

## **Instrumental variables methods in experimental criminological research: what, why and how**

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**Abstract.** Quantitative criminology focuses on straightforward causal questions that are ideally addressed with randomized experiments. In practice, however, traditional randomized trials are difficult to implement in the untidy world of criminal justice. Even when randomized trials are implemented, not everyone is treated as intended and some control subjects may obtain experimental services. Treatments may also be more complicated than a simple yes/no coding can capture. This paper argues that the instrumental variables methods (IV) used by economists to solve omitted variables bias problems in observational studies also solve the major statistical problems that arise in imperfect criminological experiments. In general, IV methods estimate causal effects on subjects who comply with a randomly assigned treatment. The use of IV in criminology is illustrated through a re-analysis of the Minneapolis domestic violence experiment. The results point to substantial selection bias in estimates using treatment delivered as the causal variable, and IV estimation generates deterrent effects of arrest that are about one-third larger than the corresponding intention-to-treat effects.

**Key words:** causal effects, domestic violence, local average treatment effects, non-compliance, two-stage least squares

### **Background**

I'm not a criminologist, but I've long admired criminology from afar. As an applied economist who puts the task of convincingly answering causal questions at the top of my agenda, I've been impressed with the no-nonsense outcome-oriented approach taken by many quantitative criminologists. Does capital punishment deter? Do drug courts reduce recidivism? Does arrest for domestic assault reduce the likelihood of a repeat offense? These are the sort of straightforward and practical causal questions that I can imagine studying myself.

I also appreciate the focus on credible research designs reflected in much of the criminological research agenda. Especially noteworthy is the fact that, in marked contrast with an unfortunate trend in education research, criminologists do not appear to have been afflicted with what social scientist Tom Cook (2001) calls 'sciencephobia.' This is a tendency to eschew rigorous quantitative research designs in favor of a softer approach that emphasizes process over outcomes. In fact, of the disciplines tracked in a survey of social science research methods by Boruch et al. (2002), Criminology is the only one to show a marked *increase* in the use of randomized trials since the mid-sixties.

The use of randomized trials in criminology has continued to grow and, by now, criminological experiments have been used to study interventions in policing, prevention, corrections, and courtrooms (Farrington and Welsh 2005). Randomized trials are increasingly seen as the gold standard for scientific evidence in the crime field, as they are in medicine (Weisburd et al. 2001). At the same time, a number of considerations appear to limit the applicability of randomized research designs to criminology.

A major concern in the criminological literature is the possibility of a failed research design (see, e.g., Farrington 1983; Rezmovic et al. 1981; Gartin 1995). Gartin (1995) notes that two sorts of design failure seem especially likely. The first, *treatment dilution*, is when subjects or units assigned to the treatment group do not get treated. The second, *treatment migration*, is when subjects or units in the control group nevertheless obtain the experimental treatment. These scenarios are indeed potential threats to the validity of a randomized trial. For one thing, with non-random crossovers, the group that ends up receiving treatment may no longer be comparable to the remaining pool of untreated controls. In addition, if intended treatment is only an imperfect proxy for treatment received, it seems clear that an analysis based on the original intention-to-treat probably understates the causal effect of treatment *per se*. Not unique to criminology, these problems arise when neither subjects nor those delivering treatment can be blinded and, must, in any case, be given some discretion as to program participation for both practical and ethical reasons.<sup>1</sup>

The purpose of this paper is to show how the instrumental variables (IV) methods widely used in Economics solve both the treatment dilution and treatment migration problems. As a by-product, the IV framework also opens up the possibility of a wide range of flexible experimental research designs. These designs are unlikely to raise the sort of ethical questions that are seen as limiting the applicability of traditional experimental designs in crime and justice (see e.g., Weisburd 2003, for a discussion). Finally, the logic of IV suggests a number of promising quasi-experimental research designs that may provide a reasonably credible (and inexpensive) substitute for an investigator's own random assignment.<sup>2</sup>

### **Motivation: the Minneapolis domestic violence experiment**

Treatment migration and treatment dilution are features of one of the most influential randomized trials in criminological research, the Minneapolis domestic violence experiment (MDVE), discussed in Sherman and Berk (1984) and Berk and Sherman (1988). The MDVE was motivated by debate over the importance of deterrence effects in the police response to domestic violence. Police are often reluctant to make arrests for domestic violence unless the victim demands an arrest or the suspect does something that warrants arrest (beside the assault itself). As noted by Berk and Sherman (1988), this attitude has many sources: a general reluctance to intervene in family disputes, the fact that domestic violence cases may not be prosecuted, genuine uncertainty as to what the best course of action is,

and an incorrect perception that domestic assault cases are especially dangerous for arresting officers.

In response to a politically charged policy debate as to the wisdom of making arrests in response to domestic violence, the MDVE was conceived as a social experiment that might provide a resolution. The research design incorporated three treatments: arrest, ordering the offender off the premises for 8 hours, and some form of advice that might include mediation. The research design called for one of these three treatments to be randomly selected each time participating Minneapolis police officers encountered a situation meeting the experimental criteria (some kind of apparent misdemeanor domestic assault where there was probable cause to believe that a cohabitant or spouse had committed an assault against the other party in the past 4 hours). Cases of life-threatening or severe injury, i.e., felony assault, were excluded. Both suspect and victim had to be present upon the intervening officers' arrival.

The randomization device was a pad of report forms that were randomly color-coded for each of the three possible responses. Officers who encountered a situation that met the experimental criteria were to act according to the color of the form on top of the pad. The police officers who participated in the experiment had volunteered to take part, and were therefore expected to comply with the research design. On the other hand, strict adherence to the randomization protocol was understood by the experimenters to be both unrealistic and inappropriate.

In practice, officers often deviated from the responses called for by the color of the report form drawn at the time of an incident. In some cases, suspects were arrested when random assignment called for separation or advice. Most arrests in these cases came about when a suspect attempted to assault an officer, a victim persistently demanded an arrest, or if both parties were injured. In one case where random assignment called for arrest, officers separated instead. In a few cases, advice was swapped for separation and *vice versa*. Although most deviations from the intended treatment reflected purposeful action on the part of the officers involved, sometimes deviations arose when officers simply forgot to bring their report forms.

As noted above, non-compliance with random assignment is not unique to the MDVE or criminological research. Any experimental intervention where ethical or practical considerations lead to a deviation from the original research protocol is likely to have this feature. It seems fair to say that non-compliance is usually unavoidable in research using human subjects. Gartin (1995) discusses a number of criminological examples with compliance problems, and non-compliance has long been recognized as a feature of randomized medical trials (see e.g., Efron and Feldman 1991).

