

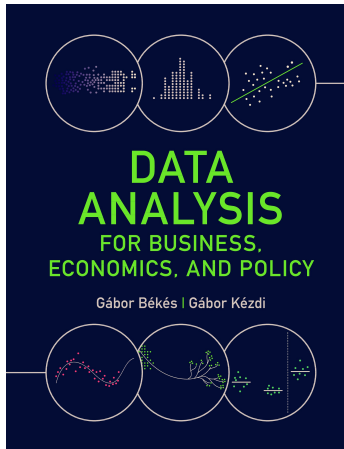
# 19. A Framework for Causal Analysis

**Gábor Békés**

Data Analysis 4: Causality

2020

# Slideshow for the Békés-Kézdi Data Analysis textbook



- ▶ Cambridge University Press, 2021
- ▶ [gabors-data-analysis.com](https://gabors-data-analysis.com)
  - ▶ Download all data and code:  
[gabors-data-analysis.com/data-and-code/](https://gabors-data-analysis.com/data-and-code/)
- ▶ This slideshow is for **Chapter 19**

## Causal questions

- ▶ How does having a major industrial investment affect house prices?
- ▶ Do vitamins have a beneficial health effect?
- ▶ Does better management yield greater revenues?
- ▶ Does a better diet makes you live longer?
- ▶ Does a merger between very large companies cause prices to rise?

## Measuring causality require intervention and variation

- ▶ causality requires the presence of a possible intervention
  - ▶ Eating / not eating a food item
  - ▶ Replacing / educating managers
- ▶ Causality also requires variation
- ▶ How does taking vitamins effect health?
  - ▶ We need people who take and people who do not take vitamins.
- ▶ Does better management yield greater revenues?
  - ▶ We need firms to have a variation in the quality of management.

# This lecture

- ▶ Heavy on vocabulary
  - ▶ Please read the running example on advertising in the book
    - ▶ Case study quickly sketched in lecture, more details in book

## The setup: Intervention, treatment, subjects, outcomes

- ▶ **Intervention** describes a decision that aims changing the behavior or situation of people, firms. Also called **Treatment**.
- ▶ **Subjects** of an intervention are those that may be affected. Treated or untreated.
- ▶ **Outcome variables**, or outcomes, are variables that may be affected by the intervention.
- ▶ **Causal variables**, or **treatment variables** are the variables that indicate the intervention.
- ▶ Need idea **why the intervention may affect an outcome variable**.  
**Mechanisms** by which an intervention exerts an effect on a particular outcome variable or variables.
  - ▶ Other names for mechanisms: **pathways or mediator variables**

# The causal question

Most important elements of a precise causal question are

- ▶ What's the outcome (Y) variable?
- ▶ What's the causal (X) variable?
  - ▶ The causal variable may be a binary variable (intervention takes place or not) or a quantitative variable (amount of intervention).
- ▶ What are the subjects (the outcome for whom?)
- ▶ What is the specific intervention (who, and how, would manipulate the cause to alter the outcome?)
- ▶ What is or could be the mechanism (why should one expect an effect of the intervention on the subject?).

## Potential outcomes framework

- ▶ **Potential outcomes framework** is a structure to study causal questions.
- ▶ Thinking in this framework will make defining the effect of an intervention straightforward.
- ▶ The outcome variable  $Y$ , may be
  - ▶ Binary: whether an individual buys the product or not
  - ▶ Quantitative: the sales value of a house.



## Potential outcomes framework

- ▶ Binary interventions: subjects may be either treated or untreated.
  - ▶ The outcome may be anything, including binary or multi-valued variables.
- ▶ Can always think about **two potential outcomes for each subject**:
  - ▶ what their outcomes would be if they were treated (their **treated outcome**),
  - ▶ what their outcomes would be if they were untreated (their **untreated outcome**).

## Potential outcomes framework

- ▶ Of these two potential outcomes, each subject will experience only one: that's their **observed outcome**.
  - ▶ Treated subject: Observed outcome = their treated outcome.
  - ▶ Not treated subject: Observed outcome = their untreated outcome.
- ▶ The **other** potential outcome, unobserved, is their **counterfactual outcome**
  - ▶ what could have been observed had the subject experienced what did not happen.

