et al.*, 2001)

イロト イポト イヨト イヨト

Homophily Fakes Contagion Contagion Fakes Causation Constructive Responses

> Conclusion References

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

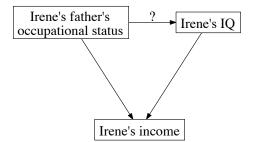


CONTROL: Conditioning on hours studied lets us estimate the effect of GRE scores on college admission

ヘロア 人間 アメヨア 人口 ア

э

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution



CONFOUNDING: Conditioning on child's income *makes* child's IQ and father's status dependent

・ロト ・ 同ト ・ ヨト ・ ヨト … ヨ

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

Notation:

- Y(i, t) = does node i show condition/behavior at time t?
- X(i) = latent persistent trait of i
- Z(i) = other, manifest persistent traits
- A(i,j) = whether there is an edge from *j* to *i*

・ロト ・ 同ト ・ ヨト ・ ヨト … ヨ

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

Notation:

- Y(i, t) = does node i show condition/behavior at time t?
- X(i) = latent persistent trait of i
- Z(i) = other, manifest persistent traits
- A(i,j) = whether there is an edge from *j* to *i*

We suppose that:

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

Notation:

- Y(i, t) = does node i show condition/behavior at time t?
- X(i) = latent persistent trait of i
- Z(i) = other, manifest persistent traits
- A(i,j) = whether there is an edge from *j* to *i*

We suppose that:

• Y(i, t - 1) has a direct influence on Y(i, t)

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

Notation:

- Y(i, t) = does node i show condition/behavior at time t?
- X(i) = latent persistent trait of i
- Z(i) = other, manifest persistent traits
- A(i,j) = whether there is an edge from *j* to *i*

We suppose that:

- Y(i, t 1) has a direct influence on Y(i, t)
- X(i) has a direct influence on whether/when i adopts

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

Notation:

- Y(i, t) = does node i show condition/behavior at time t?
- X(i) = latent persistent trait of i
- Z(i) = other, manifest persistent traits
- A(i,j) = whether there is an edge from *j* to *i*

We suppose that:

- Y(i, t 1) has a direct influence on Y(i, t)
- X(i) has a direct influence on whether/when i adopts
- Z(i) has a direct influence on Y(i, t) (possibly null)

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

Notation:

- Y(i, t) = does node i show condition/behavior at time t?
- X(i) = latent persistent trait of i
- Z(i) = other, manifest persistent traits
- A(i,j) = whether there is an edge from *j* to *i*

We suppose that:

- Y(i, t 1) has a direct influence on Y(i, t)
- X(i) has a direct influence on whether/when i adopts
- Z(i) has a direct influence on Y(i, t) (possibly null)
- Y(j, t 1) may have a direct influence on Y(i, t), but only if A(i, j) = 1

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

Notation:

- Y(i, t) = does node i show condition/behavior at time t?
- X(i) = latent persistent trait of i
- Z(i) = other, manifest persistent traits
- A(i,j) = whether there is an edge from *j* to *i*

We suppose that:

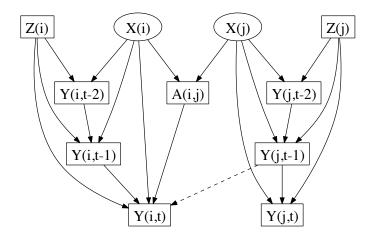
- Y(i, t 1) has a direct influence on Y(i, t)
- X(i) has a direct influence on whether/when i adopts
- Z(i) has a direct influence on Y(i, t) (possibly null)
- Y(j, t 1) may have a direct influence on Y(i, t), but only if A(i, j) = 1
- Homophily: X(i) and X(j) both directly influence A(i, j)

イロン 不得 とくほど 不良 とうほう

Homophily Fakes Contagion

Contagion Fakes Causation Constructive Responses Conclusion References

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

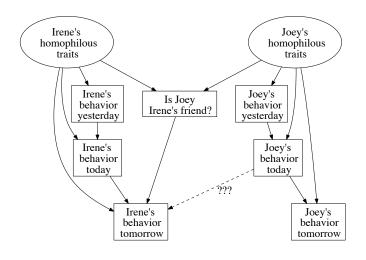


◆□▶ ◆□▶ ◆ □▶ ◆ □▶ ─ □ ─ のへぐ

Homophily Fakes Contagion

Contagion Fakes Causation Constructive Responses Conclusion References

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution



◆□> ◆□> ◆豆> ◆豆> ・豆 ・ のへで

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

Contagion Effects are Nonparametrically Unidentifiable

Informally:

