

Advancing Public Policy. An agenda for applied statistics and the social sciences



FACULTY OF ARTS THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND

Whare Wānanga o Tāmaki Makaurau

Charles Sturt University, 2014

Peter Davis University of Auckland pb.davis@auckland.ac.nz and COMPASS Research Centre www.compass.auckland.ac.nz





FACULTY OF ARTS THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND

Whare Wānanga o Tāmaki Makaurau

The social sciences and public policy

Making knowledge claims

Improving our methods

- Inference by design
- Making it count
- Virtues of the virtual
- Concluding thoughts
 - "Public" social science
 - Applied statistics

World Economic Forum (Davos) – Top 10 Global Risks, 2014

- 1. Fiscal crises
- 2. Unemployment
- 3. Water crises
- 4. Income disparity
- 5. Climate change

- 6. Extreme weather
- 7. Governance failure
- 8. Food crises
- 9. Financial failure
- 10. Political/social instability

Role of the Social Sciences – 40 Years

- Gibson report (1970)
 - "recommended that the Council develop a social science arm to foster development of research activity" (Neil Lunt PhD Thesis, 2004, p. 20)
- Gluckman discussion paper (2011, p.15)
 - "Social science is not well constituted within the New Zealand science system and across or within those ministries and agencies that need such information to develop policy options".

National Science Foundation, 2012





Improving our methods •

- Inference by design
- Making it count
- Virtues of the virtual
- Concluding thoughts
 - "Public" social science
 - Applied statistics

+

These Books Needed "Facts"!





"Knowledge Claims" in Social Science – Some of the Issues

- 1. By its nature, social science detects patterns beyond everyday observation
- 2. "Common sense" can lead you astray
- 3. Common mistakes can be made in public debate (e.g. not comparing "like with like")
- 4. Governments are looking for "evidence"

1. Patterns "below the surface" – Death Rates by Occupational Class



2. "Common sense" can be astray – Improving Driver Education



OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S SCIENCE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Towards better use of evidence in policy formation: a discussion paper

Sir Peter Gluckman KNZM FRSNZ FRS Chief Science Advisor to the Prime Minister

April 2011

Driver education: misplaced confidence

It would appear intuitive that formal driving education within the school curriculum would reduce the high rate of road accidents that teenagers experience. Indeed there has been much advocacy for such programmes over the years in various countries – from politicians, families of road victims and insurance companies. But when such programmes were introduced in both Europe and the US, it became evident that these initiatives either had no beneficial effect on, or even actually increased, the accident rates of young people.

Formal evaluation with controls showed that driver education does lead to earlier licensing, but provided no evidence that driver education reduces road crash involvement and suggested that it may lead to a modest but potentially important increase in the proportion of teenagers involved in traffic crashes. An earlier study from New Zealand in the 1980s reached similar conclusions.

This negative view of such programmes was initially vehemently rejected by some advocacy groups, but the scientific view became compelling and has been integrated into policy. The data do not even support driver education as a rationale for accelerating the passage through graduated licensing systems. Why does this counterintuitive outcome occur? In part because it leads young people to wanting to get their driver licence at an earlier age, and in part because it can lead to over-confidence in people who are already at a stage of their lives when they are most likely to engage in risk-taking activities.

This is a classic example of why an evidence base is desirable even when what seems like 'obviously sensible' new programmes are introduced, and of why programmes should be introduced in a pilot fashion capable of evaluation. The assumption that formal driver education would be of value led to investment in programmes which in fact did more harm than good.

3. Common mistakes in public debate

Closing gaps favour young (NZ Herald)

By <u>Vaimoana Tapaleao</u>, <u>James</u> <u>Ihaka</u>, <u>Simon Collins</u>, Harkanwal Singh 5:30 AM Monday Mar 17, 2014



Gaps that are barely budging * Imprisonment rate - gaps may close in 1170 years.



4. Governments and "evidence"

MM Government

What Works: evidence centres for social policy

March 2013



SQUARING THE CIRCLE

Derrick Johnstone May 2013





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Improving "our" methods Inference by design Making it count Virtues of the virtual

Test, Learn, Adapt: Developing Public Policy with Randomised Controlled Trials

Laura Haynes

Owain Service

Ben Goldacre

David Torgerson



Data Inference in Observational Settings



SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER!