In the MDVE, the most common deviation from random assignment was the failure to separate or advise when random assignment called for this. This can be seen in Table 1, taken from Sherman and Berk (1984), which reports a cross-tabulation of treatment assigned and treatment delivered. Of the 92 suspects randomly assigned to be arrested, 91 were arrested. In contrast, of the 108 suspects randomly assigned to receive advice, 19 were arrested and five were separated. The

Table 1. Assigned and delivered treatments in spousal assault cases.

Assigned treatment	Delivered treatment			Total
	Arrest	Coddled		
		Advise	Separate	
Arrest	98.9 (91)	0.0 (0)	1.1 (1)	29.3 (92)
Advise	17.6 (19)	77.8 (84)	4.6 (5)	34.4 (108)
Separate	22.8 (26)	4.4 (5)	72.8 (83)	36.3 (114)
Total	43.4 (136)	28.3 (89)	28.3 (89)	100.0 (314)

The table shows statistics from Sherman and Berk (1984), Table 1.

compliance rate with the advice treatment was 78%. Likewise, of the 114 suspects randomly assigned to be separated 26 were arrested and five were advised. The compliance rate with the separation treatment was 73%.

Importantly, the random assignment of *intended* treatments in the MDVE does not appear to have been subverted (Berk and Sherman 1988). At the same time, it is clear that delivered treatments had a substantial behavioral component. The variable ‘treatment delivered’ is, in the language of econometrics, *endogenous*. In other words, delivered treatments were determined in part by unobserved features of the situation that were very likely correlated with outcome variables such as re-offense. For example, some of the suspects who were arrested in spite of having been randomly assigned to receive advice or be separated were especially violent. An analysis that contrasts outcomes according to the treatment delivered is therefore likely to be misleading, generating an over-estimate of the power of advice or separation to deter violence. I show below that this is indeed the case.<sup>3</sup>

A simple, commonly used approach to the analysis of randomized clinical trials with imperfect compliance is to compare subjects according to original random assignment, ignoring compliance entirely. This is known as an intention-to-treat (ITT) analysis. Because ITT comparisons use only the original random assignment, and ignore information on treatments actually delivered, they indeed provide unbiased estimates of the causal effect of researchers’ intention to treat. This is valuable information which undoubtedly should be reported in any randomized trial. The ITT effect predicts the effects of an intervention in circumstances where compliance rates are expected to be similar to those observed in the study used to estimate the ITT effect. At the same time, ITT estimates are almost always too small relative to the effect of treatment itself. It is the latter that tells us the ‘theoretical effectiveness’ of an intervention, i.e., what happens to those who were actually exposed to treatment.

An easy way to see why ITT is typically too small is to consider the ITT effect generated by an experiment where the likelihood of treatment turns out to be the same in both the intended-treatment and intended-control groups. In this case, there is essentially ‘no experiment,’ i.e., the treatment-intended group gets treated, on average, just like the control group. The resulting ITT effect is therefore zero, even

though the causal effect of treatment on individuals may be positive or negative. More generally, the ITT effect is, except under very unusual circumstances, diluted by non-compliance. This dilution diminishes as compliance rates go up. Thus, an ITT effect provides a poor predictor of the average causal effect of similar interventions in the future, should future compliance rates substantially differ. For example, if compliance rates substantially go up because the intervention of interest has been shown to be effective (as, for example, arresting domestic abusers was shown to be in the MDVE), the ITT from an earlier randomized trial will be misleading.

Before turning to a detailed discussion of the manner in which IV solves the compliance problem, I'll briefly describe an alternative approach that was once favored in economics but has now largely been supplanted by simpler methods. This approach attempts to model the compliance (or treatment) decision directly, and then to integrate the compliance model into the analysis of experimental data. For example, we might assume compliance is determined by a comparison of latent (i.e., unobserved) costs and benefits, and try to explicitly model the relationship between these unobserved variables and potential outcomes, usually using a combination of functional form and distributional assumptions such as the joint Normality. Berk et al. (1988) tried such a strategy in their analysis of the MDVE. In practice, however, this 'structural modeling' approach requires strong assumptions, which are likely to be unattractive in the study of treatment effects (Angrist 2001). One way to see this, is to note that if compliance problems could be solved simply by econometric modeling, then we wouldn't need random assignment in the first place. Luckily, however, elaborate latent-variable models of the compliance process are unnecessary.

### **The instrumental-variables framework**

The simplest and most robust solution to the treatment-dilution and treatment-migration problems is instrumental variables. This can be seen most easily using a conceptual framework that postulates a set of potential outcomes that could be observed in alternative states of the world. Originally introduced by statisticians Fisher and Neyman in the 1920s as a way to discuss treatment effects in randomized agricultural experiments, the potential-outcomes framework has become the conceptual workhouse for non-experimental as well as experimental studies in medicine and social science (see Holland 1986, for a survey and Rubin 1974, 1977, for influential contributions). The intellectual history of instrumental variables begins with an unrelated effort by the father and son team of geneticists Phillip and Sewall Wright to solve the problem of statistical inference for a system of simultaneous equations. The Wrights' work can also be understood as an attempt to describe potential outcomes, though this link was not made explicit until much later. See Angrist and Krueger (2001) for an introduction to this fascinating story.

In an agricultural experiment, the potential outcomes notion is reasonably straightforward. Potential outcomes in this context describe what a particular plot

of land would yield under applications of alternative fertilizers. Although we only get to see the plot fertilized in one particular way at a one particular time, we can *imagine* what the plot would have yielded had it been treated otherwise. In social science, potential outcomes usually require a bit more imagination. To link the abstract discussion of potential outcomes to the MDVE example, I'll start with an interpretation of the MDVE as randomly assigning and delivering a single alternative to arrest, instead of two, as actually occurred. Because the policy discussion in the domestic assault context focuses primarily on the decision to arrest and possible alternatives, I define a binary (dummy) treatment variable for not arresting, which I'll call *coddling*. A suspect was randomly assigned to be coddled if the officer on the scene was instructed by the random assignment protocol (i.e., the color-coded report forms) to advise or separate. A subject received the coddling treatment if the treatment delivered was advice or separation. Later, I'll outline an IV setup for the MDVE that allows for multiple treatments.