## Potential outcomes framework

- ▶ Each subject has two potential outcomes before the intervention, both unobserved.
- ▶ Then each subjects gets **assigned to be treated or untreated**.
- ▶ The intervention reveals **one** of their potential outcomes, the one that conforms their assignment.
- ▶ Their other potential outcome remains unobserved = counterfactual outcome.

## The Individual Treatment Effect

- ▶ The **individual treatment effect** for subject  $i$  is the difference between their two potential outcomes: the value of the potential treated outcome for the subject minus the value of the potential untreated outcome:

$$te_i = y_i^1 - y_i^0 \quad (1)$$

- ▶  $y_i$  = observable outcome
- ▶  $y_i = y_i^1$  for subjects that end up being treated
- ▶  $y_i = y_i^0$  for subjects that end up being not treated

## Individual treatment effects

- ▶  $te_i$  = the value of the treated outcome for the subject minus the value of the untreated outcome for the same subject  $i$ .
- ▶  $te_i$  may be 0, positive or negative
- ▶ Consider binary outcomes (0 or 1), so the  $ITE = [0, -1, 1]$ .
  - ▶  $te_i = 1$  if the treated outcome is one and the untreated outcome is zero.
  - ▶  $te_i = -1$  if the treated outcome is zero and the untreated outcome is one.
  - ▶  $te_i = 0$  if both the treated outcome and the untreated is one, or both of them is zero.

## Individual treatment effects

- ▶ Individual treatment - think cause and effect without observing them.
- ▶ The individual treatment effect is **never** observable.
- ▶ There is no way to know
  - ▶ what the outcome of untreated subjects would have been if they were treated,
  - ▶ what the treated outcome of untreated subjects would have been.
- ▶ Thus, data analysis **cannot** uncover individual treatment effects by simply observing them.

## Heterogeneous treatment effects

- ▶ Individual treatment effects will vary, of course.
- ▶ For instance, vary across groups
  - ▶ Men vs women
  - ▶ Small vs large markets
- ▶ The possibility of effects being different across subjects = the possibility of **heterogeneous treatment effects**.
- ▶ Can't observe  $te_i$  – will not know if indeed heterogeneous among the subjects we care about.
- ▶ For some groups, we can actually look at it (**Case study on Week 4**)

## Average treatment effect

- ▶ Instead of  $te_i$ , we can observe the average
- ▶ The **average treatment effect**, abbreviated as  $ATE$ , is the average of the individual treatment effects across all subjects.
- ▶ For **binary outcomes**, average outcomes are probabilities and average treatment effects are **differences in probabilities**.



## ATE as average / expected ITE

- ▶ ATE is the expected (=average) difference between potential outcomes
  - ▶ Expectation operator ( $E[\cdot]$ )

$$ATE = E[te_i] = E[y_i^1 - y_i^0] \quad (2)$$

- ▶ The average of the differences is equal to the difference of the averages.
- ▶ Thus the average treatment effect is also the difference between the average of potential treated outcomes and the average of potential untreated outcomes:

$$ATE = E[y_i^1] - E[y_i^0] \quad (3)$$

## Average treatment effect

- ▶ Think of the average treatment effect when they talk about **the effect** of an intervention.
- ▶ *ATE* can be viewed as the expected effect of the intervention for a subject randomly chosen from the population.
- ▶ *ATE* gives the total effect of the intervention if multiplied by the size of the population

## Average Effects in Subgroups and ATET

- ▶ It is possible to get good estimates of average effects, at least under the right circumstances.
- ▶ Heterogeneity may be hidden behind the  $ATE$ .
- ▶ Consider  $ATE = 0$ :
  - ▶ all individual treatment effects are all zero.
  - ▶ the intervention has positive effects on some subjects and negative effect on other subjects but those cancel out.
- ▶ Any value may conceal a division of groups of subjects with very high and low effect.