Joey's behavior yesterday has information about Joey's traits

ヘロト 人間 ト ヘヨト ヘヨト

æ

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

Contagion Effects are Nonparametrically Unidentifiable

Informally:

- Joey's behavior yesterday has information about Joey's traits
- Joey's traits have information about Irene's, since they are neighbors

ヘロト 人間 ト ヘヨト ヘヨト

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

Contagion Effects are Nonparametrically Unidentifiable

Informally:

- Joey's behavior yesterday has information about Joey's traits
- Joey's traits have information about Irene's, since they are neighbors
- Irene's traits have information about Irene's behavior today

ヘロト ヘアト ヘビト ヘビト

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

Contagion Effects are Nonparametrically Unidentifiable

Informally:

- Joey's behavior yesterday has information about Joey's traits
- Joey's traits have information about Irene's, since they are neighbors
- Irene's traits have information about Irene's behavior today
- Joey's behavior yesterday predicts Irene's behavior today

ヘロト ヘアト ヘビト ヘビト

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

Contagion Effects are Nonparametrically Unidentifiable

Informally:

- Joey's behavior yesterday has information about Joey's traits
- Joey's traits have information about Irene's, since they are neighbors
- Irene's traits have information about Irene's behavior today
- Joey's behavior yesterday predicts Irene's behavior today even if there is no direct causal effect

ヘロト 人間 ト ヘヨト ヘヨト

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

Contagion Effects are Nonparametrically Unidentifiable

Informally:

- Joey's behavior yesterday has information about Joey's traits
- Joey's traits have information about Irene's, since they are neighbors
- Irene's traits have information about Irene's behavior today
- Joey's behavior yesterday predicts Irene's behavior today even if there is no direct causal effect
- I stent homophily is confounded with contagion

ヘロト ヘ戸ト ヘヨト ヘヨト

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

More formally:

- $Y(i, t) \leftarrow X(i) \rightarrow A(i, j)$ is a confounding path from Y(i, t) to A(i, j)
- 2 Likewise $Y(j, t-1) \leftarrow X(j) \rightarrow A(i, j)$ is a confounding path from Y(j, t-1) to A(i, j)
- Solution : the direct effect of Y(j, t 1) on Y(i, t) is not identifiable (Pearl, 2009, §3.5, pp. 93–94)

◆□▶ ◆□▶ ◆三▶ ◆三▶ ● ● ●

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

More formally:

- $Y(i, t) \leftarrow X(i) \rightarrow A(i, j)$ is a confounding path from Y(i, t) to A(i, j)
- 2 Likewise $Y(j, t-1) \leftarrow X(j) \rightarrow A(i, j)$ is a confounding path from Y(j, t-1) to A(i, j)
- Similar the direct effect of Y(j, t 1) on Y(i, t) is not identifiable (Pearl, 2009, §3.5, pp. 93–94)

The path is not blocked by conditioning on Y(j, t-2)

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

More formally:

- $Y(i, t) \leftarrow X(i) \rightarrow A(i, j)$ is a confounding path from Y(i, t) to A(i, j)
- 2 Likewise $Y(j, t-1) \leftarrow X(j) \rightarrow A(i, j)$ is a confounding path from Y(j, t-1) to A(i, j)
- Similar the direct effect of Y(j, t 1) on Y(i, t) is not identifiable (Pearl, 2009, §3.5, pp. 93–94)

The path is not blocked by conditioning on Y(j, t-2), Y(i, t-1)

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

More formally:

- $Y(i, t) \leftarrow X(i) \rightarrow A(i, j)$ is a confounding path from Y(i, t) to A(i, j)
- 2 Likewise $Y(j, t-1) \leftarrow X(j) \rightarrow A(i, j)$ is a confounding path from Y(j, t-1) to A(i, j)
- Similar the direct effect of Y(j, t 1) on Y(i, t) is not identifiable (Pearl, 2009, §3.5, pp. 93–94)