The most important outcome variable in the MDVE was recidivism, i.e., the occurrence of post-treatment domestic assault by the same suspect. Let  $Y_i$  denote the observed re-offense status of suspect  $i$ . The potential outcomes in the binary-treatment version of MDVE are the re-offense status of suspect  $i$  if he were coddled, denoted  $Y_{1i}$ , and the re-offense status of suspect  $i$  if he were not coddled, denoted  $Y_{0i}$ . Both of these potential outcomes are assumed to be well-defined for each suspect even though only one is ever observed. Let  $D_i$  denote the treatment delivered to subject  $i$ . Then we can write the observed recidivism outcome as

$$Y_i = Y_{0i}(1 - D_i) + Y_{1i}D_i.$$

In words, this means we get to see the  $Y_{1i}$  for any subject who was coddled, but we don't know whether he would have re-offended if he had been arrested. Likewise, we get to see  $Y_{0i}$  for any subject who was arrested, but we don't know whether he would have re-offended had he been coddled.

A natural place to start any empirical analysis is by comparing outcomes on the basis of treatment delivered. Because of the non-random nature of treatment delivery, however, such naive comparisons are likely to be misleading. This can be seen formally by writing

$$\begin{aligned} E[Y_i | D_i = 1] - E[Y_i | D_i = 0] &= E[Y_{1i} | D_i = 1] - E[Y_{0i} | D_i = 0] \\ &= E[Y_{1i} - Y_{0i} | D_i = 1] + \{E[Y_{0i} | D_i = 1] - E[Y_{0i} | D_i = 0]\}. \end{aligned}$$

The first term in this decomposition is the average causal effect of treatment on the treated (ATET), a parameter of primary interest in evaluation research. ATET tells us the difference between average outcomes for the treated,  $E[Y_{1i} | D_i = 1]$ , and what would have happened to treated subjects if they had not been treated,  $E[Y_{0i} | D_i = 1]$ . The second term is the selection bias induced by the fact that treatment delivered was not randomly assigned. In the MDVE, those coddled were probably less likely to re-offend even in the absence of treatment. Hence,  $E[Y_{0i} | D_i = 1] - E[Y_{0i} | D_i = 0]$ , is probably negative.

Selection bias disappears when delivered treatment is determined in a manner independent of potential outcomes, as in a randomized trial with perfect compliance. We then have

$$E[Y_i|D_i = 1] - E[Y_i|D_i = 0] = E[Y_{1i} - Y_{0i}|D_i = 1] = E[Y_{1i} - Y_{0i}].$$

With perfect compliance, the simple treatment-control comparison recovers ATET. Moreover, because  $\{Y_{1i}, Y_{0i}\}$  is assumed to be independent of  $D_i$  in this case, ATET is also the population average treatment effect,  $E[Y_{1i} - Y_{0i}]$ .

The most important consequence of non-compliance is the likelihood of a relation between potential outcomes and delivered treatments. This relation confounds analyses based on delivered treatments because of selection bias. But we have an ace in the hole: the compliance problem does not compromise the independence of potential outcomes and randomly assigned *intended* treatments. The IV framework provides a set of simple strategies to convert comparisons using intended random assignment, i.e., ITT effects, into consistent estimates of the causal effect of treatments delivered.

The easiest way to see how IV solves the compliance problem is in the context of a model with constant treatment effects, i.e.,  $Y_{1i} - Y_{0i} = \alpha$ , for some constant,  $\alpha$ . Also, let  $Y_{0i} = \beta + \varepsilon_i$ , where  $\beta = E[Y_{0i}]$ . The potential outcomes model can now be written

$$Y_i = \beta + \alpha D_i + \varepsilon_i, \quad (1)$$

where  $\alpha$  is the treatment effect of interest. Note that because  $D_i$  is a dummy variable, the regression of  $Y_i$  on  $D_i$  is just the difference in mean outcomes by delivered treatment status. As noted above, this difference does not consistently estimate  $\alpha$  because  $Y_{0i}$  and  $D_i$  are not independent (equivalently,  $\varepsilon_i$  and  $D_i$  are correlated).

The random assignment of intended treatment status, which I'll call  $Z_i$ , provides the key to untangling causal effects in the face of treatment dilution and migration. By virtue of random assignment, and the assumption that assigned treatments have no direct effect on potential outcomes other than through delivered treatments,  $Y_{0i}$  and  $Z_i$  are independent. It therefore follows that

$$E[\varepsilon_i|Z_i] = 0, \quad (2)$$

though  $\varepsilon_i$  is not similarly independent of  $D_i$ . Taking conditional expectations of Equation (1) with  $Z_i$  switched off and on, we obtain a simple formula for the treatment effect of interest:

$$\{E[Y_i|Z_i = 1] - E[Y_i|Z_i = 0]\} / \{E[D_i|Z_i = 1] - E[D_i|Z_i = 0]\} = \alpha. \quad (3)$$

Thus, the causal effect of *delivered* treatments is given by the causal effect of *assigned* treatments (the ITT effect) divided by  $E[D_i | Z_i = 1] - E[D_i | Z_i = 0]$ .

Note that in experiments where there is complete compliance in the comparison group (i.e., no controls get treated), Formula (3) is just the ITT effect divided by the compliance rate in the originally assigned treatment group. More generally, the denominator in Equation (3) is the difference in compliance rates by assignment status. In the MDVE,  $E[D_i | Z_i = 1] = P[D_i = 1 | Z_i = 1] = .77$ , that is, a little over three-fourths of those assigned to be coddled were coddled. On the other hand, almost no one assigned to be arrested was coddled:

$$E[D_i | Z_i = 0] = P[D_i = 1 | Z_i = 0] = .01.$$

Hence, the denominator of Equation (3) is estimated to be about .76. The sample analog of Formula (3) is called a Wald estimator, since this formula first appeared in a paper by Wald (1940) on errors-in-variables problems. The law of large numbers, which says that sample means converge in probability to population means, ensures that the Wald estimator of  $\alpha$  is consistent (i.e., converges in probability to  $\alpha$ ).<sup>4</sup>

The constant-effects assumption is clearly unrealistic. We'd like to allow for the fact that some men change their behavior in response to coddling, while others are affected little or not at all. There is also important heterogeneity in treatment delivery. Some suspects would have been coddled with or without the experimental manipulation, while others were coddled only because the police were instructed to treat them this way. The MDVE is informative about causal effects only on this latter group.