SAGE Benchmarks in Social Research Methods

Edited by Peter Davis University of Auckland

Most social research is carried out in observational settings; that is, most social researchers collect information in the 'real world' trying to do as little possible to alter the circumstances of study. However, there is a fundamental problem with this kind of research, in that it is very hard to draw 'causal' conclusions, because of the complexity and obduracy of social reality. This is not just a problem for social action. It applies across the board, more generally, because it becomes difficult to know, without the conditions for credible inference, what conclusions can be drawn from any piece of empirical research that aspires to be anything more than descriptive of social phenomena.

Drawing from a variety of sources - from logicians and philosophers, to applied statisticians, computer scientists, econometricians, epidemiologists and social researchers - this collection provides an invaluable resource for scholars in the field.

Volume One:	Background
Volume Two:	Analytical Techniques
Volume Three:	Temporal Relations
Volume Four:	Experimental Analogue

December 2013 • 1628 pages Cloth (978-1-4462-6650-2) Price £600.00

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Rationale of Handbook

1. Traditional statistical theory

mainly about representation not causation (i.e. sampling)

2. Statistical inference=>causal inference

random assignment and manipulation of treatment conditions

3. Counterfactual/potential outcomes

conceptually bridges experimental/observational settings

4. Forward causation only

cause-to-effect (e.g. impact of policy intervention)

5. Econometrics

a parallel community of policy practice (e.g. to public health)

Five Background Papers

- <u>Counterfactual thinking</u>
- <u>Statistical reasoning</u>
- <u>Causal diagrams</u>
- <u>The econometric paradigm</u>
- <u>Within-study comparisons</u>

Rubin



Causal Inference Using Potential Outcomes: Design, Modeling, Decisions

Donald B. RUBIN

Causal effects an defined as comparisons of potential outcomes under different treatments on a common set of unit. Observed values of the optential automes me revealed by the assignment mechanismpotential automes me revealed by the assignment mechanismand potential automes. Fisher made tremendous contributions to causal inference through his work on the design of randomized experiments, but the optential automes precedive applies to other complex a perimetestia and nonzondemized studies as well. As noted by Komphones in his 1976 discussion of Sangays' Fisher lexture, Fisher arear bridged his work on experimental dasign and his work and parameter is modeling, a bridge that appeness and private studies are used to a studies of the studies and there are an experimental outcomes and covariants are given a Hayssian distribution to complex the model studies as well, where the potential outcomes and covariants are given a Hayssian distribution to complex the model studies in Fisher's discussion of stars of covariants to distribute that addecisions bused on sub inference, a distribution framework, entry of potential in the constant of modeling experiments and a nan-modeling the potential framework, entry of covariants to distribution of covariants and a stars and as a nanothe potential the potential framework, entry of covariants to distribution for constant stars during and as an as much hap projecting protecting the use of the analysis

KEY WORDS: Analysis of covariance; Assignment-based causal inference; Assignment mechanism; Hayesian inference; Direct causal effects; Fieller-Creasy; Fisher, Neyman; Observational studies; Principal stratification; Randomized experiments; Rubin causal model.

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1. PROLOGUE

I greatly appreciate the invitation of the COPSS selection committee to contribute this year's R. A. Fisher Memorial Lecture. It certainly is humbling to consider the massive contributions of this giant of twentieth century statistics, as well as the published versions of the previous Fisher lectures. I will not attempt to compete with the incredibly encompassing lecture by Jimmie Savage (1976), with an assist from John Pratt, who helped complete it posthumously, but rather focus on one part of Fisher's work that has influenced me greatly, the design of experiments for causal inference, and attempt to relate some aspects of his contributions to current developments concerning inference for causal effects in more general settings. This presentation, however, will be more idiosyncratic than Cox's (1989) Fisher lecture on a somewhat similar topic, in that I will make no systematic attempt to refer to the many outstanding contributions made by others to this area, but rather will concentrate on how Fisher's work connects to the perspective that I advocate.