The path is not blocked by conditioning on Y(j, t-2), Y(i, t-1), Y(i, t-2)

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

More formally:

- $Y(i, t) \leftarrow X(i) \rightarrow A(i, j)$ is a confounding path from Y(i, t) to A(i, j)
- 2 Likewise $Y(j, t-1) \leftarrow X(j) \rightarrow A(i, j)$ is a confounding path from Y(j, t-1) to A(i, j)
- Similar the direct effect of Y(j, t 1) on Y(i, t) is not identifiable (Pearl, 2009, §3.5, pp. 93–94)

The path is not blocked by conditioning on Y(j, t-2), Y(i, t-1), Y(i, t-2) or Z(i), Z(j)

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

More formally:

- $Y(i, t) \leftarrow X(i) \rightarrow A(i, j)$ is a confounding path from Y(i, t) to A(i, j)
- 2 Likewise $Y(j, t-1) \leftarrow X(j) \rightarrow A(i, j)$ is a confounding path from Y(j, t-1) to A(i, j)
- Similar the direct effect of Y(j, t 1) on Y(i, t) is not identifiable (Pearl, 2009, §3.5, pp. 93–94)

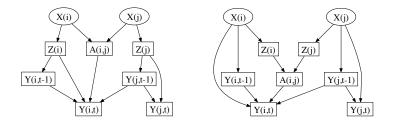
The path is not blocked by conditioning on Y(j, t-2), Y(i, t-1), Y(i, t-2) or Z(i), Z(j)Time-varying edges don't help (more spaghetti; cf. Noel and Nyhan (2010))

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

Getting Identifiability

Parametric assumptions *might* suffice

Better: condition on X; or find Z which block paths from Y to X Explicit modeling as in Leenders (1995); Steglich *et al.* (2004) does both



ヘロト ヘ戸ト ヘヨト ヘヨト

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

The Argument from Asymmetry

Focus on unreciprocated edges, $i \rightarrow j, j \not\rightarrow i$

イロト 不得 とくほ とくほとう

ъ

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

The Argument from Asymmetry

Focus on unreciprocated edges, $i \rightarrow j, j \not\rightarrow i$

IRENE: Joey is my friend! JOEY: Irene who?

ヘロト ヘアト ヘビト ヘビト

æ

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

The Argument from Asymmetry

Focus on unreciprocated edges, $i \rightarrow j, j \not\rightarrow i$

IRENE: *Joey is my friend!* JOEY: *Irene who?*

Suppose $Y(i, t)|Y(j, t - 1)) \not\sim Y(j, t)|Y(i, t - 1)$ Doesn't this argue for direct influence?

イロト 不得 とくほ とくほとう

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

The Argument from Asymmetry

Focus on unreciprocated edges, $i \rightarrow j, j \not\rightarrow i$

IRENE: *Joey is my friend!* JOEY: *Irene who?*

Suppose $Y(i, t)|Y(j, t - 1)) \not\sim Y(j, t)|Y(i, t - 1)$ Doesn't this argue for direct influence? Sounds plausible...

ヘロト ヘアト ヘビト ヘビト

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

The Argument from Asymmetry

Focus on unreciprocated edges, $i \rightarrow j, j \not\rightarrow i$

IRENE: Joey is my friend! JOEY: Irene who?

Suppose $Y(i, t)|Y(j, t - 1)) \not\sim Y(j, t)|Y(i, t - 1)$ Doesn't this argue for direct influence? Sounds plausible...

... fails if senders and receivers have systematically different values of X, with different local relations to Y

ヘロト ヘアト ヘビト ヘビト

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

Toy Example

Try to predict Y(i, t) from Y(j, t) and vice versa when $A_{ij} = 1, A_{ji} = 0$ $X(i) \sim U(0, 1)$ Edges form with probability $\propto \text{logit}^{-1}(-3|X(i) - X(j)|)$ *i* nominates *j* from among neighbors, $\propto \text{logit}^{-1}(-|X(j) - 0.5|)$

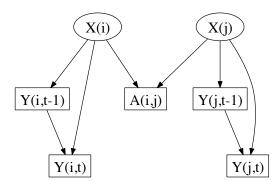
$$\begin{array}{lll} Y(i,0) &=& (X(i)-0.5)^3 + \mathcal{N}(0,(0.02)^2) \\ Y(i,1) &=& Y(i,0) + 0.3X_i + \mathcal{N}(0,(0.02)^2) \end{array}$$