Imbens and Angrist (1994) showed that in a world of heterogeneous treatment effects, IV methods capture the average causal effect of delivered treatments on the subset of treated men whose delivered treatment status can be changed by the random assignment of intended treatment status. The men in this group are called *compliers*, a term introduced in the IV context by Angrist et al. (1996). In a randomized drug trial, for example, compliers are those who 'take their medicine' when randomly assigned to do so, but not otherwise. In the MDVE, compliers were coddled when randomly assigned to be coddled but would not have been coddled otherwise.

The average causal effect for compliers is called a local average treatment effect (LATE). A formal description of LATE requires one more bit of notation. Define potential treatment assignments,  $D_{0i}$  and  $D_{1i}$ , to be individual  $i$ 's treatment status when  $Z_i$  equals 0 or 1. Note that one of  $D_{0i}$  or  $D_{1i}$  is necessarily counterfactual since observed treatment status is

$$D_i = D_{0i} + Z_i(D_{1i} - D_{0i}). \quad (4)$$

In this setup, the key assumptions supporting causal inference are: (1) conditional independence, i.e., that the joint distribution of  $\{Y_{1i}, Y_{0i}, D_{1i}, D_{0i}\}$  is independent of  $Z_i$ ; and, (2) monotonicity, which requires that either  $D_{1i} \geq D_{0i}$  for all  $i$  or *vice versa*.



Assume without loss of generality that monotonicity holds with  $D_{1i} \geq D_{0i}$ . Monotonicity requires that, while the instrument might have no effect on some individuals, all of those affected are affected in the same way. Monotonicity in the MDVE amounts to assuming that random assignment to be coddled can only make coddling more likely, an assumption that seems plausible. Given these two *identifying assumptions*, the Wald estimator consistently estimates LATE, which is written formally as  $E[Y_{1i} - Y_{0i} | D_{1i} > D_{0i}]$ .<sup>5</sup>

Compliers are those with  $D_{1i} > D_{0i}$ , i.e., they have  $D_{1i} = 1$  and  $D_{0i} = 0$ . The monotonicity assumption partitions the world of experimental subjects into three groups: compliers who are affected by random assignment and two unaffected groups. The first unaffected group consists of always-takers, i.e., subjects with  $D_{1i} = D_{0i} = 1$ . The second unaffected group consists of never-takers, i.e., subjects with  $D_{1i} = D_{0i} = 0$ . Because the treatment status of always-takers and never-takers is invariant to random assignment, IV estimates are uninformative about treatment effects for subjects in these groups.

In general, LATE is not the same as ATET, the average causal effect on all treated individuals. Equation (4) shows that the treated can be divided into two groups: the set of subjects with  $D_{0i} = 1$ , and the set of subjects with  $D_{0i} = 0$ ,  $D_{1i} = 1$ , and  $Z_i = 1$ . Subjects in the first set, with  $D_{0i} = 1$ , are always-takers since  $D_{0i} = 1$  implies  $D_{1i} = 1$  by monotonicity. The second set consists of compliers with  $Z_i = 1$ . By virtue of the random assignment of  $Z_i$ , the average causal effect on compliers with  $Z_i = 1$  is the same as the average causal effects for all compliers. In general, therefore, ATET differs from LATE because it is a weighted average of two effects: one on always-takers and one on compliers.

An important special case when LATE equals ATET is when  $D_{0i}$  equals zero for everybody, i.e., there are no always-takers. This occurs in randomized trials with one-sided non-compliance, a scenario that typically arises because no one in the control group receives treatment. If no one in the control group receives treatment, then by definition there can be no always-takers. Hence, all treated subjects must be compliers. The MDVE is (approximately) this sort of experiment. Since we have defined treatment as coddling, and (almost) no one in the group assigned to be arrested was coddled, there are (almost) no always-takers. LATE in this case is therefore ATET, the effect of coddling on the population coddled.<sup>6</sup>

### The language of 2SLS

Applied economists typically discuss IV using the language of two-stage least squares (2SLS), a generalized IV estimator introduced by Theil (1953) in the context of simultaneous equation models. In models without covariates, the 2SLS estimator using a dummy instrument is the same as the Wald estimator. In models with exogenous covariates, 2SLS provides a simple and easily implemented generalization that also allows for multiple instruments and multiple treatments.

Suppose the setup is the same as before, with the modification that we'd now like to control for a vector of covariates,  $X_i$ . In particular, suppose that if  $D_i$  had

been randomly assigned as intended, we'd be interested in a regression-adjusted treatment effect computed by ordinary least squares (OLS) estimation of the equation:

$$Y_i = X_i' \beta + \alpha D_i + \varepsilon_i. \quad (5)$$

In 2SLS language, Equation (5) is the structural equation of interest. Note that the causal effect in this model is the effect of being coddled on recidivism, relative to the baseline recidivism rate when arrested.

The two most likely rationales for including covariates in Equation (5) are: (1) that treatment was randomly assigned conditional on these covariates, and, (2) a possible statistical efficiency gain (i.e., reduced sampling variance). In the MDVE, for example, the coddling treatment might have been randomly assigned with higher probability to suspects with no prior history of assault. We'd then need to control for assault history in the IV analysis. Efficiency gains are a consequence of the fact that regression standard errors – whether 2SLS or OLS – are proportional to the variance of the residual,  $\varepsilon_i$ . The residual variance is typically reduced by the covariates, as long as the covariates have some power to predict outcomes.<sup>7</sup>

In principle, we can construct 2SLS estimates in two steps, each involving an OLS regression. In the *first stage*, the endogenous right-hand side variable (treatment delivered in the MDVE) is regressed on the 'exogenous' covariates plus the instrument (or instruments). This regression can be written

$$D_i = X_i' \pi_0 + \pi_1 Z_i + \eta_i. \quad (6)$$

The coefficient on the instrument in this equation,  $\pi_1$ , is called the 'first-stage effect' of the instrument. Note that the first-stage equation must include exactly the same exogenous covariates as appear in the structural equation.<sup>8</sup> The size of the first-stage effect is a major determinant of the statistical precision of IV estimates. Moreover, in a model with dummy endogenous variables like the treatment dummy analyzed here, the first-stage effect measures the proportion of the population that are compliers.<sup>9</sup>

In the second stage, fitted values from the first-stage are plugged directly into the structural equation in place of the endogenous regressor. Note, however, that although the term 2SLS arises from the fact that 2SLS estimates can be constructed from two OLS regressions, we don't usually compute them this way. This is because the resulting standard errors are incorrect. Best practice therefore is to use a packaged 2SLS routine such as may be found in software like SAS or Stata.