I never met Fisher in person; he died in 1962, a time when I was still doing physics as an undergraduate at Princeton University. Most of my knowledge of him, besides that obtained through reading his contributions, was gained from my Ph.D. advisor at Harvard University, Bill Cochran. Bill was a wonderful man with a charming and warm sense of humor.

Bill noted that Fisher, as everyone familiar with him Lnew, was a man of seemingly unbounded brilliance and arrogance. Bill had a variety of stories that he used to illustrate both of these characteristics, often with great humor with Bill as the but of the story. One story, which illustrates the arrogance more than the brilliance, is relevant to the topic of this presentation, a connection mail in the final section. It concerned the Fieller-Creasy controversy as recorded in the Royal Statistical Sociyt (RSS) Symposium on Interval Estimation in 1954. Fieller

Donahl B. Rahin is John L. Loch Professor of Statistics, Department of Statistics, Hevered University, Combridge, MA (2018) Gensal: Autointented harvardede). This article is the writen version of the 2004 Finher Lecture, presented August 11, 2004 at the Joint Statistical Meetings in Toronto. The author thanks Constantine Frangakis, Andrew Gelman, and Roderick Little for entremely prestrating and helpful comments on earlier drults of this article.

(1954) and Creasy (1954) proposed two distinct "fiducial" solutions to the problem, in essence, of obtaining an interval estimate for the ratio of two means of independent normal distributions with known variances. Mr. Fieller, an established researcher, had proposed a solution years earlier that had Fisher's endorsement as the fiducial solution. Moreover, Fieller (1944) showed that it satisfied Neyman's (1934) criterion for a confidence interval.

Miss Creasy, in contrast, was a young researcher who had proposed a fiducial interval based on the same framework that Fisher had used to obtain the fiducial distribution for the difference between the means of two independent normal distributions with unknown variances. We Behrens-Fisher problem. Fisher was fairly brutal to the young Miss Creasy in his published discussion and, apparently, according to Bill, was even more disparaging of her efforts at the meeting.

At the time of the meeting, however, Cochran could not understand why the Creasy derivation was faulty, based as it was on Fisher's endorsed fiducial solution to the Behrens-Fisher problem. Cochran found Fisher in his office a few days after the RSS meeting, and Fisher immediately went to the blackboard, muttering words to the effect that only an idiot could not understand something so simple. Fisher began to write the assumptions with accompanying condescending comments, and Cochran could see after a few lines that Fisher was heading paused, and then quickly rubbed out all of his "derivation" and concluded his "proof" with something like, "From here it's obvious, even to you!" He proceeded to dismiss Cochran, having wasted enough time on this junior Scottish fool.

Cochran, who had daughters, told me that he felt that Fisher was undoubtedly especially dismissive of Creasy because she was Miss Creasy, and such people had little place in such scientific debates. Bill clearly thought otherwise.

Savage's (1976, p. 446) conclusion on the merits of Fisher's argumentation on this topic is consistent with Cochran's:

> © 2005 American Statistical Association Journal of the American Statistical Association March 2005, Vol. 100, No. 469, Review Article DOI 10.1198/016214504000001880

Statistical Reasoning - Design and Decisions

- Science and design vs. analysis and decisions
 - Fisher never related his work on likelihoods and models to his work on experimental design
- Neyman potential outcomes of treatment
 - defines causal effects for both randomised and nonrandomised studies ("Neyman-Rubin" model)
- Causal inference and assignment mechanism
 - assigns treatments to units (randomised in experiments), creating special type of missing data

Angrist and Pischke





Econometrics - "Better" Research Design

- "take the con out of econometrics" (1985)
 - Leamer "Hardly anyone takes data analysis seriously."
- Better research design quasi-experimental
 - Instrumental variables, regression discontinuity, differences-in-differences
- Has the design pendulum swung too far?
 - Lack of external validity; ignore the big questions?

Five Exemplar Papers

- <u>Matching/Propensity scores</u>
- Using panel data

- Fixed effects
- Instrumental variables
- <u>A natural experiment</u>

Sampson et al.