・ロット (雪) () () () ()

Homophily Fakes Contagion Contagion Fakes Causation Constructive Responses

> Conclusion References

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution



Causal graph of the model with no contagion, but asymmetry in regression coefficients

◆□> ◆□> ◆豆> ◆豆> ・豆 ・ のへで

Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

Results:

- Y(i, 1) is well-predicted from Y(j, 0)
- Nominees are disproportionately in the middle; i → j, j → i suggests i is more peripheral
- For asymmetric pairs, regression of sender on receiver differs from that of receiver on sender

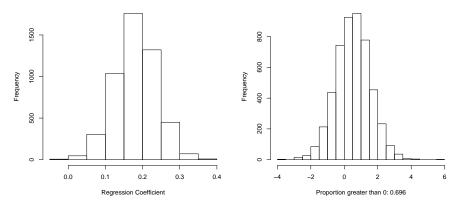
Contagion Not Identifiabile Asymmetry No Solution

Effect of Phantom 'Influencer' on 'Influenced' in Time Series

z-score of Directional Difference

ヘロト 人間 とくほとくほとう

æ



Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red

Making homophily and contagion look like causation

A central theme of social science:

Long-term, hard-to-change social/economic status variables explain short-term, malleable cultural / political / consumer variables

Culture and choices express (reflect, serve, ...) social/economic interests or experiences

くロト (過) (目) (日)

Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red

Making homophily and contagion look like causation

A central theme of social science:

Long-term, hard-to-change social/economic status variables explain short-term, malleable cultural / political / consumer variables

Culture and choices express (reflect, serve, ...) social/economic interests or experiences

Gellner: "Social structure is who you can marry, culture is what you wear at the wedding."

Quantitatively: use differences in demographics to predict differences in wedding gowns (or survey answers)

ヘロト ヘ戸ト ヘヨト ヘヨト

Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red

What's the evidence?

Shalizi Homophily, Contagion, Confounding

イロト 不得 とくほと くほとう

æ –

Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red

What's the evidence?

• The stories sound good



イロト 不得 とくほ とくほとう

3

Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red

What's the evidence?

- The stories sound good
- Casual empiricism

ヘロト 人間 ト ヘヨト ヘヨト

3

Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red

What's the evidence?

- The stories sound good
- Casual empiricism
- Correlation/regression analyses; cultural choices are predictable from social positions (e.g. Bourdieu (1984))

Probably true a lot of the time

イロト イポト イヨト イヨト

Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red

What's the evidence?

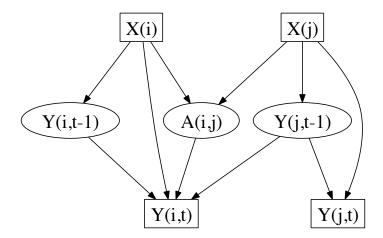
- The stories sound good
- Casual empiricism
- Correlation/regression analyses; cultural choices are predictable from social positions (e.g. Bourdieu (1984))

Probably true a lot of the time

BUT usually ignores social networks and just looks at surveys

イロト イポト イヨト イヨト

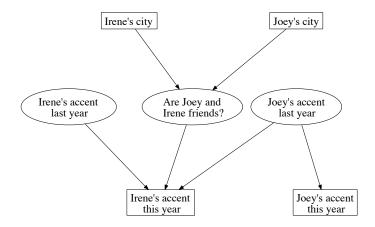
Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red



ヘロト 人間 とくほとくほとう

э.

Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red



<ロ> (四) (四) (三) (三) (三)

Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red

More Confounding

Direct influence of X(i) on Y(i, t) is confounded with contagion:

ヘロト 人間 ト ヘヨト ヘヨト

э

Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red

More Confounding

Direct influence of X(i) on Y(i, t) is confounded with contagion:

1 X(i) is a cue about who *i*'s friends are, i.e. A(i, j)

Shalizi Homophily, Contagion, Confounding

ヘロト ヘアト ヘビト ヘビト

1

Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red

More Confounding

Direct influence of X(i) on Y(i, t) is confounded with contagion:

