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Covariance Adjustments for the Analysis of Randomized Field Experiments

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Abstract

Background: It has become common practice to analyze randomized experiments using linear regression with covariates. Improved precision of treatment effect estimates is the usual motivation. In a series of important articles, David Freedman showed that this approach can be badly flawed. Recent work by Winston Lin offers partial remedies, but important problems remain. Results: In this article, we address those problems through a reformulation of the Neyman causal model. We provide a practical estimator and valid standard errors for the average treatment effect. Proper generalizations to well-defined populations can follow. Conclusion: In most applications, the use of covariates to improve precision is not worth the trouble.

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randomized field experiments, covariate adjustments, Neyman causal model.

Introduction

Researchers in the social and biomedical sciences often undertake the analysis of randomized field experiments with a regression model that includes indicator variables for the treatment and covariates thought to increase the precision of estimated treatment effects. The canonical formulation is nothing more than a conventional linear regression analysis having as predictors one or more indicator variables for the interventions and one or more covariates thought to be related to the response.

Many popular textbooks recommend this approach (Cox 1958; Kirk 1982; Wu and Hamada 2000). Thus, Wu and Hamada suggest "When auxiliary covariates are available, use analysis of covariance and regression analysis to incorporate such information in the comparison of treatments" (Wu and Hamada 2000, 84). It may not be surprising, therefore, that results from covariance-adjusted randomized experiments are common in criminal justice research (Maxwell, Davis, and Taylor 2010; Jeong, McGarrell, and Hipple 2012; Koper, Taylor, and Woods 2013; Graziano, Rosenbaum, and Schuck 2013; Asscher et al. 2013). It also may not be surprising that covariance adjustments for randomized experiments are often undertaken as part of more complicated analysis procedures, such as hierarchical linear models (Prendergast et al. 2011; James, Vila, and Daratha 2013).

In a series of important articles, Freedman (2006, 2008a, 2008b) argues that one should not apply covariance adjustments in the analysis of randomized field experiments. There can be substantial bias, which gets smaller in larger samples, but in practice can still be large enough to matter. There is also no guarantee that estimation precision will improve in any given sample. Probably most important, unless one's regression mean function is correct, there will be nonconstant disturbances that introduce bias into conventional estimates of the standard errors. These biases do not go away with increasing sample size. Consequently, confidence intervals and statistical tests are compromised, and hundreds of published studies are implicated. Going forward, consistent estimates of the standard errors can be obtained using robust estimators (i.e., the "sandwich"), but they require large samples to be sufficiently credible. In a very recent article, Lin (2013) examines Freedman's arguments with the intent of providing improved procedures for practitioners. He replicates Freedman's overall results and then turns to a conceptual framework that differs substantially from Freedman's. Within that framework, he is able to guarantee improved precision asymptotically. In addition, his standard errors are unbiased asymptotically so that in large samples, valid confidence intervals and statistical tests can be applied. There remains, however, the need for greater clarity on a number of key points and for more practical estimation procedures.

Lin's article helps to motivate the approach we take in the pages ahead. We begin with a brief review of the ubiquitous Neyman causal model. It is the approach that Freedman adopts. We then develop an alternative formulation that extends the reach of the Neyman causal model, in much the same spirit as Lin's work. A very practical estimator follows that performs better asymptotically than current competitors. Valid standard errors are also provided. The estimator's use is illustrated with real data.

Still, Freedman's advice for practitioners merits serious consideration. Textbook *t*-tests, perhaps generalized to analysis of variance, work well. Analyses with small samples will often benefit from increased power, but it is precisely in small samples where covariance adjustments can fail badly. With large samples, there will be commonly sufficient precision without introducing covariates into the analysis. Then, the use of covariates needs to be justified in a convincing fashion.

The Neyman Framework

The defining feature of randomized experiments is random assignment of study units. Any conceptual framework for the proper analysis of randomized experiments must be built around random assignment (Neyman 1923).¹

There is a set of *n* study subjects, each of which has a *potential* response under the treatment condition and a *potential* response under the control condition. Some number of the subjects n_T are assigned at random to the treatment condition with $n_C = n - n_T$ then assigned to the control condition. For ease of exposition, we assume one experimental group and one control group.

There is for each subject *i* an *observed* response Y_i under either the experimental or the control condition (but not both), and an observed set of covariate values \mathbf{x}_i . The \mathbf{x}_i are *fixed* over hypothetical randomizations of the *n* study subjects—they do not change. Random assignment only affects the intervention assigned and hence, which response one sees. It is

important to stress that random assignment is the only source of randomness in the data.²

Statistical Inference

Imagine that all of the study subjects were assigned to the treatment and their responses observed. Imagine that all of the study subjects were assigned to the control condition and their responses observed. Finally, imagine computing the difference between the mean of all the responses under the treatment condition and the mean of all the responses under the control condition. This *defines* the "average treatment effect" (ATE) that one seeks to estimate. The same basic reasoning can be applied to binary response variables and population proportions. We postpone a consideration of binary outcomes until later.