## Average Effects in Subgroups and ATET

- ▶ ATE = average of  $te_i$  across all subjects in the population that we defined.
- ▶ We can also calculate the ATE for subgroups
- ▶ One such subgroup is the treated group
- ▶ **ATET** = the average treatment effect on the treated - all subjects that end up being treated.
- ▶ ATET sometimes equals ATE, but other times it does not
- ▶ In some applications, we can calculate ATET only. (Week 3)

## ATE when Quantitative Causal Variables

- ▶ Examples of interventions that lead to quantitative causal variables
  - ▶ setting prices of products or services;
  - ▶ deciding on the budget to be spent on advertising through a social media platform.
- ▶ PO framework - designed binary interventions.
- ▶ Concepts apply to quantitative causal variables
- ▶ But more complicated

## Quantitative Causal Variables

- ▶ A quantitative causal variable - the intervention is not binary (happens to you or not), but the effect size varies by subject
- ▶ Many individual treatment effects beyond  $(0,1)$ .
- ▶ Many potential outcomes for each subject (beyond  $-1,0,1$ )

## ATE and Quantitative Causal Variables

- ▶ Quantitative causal variables lead to not one individual treatment effect but a series of them,
- ▶ One more step: average individual treatment effect **before** taking the average **across** subjects for ATE.
- ▶ Difficult to think about average effects of quantitative causal variables.
- ▶ But the idea is fundamentally the same.
- ▶ Often use quantitative variable and create a binary: low vs high

## Ceteris Paribus: Other Things Being the Same

- ▶ What we really mean by potential outcomes.
- ▶ The difference between treated and untreated outcome is the intervention **and only the intervention**.
- ▶ **All other things that may affect the outcome variable are the same.**
  - ▶ Those other relevant things are things that may cause the outcome variable to change besides the intervention.
- ▶ "all other (relevant things) being the same" = "**ceteris paribus**".



## Ceteris paribus vs multivariate regression

- ▶ Remember Chapter 10, with outcome  $y$ , causal variable  $x$

$$y^E = \beta_0 + \beta_1 x + \beta_2 z \quad (4)$$

- ▶ In regression we **condition** on  $z$
- ▶ Compare two observations that have the same  $z$  but are different in  $x$  by one unit. The observation with a one unit higher  $x$  is expected to have  $\beta_1$  units higher  $y$ .

## Ceteris paribus vs multivariate regression

- ▶ Can we condition on **all** potential confounders in regression?
- ▶ That would be ceteris paribus analysis
- ▶ Probably not
  - ▶ We can include only what we observed in data
  - ▶ We can be rarely sure that there are no confounders among what's not observed in data
  - ▶ How do we know that we controlled for everything relevant?
- ▶ So, in a regression, we compare observations that differ in  $x$  and are same in all other RHS variables that we observe and include in the regression

## Average treatment effect

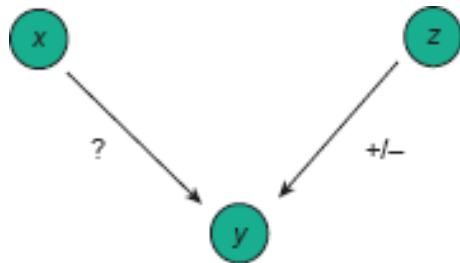
- ▶ How to calculate ATE - main issue for this course
- ▶ Because  $te_i$  cannot be calculated and averaged
- ▶ Because ceteris paribus exists as a theoretical concept and need to work hard to get close

## Causal maps (DAGs) to uncover causal structure

- ▶ Causal maps: key tool to think about causality
- ▶ A causal map is a graph that connects variables (nodes) with arrows (directed edges).
- ▶ The arrows represent effects.

## Causal maps: simplest case

- ▶ An example with  $x$  causing  $y$ , but also a variable  $z$  causing  $y$ .
- ▶ When an outcome variable is caused by the intervention of interest ( $x$ ) but also other variables like  $z$
- ▶ On this graph  $x$  and  $z$  are unrelated

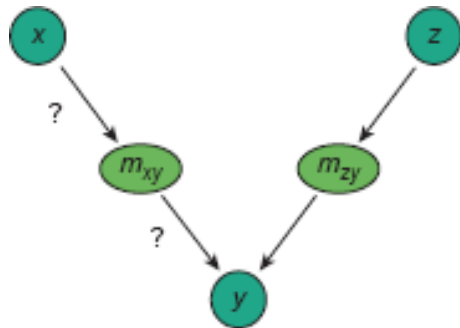


## Causal maps to uncover causal structure

- ▶ Our aim: summarizing our assumptions about how variables affect each other.
- ▶ A causal map is a graph that connects variables (nodes) with arrows (directed edges).
- ▶ The arrows represent effects.
- ▶ Causal maps help understand **whether** and **how** we can uncover the effect we are after.
- ▶ Another name for causal map is **directed acyclic graphs, DAG** - graph of nodes and arrows.