- **1** X(i) is a cue about who *i*'s friends are, i.e. A(i, j)
- ② ∴ X(i) is a cue about what *i*'s friends think, Y(j, t 1)

イロト 不得 とくほ とくほ とう

1

Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red

More Confounding

Direct influence of X(i) on Y(i, t) is confounded with contagion:

- **(1)** X(i) is a cue about who *i*'s friends are, i.e. A(i, j)
- ② ∴ X(i) is a cue about what *i*'s friends think, Y(j, t 1)
- Solution: Y(j, t 1) influences Y(i, t) if A(i, j) = 1

<ロ> <四> <四> <四> <三</td>

Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red

More Confounding

Direct influence of X(i) on Y(i, t) is confounded with contagion:

- **(1)** X(i) is a cue about who *i*'s friends are, i.e. A(i, j)
- ② ∴ X(i) is a cue about what *i*'s friends think, Y(j, t 1)
- Solution: Y(j, t 1) influences Y(i, t) if A(i, j) = 1
- $X(i) \not\models Y(i, t)$ even if no direct influence

イロト 不得 とくほ とくほ とうほ

Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red

Responsible Just-So Story-telling

These accounts are usually adaptationist/functionalist At the very least they are causal accounts We should really check them Biology suggests: a **neutral model**

くロト (過) (目) (日)

Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red

Responsible Just-So Story-telling

These accounts are usually adaptationist/functionalist At the very least they are causal accounts We should really check them Biology suggests: a **neutral model**

Include all the evolutionary processes except adaptation

ヘロト ヘ戸ト ヘヨト ヘヨト

Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red

Responsible Just-So Story-telling

These accounts are usually adaptationist/functionalist At the very least they are causal accounts We should really check them Biology suggests: a **neutral model**

- Include all the evolutionary processes except adaptation
- Work out expected behavior of this model

ヘロト ヘ戸ト ヘヨト ヘヨト

Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red

Responsible Just-So Story-telling

These accounts are usually adaptationist/functionalist At the very least they are causal accounts We should really check them Biology suggests: a **neutral model**

- Include all the evolutionary processes except adaptation
- Work out expected behavior of this model
- Data departing from neutral model ⇒ evidence of adapation

・ロット (雪) () () () ()

Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red

Caricature Neutral Model of Cultural Evolution

X(i) = unchanging status variable for node i ("social")



・ロト ・ 同ト ・ ヨト ・ ヨト … ヨ

Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red

Caricature Neutral Model of Cultural Evolution

- X(i) = unchanging status variable for node i ("social")
- Network is assortative on X (minimal departure from Erdős-Rényi)

ヘロト ヘアト ヘビト ヘビト

1

Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red

Caricature Neutral Model of Cultural Evolution

- X(i) = unchanging status variable for node *i* ("social")
- Network is assortative on X (minimal departure from Erdős-Rényi)
- Y(i, t) = rapidly changing choice variable for *i* ("cultural")

ヘロン 人間 とくほ とくほ とう

Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red

Caricature Neutral Model of Cultural Evolution

- X(i) = unchanging status variable for node *i* ("social")
- Network is assortative on X (minimal departure from Erdős-Rényi)
- Y(i, t) = rapidly changing choice variable for *i* ("cultural")
- $Y(\cdot, 0) = \text{Bernoulli}(1/2) \text{ process}$

ヘロン 人間 とくほ とくほ とう

Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red

Caricature Neutral Model of Cultural Evolution

- X(i) = unchanging status variable for node *i* ("social")
- Network is assortative on X (minimal departure from Erdős-Rényi)
- Y(i, t) = rapidly changing choice variable for *i* ("cultural")
- $Y(\cdot, 0) = \text{Bernoulli}(1/2) \text{ process}$
 - At each t, pick a random i, and a random neighbor j

イロト 不得 とくほと くほとう

Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red

Caricature Neutral Model of Cultural Evolution

- X(i) = unchanging status variable for node *i* ("social")
- Network is assortative on X (minimal departure from Erdős-Rényi)
- Y(i, t) = rapidly changing choice variable for *i* ("cultural")
- $Y(\cdot, 0) = \text{Bernoulli}(1/2) \text{ process}$
 - At each t, pick a random i, and a random neighbor j
 - 2 Set Y(i, t) = Y(j, t 1)