There is no formal role of some larger, finite population that the *n* study subjects are meant to represent. Statistical inference is motivated by an appreciation that the data being analyzed could have been different—the data are but one realization of the random assignment process applied to the study subjects on hand. Hypothetically, there is a very large number of different data realizations that vary solely because the *given* study subjects are being assigned at random repeatedly to the experimental and control conditions. It is often convenient to treat the totality of these realizations as the population to which inferences are drawn. Thus, there is no consideration of how the study subjects were initially chosen, and no statistical rationale for generalizing the results beyond those study subjects.

An intuitively pleasing plug-in estimate is routinely used: the difference in the data between the mean response of the experimentals and the mean response of the controls. Because of random assignment, this estimate of the ATE is unbiased regardless of the sample size. Arriving at proper statistical tests is not quite so straightforward.

Conventional t-tests. Very early, Fisher (1971, 44–49) showed by example how randomization of a given set of subjects leads naturally to statistical tests based on a hypothetical population of all possible random assignments of the set of subjects on hand. We now understand that within the Neyman perspective, random assignment can be understood as exhaustive random sampling without replacement from a finite population. All of the study subjects are assigned to either the experimental or control condition. Randomization tests can logically follow (Rosenbaum 2009, section 3.3.2).

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But conventional practice has by and large taken a different path. Researchers commonly favor textbook *t*-tests or extensions to analysis of variance. The experimental group and control group are at least implicitly treated as random samples from a much larger population, just as in survey research. Sampling is usually done without replacement and all of the realized variables are random, not fixed, variables—this is *not* the Neyman model. Yet, when the sample is small relative to the population, theory and practice based on the normal distribution generally works well (Freedman, Pisani, and Purves 2007, chapter 27, section 4). That is, the statistical tests violate key elements of Neyman's formulation, but usually do little inferential damage.

One can also proceed within a linear regression framework. The Neyman framework is implicitly discarded once again, but performance is still reasonable in practice. Thus,

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 I_i + \varepsilon_i, \tag{1}$$

where *i* is the subject index, I_i is a 1/0 indicator for which "1" represents the treatment condition and "0" represents the control condition, and ε_i is an unconventional disturbance term.

In Equation 1, ε_i must be related to I_i , the only source of randomness, and is neither independent and identically distributed nor mean zero. Nevertheless, we get a "weak" form of orthogonality between I_i and ε_i because deviations around the means for the experimentals and controls necessarily sum to zero (Freedman 2006, 4). An ordinary least squares estimate $\hat{\beta}_1$ is then an unbiased ATE estimate regardless of sample size.³

Conventional regression standard errors can be used for *t*-tests. The regression estimator assumes the same disturbance variance for the experimental outcome and the control outcome. The usual *t*-test for the difference between means allows for the disturbance variance for the experimentals to differ from the disturbance variance for the controls. Still, conventional regression can work well in practice unless this form of heteroscedasticity is quite extreme.

Equation 1 is *not* a structural equation model. It is just a convenient computational device with which to obtain ATE estimates and standard errors. But because Equation 1 looks like the kind of linear regression used in causal modeling, it is all too easily treated as such. Misunderstandings of this sort have real bite when covariates are introduced, as we will soon see.

In short, there are two reasonable ways to effectively approximate the correct statistical tests derived from the Neyman model. Both of these methods envision conventional random sampling in which the sample is substantially smaller than the population. Neither is consistent with the Neyman model. But in practice, both are usually satisfactory.

Introducing covariates. It has become common practice to include in Equation 1 one or more covariates to improve the precision of $\hat{\beta}_1$. For a single covariate,

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 I_i + \beta_2 X_i + \varepsilon_i, \tag{2}$$

where X_i is a fixed covariate thought to be related to Y_i , and all else is the same as in Equation 1. In particular, one still does not have a conventional regression disturbance term, and Equation 2 is *not* a structural equation model. Like Equation 1, Equation 2 is merely a computational device.

Researchers often include several covariates, all in service of improved precision in the estimate of β_1 , and there can be several different interventions, sometimes implemented in a factorial design. One can also find extensions into more complicated regression formulations such as hierarchical linear models. There is no need to consider such extensions here. We can proceed more simply with no important loss of generality.⁴

When a covariate is added to Equation 1, it would seem that the only change is from bivariate linear regression to multivariate linear regression. If Equation 1 is adequate, Equation 2 can only be better. But any actual improvements depend on certain features of the expanded equation.

Freedman stresses that Equation 2 must be first-order correct. That is, expectations of the fitted values from Equation 2 over realizations of the data must be the same as the conditional means of the response in the population composed of all possible realizations of the data. This means that within the experimental group and within the control group, the response must be related to the covariate in a linear manner, and the slopes of the two lines must be the same. Any treatment effect is manifested in the gap between the two slopes. Figure 1 is an illustration.

When Equation 2 is first-order correct, the desirable properties of Equation 1 carry over, and there is the prospect of improved precision. The constant gap between the two regression lines, represented by β_1 , is on the average how the response differs between the two groups. One still has an unbiased estimate of the ATE. The usual regression standard errors also can perform reasonably well. But why should Equation 2 be correct?

There is also a more fundamental problem. Under the Neyman model, no statistical justification exists for generalizations beyond the study subjects



Figure 1. The canonical RCT regression formulation—In the population, the experimental and control groups have the same slope. RCT means randomized controlled trial.

on hand. As others have pointed out (Heckman and Smith 1995; Berk 2005), without a sensible target population, the rationale for doing randomized experiments can be unclear.