In addition to the first-stage, an important auxiliary equation that is often discussed in the context of 2SLS is the *reduced form*. The reduced form for  $Y_i$  is the regression obtained by substituting the first-stage into the causal model for  $Y_i$ , in this case, Equation (5). In the MDVE, we can write the reduced form as

$$\begin{aligned} Y_i &= X_i' \beta + \alpha [X_i' \pi_0 + \pi_1 Z_i + \eta_i] + \varepsilon_i \\ &= X_i' \delta_0 + \delta_1 Z_i + v_i. \end{aligned} \quad (7)$$

The coefficient  $\delta_1$  is said to be the ‘reduced-form effect’ of the instrument. Like the first stage, the reduced form parameters can be estimated by OLS, i.e., by simply running a regression.

Note that with a single endogenous variable and a single instrument, the effect of  $D_i$  in the causal model is the ratio of reduced-form to first-stage effects:

$$\alpha = \delta_1/\pi_1.$$

2SLS second-stage estimates can therefore be understood as a re-scaling of the reduced form. It can also be shown that the significance levels for the reduced-form and the second-stage in this model are asymptotically the same under the null hypothesis of no treatment effect. Hence, the workingman’s IV motto: “If you can’t see your causal effect in the reduced form, it ain’t there.”

One final reason for looking at the reduced form is that – in contrast with the 2SLS estimates themselves – the reduced form estimates have all the attractive statistical properties of any ordinary least squares regression estimates. In particular, estimates of reduced form regression coefficients are unbiased (i.e., centered on the population parameter in repeated samples) and the theory that justifies statistical inference for these coefficients (i.e., confidence intervals and hypothesis testing) does not require large samples. 2SLS estimates on the other hand, are not unbiased, although they are consistent. This means that in large samples, the estimates can be expected to be close to the target population parameter, though in small samples, they can be unreliable. Moreover, the statistical theory that justifies confidence intervals and hypothesis testing for 2SLS requires that samples be large enough for a reasonably good asymptotic approximation (in particular, for application of central limit theorems).

How large a sample is large enough for asymptotic statistical theory to work? Unfortunately, there is no general answer to this question. Various theoretical arguments and simulation studies have shown, however, that the asymptotic approximations used for 2SLS inference are usually reasonably accurate in models where the number of instruments is equal to (or not much more than) the number

Table 2. First stage and reduced forms for Model 1.

	<i>Endogenous variable is coddled</i>			
	<i>First stage</i>		<i>Reduced form (ITT)</i>	
	<i>(1)</i>	<i>(2)*</i>	<i>(3)</i>	<i>(4)*</i>
Coddled-assigned	0.786 (0.043)	0.773 (0.043)	0.114 (0.047)	0.108 (0.041)
Weapon		-0.064 (0.045)		-0.004 (0.042)
Chem. influence		-0.088 (0.040)		0.052 (0.038)
Dep. var. mean		0.567 (Coddled-delivered)		0.178 (Re-arrested)

The table reports OLS estimates of the first-stage and reduced form for Model 1 in the text.

\*Other covariates include year and quarter dummies, and dummies for non-white and mixed race.

of endogenous variables (as would be the case in studies using randomly assigned intention to treat as an instrument for treatment delivered). Also, that the key to valid inference is a reasonably strong first stage, with a  $t$ -statistic for the coefficient on the instrumental variable in the first-stage equation of at least 3. For further discussion of statistical inference with 2SLS, see Angrist and Krueger (2001).

### 2SLS Estimates for MDVE with one endogenous variable

The first-stage effect of being assigned to the coddling treatment is .79 in a model without covariates and .77 in a model that controls for a few covariates.<sup>10</sup> These first-stage effects can be seen in the first two columns of Table 2, which report estimates of Equation (6) for the MDVE. The reduced form effects of random assignment to the coddling treatment, reported in columns 3 and 4, are about .11, and significantly different from zero with standard errors of .041–.047. The first-stage and reduced-form estimates change little when covariates are added to the model, as expected since  $Z_i$  was randomly assigned. The 2SLS results derived from these first-stage and reduced form estimates are reported in Table 3.

Before turning to a detailed discussion of the 2SLS results, one caveat is in order: for simplicity, I discuss these estimates as if they were constructed in the usual way, i.e., by estimating Equations (5), (6), and (7) using micro-data. In reality, however, I was unable to locate or construct the original recidivism variable from the MDVE public-use data sets (Berk and Sherman, 1993). I therefore generated my own micro-data on recidivism from the Logit coefficients reported in Berk and Sherman (1988, Tables 4 and 6). Note that the Logistic regression, of, say  $Y_i$  on  $D_i$  implicitly determines the conditional mean of  $Y_i$  given  $D_i$  (by inverting the logistic transformation of fitted values, a simple mathematical operation). Because  $Y_i$  in this case is a dummy variable, this conditional mean is also the conditional *distribution* of  $Y_i$  given  $D_i$ . It is therefore straightforward to construct, by sampling from this distribution, a sample with same joint distribution of  $Y_i$  and  $D_i$  (or  $Y_i$  and  $Z_i$ ) as must have appeared in Berk and Sherman's original data set.

Table 3. OLS and 2SLS estimates for Model 1.

	<i>Endogenous variable is coddled</i>			
	<i>OLS</i>		<i>IV/2SLS</i>	
	<i>(1)</i>	<i>(2)*</i>	<i>(3)</i>	<i>(4)*</i>
Coddled–delivered	0.087 (0.044)	0.070 (0.038)	0.145 (0.060)	0.140 (0.053)
Weapon		0.010 (0.043)		0.005 (0.043)
Chem. influence		0.057 (0.039)		0.064 (0.039)

The Table reports OLS and 2SLS estimates of the structural equation in Model 1.

\*Other covariates include year and quarter dummies, and dummies for non-white and mixed race.

By virtue of this re-sampling scheme, my data set indeed has the same joint distributions of  $\{Y_i, D_i\}$ , and  $\{Y_i, Z_i\}$  as the original Berk and Sherman (1988) data. My data set also has the same distribution of  $\{D_i, X_i\}$  and  $\{Z_i, X_i\}$  as in the original data since the observations I use on  $\{D_i, Z_i, X_i\}$  are taken directly from the original data set, available from the ICPSR web site. Importantly, my first-stage estimates are therefore unaffected by the use of the data on  $Y_i$  constructed by sampling from the probability distributions implied by the Berk and Sherman (a consequence of the fact that the first stage does not involve  $Y_i$ ). The only information lost in my reconstruction of the Berk and Sherman outcomes data is a consequence of the fact that I must assume that the conditional distributions of  $Y_i$  given  $\{D_i, X_i\}$  and of  $Y_i$  given  $\{Z_i, X_i\}$  do not depend on the covariates,  $X_i$ . Thus, for models without covariates, estimates using my data should be identical to those that would have been generated by the original data set. Moreover, given the random assignment of  $Z$ , the estimates using my data should also be similar even for models with covariates.