イロト イポト イヨト イヨト 一日

Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red

Caricature Neutral Model of Cultural Evolution

- X(i) = unchanging status variable for node i ("social")
- Network is assortative on X (minimal departure from Erdős-Rényi)
- Y(i, t) = rapidly changing choice variable for *i* ("cultural")
- $Y(\cdot, 0) = \text{Bernoulli}(1/2) \text{ process}$
 - At each t, pick a random i, and a random neighbor j
 - 2 Set Y(i, t) = Y(j, t 1)
 - Go to (1)

イロト イポト イヨト イヨト 一日

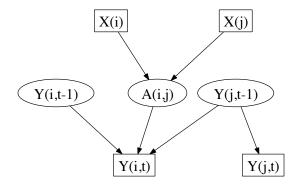
Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red

Caricature Neutral Model of Cultural Evolution

- X(i) = unchanging status variable for node *i* ("social")
- Network is assortative on X (minimal departure from Erdős-Rényi)
- Y(i, t) = rapidly changing choice variable for *i* ("cultural")
- $Y(\cdot, 0) = \text{Bernoulli}(1/2) \text{ process}$
 - At each t, pick a random i, and a random neighbor j
 - **2** Set Y(i, t) = Y(j, t 1)
 - Go to (1)
- (= "voter model" of statistical mechanics)

イロト 不得 とくほ とくほ とう

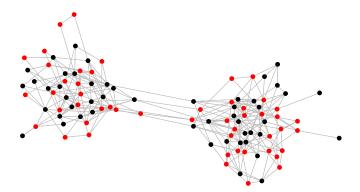
Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red



Graph for the voter model of neutral cultural evolution

<ロ> (四) (四) (三) (三) (三)

Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red

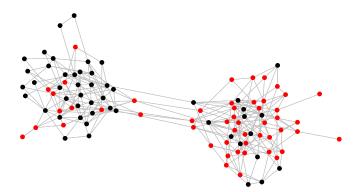


100 node network, homophily for status (2 groups), initial choices

ヘロン 人間 とくほとく ほとう

2

Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red

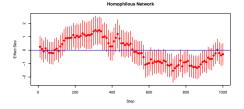


After 300 updates

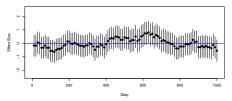
Shalizi Homophily, Contagion, Confounding

◆□ > ◆□ > ◆豆 > ◆豆 > ̄豆 → ⊙ < ⊙

Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red







Coefficients for logistic regression of choice on status, \pm 95% confidence intervals. Red, homophilous network; black, matched non-assortative network

▶ < Ξ >

< 🗇 >

Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red

Contagion + Homophily Looks Like Causation

 Neutral diffusion + homophily looks like a real connection between social status and cultural choices

くロト (過) (目) (日)

Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red

Contagion + Homophily Looks Like Causation

- Neutral diffusion + homophily looks like a real connection between social status and cultural choices
- Problem is not the ecological or "red-state/blue-state" fallacy (not using aggregated data)

ヘロト ヘ戸ト ヘヨト ヘヨト

Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red

Contagion + Homophily Looks Like Causation

- Neutral diffusion + homophily looks like a real connection between social status and cultural choices
- Problem is not the ecological or "red-state/blue-state" fallacy (not using aggregated data)
- Problem is *not* using the complete population instead of a random sample

ヘロト 人間 ト ヘヨト ヘヨト

Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red

Contagion + Homophily Looks Like Causation

- Neutral diffusion + homophily looks like a real connection between social status and cultural choices
- Problem is *not* the ecological or "red-state/blue-state" fallacy (not using aggregated data)
- Problem is *not* using the complete population instead of a random sample
- Problem is that choices are not independent conditional on statuses

ヘロン 人間 とくほ とくほ とう

Status and Choices Just-So Stories and Neutral Models How the East Became Red

Contagion + Homophily Looks Like Causation

- Neutral diffusion + homophily looks like a real connection between social status and cultural choices
- Problem is *not* the ecological or "red-state/blue-state" fallacy (not using aggregated data)
- Problem is *not* using the complete population instead of a random sample
- Problem is that choices are not independent conditional on statuses
- Deconfound by conditioning on previous *Y_i* of neighbors

・ロト ・ 理 ト ・ ヨ ト ・

Bounds Clustering



How can we go forward with studying contagion when there is homophily?