The point of doing an experiment is to learn about the impact of interventions for some population of theoretical or policy interest. Thinking back to the classic polio experiments, the whole point was to learn from the study subjects how the polio vaccine would work in the population of children around the world. What would happen if they were all vaccinated? What would happen if they were all not vaccinated? Thus, the study subjects were taken to be a representative sample from that population. Clearly, key features of the Neyman causal model no longer apply. We need another way of thinking about randomized experiments.

Another Formulation

We begin with a set of random variables **Z** that have a joint probability distribution with a full-rank covariance matrix and four moments.⁵ With those moments as mathematical abstractions for common descriptive statistics such as means, variances, and covariances, the joint probability distribution can be properly seen as a population from which data could be randomly and independently realized. Alternatively, the population is the set of all potential observations that could be realized from the joint probability distribution. Both definitions are consistent with the material to follow, but the second definition may seem more grounded for many readers.

Using subject-matter information, a researcher designates one of the random variables to be the response Y and one or more other of the random variables as covariates **X**. There is then a conditional distribution $Y|\mathbf{X}$ whose conditional expectations $E(Y|\mathbf{X})$ constitute the population response surface. No functional forms are imposed and for generality, we allow the functional forms to be nonlinear.

It is important to emphasize that by taking a joint probability distribution as a starting point, Y and X are both random variables. Key parameters of the population are, therefore, *expected values* of various kinds. Standard approaches to probability sampling treat the population variables as fixed (Thompson 2002, section 1.1), so that the usual summary statistics can be population parameters. Our random variable approach leads to significant differences in the statistical theory and notation we use.

For now, we consider only a single covariate. We imagine that all hypothetical study subjects are exposed to the experimental condition. Alternatively, we imagine they are all exposed to the control condition. Under the former, there is for each individual a potential outcome and a value for the covariate. Under the latter, there is likewise a potential outcome and a value for the covariate. Both sets of outcomes can vary over individuals. For notational clarity, we use T_i to represent Y_i when a subject *i* is exposed to the treatment condition. T_i and C_i are still potential responses.

The ATE is *defined* as the difference between the population expectation E(T) and population expectation E(C). We also want to make use of any association between Y and X. For that, we need to return to the idea of a response surface.

For the hypothetical study subjects, there is a population response surface E(T|X) and another population response surface E(C|X). We allow the two to differ. There is also a *population* linear least squares regression under the experimental condition and another *population* linear least squares regression equation under the control condition. Each is the population linear approximation of its respective population response surface. The linear approximations take the following form in which, thanks to least squares, the disturbances v_i and v_i necessarily have a mean of zero and are uncorrelated with X_i .

Experimental group
$$T_i = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 X_i + v_i$$
, (3)

Control group
$$C_i = \gamma_0 + \gamma_1 X_i + \upsilon_i.$$
 (4)

No claim is made that Equations 3 and 4 result in parallel response surfaces. No claim is made that either can reproduce the actual conditional expectations of the response in the population. The true response surfaces can be substantially nonlinear. The flexibility of this formulation means that Freedman's concerns about model misspecification no longer apply or, as we show shortly, can be constructively addressed. That is, mean function specification errors do not matter. There can be omitted covariates, for instance.

In the population, the average treatment effect is derived as:

$$\tau = \alpha_0 - \gamma_0 + (\alpha_1 - \gamma_1)\theta, \tag{5}$$

where θ is the expectation of the covariate X. The value of τ is the difference between the intercepts of the two equations, adjusted for the covariate X. Our goal is to estimate the value of τ .

Estimation

Consider a realized random sample of study subjects from a population of possible study subjects, all necessarily characterized by the same joint probability distribution. For ease of exposition, suppose that the data are a simple random sample. Subsequently, some of the sampled units are assigned to the treatment condition and the rest are assigned to the control condition. There are now two sources of randomness: the random sampling and the random assignment. This is effectively the same as drawing one random sample from a population to use as the experimental group and another random sample from that population to use as the control group. When the former is exposed to the control condition, we get to see T. When the latter is exposed to the control condition, we get to see C.

To obtain estimates of the ATE, we apply least squares regression to the sample of experimentals consistent with Equation 3 and least squares regression separately to the sample of controls consistent with Equation 4. From these, we obtain estimates $\hat{\alpha}_0$, $\hat{\alpha}_1$, $\hat{\gamma}_0$, and $\hat{\gamma}_1$. The estimates can be used in place of their respective population parameters in Equation 5. The only remaining obstacle is to determine an appropriate value for θ .

Estimates of θ and the ATE Estimator Properties

Like Freedman and Lin, we rely on asymptotics. Some of the technical details are discussed in the appendix. A far more formal and complete treatment can be found in a working paper by Pitkin, Brown, and Berk (2013).

We imagine being able to generate a very large number of random samples from the set of potential study subjects, each with a revealed T_i or C_i , and X_i . For any given sample, there are three possible ATE estimators that depend on what is used for the value of θ in Equation 5.

For Lin, the population from which the subjects are drawn is real and finite. The researcher is assumed to know the population mean for the covariate, which can be used as the value of θ . In most social science applications, that mean will not be known.