## DAG: mechanisms

- ▶ Add variables that measure the mechanisms ( $m$ ) through which  $x$  and  $z$  affect  $y$ .
- ▶  $m_{zx}$  = through which  $x$  affects  $y$
- ▶  $m_{zy}$  = through which  $z$  affects  $y$ .



## Comparing Different Observations to Uncover Average Effects

- ▶ PO, DAG frameworks - think more precisely about the effect we want to measure.
- ▶ But:  $te_i$  cannot be measured
- ▶ = Counterfactual outcome ("what would have been") is never observed
- ▶ What is observable are:
  - ▶ The potential treated outcome ( $y_i^1$ ) for subjects treated.
  - ▶ The potential untreated outcome ( $y_i^0$ ) for subjects not treated.



## Comparing Different Observations to Uncover Average Effects

- Uncover **average potential outcomes** from the **average observable outcome** IF two good approximations.
  - Average of the observed outcomes for treated subjects ( $E[y_i | \mathbf{i} \text{ is treated}]$ )  $\approx$  the average of the potential treated outcomes across all subjects.
  - Average of the observed outcomes for untreated subjects ( $E[y_i | \mathbf{i} \text{ is not treated}]$ )  $\approx$  the average of the potential untreated outcomes across all subjects.

$$E[y_i | \mathbf{i} \text{ is treated}] \stackrel{?}{\approx} E[y_i^1] \quad (5)$$

$$E[y_i | \mathbf{i} \text{ is not treated}] \stackrel{?}{\approx} E[y_i^0] \quad (6)$$

## Comparing Different Observations to Uncover Average Effects

- Message: Data helps uncover ATE the closer observed groups represent theoretical concepts of PO.

## Random assignment

- ▶ **How can we get data** where these assumptions would hold?
- ▶ The **random assignment** condition = assignment is independent of potential outcomes
  - ▶ whichever subject ends up being treated or untreated is independent of their potential outcomes
- ▶ Random assignment == independence of potential outcomes.
  - ▶ Not about how the data was collected (unfortunate name)

## Random assignment and ATE

- ▶ Independence makes sure that **treated and untreated groups are similar in terms of their potential outcomes**, on average (on average = in expectation).
- ▶ And this means leads to a simple way to get a good estimate for the average treatment effect (ATE).
- ▶ So: if assignment is random, the difference between average observed outcomes of treated versus untreated subjects is a good estimate of ATE.
- ▶ Importantly, random assignment is a theoretical concept
- ▶ In practice, it is an aspiration to get close to, to get good estimate of ATE.

## Random assignment, ATE and ATET

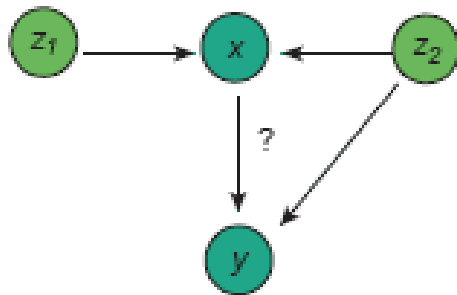
- ▶ Random assignment: observed difference is good estimate of ATE as well as ATET.
- ▶ Because, in this case, ATE and ATET are equal.
- ▶ Random assignment makes sure that those who end up being treated are no different in terms of their potential outcomes than the entire population.

## Sources of Variation in the Causal Variable

- Sources of variation in the causal variable - thinking task
- An **endogenous source of variation** is when the source of variation in  $x$  is also related to  $y$ .
- An **exogenous source** of variation is when a source of variation that affects  $x$  is independent of  $y$ .

## An exogenous and an endogenous source of variation in $x$

- ▶ Assumption 1:  $z_1$  is an exogenous source of variation in  $x$ ;
- ▶ Assumption 2:  $z_2$  is an endogenous source of variation in  $x$ .