• Experiment: on Y or A or both

ヘロン ヘアン ヘビン ヘビン

ъ

Bounds Clustering



How can we go forward with studying contagion when there is homophily?

• Experiment: on *Y* or *A* or both this is Science, and is Hard

ヘロト 人間 ト ヘヨト ヘヨト

ъ

Bounds Clustering



How can we go forward with studying contagion when there is homophily?

- Experiment: on *Y* or *A* or both this is Science, and is Hard
- Homophily on X is no problem if we condition on X

ヘロト 人間 ト ヘヨト ヘヨト

Bounds Clustering



How can we go forward with studying contagion when there is homophily?

- Experiment: on *Y* or *A* or both this is Science, and is Hard
- Homophily on X is no problem if we condition on X
 - \therefore figure out what X is and measure it

くロト (過) (目) (日)

Bounds Clustering



How can we go forward with studying contagion when there is homophily?

- Experiment: on *Y* or *A* or both this is Science, and is Hard
- Homophily on X is no problem if we condition on X
 ∴ figure out what X is and measure it this is Science, and is Hard

ヘロト 人間 ト ヘヨト ヘヨト

Bounds Clustering

What To Do?

How can we go forward with studying contagion when there is homophily?

- Experiment: on *Y* or *A* or both this is Science, and is Hard
- Homophily on X is no problem if we condition on X
 ∴ figure out what X is and measure it this is Science, and is Hard
- Bounds: even if we can't point-identify, maybe we can pin down a range

ヘロト ヘアト ヘビト ヘビト

Bounds Clustering

What To Do?

How can we go forward with studying contagion when there is homophily?

- Experiment: on *Y* or *A* or both this is Science, and is Hard
- Homophily on X is no problem if we condition on X
 ∴ figure out what X is and measure it this is Science, and is Hard
- Bounds: even if we can't point-identify, maybe we can pin down a range
- Clustering: figure out *X* from the social network

ヘロト 人間 ト ヘヨト ヘヨト

Bounds Clustering

Bounds and Partial Identification

Unidentifiable parameter \equiv multiple values of the parameter yield the *same* observational distribution

ヘロト 人間 ト ヘヨト ヘヨト

æ

Bounds Clustering

Bounds and Partial Identification

Unidentifiable parameter \equiv multiple values of the parameter yield the *same* observational distribution \therefore even infinite data does not pin down the parameter

ヘロト 人間 ト ヘヨト ヘヨト

Bounds Clustering

Bounds and Partial Identification

Unidentifiable parameter \equiv multiple values of the parameter yield the *same* observational distribution \therefore even infinite data does not pin down the parameter Partial identification (Manski, 2007): range of parameter values yielding one distribution might be limited

Bounds Clustering

Bounds and Partial Identification

Unidentifiable parameter \equiv multiple values of the parameter yield the *same* observational distribution \therefore even infinite data does not pin down the parameter Partial identification (Manski, 2007): range of parameter values yielding one distribution might be limited \therefore infinite data *bounds* the parameter

イロト イ理ト イヨト イヨト

Bounds Clustering

Bounds and Partial Identification

Unidentifiable parameter \equiv multiple values of the parameter yield the *same* observational distribution \therefore even infinite data does not pin down the parameter Partial identification (Manski, 2007): range of parameter values yielding one distribution might be limited \therefore infinite data *bounds* the parameter Could we bound contagion effects when there is latent homophily?

くロト (過) (目) (日)

Bounds Clustering

Bounds and Partial Identification

Unidentifiable parameter \equiv multiple values of the parameter yield the *same* observational distribution

- ... even infinite data does not pin down the parameter Partial identification (Manski, 2007): range of parameter values yielding one distribution might be limited
- : infinite data bounds the parameter

Could we bound contagion effects when there is latent homophily?

Work in progress, only negative results so far

Actual contagion effect cannot be bounded from regression coefficient even in linear Gaussian model

ヘロン ヘアン ヘビン ヘビン

Bounds Clustering

Partial Control by Clustering?

Can we make the latent trait manifest?



ヘロン ヘアン ヘビン ヘビン

3

Bounds Clustering

Partial Control by Clustering?