As an alternative, one might compute for the experimental group regression the fitted value at the mean of its covariate values (i.e., at the mean of the covariate for the experimental group). For the control group regression, one might also compute the fitted value at the mean of its covariate values (i.e., at the mean of the covariate for the control group). But because each set of fitted values must go through the mean of its response and the mean of its covariate values, the estimate of the ATE is no different from the ATE estimate ignoring the covariate. The covariate adjustment changes nothing. One is simply comparing the mean response for the experimentals to the mean response for the controls. Even if gains in precision are possible, those gains are not achieved.

A preferred approach. Instead of using two different estimates of the covariate mean, one for the experimentals and one for the controls, one can use a single estimate for both by pooling the covariate values across the two groups. This makes sense because for both groups, the covariate values are realized from the same covariate distribution in the population.

Because for any given sample the pooled estimate of the covariate mean will likely differ from the separate estimates for the experimentals and controls, and because in any given sample the covariate will likely be correlated with the treatment indicator, the covariance adjustment now has bite. The adjusted means for the experimentals and controls, and hence, the ATE estimate, will differ from the unadjusted means and their ATE estimate. The two estimates of the adjusted means and the adjusted ATE estimate are asymptotically unbiased. That is, one obtains an asymptotically unbiased ATE estimate *even though the Equations 3 and 4 can be wrong*. Some of the intuitions behind this result are addressed in the appendix, and the formal proof can be found in the working paper by Pitkin, Brown, and Berk (2013).⁶

It is also possible to make good use of a centering strategy. One subtracts the pooled value of θ from the covariate values for both the experimentals and controls, and otherwise applies Equations 3 and 4 as usual. Then, the difference between α_0 and γ_0 is the ATE estimate. There is no need for Equation 5.

Suppose one were to allow θ to be any value of the covariate, not just the pooled covariate mean. Because we do not require that the population response surfaces be the same for the experimental group and control group, ATE estimates at other than the pooled mean of the covariate will depend on the two estimated mean functions. These are effectively arbitrary and unlikely to be correct. Expectations of the fitted values are not the same as the conditional means of the response in the population. Consequently, treatment effect estimates are biased asymptotically.

Figure 2, shows population regression lines for the experimentals and controls that differ and are incorrect. The proper ATE estimate is found at the pooled mean of the covariate. If the value of X_b is used instead, the estimate is incorrect and much larger. If the value of X_a is used instead, the estimate is incorrect, smaller, and with a different sign.

In addition, one or both of the mean functions may be nonlinear. Figure 2 shows with a dashed line a nonlinear mean function for the experimental group. Now that gap between the mean function of the experimental group and the mean function of the control group changes at a rate that is not constant. A proper estimate of the ATE can still be obtained at the pooled mean of the covariate, but not elsewhere.

Precision. Perhaps the major claim by those who favor the use of covariates and linear regression for the analysis of randomized experiments is that the precision of treatment effect estimates will be improved. Consider a variation on our population model.

$$T_i = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 X_i + f_{iT} + \xi_i, \tag{6}$$

$$C_i = \gamma_0 + \gamma_1 X_i + f_{iC} + \zeta_i. \tag{7}$$

In Equation 6, f_{iT} represents for experimental group member *i* any population disparity between the conditional expectation from the linear least squares regression and the conditional expectation of the response function. In Equation 7, f_{iC} represents for control group member *i* any population disparity between conditional expectation from the linear least squares regression and the conditional expectation of the response function. Both equations also have new disturbance terms ξ_i and ζ_i . These are conditional deviations in the population, for the experimental group and the control



Figure 2. RCT population regression with different slopes for the experimental group and the control group. RCT means randomized controlled trial.

group, respectively, between response values and the true conditional means. For the experimental group and control group separately, they are the "true" disturbances around the "true" response surface.

In Equations 3 and 4, the fitting disparities and the true disturbances were combined in v_i and v_i . Because Equations 3 and 4 were least squares regressions, the combined disturbances v_i and v_i were uncorrelated with their respective covariate values. One can show that this prevents asymptotic bias in sample estimates of the ATE. But the unknown fitting disparities affect estimates of the residual variance in a perverse manner (Pitkin, Brown, and Berk 2013).

It can then be shown that the estimated asymptotic standard error for the estimated ATE is

$$\widehat{\mathrm{SE}(\tau)} = \sqrt{\frac{\widehat{\mathrm{MSE}}_T}{n_T}} + \frac{\widehat{\mathrm{MSE}}_C}{n_C} + \frac{1}{2}(\hat{\alpha}_1 - \hat{\gamma}_1)^2 \frac{\hat{\sigma}_x^2}{n},\tag{8}$$

where subscripts *T* and *C* refer to the experimental group and control group respectively, *n* denotes a number of observations, σ^2 represents a variance, MSE is a regression mean squared error, and α_1 and γ_1 are the regression coefficients associated with the covariate as before. All of the symbols with "hats" are estimates from the sample. The \widehat{MSE} from each equation can be separately obtained for the experimentals and controls as part of conventional regression output.

In Equation 8, MSE has two components: the estimated variance of the true disturbances around the population response surface and the estimated variance of disparities between the expectation of the conditional means from the population linear regression and the actual population conditional means. Their sum constitutes the usual mean squared error of a regression and in practice, the two components cannot be disentangled.⁷

One can prove that asymptotically, $SE(\tau)$ will almost always be smaller than the standard error that results when the covariate is excluded (Pitkin, Brown, and Berk 2013). It can be slightly larger if the covariate is unrelated to the response and should not, therefore, have been included in the analysis. One gives up a degree of freedom with no compensatory reduction in the residual variance.