The 2SLS estimates associated with the first stage and reduced form estimates in Table 2 are .14–.145. These estimates, reported in columns 3–4 of Table 3, are about double the size of the corresponding OLS estimates of the effects of delivered treatments, reported in columns 1–2 of the same table. Recall that the 2SLS estimates in columns 3 and 4 of Table 3 are essentially a rescaling of the reduced form estimates reported in columns 3 and 4 of Table 2. In particular, the 2SLS estimates are implicitly calculated by dividing the reduced form (or ITT) estimates by the first-stage estimates (or difference in compliance rates between the original treatment and control groups).

The OLS estimates are almost certainly too low, probably because delivered treatments were contaminated by selection bias. The reduced form effect of coddling is also too small, relative to the causal effect of coddling *per se*, because non-compliance dilutes ITT effects. As noted above, the 2SLS estimates in this case capture the causal effect of coddling on the coddled, undiluted by non-compliance and unaffected by selection bias. The 2SLS estimates point a dramatic increase in re-offense rates due to coddling (the mean re-offense rate was .18). The magnitude of this effect is clearly understated by alternative estimation strategies.

At this point, it bears emphasizing that even though treatments and outcomes are dummy variables, I used linear models for every step of the analysis underlying Tables 2 and 3 (and Tables 4 and 5, discussed below). To see why, it helps to bear in mind that the purpose of causal inference is the estimation of average treatment effects and not prediction of individual outcomes *per se*. Whenever you have a complete set of dummy variables on the right hand side of a regression equation (a scenario known as a saturated model), linear probability models estimate the underlying conditional mean function *perfectly*. A model for the effect of a single dummy treatment or a set of mutually exclusive dummy treatments is the simplest sort of saturated model. Hence there is no point to the use of more complex nonlinear models. You cannot improve on perfection.

Another way to see why linear models are appropriate in this context is to suppose that instead of an OLS regression of  $Y_i$  on  $D_i$ , we were to estimate (for

example) the corresponding Probit regression. The Probit conditional mean function in this case is  $E[Y_i | D_i] = \Phi[\kappa_0 + \kappa_1 D_i]$ , where  $\Phi[\cdot]$  is the Normal distribution function. But since  $D_i$  is a dummy variable, this conditional mean function can be rewritten as a linear model:

$$E[Y_i | D_i] = \Phi[\kappa_0] + (\Phi[\kappa_0 + \kappa_1] - \Phi[\kappa_0])D_i.$$

Thus, the Probit estimate of the effect of  $D_i$  is  $\Phi[\kappa_0 + \kappa_1] - \Phi[\kappa_0]$ . But since the conditional mean function is linear in  $D_i$ , this is exactly what the OLS regression of  $Y_i$  on  $D_i$ , will produce. In other words, the slope coefficient in the OLS regression will equal  $\Phi[\kappa_0 + \kappa_1] - \Phi[\kappa_0]$ . In fact, all two-parameter models will generate the same marginal effect of  $D_i$ .

In more complicated models with additional covariates, some of which are not dummy variables, or when the model is not fully saturated, it is no longer the case that Probit and OLS will produce exactly the same treatment effects (again, it's worth emphasizing that it is these effects that are of interest; the Probit coefficients themselves mean little). But in practice, the treatment effects generated by nonlinear models are likely to be indistinguishable from OLS regression coefficients. See, for example, the comparison of Probit and regression estimates in Angrist (2001). This close relation is a consequence of a very general regression property – no matter what the shape of the conditional mean function you are trying to estimate, OLS regression *always* provides the minimum mean square approximation to it (see, e.g., Goldberger, 1991).

The case for using 2SLS to estimate linear probability models with dummy endogenous variables is slightly more involved than the case for using OLS regression to estimate models without endogenous variables. Nevertheless, the argument is essentially similar: even with binary outcomes like recidivism, linear 2SLS estimates have a robust causal interpretation that is insensitive to the possible nonlinearity induced by dummy dependent variables. For example, the interpretation of IV as estimating LATE is unaffected by the fact that the outcome is a dummy. Likewise, consistency of 2SLS estimates is unaffected by the possible nonlinearity of the first-stage conditional expectation function,  $E[D_i | X_i, Z_i]$ . For details, see Angrist (2001), which also offers some simple nonlinear alternatives for those who insist.<sup>11</sup>

## 2SLS estimates with two endogenous variables

The analysis so far looks at the MDVE as if it involved a single treatment. I now turn to a 2SLS model that more realistically allows for distinct causal effects for the two types of coddling that were randomly assigned, separation and advice. A natural generalization of Equation (5) incorporating distinct causal effects for these two interventions is

$$Y_i = X_i' \beta + \alpha_a D_{ai} + \alpha_s D_{si} + \varepsilon_i, \quad (8)$$

where  $D_{ai}$  and  $D_{si}$  are dummies that indicate delivery of advice and separation. As before, because of the endogeneity of delivered treatments, OLS estimates of Equation (8) are likely to be misleading. Again, the causal effects of interest are the effects of advice and separation relative to the baseline recidivism rate when arrested. The potential outcomes that motivate Equation (8) as a causal model describe each suspect's recidivism status had he been assigned to one of three possible treatments (arrest, advise, separate).

Equation (8) is a structural model with two endogenous regressors,  $D_{ai}$  and  $D_{si}$ . We also have two possible instruments,  $Z_{ai}$  and  $Z_{si}$ , dummy variables indicating random assignment to advice and separation as intended treatments. The corresponding first-stage equations are

$$D_{ai} = X_i' \pi_{0a} + \pi_{aa} Z_{ai} + \pi_{as} Z_{si} + \eta_{ai} \quad (9a)$$

$$D_{si} = X_i' \pi_{0s} + \pi_{sa} Z_{ai} + \pi_{ss} Z_{si} + \eta_{si}, \quad (9b)$$

where  $\pi_{aa}$  and  $\pi_{as}$  are the first-stage effects of the two instruments on delivered advice,  $D_{ai}$ , and  $\pi_{sa}$  and  $\pi_{ss}$  are the first-stage effects of the two instruments on delivered separation,  $D_{si}$ .