DOES MARRIAGE REDUCE CRIME? A COUNTERFACTUAL APPROACH TO WITHIN-INDIVIDUAL CAUSAL EFFECTS

ROBERT J. SAMPSON Harvard University JOHN H. LAUB University of Maryland CHRISTOPHER WIMER Harvard University

KEYWORDS: marriage, crime, causality, counterfactual methods, life course

Although marriage is associated with a plethora of adult outcomes, its causal status remains controversial in the absence of experimental evidence. We address this problem by introducing a counterfactual lifecourse approach that applies inverse probability of treatment weighting (IPTW) to yearly longitudinal data on marriage, crime, and shared covariates in a sample of 500 high-risk boys followed prospectively from adolescence to age 32. The data consist of criminal histories and death records for all 500 men plus personal interviews, using a lifehistory calendar, with a stratified subsample of 52 men followed to age 70. These data are linked to an extensive battery of individual and family background measures gathered from childhood to age 17before entry into marriage. Applying IPTW to multiple specifications that also incorporate extensive time-varying covariates in adulthood, being married is associated with an average reduction of approximately 35 percent in the odds of crime compared to nonmarried states for the same man. These results are robust, supporting the inference that states of marriage causally inhibit crime over the life course.

We thank the Russell Stage Foundation (Grant # 85:01-23) for funding support and the following colleagues for advice. Christ Winhin, Dreific Ilbert, David Harding, Steve Raudenbuch, Guanglei Hong, Jamie Rohm, and the reviewers of *Graininology*. Direct all correspondence to Robert J. Sampson, Department of Sociology, Harvard University, William James Hall, 33 Kirkland SL, Cambridge, MA 02138 USA: e-mail: rangeorogivity.harvard.edu

CRIMINOLOGY VOLUME 44 NUMBER 3 2006 465

Using Panel Data - Marriage and Crime

- Does marriage reduce crime?
 - issues of selection and confounding

- Longitudinal data available on "high-risk" men
 - within-individual analysis of role of marriage

- Do states of marriage causally inhibit crime?
 - Yes average 35% reduction compared to non-married

Sampson et al.

Figure 1. Predicted Crime and Marriage Probabilities by Age (Quadratic Model, N=2,585 Person-Years)



Avendano



Technology 7.5

Insue 11 December 2011 ISSN 0212

SOCIAL SCIENCE & MEDICINE

an international journal



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Correlation or causation? Income inequality and infant mortality in fixed effects models in the period 1960–2008 in 34 OECD countries

Mauricio Avendano a.b.c.*

Short report

³London School of Economics and Political Science, ISE Health and Social Care, London, UK ^bCenter for Population and Development Studies, Harvard School of Public Health, Cambridge, MA, USA ^c Department of Public Health, Brainnus Medical Corter, Roterdam, The Netherlands

ARTICLE INFO ABSTRACT

Article history: Available online 11 May 2012 Reywords: Infant mortality Income inequality Socioeconomic Population health Social policy Income inequality is strongly associated with infart mortality arms countries, but whether this association is scale its an theben exhibited. In their commentary in this issue. Social Scane & Medicine, Register et al. (2012) argue that this association has disappeared in recent years, and question the premise of a scale scale in the stronglike strength in the impact of more inequality on inflammortality in a fined effects model that exploits the evolution of mores inequality one al-By-scarperiod, controlling to the strength of the scale inequality but has a containing systemizate for the indication of income inequality in a number of the scale from the GRD scale scale

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Introduction

During the last decades, a wide array of studies has examined the association between income inequality and health in highincome inequality, independently of individual income; is associated with population health, so that more equal societies have better health and lower mortality (Hales, Howden-Chapman, Salmond, Woodward, & Madkenbach, 1999; Kaplan, Parnuk, Lynch, Cohen, & Ballbur; 1996; Lynch et al., 2001; Navano et al., 2003;

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0277-9536/\$ -- see front matter © 2012 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved. doi:10.1016/j.socscimed.2012.04.017 Willinon & Fickett, 2011. Although income inequality is indeed consistently corrulated with overall mortality across countries, whether this association is causal has been hrought into question by a series of studies showing that in many instances, the association does not consistently hold when controlling. For potential confounders (Molers & Milya, 2001). There is disgreement, however, on the right choice of confounders and methodological approaches, at his often determines the direction and strength of the association (dymour, 2008; Krawchis Blakely, 2001; Mellor & Milya, 2001; Zimmermana, 2008).