More Than One Covariate

Generalization beyond a simple covariate is straightforward. We begin by expanding the number of covariates in the population linear regressions.

$$T_i = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 x_{i1} + \ldots + \alpha_p X_{ip} + f_{iT} + \nu_i.$$
(9)

$$C_i = \gamma_0 + \gamma_1 x_{i1} + \ldots + \gamma_{ip} X_p + f_{iC} + \upsilon_i.$$
⁽¹⁰⁾

The ATE definition must be adjusted accordingly, and the estimator falls in line. Thus,

$$\hat{\tau} = (\bar{T} - \bar{C}) - \bar{\mathbf{X}}'(\hat{\alpha} - \hat{\gamma}).$$
(11)

 $\bar{\mathbf{X}}$ is a vector of the *p* covariate means for the experimental group and control group combined.⁸ These may be estimated from the data as described earlier. The values of $\hat{\alpha}$ and $\hat{\gamma}$ are vectors of the *p* estimated regression coefficients (but not the intercepts) for the experimental and control group, respectively. As before, if one works with centered covariates, the difference in the intercepts ($\hat{\alpha}_0 - \hat{\gamma}_0$) is the ATE estimate.⁹ Then, Equation 11 is unnecessary.

$$\widehat{\operatorname{SE}(\tau)} = \sqrt{\frac{\widehat{\operatorname{MSE}}_T}{n_T}} + \frac{\widehat{\operatorname{MSE}}_C}{n_C} + \frac{(\hat{\alpha} - \hat{\gamma})'\hat{\sum}_x(\hat{\alpha} - \hat{\gamma})}{N}.$$
 (12)

Equation 12 is the new expression for the estimated standard error of $\hat{\tau}$, in which all of the previous notation carries over, and $\hat{\sum}_x$ is the sample covariance matrix of the predictors for the pooled data. As before, the two \widehat{MSE} 's can be routinely obtained from their respective regression output. The same holds for all of the arguments in Equation 12. If one does not have access to a programming language such as in R or in STATA, $\widehat{SE}(\tau)$ can be easily obtained with a pocket calculator. $\widehat{SE}(\tau)$ has excellent performance asymptotically (Pitkin, Brown, and Berk 2013).¹⁰

Finally, Equations 9 and 10 assume that the included covariates are determined once and for all before the regression analysis begins. There is no model selection. For example, trying various combinations of covariates in search of the combination that yields the smallest value for $SE(\tau)$ is ruled out. Just as in any kind of regression analysis, model selection can lead to seriously biased parameter estimates and statistical tests that do not perform properly (Leeb and Pötscher 2006; Berk et al. 2010). If the sample size is at least several times larger than the number of prospective covariates, it will often make sense to simply include all of them.¹¹

Binary Responses

The mean of a binary variable coded 1 and 0 is a proportion. One might expect, therefore, that our formulation can apply to binary response variables. The ATE becomes the difference in proportions rather than the difference in means.

Perhaps unexpected is that one can proceed with ordinary least squares just as before. The estimate of ATE is asymptotically unbiased, and the sample version of Equations 11 and 12 still apply. However, because of the linear form of regression fit, one can in principle obtain estimates of the proportions for the experimentals and controls that are larger than 1.0 or smaller than 0.0. It follows that the difference in the proportions can be less than -1.0 or more than 1.0.

Recall that the estimate of ATE is obtained at the pooled average of the covariate means for experimentals and controls. Typically, this will locate the ATE estimate toward the center the covariate distribution where extrapolations outside of the -1 to 1 range do not occur. However, if the

covariate distributions for the experimentals and controls have little or no overlap, and the covariate slopes are very different, it is possible to arrive at ATE estimates larger that 1.0 or smaller than -1.0. Fortunately, because the experimentals and controls are both random samples from the same population, this is a highly unlikely occurrence unless the sample size is very small (e.g., <20). Moreover, the ATE standard errors should show that the point estimates are not to be taken very seriously.¹²

Count Responses

The methods proposed should work adequately for count data. Each count is simply treated as a quantitative response. The ATE is again the difference between conditional means. Our standard errors apply.

Probably the major concern is obtaining fitted values less than 0. Just as with binary data, this should be a very rare occurrence found only in very small samples. And again, the standard errors should convey proper caution.

Working With Convenience Samples

By and large, RCTs are not conducted with random samples. The usual practice is to work with convenience samples. Our approach does not formally apply when the units randomly assigned are not a random sample from a larger population.

Nevertheless, under the right circumstances, one may be able to credibly proceed as if the convenience sample is a random sample. One should try to make a convincing argument that treating the data as a random sample is reasonable. That will depend on how the sample was constructed and on the nature of both the intervention and the response.

