Homophily, Contagion, Confounding: Pick Any Three

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My interest: non-parametric reconstruction of dynamical systems from the behavior they generate Perspective: Yet another ex-physicist

... Social networks are "just" large coupled dynamical systems Apologies in advance for social-scientific and graphological naivete

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

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- yes: you're friends because you both like roller-coasters, and have a common risk-seeking propensity (latent homophily)

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- yes: you're friends because you both like roller-coasters, and have a common risk-seeking propensity (latent homophily)
- yes: because you're both on it when it starts collapsing and that's the only way off (external causation)

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Wikipedia, s.v. "Tacoma Narrows Bridge (1940)"

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Are these distinctions with observational differences?

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Are these distinctions with observational differences?

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- Can't experiment by pushing Joey off the bridge
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Manski (1993) suggests this is just not identifiable, but does not quite settle the problem

Influence due to group average vs. individuals

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Contagion, Influence

Whether *i* does something at time *t* is well-predicted by whether *i*'s neighbors had already done it at t - 1

- Diffusion of innovations
- Infectious diseases
- Not-obviously-infectious conditions (e.g., obesity) ...

This *can* be due to influence or contagion

Analogy of ideas to diseases is very old: Pliny used it in 110 (*Epistles* X 96) Can the same *observational* consequences can follow from latent homophily?

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Notation:

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

We suppose that:

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

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Contagion Effects are Nonparametrically Unidentifiable

Informally:

- Y(j, t-1) is informative about X(j)
- 2 X(j) is informative about X(i) if i and j are neighbors
- **3** X(i) is informative about Y(i, t)
- \therefore $Y(i, t) \neq Y(j, t-1)$, even if there is no direct causal effect
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More formally:

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

Adding conditioning on Y(i, t - 1) and Y(j, t) does not remove the confounding paths Neither does adding conditioning on Z(i), Z(j)Argument still goes through with time-varying edges (more spaghetti)

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Getting Identifiability

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



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The Argument from Asymmetry

Focus on unreciprocated edges, $i \rightarrow j, j \not\rightarrow i$ Suppose $Y(i, t)|Y(j, t - 1)) \not\sim Y(j, t)|Y(i, t - 1)$ Doesn't this argue for direct influence? Considerable *prima facie plausibility* Argument breaks down if senders and receivers have systematically different values of *X*, with different local relations to *Y*

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Toy Example

Ignore time-dependence; try to predict Y(i) from Y(j) and vice versa when $A_{ij} = 1, A_{ji} = 0$ $X(i) \sim \mathcal{U}(0, 1)$ Edges form with probability $\propto \text{logit}^{-1}(-3|X(i) - X(j)|)$ *i* nominates *j* from among neighbors, $\propto \text{logit}^{-1}(-|X(j) - 0.5|)$ $Y(i) = 10(X(i) - 0.5)^3 + \mathcal{N}(0, 0.1)$ Results:

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

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Sampling distribution: regression coefficient of Y(i) on Y(j)



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Asymmetry from preferential nomination



Making homophily and contagion look like causation

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

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Making homophily and contagion look like causation

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

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

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What's the evidence?

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

Probably even true a lot of the time BUT usually ignores social networks and just looks at surveys

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More Confounding

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

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

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Responsible Just-So Story-telling

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

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

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Caricature Neutral Model of Cultural Evolution

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

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

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

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Partial Control by Clustering?

If the problem is latent heterogeneity, why not try to identify the latent trait?

Latent homophily \Rightarrow you tend to resemble your neighbors

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

Can't remove confounding but *might* reduce it

... or make it worse if the latent relationship isn't simple homophily (e.g. block models)

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An Analogy For Community Control

Gene association studies: does having this genetic variant influence this trait/change this risk?

Real populations are structured

Sub-populations differ (due to reproductive isolation etc.)

- \Rightarrow genes are correlated
- \Rightarrow random biases and inflated variances (vs. usual formulas)
- \Rightarrow many bogus results

Population structure substantial even for e.g. Germany (Steffens et al., 2006) or Italy,

never mind "white Americans"

Responses: (1) pedigrees; (2) "genomic control" by estimating over-dispersion empirically (Devlin *et al.*, 2001); (3) clustering — the diffusion maps in Lee *et al.* (2009) look *a lot* like Newman (2006)

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Conclusion

- Homophily + causal influence looks like contagion
- e Homophily + contagion looks like causal influence
- Of course contagion + causality looks like (is?) homophily

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