Can we make the latent trait manifest? Latent homophily \Rightarrow you tend to resemble your neighbors



ヘロト ヘ戸ト ヘヨト ヘヨト

Bounds Clustering

Partial Control by Clustering?

Can we make the latent trait manifest? Latent homophily \Rightarrow you tend to resemble your neighbors \Rightarrow Especially likely if you all have lots of neighbors in common who all have lots of neighbors in common, etc.

イロト イ理ト イヨト イヨト

Bounds Clustering

Partial Control by Clustering?

Can we make the latent trait manifest?

Latent homophily \Rightarrow you tend to resemble your neighbors

 \Rightarrow Especially likely if you all have lots of neighbors in common who all have lots of neighbors in common, etc.

 \Rightarrow modules/communities

Bounds Clustering

Partial Control by Clustering?

Can we make the latent trait manifest?

Latent homophily \Rightarrow you tend to resemble your neighbors

- \Rightarrow Especially likely if you all have lots of neighbors in common who all have lots of neighbors in common, etc.
- \Rightarrow modules/communities

Try using community membership as a proxy for X

イロト イ理ト イヨト イヨト

Bounds Clustering

Partial Control by Clustering?

Can we make the latent trait manifest?

Latent homophily \Rightarrow you tend to resemble your neighbors

- \Rightarrow Especially likely if you all have lots of neighbors in common who all have lots of neighbors in common, etc.
- \Rightarrow modules/communities

Try using community membership as a proxy for X

Removes confounding if estimated communities are a sufficient statistic for X

Bounds Clustering

Partial Control by Clustering?

Can we make the latent trait manifest?

Latent homophily \Rightarrow you tend to resemble your neighbors

 \Rightarrow Especially likely if you all have lots of neighbors in common who all have lots of neighbors in common, etc.

 \Rightarrow modules/communities

Try using community membership as a proxy for X

Removes confounding if estimated communities are a sufficient statistic for X

When does that hold?

What about other block models?

Tighter bounds, even if not identified?



- Social linkage creates causal confounding
- Homophily + causal influence looks like contagion
- Homophily + contagion looks like causal influence
- May be possible to limit confounding

ヘロト ヘ戸ト ヘヨト ヘヨト

Bourdieu, Pierre (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Christakis, Nicholas A. and James H. Fowler (2007). "The Spread of Obesity in a Large Social Network over 32 Years." *The New England Journal of Medicine*, **357**: 370–379. URL http://content.nejm.org/cgi/content/abstract/ 357/4/370.

Leenders, Roger Th. A. J. (1995). *Structure and Influence: Statistical Models for the Dynamics of Actor Attributes, Network Structure and Their Interdependence.* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers.

Manski, Charles F. (1993). "Identification of Endogeneous Social Effects: The Reflection Problem." *Review of Economic*

Studies, **60**: 531–542. URL http://www.jstor.org/pss/2298123.

— (2007). Identification for Prediction and Decision.
 Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Morgan, Stephen L. and Christopher Winship (2007). Counterfactuals and Causal Inference: Methods and Principles for Social Research. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Noel, Hans and Brendan Nyhan (2010). "The "Unfriending" Problem The Consequences of Homophily in Friendship Retention for Causal Estimates of Social Influence." Online preprint. URL http://www-personal.umich.edu/ ~bnyhan/unfriending.pdf.

Inference. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2nd edn.

Shalizi, Cosma Rohilla and Andrew C. Thomas (2011).
"Homophily and Contagion Are Generically Confounded in Observational Social Network Studies." *Sociological Methods and Research*, **40**: 211–239. URL

http://arxiv.org/abs/1004.4704.

doi:10.1177/0049124111404820.

Sperber, Dan (1996). *Explaining Culture: A Naturalistic Approach*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Spirtes, Peter, Clark Glymour and Richard Scheines (2001). *Causation, Prediction, and Search*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2nd edn.

Steglich, Christian, Tom A. B. Snijders and Michael Pearson (2004). *Dynamic Networks and Behavior: Separating*

Selection from Influence. Tech. Rep. 95-2001, Interuniversity Center for Social Science Theory and Methodology, University of Groningen. URL

http://www.stats.ox.ac.uk/~snijders/siena/ SteglichSnijdersPearson2009.pdf.

<ロ> <同> <同> <三> <三> <三> <三> <三</p>