For example, from a population of prison inmates eligible for jobs reserved for trustees, the positions may be filled as openings occur from a waiting list ordered chronologically by the admissions date. Those who have been waiting the longest are chosen first. One certainly can think of ways in which such a sample differs from a true random sample, but the differences may not be sufficiently important. Do inmates who have been longer on the waiting list differ substantially from those who have been shorter on the waiting list in ways related to their potential responses under experimental and control conditions? If not, then perhaps a randomized experiment using the inmates with trustee jobs may usefully fit within our formulation. For the experiment, the population to which generalizations can be made is all trustee inmates in that prison.¹³

A Brief Example

Beginning on October 1, 2007, the Philadelphia Department of Probation and Parole (ADPP) launched a randomized experiment to test the impact on recidivism of reducing the resources allocated to low-risk offenders (Berk et al. 2010). Enrollment of low-risk offenders began on that date. At intake, each probationer or parolee was assigned a risk category developed for the ADPP to forecast which offenders were unlikely to be arrested for new crimes while under supervision. Those projected to be low risk were included in the experiment until the target sample size of 1,200 was reached. Enrollment proceeded sequentially.

Although the study subjects were not literally a random sample of parolees and probationers, it is perhaps reasonable to treat the study subjects as a useful approximation of a random sample of low-risk parolees and probationers in Philadelphia for several years before and several years after the study. The number of parolees over that time is well over 200,000 and that was the population to which inferences were to be drawn. There was no evidence of short-term secular trends in the mix of probationers or parolees over that interval. There were also no important changes in the State Penal Code or ADPP administrative practices.

Shortly after intake, the equivalent of a coin flip determined the arm of the experiment to which a low-risk offender was assigned. Approximately half were assigned at random to the Department's regular form of supervision, and the reminder were assigned at random to what one might call "supervision-lite." For example, mandatory office visits were reduced from once a month to once every 6 months.

The outcome of interest was binary: whether there was a new arrest within the 12-month follow-up period. After a 12-month follow-up, 15% of the control group were rearrested compared to 16% of the experimental group. Using the standard two-sample *t*-test, the null hypothesis of no difference could not be rejected at anything close to conventional levels. Supervision-lite had virtually no demonstrable impact on recidivism. The weight of the evidence supported a dramatic reduction in supervision for low-risk offenders. As a result, the ADPP reorganized its supervisory resources accordingly.

Table 1 shows three ATE estimators and their standard errors. The first estimator is nothing more than the difference between proportions. Its estimated standard error is computed by the conventional textbook formula. The second estimator is based on the usual covariance adjusted approach that Freedman criticized. The third is our recommended approach. For the

Estimator	ATE Estimate	SE
Random X, no covariance adjustments	0.013	0.0179
Fixed X, conventional covariance adjustments	0.011	0.0183
Random X, recommended covariance adjustments	0.012	0.0182

Table I. Three Estimators for the Binary Response of Rearrest During the ADPP "Low-Risk" Experiment.

Note. ADPP = Philadelphia Department of Probation and Parole; ATE = average treatment effect; SE = standard error. N = 1.157.

last two, we included three covariates: the risk score used to identify the low-risk offenders, race, and the age at which a first arrest was recorded.

We included the risk score because it was derived from a large number of predictors related to recidivism and because it had a strong association with rearrest for the full set of offenders. That is, it forecasted well across all types of offenders. We expected a modest association at best for the lowrisk subset of offenders. We included race because it was on political grounds excluded from the set of predictors used to construct the risk score and also had a demonstrated association with risk. We included the age variable even though it has been incorporated in the risk score because it might have some association with response than had not been captured in the risk score.

Table 1 shows that all three methods have effectively the same ATE estimate and standard error. One cannot reject the null hypothesis of no difference for any of the estimators. We also estimated the standard error using the nonparametric bootstrap, which like all bootstrap procedures is only justified asymptotically. The estimated standard error is 0.0184, virtually the same as the other standard error estimates.

With the sample size of 1,157, there are effectively no concerns about small-sample bias. Each estimation approach can put its best foot forward. Why do they too all perform so similarly?¹⁴ For these data, the multiple correlation between the covariates and the response is essentially zero. The covariance adjustments use up three degrees of freedom with no gain in precision. In retrospect, the lack of association makes sense. The offenders who were subjects in the experiment had already been selected using almost all of the predictor information available. In short, there was no reason to go beyond the conventional difference in means and a two-sample *t*-test.

Although the almost total lack of association between the covariates and the response variable is probably unusual, several other criminal justice experiments we reanalyzed were not dramatically different. None of the relevant multiple correlations were larger than .36. Simulations we have performed indicate that precision is not likely to be meaningfully improved unless the multiple correlation is larger than about .40.

For example, we reanalyzed parts of the Portland (Oregon) Domestic Violence Experiment (Jolin et al. 1996) using data obtained from the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research. The key intervention was the creation of a special police unit devoted to misdemeanor domestic violence crimes. We considered three postintervention outcomes reported by the victim: counts of the number of times beaten up, threatened, or hit. We worked with a sample size of 396 cases. The highest multiple correlation with the covariates was for the threat outcome: .36. With no covariates, the estimated ATE was .23, effectively zero with counts that often ranged into the 20s. When covariates were introduced, the estimated ATE varied from .29 to .30 depending on the estimator. Over all three estimators, the estimated standard error ranged from .24 to .26. Again, the simple difference in means and the textbook *t*-test was all that was needed.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Freedman effectively critiques regression analyses of randomized experiments in which covariates are introduced. But in our view, there are more fundamental problems. Freedman works from the Neyman formulation that imposes significant constraints on how practitioners can proceed. Because the covariates are treated as fixed, generalizations beyond the data on hand have no formal rationale.