## Sources of Variation in the Causal Variable

- ▶ Random assignment and exogeneity in the source of variation are close concepts.
- ▶ When assignment is random, there are only exogenous sources of variation in  $x$ .
- ▶ When assignment of  $x$  is not random, there are likely to be endogenous and exogenous sources of variation



## Good and bad sources

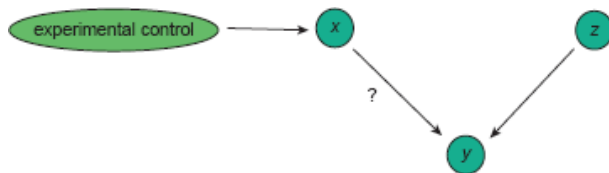
- ▶ For the question of the effect of  $x$  on  $y$ , we need to assess all things that may make  $x$  vary across observations, and then divide them into
  - ▶ good ones (exogenous) and
  - ▶ bad ones (endogenous).
- ▶ To uncover the effect we'll need to keep the good ones and get rid of the bad ones.
- ▶ Next bits + most of the course is about how to do that.

## Experimenting versus Conditioning: 1 Controlled experiments

- ▶ Controlled experiments allows for controlling variation in the causal variable
- ▶ Variation in the causal variable  $x$  is controlled by assigning values of  $x$  to the observations.
- ▶ The intervention is hence done by the analyst
- ▶ This practice is called **controlled assignment**.
  - ▶ attempts to make sure that the value of  $x$  observations “receive” is not affected by the decisions of people who may be interested in the outcome.
  - ▶ It can also help avoid reverse causality by not letting the outcome  $y$  affect  $x$  in any way.
- ▶ If binary treatment  $x$  variable observations are assigned to a treated and an untreated (“control”) group by the analyst.

## Controlled experimental variation in $x$

- ▶ Experimental control is the only source of variation in  $x$ .
- ▶ Other variables, summarized by  $z$ , may affect  $y$  but are unrelated to  $x$ .



## Experimenting versus Conditioning

- ▶ Sometimes controlled experiments are impossible, impractical, or would produce uninformative results,
- ▶ This is when data analysts will have to resort to using observational data.

## Experimenting versus Conditioning: 2 Natural experiments

- ▶ In natural experiments - may assume that variation in  $x$  in observational data is exogenous,
  - ▶ ... as if it came from a controlled experiment.
- ▶ Natural experiments do not have experimenters who assign treatment in a controlled way.
- ▶ Assume that assignment in a natural experiment took place as if it were a well-designed controlled experiment.
- ▶ Key is indeed exogenous variation in  $x$
- ▶ Example: Natural disasters, geography

## Experimenting versus Conditioning: 3 Conditioning

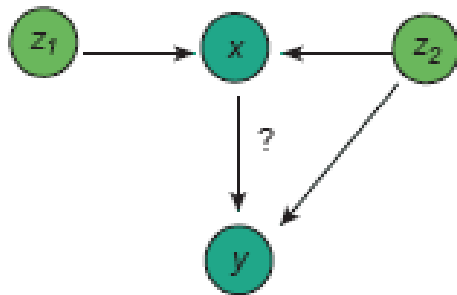
- ▶ Most often, no natural experiment situation
- ▶ Conditioning on endogenous sources of variation in the causal variable.
  - ▶ conditioning on the values of variable  $z$  when comparing the values of  $y$  by values of  $x$ .
- ▶ Let exogenous sources vary AND, not let endogenous sources vary.
- ▶ Comparing observations that are different in terms of exogenous sources of variation in  $x$ , while having similar values for the variables that are endogenous sources of variation.
- ▶ Why need difference in exogenous sources of variation in  $x$ ?
- ▶ Conditioning = isolating exogenous sources of variation in  $x$

## Confounders in Observational Data

- ▶ Confounding variables (confounders) in observational data
  - ▶ endogenous sources of variation in a causal variable
- ▶ The key issue to think about when doing causal analysis with observational data

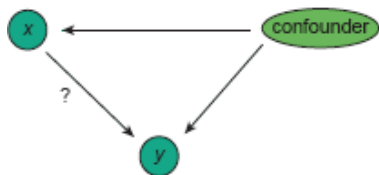
## Confounders in Observational Data

- ▶  $z_2$  is an endogenous source of variation in  $x$ .
- ▶ Makes  $y$  and  $x$  correlated even though  $x$  not cause  $y$  and  $y$  not cause  $x$ .