A noticeable exception is the association between income imequality and infant mortality. As suggested by Regidor et al. (2012) commentary in this issue of Social Science & Medding, analyses based on data for the last decades of the 1570's and 1580's show a consistent association of income inequality and mortality, presumably as a result of welfare policies that promote income

Fixed Effects – Inequality and Mortality

- Income inequality related to infant mortality
 - Strong ecological association income inequality with infant mortality across countries - but is it causal?
- Fixed effects controls variation across countries
 - Approach relies on changes in inequality within countries over time – 34 OECD countries over 38 years, Gini and IMR.
- Gini changes not associated with IMR changes
 - Possible that social policies reducing IMR cluster in relatively egalitarian countries, but their effects are not via income.

Strully et al.

COLUMN TO A SUMMER S & BOARD BOARD

AMERICAN Sociological Review

HOUSING CHOICES AND CONSTRAINT

heighborhood Diversity, Idetropolitan Constraints, and Hausehold Migration. Kele Consider Assaw Pale and Scott J. South

> Segregation and Powerty Concentration Lincole Quillian

DEMOCRACY, POLITICS, AND GENDER

The Democracy Paradox: Democratization and Women's Legislative Representation Ratifices Int Fallon, Lans Social, and Booljon Viterna

Redistributive Direct Democracy: Development and Momen's Participation in Gram Salthau Christopher Olivare

Sex and Gender in Educational Settings

Women's Organis and Sexual Enjoyment in College Wookups and Relationships. Elizabeth A. Armitteng, Paula England, and Alizen C. K. Fegarty.

> theel Context and the Gender Gap in Educational Achievene insche Legenie and Thomas A, Debete

> > COMMENT AND REPORT

Comment on Villarysal's Stratification by Skin Color in Contemporary Mexico-Rend Flores and Edward Teles

Analytic Villanceal

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Effects of Prenatal Poverty on Infant Health: State Earned Income Tax Credits and Birth Weight

Kate W. Strully,^a David H. Rehkopf,^b and

Abstract

Ziming Xuan^c

This study estimates the effects of prenatal poverty on birth weight using changes in state Earned Income Tax Credits (ETTC) as a natural experiment. We seek to answer two questions about poverty and child wellbeing. First, are there associations between prenatal poverty and lower birth weights even after factoring out unmeasured potential confounders? Because birth weight predicts a range of outcomes across the life course, lower birth weights that result from poverty may have lasting consequences for children's life chances. Second, how have recent expansions of a work-based welfare program (i.e., the EITC) affected maternal and infant health? In recent decades, U.S. poverty relief has become increasingly tied to earnings and labor markets, but the consequences for children's wellbeing remain controversial. We find that state EITCs increase birth weights and reduce maternal smoking. However, results related to AFDC/TANF and varying EITC effects across maternal ages raise cautionary messages.

Keywords

infant health, poverty, Earned Income Tax Credit

In life course models of stratification, earlylife environment is crucially important. Exposure to poverty and negative environments during critical stages of early life can negatively affect children's future developmental trajectories (e.g., cognitive and physical development), which may have lasting negative effects on educational attainment and adult earnings (Duncan and Brooks-Gurn 1997; Wagmiller et al. 2006). According to recent research, prenatal poverty and birth weight are important variables in life course processes of stratification (Conley, Strully, and Bennett 2003; Cramer 1995). As a measure of health at the start of life, birth weight is a general indicator of a baby's in-utero environment and development, and maternal poverty during the prenatal period is a robust predictor of lower birth weights (Bennett 1997). Low birth weight can in turn predict a range of negative

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Downloaded from sar.segepub.com at The University of Auckland Library on October 6, 2012