Lin implicitly loosens the ties to the Neyman approach by making use of a real, finite population from which the data can be treated as a random sample. His conclusions are less pessimistic than Freedman's. However, his proposed estimator will usually not be operational in practice, and its conceptual foundations could benefit from greater clarity and reach.

We offer a formulation that explicitly addresses the need to port the results from any randomized experiment to a larger population. There are still risks and in practice, complications will often arise. But in the presence of covariates, our ATE estimates are asymptotically unbiased even when the linear regression formulation is first-order incorrect. Omitted variables or wrong functional forms do not compromise the ATE estimates. Our asymptotic standard errors offer greater precision than current alternatives and should work well in large-sample applications. Even in small samples, they can provide some protection against ATE estimates that are likely to be unreasonable. To enjoy these benefits, however, practitioners will require data from a real random sample or be able to make a convincing case that the data on hand can be usefully treated as such.

Still, one has to wonder if any of these covariance-based options are really worth the trouble. Simple differences in means or proportions are unbiased ATE estimates under the Neyman model or under random sampling. No asymptotics are required. One also has textbook tests that are valid with random sampling, and which work reasonably well under the Neyman formulation. Possible gains in precision from covariance adjustments are in principle most needed with small samples, a setting in which they currently have no formal justification.

Appendix

The combination of random predictors and unknown nonlinear response surfaces raise issues that the Neyman-fixed predictor approach sidesteps. Although this is not the appropriate venue for reviewing our underlying mathematics (see Pitkin, Brown, and Berk 2013), many important insights into our approach can be gained through simple visualizations.

Consider a bivariate joint probability distribution composed of random variables Z. The joint distribution has means (called expectations), variances, and covariates much like an empirical population composed of fixed variables. Therefore, the joint probability distribution can be properly seen as a legitimate population from which each observation in a sample is randomly and independently realized from that distribution. Alternatively and with perhaps fewer abstractions, the population can be conceptualized as all potential study subjects that could be realized from the joint probability distribution.

Using subject-matter information, a researcher designates one of the random variables as a predictor X, and another the random variable as a response Y. Unlike conventional regression formulations, these designations have nothing to do with how the data were generated.

We can address our key points for now with a single predictor and a single response. Within the joint probability distribution, there is a conditional distribution Y|X. The expectations of this conditional distribution E(Y|X)



Figure A1. A random variable X and random variable Y from a joint probability distribution.

can be called a "response surface." In less formal language, the response surface is the population mean of the response for each value of the predictor. Figure A1 is a two-dimensional plot showing with the dotted line a population response surface E(Y|X).

In Figure A1, the solid black line represents the population linear least squares regression of Y on X within the joint probability distribution. As such, it is a linear approximation of the population response surface. The true response surface and its linear approximation usually will be unknown.

Each observation in data on hand is taken to be a random realization for the joint probability distribution. A sample is a set of realizations produced independently of one another. The researcher wants to estimate features of the joint probability distribution from the data on hand. There are two approaches that differ by the manner in which the predictor values in the data are viewed.

First, the predictor values can be treated as fixed once they are randomly realized. In other words, one envisions independent repeated realizations of the data, but only for cases with the same set of predictor values in the data on hand. This comports well with common practice, especially in economics. As a formal matter, the sample can be used for generalizations to a joint probability distribution in which only the sample predictor values are found. For example, if there are no individuals older than 50 in the sample, generalizations of the results to individuals older than 50 have no formal justification. In short, sample estimates are *conditional* on the realized predictor values.

Second, the predictor values can be treated as random even when those values are for covariates used in a regression analysis. In other words, one envisions independent repeated realizations of the data, with both the y values and the x values free to vary as they do in the joint probability distribution. One can formally generalize to the full joint probability distribution, which can be very desirable in policy-driven randomized experiments. The price is a more complicated conceptual framework and a reliance on asymptotic results. But, sample estimates are *unconditional* with respect to predictor values.

We adopt the second approach. For ease of exposition, suppose for the moment that Y is a deterministic function X and that there are two sets of realized data from the joint distribution. That is, there are no disturbances contained within the Y values of either sample. The blue circles represent one sample and the red circles represent the other sample. The blue line is the sample least squares line for the blue data, and the red line is the sample least squares line for the red data. As straight lines, neither can capture the true nonlinear response surface. In addition, both lines differ from the true population linear approximation of the true response surface, even though both conditional relationships are deterministic.

Requiring that Y be a deterministic function of X is unrealistic. Suppose now that there are conventional disturbances. The dotted line still represents the true conditional expectations of Y given X : E(Y|X). But now the red and blue circles are the conditional means of Y given X for the two sets of realized data. Figure A2 is meant to convey how any least squares line from a sample will be a biased estimate of the population linear approximation.

With a nonlinear response surface and the predictor a random variable, any set of realized values will necessarily provide an incomplete picture of the population linear approximation. Biased estimate follows. But the bias disappears asymptotically when the full response surface is revealed the slope and intercept of a sample regression line are asymptotically unbiased estimates of the slope and intercept of the population linear approximation.