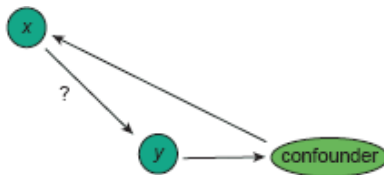




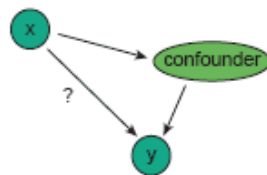
## Three types of confounders



(a) Common cause confounder



(b) Mechanism of reverse causality



(c) Unwanted mechanism confounder

## Common cause confounder

- ▶ When we speak of confounders we often mean common cause confounders
- ▶  $z$  affects  $y$
- ▶  $z$  also affects  $x$
- ▶ Examples could be income, education affecting several choices and conditions of people

## Mechanism of reverse causality

- ▶ The outcome variable  $y$  itself may affect the causal variable  $x$ : **reverse causality**.
- ▶ Here  $y$  affects  $x$  when, instead, we are interested in the effect of  $x$  on  $y$ .
- ▶ This reverse causality operates via the mechanism of  $z$ . Thus, here  $z$  is the mechanism of reverse causality.
- ▶ Example, if sales are going down the management of the firm may want to reverse that negative trend by advertising more.

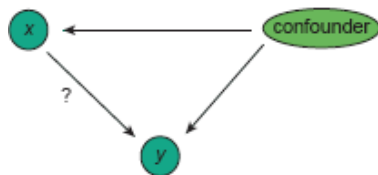
## Reverse causality

- ▶ Even more complicated: feedback loop
- ▶ That may induce feedback loops:  $x$  affecting  $y$ , then  $y$  affecting  $x$  in turn, and so forth.
- ▶ Positive feedback loops reinforce the original effect of  $x$ ; negative feedback loops diminish its effect.

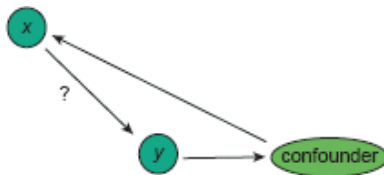
## Unwanted mechanism

- ▶ The third type of confounder is an unwanted mechanism confounder: a mechanism through which  $x$  affects  $y$ , but one that we want to exclude.
- ▶ Not actually a source of variation in  $x$ , but we want to condition on it nevertheless.
- ▶ It could be a mechanism of selection, that we want to exclude
  - ▶ Hard, more later...

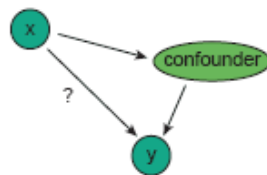
## Three types of confounders (repeated)



(a) Common cause confounder



(b) Mechanism of reverse causality



(c) Unwanted mechanism confounder

## Confounders in practice: Selection

- ▶ In business, economics and policy applications most confounder variables represent some kind of **selection**.
- ▶ **Self-selection** - when subjects themselves decide on whether they are treated or not (with binary  $x$ ), and that decision is related to confounder variable  $z$  that affects the outcome  $y$  as well.
  - ▶ or what level of the causal variable they get (with multi-valued  $x$ ),
- ▶ Could be common cause or unwanted mechanism

## From Latent Variables to Measured Variables

- ▶ From Causal map to data: latent and missing variables
- ▶ Causal map to data: two problems: (1) hard to measure, (2) not available.
- ▶ Confounders that we want to condition on are not directly measurable = **latent variables**.
- ▶ Variables in real data are often imperfect measures of the latent variables that we want to consider.
- ▶ Real data rarely includes variables that measure all of the confounders.



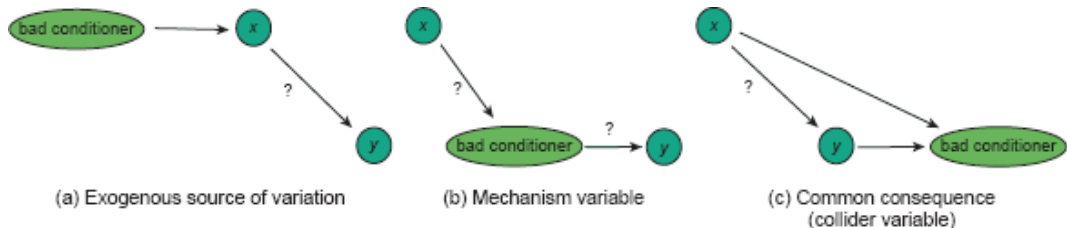
## Omitted variable bias

- ▶ Failing to condition on some of the confounders, or conditioning on imperfect measures of them, leads to a biased estimate of the effect.
- ▶ This is the **Omitted variable bias**

