### Correlation and Causation

Partly for historical reasons, the topic of structural equation models has often been approached by considering the implications of causal relationships for observable correlations or, inversely, the problem of rendering a causal interpretation of observed correlations. Taking the correlation coefficient as a point of departure has been particularly characteristic of psychometrics. But sociology, as well, has depended heavily on this measure of the degree of linear association between two quantitative variables. We suggest in Chapter 4 that a more fundamental view of structural equation models is secured by foregoing the algebra of correlation. Nevertheless, some aspects of our topic are quite convenient to develop in terms of correlation, so that is the way we shall begin.

Let us reconsider briefly the illustrative model studied in Chapter 1:

$$= b_{yx}x + u$$

We already specified that E(x) = E(u) = 0 [whence it follows that E(y) = 0], and that E(xu) = 0. Let us now suppose that each variable (y, x, and u) is to be reexpressed in units of its own standard deviation. We can make the equality hold, while retaining the form of the model,

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by introducing ratios of standard deviations in the following fashion:

$$\frac{y}{\sigma_y} = b_{yx} \frac{\sigma_x}{\sigma_y} \cdot \frac{x}{\sigma_x} + \frac{\sigma_u}{\sigma_y} \cdot \frac{u}{\sigma_x}$$

The expressions

$$b_{yx} \frac{\sigma_x}{\sigma_y} = p_{yx}$$
$$\frac{\sigma_u}{\sigma} = p_{yu}$$

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were termed *path coefficients* by Sewall Wright (1921, 1960, 1968), the great pioneer in the development of structural equation models (Li, 1956, 1968; Goldberger, 1972a). Let us now revise our notation, so that y, x, and u are the *standardized values* of the dependent variable, the independent variable, and the disturbance. Henceforth, in Chapters 2 and 3 only, we shall suppose that 
$$E(y^2) = E(x^2) = E(u^2) = 1$$
, since the variance of a standardized variable is unity.

Writing our model in terms of path coefficients and standardized variables, we have

$$= p_{yx}x + p_{yu}u$$

with the specification E(xu) = 0, which is not affected by standardization. (*Why?*) We may study the properties of this model, as before, by multiplying through the equation by one or another of the variables, taking expectations, and simplifying. The last step calls upon the theorem that the covariance of two standardized variables is the coefficient of correlation. Hence, using the letter *rho* to designate the correlation between two variables in the population under study (reserving the letter *r* for the corresponding correlation in a sample), we have

$$E(xy) = \rho_{xy}$$

We see at once that, since

$$E(xy) = p_{yx}E(x^2) + p_{yu}E(xu)$$

we have an equality of the path coefficient and the correlation,

$$x_y = p_{yx}$$

recalling that  $E(xu) = \rho_{xu} = 0$ . (We hasten to add that the path coefficient has the same value as the correlation because this model is one with only a single explanatory variable; this will not hold true in general.) In writing path coefficients, as for structural coefficients, the first subscript refers to the variable affected, the second to the causal variable. In writing simple correlations, the order of subscripts is immaterial, since  $\rho_{xy} = \rho_{yx}$ .

The variance of the dependent variable is given by

$$E(y^2) = p_{yx}E(yx) + p_{yu}E(yu)$$

But, since  $E(y^2) = 1$ , we have

$$1 = p_{yx}\rho_{yx} + p_{yu}\rho_{yu}$$

Multiplying the equation of the model through by u, we find

$$E(yu) = p_{yx}E(xu) + p_{yu}E(uu)$$

so that

$$\rho_{yu} = p_{yu}$$

Hence, with one dependent variable, one explanatory variable, and the disturbance, we find that the variance (set at unity) of the dependent variable is partitioned into

$$1 = p_{yx}^2 + p_{yu}^2$$

the "explained" (by x) and "unexplained" portions.

As the reader must have guessed, this little model has been used primarily to illustrate notation, nomenclature, and the basic techniques to be used henceforth in studying properties of a model. It is time to complicate the discussion, and we do so by introducing a third explicit variable in addition to x and y. Three-variable models are interesting mainly for didactic purposes. But they illustrate all the essential principles that apply in more elaborate models.