Figure A2 is much like Figure A1, except there is now a population experimental group shown above a population control group. Each is assigned to a treatment condition or a comparison condition, respectively. The two true



Figure A2. A joint probability distribution with an experimental and control group: parallel response surfaces. The higher response surface is for the experimental group, and the lower response surface is for the control group.

response surfaces are nonlinear but for now, parallel. All vertical distances between the two represent the average difference in their conditional expectations and define the ATE. For any value of *X*, the ATE is the same.

There are two population linear approximations, one for the experimental group and one for the control group. Because the two response surfaces are parallel, the vertical distance between the lines is also the ATE. As before, the sample least squares lines are biased. But as before, the bias declines with larger sample sizes so that both of the sample slopes and both of the intercepts are asymptotically unbiased. As shown in the figure, however, sample regression lines are not likely to be parallel (hence the bias).

It might seem, therefore, that a least squares line for the experimental group and a least squares line for the control group would provide the necessary information for a good estimate of the ATE. If the number of observations in the experimental group is the same as the number of observations in the control group, and the covariate is mean centered, the difference in the intercepts is an unbiased estimate of the ATE. No asymptotics are required because the bias in the sample regression for the experimental group and the bias in the sample regression for the control group cancel out. Moreover, if the sample sizes are different but known, unbiased estimates may be obtained by computing the correspondingly reweighted average of the two intercepts.



Figure A3. Joint probability distribution with an experimental and control group: nonparallel true response surfaces parallel response surfaces. The higher response surface is for the experimental group, and the lower response surface is for the control group.

In practice, it will be unusual for a researcher to have parallel true response surfaces for the experimental group and the control group. In practice, moreover, the nature of the true response surfaces will be unknown. Prudence dictates, therefore, allowance for true response surfaces that are not parallel.

Figure A3 provides an example. Because the true response surfaces are not parallel, the distance between them is not constant. The same applies to the true linear approximations. Yet, as population least squares lines, both linear approximations must pass through their respective means for the response Y and the mean of the covariate X. It follows that the difference between the linear approximations at the expectation of the covariate defines the population ATE.

Finally, because the sample least squares lines are asymptotically unbiased estimates of their population linear approximations, the distance between the sample least squares line for the experimental group and the sample least squares line for the control group computed at the mean of the covariate is an asymptotically unbiased estimate of the population ATE. These results generalize to situations in which there is more than one covariate.

In practice, a good way to proceed in large samples is to center each covariate on its pooled mean for the experimental and control groups and use the difference between the intercepts of the two sample least squares lines as the ATE estimate. The expression we provided for the standard error will then allow proper statistical tests and confidence intervals.

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Notes

- The Neyman framework is often called the Neyman–Rubin model because of important extensions and enrichments introduced by Donald Rubin (Holland 1986). The Neyman–Rubin model dominates current thinking about the analysis of randomized experiments and quasi experiments (Rosenbaum 2009). But for our purposes, Neyman's foundational work is what's relevant.
- 2. Despite common practice, covariates cannot be "mediators" under the Neyman model. Mediators are variables that can be altered by the intervention that, in turn, impact the response. They depend necessarily on the intervention assigned. In contrast, Neyman covariates are measured before an experimental intervention or if not, are on theoretical grounds treated as causally unaffected. The study of mediator variables requires a very different formulation within structural equation modeling traditions (Wu and Zumbo 2008). The Neyman model no longer applies.
- 3. One necessarily assumes there is no systematic measurement error in the response and no measurement error of any kind in the treatment indicator. These requirements would be no less essential were one analyzing an experiment using a conventional *t*-test on the difference between means.
- 4. Stratifying by covariates can also improve precision (Miratrix, Sekhon, and Yu 2013). But the approach differs from regression and is beyond the scope of this article. See Pitkin, Brown, and Berk (2013) for a proper treatment. There are a variety of other matching procedures, but in general covariance adjustments are more effective if the goal is increased precision.
- 5. These requirements of the joint probability distribution rarely matter in practice.
- 6. An approach taken by Imbens and Wooldridge (2009) has many parallels, but they assume that the model is correct.
- 7. Here, one only needs to estimate the *sum* of the disturbance variance and the variance of the fitting disparities.

- 8. As pointed out earlier, if the separate covariate means for the experimental group and the control group are computed from the data and used, one is returned to the "naive" estimator from no gains in precision are possible.
- 9. The centering is done with covariate means computed from the pooled data.
- 10. If requested, the authors can provide code in R for estimates of the proper standard errors.
- 11. As already noted, the covariates are included solely to improve precision. They have no subject-matter role in part because we allow the regression equations to be wrong. One happy result is that high correlations between the covariates are of no concern unless they are so high that the usual least squares calculations cannot be undertaken.
- 12. We have just begun to explore whether our formulation can be properly applied to the full generalized linear model and in particular, binomial regression. The technical issues are challenging.
- 13. A less powerful generalization approach employs stratification. One subsets the data into groups with similar values for the covariate. For each of these groups, a separate analysis is undertaken. The approach loses power because the original sample is spread across strata. And with smaller samples, asymptotic properties may not be very comforting. Details can be found in Pitkin, Brown, and Berk (2013).
- 14. All three estimated standard errors are from a single data set. Size comparisons across the estimated standard errors convey little about their average relative performance. Moreover, there is an apples and oranges problem because fixed X approaches and random X approaches are addressing somewhat different sources of uncertainty.

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