## The three types of bad conditioning variables

- ▶ There are variables that we should not condition on when trying to estimate the effect of  $x$  on  $y$ . Bad conditioning variables.
- ▶ **exogenous source of variation** in the causal variable  $x$ .
- ▶ **part of the mechanism** by which  $x$  affects  $y$  – that is of course if we want to include that mechanism in the effect we want to uncover
- ▶ **collider variable**: a common effect, or common consequence, of both  $x$  and  $y$ ;
- ▶ How to know if we should condition on a variable or not?
- ▶ Analyst must think and decide
- ▶ Causal map (DAG) helps

# The three types of bad conditioning variables



## The three types of bad conditioning variables

- ▶ **exogenous source of variation** in the causal variable  $x$ .
- ▶ **part of the mechanism** by which  $x$  affects  $y$  – that is of course if we want to include that mechanism in the effect we want to uncover
- ▶ **collider variable**: a common effect, or common consequence, of both  $x$  and  $y$ ;
- ▶ If you believe you have such variables, do NOT add them to a regression

## Comparing pros and cons of approaches

- ▶ Causality can be established
  - ▶ Controlled experiment = great confidence
  - ▶ Natural experiment = good confidence, but work is needed to prove it
  - ▶ Conditioning on confounders = never be certain.
- ▶ This is about internal validity
  - ▶ The extent of which we can be certain that indeed, we uncovered a causal relationship

## External validity

- ▶ However, there is another aspect
- ▶ External validity is measure of confidence about generalization
  - ▶ Will the causal relationship work in the future
  - ▶ Will the causal relationship work in other markets, countries
- ▶ Key issue throughout the course is discussing internal and external validity
  - ▶ Often a trade-off

## Constructive skepticism

- ▶ No analysis is perfect
  - ▶ Weigh pros and cons of different approaches
- ▶ One can still learn from a well-designed analysis
  - ▶ Be that a controlled experiment or an observational study
- ▶ Solid knowledge from many studies
  - ▶ With different approaches
  - ▶ Pointing to similar conclusion if biases well understood
    - ▶ some studies may be more biased than others
    - ▶ Need to take into account when summing up evidence from multiple studies

## Case study: Food and health: data

- ▶ You are what you eat
- ▶ causal statement: some kinds of food make you healthier than other kinds of food.
- ▶ Does eating more fruit and vegetables help us avoid high blood pressure?
- ▶ Case study briefly in lecture, please read details



## Case study: Food and health

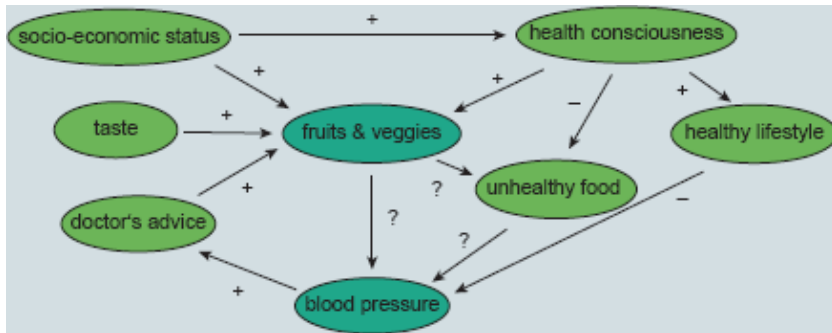
- ▶ The food-health dataset we use comes from the National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (NHANES) in the United States.
- ▶ The amount of fruit and vegetables consumed per day and blood pressure
  - ▶ Measured by an interview that asks respondents to recall everything they ate in two days.
- ▶ Blood pressure is sum of systolic and diastolic measures.
- ▶ Fruit and vegetables is the amount consumed per day (g)
- ▶ Source: food-health dataset, USA,
- ▶ ages 30–59, 2009–2013. N=7358.