The reduced form equation for this two-endogenous-variables setup is obtained by substituting Equations (9a) and (9b) into Equation (8). Similarly, the second stage is obtained by substituting fitted values from the first stages into the structural equation.<sup>12</sup> Note that in a model with two endogenous variables we must have at least two instruments for the second stage estimates to exist.<sup>13</sup> Assuming the second stage estimates exist, which is equivalent to saying that the structural equation is identified, the 2SLS estimates in this case can be interpreted as capturing the covariate-adjusted causal effects of each delivered treatment on those who comply with random assignment.

Random assignment to receive advice increased the likelihood of advice delivery by .78. Assignment to the separation treatment also increased the likelihood of receiving advice, but this effect is small and not significantly different from zero. These results can be seen in columns 1–2 of Table 4, which report the estimates of first-stage effects from Equation (9a). The corresponding estimates of Equation (9b), reported in columns 3–4 of the table, show that assignment to the separation treatment increased delivered separation rates by about .72, while assignment to advice had almost no effect on the likelihood of receiving the separation treatment. The reduced form effects of random assignment to receive advice range from .088–.097, while the reduced form estimates of random assignment to be separated are about .13. The reduced form estimates are reported in columns 5–6 of the table.

OLS and 2SLS estimates of the two-endogenous-variables model are reported in Table 5. Interestingly, the OLS estimates of the effect of delivered advice on re-offense rates are small and not significantly different from zero. The OLS estimates of the effect of being separated are much larger and significant. Both of these

Table 4. First stage and reduced forms for Model 2.

<i>Two endogenous variables: Advise, separate</i>						
<i>First stages</i>						
	<i>Advised</i>		<i>Separated</i>		<i>Reduced form (ITT)</i>	
	(1)	(2)*	(3)	(4)*	(5)	(6)*
Advise- assigned	0.778 (0.039)	0.766 (0.039)	0.035 (0.043)	0.035 (0.043)	0.097 (0.054)	0.088 (0.046)
Separate- assigned	0.044 (0.038)	0.031 (0.039)	0.717 (0.042)	0.715 (0.043)	0.130 (0.053)	0.127 (0.046)
Weapon		-0.038 (0.036)		-0.031 (0.039)		-0.001 (0.042)
Chem. influence		-0.068 (0.032)		-0.018 (0.035)		0.051 (0.038)
Dep. var. mean		0.283 (Adv.-deliver)		0.283 (Sep.-deliver)		0.178 (Re-arrested)

The table reports OLS estimates of the first-stage and reduced form for Model 2 in the text.

\*In addition to the covariates reported in the table, these models include year and quarter dummies, and dummies for non-white and mixed race.

results are reported in columns 1–2 of the table. In contrast with the OLS effects, the 2SLS estimates of the effects of both types of treatment are substantial and at least marginally significant. For example, the 2SLS estimate of the impact of the advice intervention is .107 (SE = .059) in a model with covariates. The 2SLS estimate of the impact of separation is even larger, at around .17.

As in the model with a single endogenous variable, the reduced-form estimates of intended treatment effects are larger than the corresponding OLS estimates of

Table 5. OLS and 2SLS estimates for Model 2.

<i>Two endogenous variables: Advise, separate</i>				
	<i>OLS</i>		<i>IV/2SLS</i>	
	(1)	(2)*	(3)	(4)*
Advise-assigned	0.047 (0.052)	0.019 (0.046)	0.116 (0.068)	0.107 (0.059)
Separate-assigned	0.126 (0.052)	0.120 (0.046)	0.174 (0.073)	0.174 (0.063)
Weapon		0.015 (0.043)		0.008 (0.043)
Chem. influence		0.052 (0.039)		0.061 (0.039)
Test	$F = 1.87$	$F = 4.14$	$F = .64$	$F = 1.14$
Advise = separate	$p = .170$	$p = .043$	$p = .420$	$p = .290$

The Table reports OLS and 2SLS estimates of the structural equation in Model 2.

\*In addition to the covariates reported in the table, these models include year and quarter dummies, and dummies for non-white and mixed race.



delivered treatment effects, and the 2SLS estimates are larger than the corresponding reduced forms. The gap between OLS and 2SLS is especially large for the advice effects, suggesting that the OLS estimates of the effect of receiving advice are more highly contaminated by selection bias than the OLS estimates of the effect of separation. Moreover, the difference between the separation and advice treatment effects is much larger when estimated by 2SLS than in the reduced form.

Does anything new come out of this IV analysis of the MDVE? Two findings seem important. First, a comparison of 2SLS estimates with estimates that ignore the endogeneity of treatment delivered indicate considerable selection bias in the latter. In particular, the 2SLS estimates of the effect of coddling are about twice as large as the corresponding OLS estimates, largely due to the fact that the suspects who were coddled were those least likely to re-offend anyway. The IV framework corrects for this important source of bias. A related point is that the ITT effects – equivalently, the 2SLS reduced form estimates – are not a fair comparison for gauging selection bias. Although ITT effects have a valid causal interpretation (i.e., they preserve random assignment), they are diluted by non-compliance. OLS estimates of the effect for treatment delivered, while contaminated by selection bias, are not similarly diluted. The second major finding, and one clearly related to the first, is that non-compliance was important enough to matter; in some cases, the 2SLS estimates are as much as one-third larger than the corresponding ITT effects. Based on these results, the evidence for a deterrent effect of arrest is even stronger than previously believed.

### **Models with variable treatment intensity and observational studies**

In closing, it bears emphasizing that IV methods are not limited to the estimation of the effects of binary on-or-off treatments like coddling, separation, or advice in the MDVE. Many experimental evaluations are concerned with the effects of interventions with variable treatment intensity, i.e., the effects of an endogenous variable that takes on ordered integer values. Applications of IV to these sorts of interventions include Krueger's (1999) analysis of experimental estimates of the effects of class size, the Permutt and Hebel (1989) study of an experiment to reduce the number of cigarettes smoked by pregnant women, and the Powers and Swinton (1984) randomized study of the effect of hours of preparation for the GRE test.

The studies mentioned above use 2SLS or related IV methods to analyze data from randomized trials where the treatment of interest takes on values like 0, 1, 2, ... (cigarettes, hours of study) or 15, 16, 17 ... (class size). Although these papers interpret IV estimates using traditional constant-effects models, the 2SLS estimates they report also have a more general LATE interpretation. In particular, 2SLS estimates of models with variable treatment intensity give the average causal response for compliers along the length of the underlying causal response function. See Angrist and Imbens (1995) for details.