Natural Experiment – Welfare and Health

- Do work/income incentives affect infant health?
 - It is hypothesised that work/income schemes will raise incomes and employment for unmarried mothers with high school or less, and in turn improve infant health.
- Using a "natural experiment" design
 - Variation between US states in introduction of income/work incentives to estimate effects prenatal poverty/infant health.
- Labour market, incomes, birth weight, smoking
 - Schemes increased employment 19%, incomes 32%, increased infant birth weight, slightly reduced smoking





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The Problem – British Academy

A POSITION STATEMENT

SOCIETY COUNTS

Quantitative Skills in the Social Sciences and Humanities

The British Academy is deeply concerned that the UK is weak in quantitative skills, in particular but not exclusively in the social sciences and humanities. This deficit has serious implications for the future of the UK's status as a world leader in research and higher education, for the employability of our graduates, and for the competitiveness of M-UK's economy.

THE PROBLEM

- 2. The UK has traditionally been strong in the social sciences and humanities. In the social sciences, pride of place has gone to empirical studies of social phenomena founded on rigorous, scientific data collection and innovative analysis. This is true, increasingly, of research in areas of the humanities. In addition, many of our current social and research challenges require an interdisciplinary approach, often involving quantitative data. To understand social dynamics, cultural phenomena and human behaviour in the round, researchers have to be able to deploy a broad range of skills and techniques.
- 3. Quantitative methods underpin both 'blue skies' research and effective evidence-based policy. The UK has, over the last six decades, invested in a world-class social science data infrastructure that is unrivalled by almost any other country. Statistical analyses of large and complex data sets underpin the deciphering of social patterns and trends, and evaluation of the impact of social interventions.



The Solution – "Nuffield Initiative"



Patterns in politics and society

Enriching Social Science Teaching with Empirical Data (ESSTED)



Our team has created examples of curriculum Innovation at the University of Manchester. The workshop highlights how using data supports active learning and helps students engage with theory whilst developing research and critical skills.

The main focus is on the use of representative survey data such as British Social Attitudes (BSA) to explore attitudes and behaviour. Activities as 'Making Students Part of the Dataset' offer engaging and accessible ways to explore topics in politics, including immigration, the welfare state and political participation.

The workshop also highlights useful online resources that make it easy for students and teachers to access social data for use in teaching or assessment and includes time for sharing ideas, techniques and experiences with other politics teachers and lecturers.

Dates

 1st May 10:30-13:30 Humanities Bridgeford Street Building at the University of Manchester (Room 1.69) <u>Click</u> here to register through eventbrite.

 11th September NatCen Social Research, 35 Northampton Square, London EC1V 0AX <u>Click here to register</u> through computer

O Follow

These morning workshops are followed by <u>"Enabling Students to Use Data in their Sociology and Politica</u> Dissertations and Coursework".

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COMPLEX SYSTEMS, HEALTH DISPARITIES & POPULATION HEALTH: BUILDING BRIDGES







Assessing policy counterfactuals with a simulation-based inquiry system.



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HIKINA WHAKATUTUKI

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COMPLEX SYSTEMS, HEALTH DISPARITIES & POPULATION HEALTH: BUILDING BRIDGES

February 24-25, 2014 | Natcher Conference Center, National Institutes of Health Campus | Bethesda, Maryland

Presentation Outline

- Assessing counterfactuals
 - A simulation approach
- A knowledge-based inquiry system
 - Grounded in real data
 - Permitting counterfactual modelling
- Social Determinants of Health
 - Case study
- Conclusion

Assessing counterfactuals



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Counterfactual paradigm of causal reasoning

- If the putative causal factor had not been present, we would not have observed the recorded outcome.
 - Randomised Controlled Trials (RCTs)
 - Experimental and quasi-experimental methods
 - Observational designs and statistical analysis

Simulation techniques





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- Knowledge-based inquiry system
 - A synthetic base file representative of the population 1.
 - A number of real-world longitudinal studies 2.
 - A technique for combining the data from 4 studies 3.
 - A statistical model mimicking life-course biographies 4.
 - A tool that helps interrogation of these biographies 5.

Inquiry Tool (due to Barry Milne)



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ISE "To Know the Causes of Things"





Handbook – Implications?

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