## Case study: Food and health – descriptive statistics

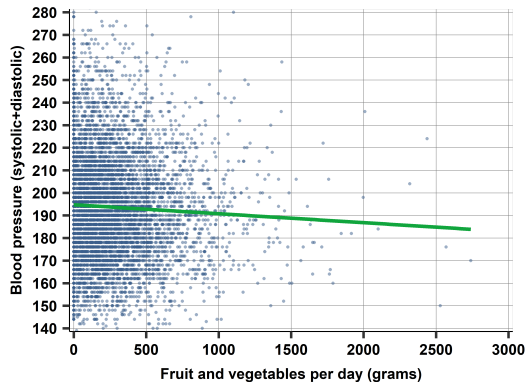
|                                     | Mean | Median | Std.Dev. | Min | Max  | Obs  |
|-------------------------------------|------|--------|----------|-----|------|------|
| Blood pressure (systolic+diastolic) | 194  | 192    | 24       | 129 | 300  | 7359 |
| Fruit and vegetables per day, grams | 361  | 255    | 383      | 0   | 3153 | 7359 |

Source: food-health dataset, USA, ages 30 to 59, 2009–2013.

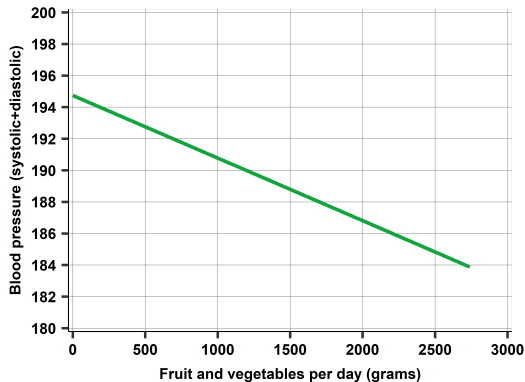
## Case study: A causal map - effect of fruit and vegetables on blood pressure



## Case study: Food and health- Correlation

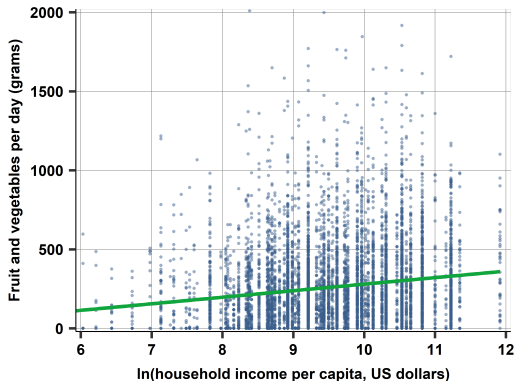


Scatterplot and regression line

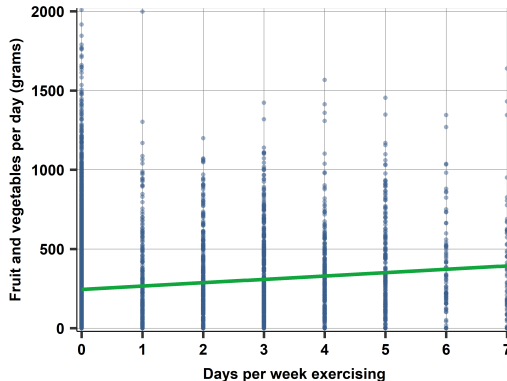


Regression line only

## Case study: Food and health- two sources of variation in eating veggies



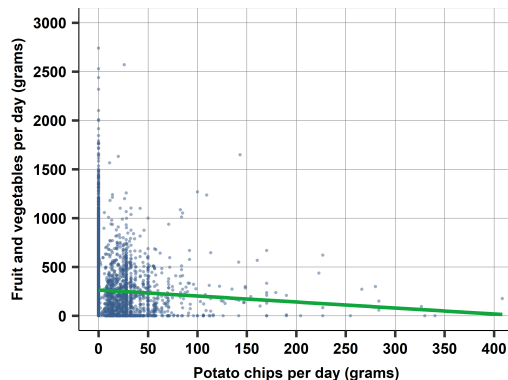
Log household income and amount fruit + vegetables



Days/week exercising and amount fruit + vegetables

## Case study: Food and health- Consumption of an unhealthy food item

- ▶ Chips consumption. Should we condition on?
- ▶ Yes. chips eating is a common cause. Chip eating signal unhealthy diet could affect chance of veggies and health
- ▶ No. A potential bad conditioning variable: Veggie eating causes less chips that causes better health. Unwanted mechanism.



## Summary

- ▶ Food and health correlated
- ▶ Many potential confounders
- ▶ Never be really causal
- ▶ But can offer insight and prompt experiments
- ▶ Can be informative - more likely causally true than not.