The IV framework also goes beyond randomized trials and can be used to exploit quasi-experimental variation in observational studies. An example from my own work is Angrist (1990), which uses the draft lottery numbers that were randomly assigned in the early 1970s as instrumental variables for the effect of Vietnam-era veteran status on post-service earnings. Draft lottery numbers are highly correlated with veteran status among men born in the early 1950s, and probably unrelated to earnings for any other reason.

A second example from my portfolio illustrates the fact that instrumental variables need not be randomly assigned to be useful.<sup>14</sup> Angrist and Lavy (1999) constructed instrumental variables estimates of the effects of class size on test scores. The instrument in this case is the class size predicted using Maimonides rule, a mathematical formula derived from the practice in Israeli elementary schools of dividing grade cohorts by integer multiples of 40, the maximum class size (the same rule proposed by Maimonides in his *Mishneh Torah* biblical commentary). This study can be seen as an application of Campbell's (1969) celebrated *regression-discontinuity design* for quasi-experimental research, but also as a type of IV. The extension of IV methods to quasi-experimental criminological research designs seems an especially promising avenue for further work.

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### Notes

- 1 Social experiments in labor economics, which are never double or even single-blind, often allow those selected for treatment to opt out (an example is the Illinois unemployment insurance bonuses experiment; see Woodbury and Spiegelman 1987). And even in double-blind clinical trials, clinicians sometimes decipher and change treatment assignments (Schultz 1995).
- 2 My brief discussion here glosses over a number of technical details. For a more comprehensive introduction to IV see Angrist and Krueger (2001, 1999), or the chapters on IV in Wooldridge (2003).
- 3 The fact that those who comply with randomly assigned treatments are not randomly selected can be seen in medical trials, where subjects who comply with protocol by taking a randomly assigned experimental treatment with no clinical effects – i.e., a placebo – are often healthier than those who don't (as in the study analyzed by Efron and Feldman 1991). Efron and Feldman use the placebo sample in an attempt to characterize those who comply with treatment assignment directly, but placebo-controlled trials are

unusual in social science. Luckily, however, at least as far as solving the compliance problem goes, they are unnecessary.

- 4 An estimator is said to be consistent when the limit (as a function of sample size) of the probability that it is close to the population parameter being estimated is 1. In other words, a consistent estimate can be taken to be close to the parameter of interest in large samples. Note that consistency is not the same as unbiasedness; an unbiased estimator has a sampling distribution centered on the parameter of interest in a sample of any size. I briefly discuss this point further below.
- 5 In econometrics, a parameter is said to be 'identified' when it can be constructed from the joint distribution of observed random variables. Assumptions that allow a parameter to be identified are called 'identifying assumptions.' The identifying assumptions for IV, independence and monotonicity, allow us to construct LATE from the joint distribution of  $\{Y_i, D_i, Z_i\}$ .
- 6 The fact that a randomized trial with one-sided non-compliance can be used to estimate the effect of treatment on the treated was first noted by Bloom (1984).
- 7 The causal (LATE) interpretation of IV estimates is similar in models with and without covariates. See Angrist and Imbens (1995) or Abadie (2003) for details.
- 8 If the first stage includes covariates omitted from the second stage, then the covariates are, in fact, playing the role of instruments. If, on the other hand, covariates included in the second stage are omitted from the first stage, then the first stage residuals, which necessarily end up in the second stage error term, are correlated with the covariates, biasing the second-stage estimates. See e.g., Wooldridge (2003).
- 9 Formally, this is because without covariates,  $E[D_{1i} - D_{0i}] = \pi_1$ . With covariates,  $E[D_{1i} - D_{0i} | X_i] = \pi_1$  if the first stage is linear and additive in covariates, and, more generally,  $E\{E[D_{1i} - D_{0i} | X_i]\} \approx \pi_1$ .
- 10 The covariates are dummies for the presence of a weapon and whether the suspect was under chemical influence, year and quarter dummies for time of follow-up, and dummies for suspects' race (non-white and mixed).
- 11 Rossi et al. (1980) present an IV-type analysis of a stipend program for ex-offenders. Their analysis deviates from an orthodox 2SLS procedure in a number of respects, however. First, they include potentially endogenous outcome variables on the right-hand side as if these were covariates. Second, they use nonlinear models (e.g., Tobit) to which IV methods do not easily transfer and which are, in any case, not well-suited to the sort of question they are addressing.
- 12 With multiple endogenous variables, the second stage estimates can no longer be obtained as the ratio of reduced form to first-stage coefficients, but rather solve a matrix equation. Again, the best strategy for real empirical work is to use packaged 2SLS software.
- 13 The second stage has a regression design matrix with number of columns equal to  $\dim(X_i) + 2$ . This matrix must be of full column rank for the second stage to exist. The rank of the design matrix is equal to the number of linearly independent columns in the matrix. This can be no more than  $\dim(X_i)$  plus the number of instruments, since the fitted values used in the second step are linear combinations of  $X_i$  and the instruments. Hence the need for at least K instruments when there are K endogenous variables.
- 14 A pioneering illustration of this point from criminology is Levitt's (1997) study of the effects of extra policing using municipal election cycles to create instruments for numbers of police. See also McCrary (2002), who discusses a technical problem with Levitt's original analysis. Recent applications of IV in criminology include Snow-Jones and Gondolf (2002), Gottfredson (2005), and White (2005).

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### About the author

**Joshua Angrist** is a Professor of Economics at MIT and a Research Associate in the NBER's programs on Children, Education, and Labor Studies. A dual U.S. and Israeli citizen, he taught at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem before coming to MIT. He holds a B.A. from Oberlin College and also spent time as an undergraduate studying at the London School of Economics and as a Masters student at Hebrew University. He completed his PhD in Economics at Princeton in 1989 and his first academic job was as an Assistant Professor at Harvard from 1989–1991. Angrist's research interest include the effects of school inputs and organization on student achievement, the impact of education and social programs on the labor market, immigration, labor market regulation and institutions, and econometric methods for program and policy evaluation. Although many of his papers use data from other countries, he does not especially like to travel and prefers to get data in the mail. He is also a Fellow of the Econometric Society, and a Co-editor of the *Journal of Labor Economics*. Angrist has a long-standing interest in public policy. In addition to his academic work, he has worked as a consultant to the U.S. Social Security Administration, The Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation, and for the Israeli government after the Oslo peace negotiations in 1994. He lives in Brookline with his wife Mira, and their two children, Adie and Noam. The Angrist family enjoys activities like hiking, skiing, skating, sailing, and eating.