Let us call the three variables x, y, and z and assume that each is in standard form. For the time being, we will suppose that nothing is known about the causal relationships—which (if any) of these variables cause(s) any of the others. It has sometimes been thought that correlations among variables can be employed in a quasi-deductive logic: If A and B are positively correlated, and if B and C are positively

of reasoning clearly is not rigorous in general. If  $\rho_{xy}$ ,  $\rho_{xz}$ , and  $\rho_{yz}$  are correlated, then it is quite likely that A and C are positively correlated. Whatever its plausibility in any particular concrete instance, this mode the correlations among three variables, then it can be shown that a certain determinant must be nonnegative; that is, that

$$\begin{vmatrix} 1 & \rho_{xy} & \rho_{xz} \\ \rho_{xy} & 1 & \rho_{yz} \\ \rho_{xz} & \rho_{yz} & 1 \end{vmatrix} = 1 + 2\rho_{xy}\rho_{yz}\rho_{xz} - \rho_{xy}^2 - \rho_{yz}^2 - \rho_{xz}^2 \ge 0$$

of values of any one of the correlations. To see this, put in hypothetical This theorem places only very broad constraints on the possible range values for two of the correlations, evaluate the determinant, and

analyze the result. For example, if  $\rho_{xz} = \rho_{yz} = .5$ , we have

$$-2\rho_{xy}^2+\rho_{xy}\geq 0$$

so that  $\rho_{xy}$  can have any value between -.5 and +1.0. If

 $\rho_{xz} = \rho_{yz} = \sqrt{.5}$  (about .707), we have

$$\rho_{xy} - \rho_{xy}^2 \ge 0$$

must assume rather high values for two of the correlations in order to so that  $\rho_{xy}$  is constrained to fall between zero and unity. Thus, one

ships among the variables, rather strong deductions may be possible. decide with certainty even the sign of the third correlation. If, on the other hand, we are in a position to assume causal relation-

To illustrate, consider the diagram



We interpret this as a representation of a two-equation model,

$$y = p_{yx}x + p_{yu}u \\z = p_{zy}y + p_{zv}v$$
 Model 1

bances is  $\rho_{ux} = \rho_{vx} = \rho_{vy} = 0$ . That is, each disturbance is uncorrelated with all "prior" causal variables. (But note that neither  $\rho_{uy}$ , where the p's are path coefficients and the specification on the distur-

 $\rho_{uz}$ , nor  $\rho_{vz}$  is zero.) Let us substitute the value of y, as given by the y-equation, into the z-equation:

$$z = p_{zy}p_{yx}x + p_{zy}p_{yu}u + p_{zv}v$$

Multiply through by x and take expectations:

$$\rho_{zx} = P_{zy}P_{yx}$$

since  $\rho_{xu} = \rho_{xv} = 0$  and  $E(x^2) = 1.0$ . But both the y-equation and the "simple causal chain" model know that  $p_{zy} = \rho_{zy}$  and  $p_{yx} = \rho_{yx}$ . Hence, we conclude that for this z-equation are just like the model studied previously. So we already

$$\rho_{zx} = \rho_{zy}\rho_{yx}$$

whatever the values of the two correlations on the right-hand side. It is a plausible conjecture that when we attempt to reason from the

values of two correlations to the value of a third, we must actually be working with an implicit causal model. With the right kind of causal model, the reasoning is valid. Without one, the reasoning is loose. explicit, so as to be able to check our reasoning carefully? Would it not be advantageous in such cases to make the causal model

premises surreptitiously in the course of a discussion), (2) making our conclusions precise (so that it is easier to see what evidence is, and in (1) making our arguments consistent (so that we are not altering our conclusions susceptible of empirical refutation. what is not, compatible with them), and thereby (3) rendering our In general, the advantages of having the model explicit are seen to lie

we must question one or more of the premises, for the argument itself is  $\rho_{zx}$  = .42. The conclusion is, indeed, precise. If it is belied by the facts, explicit and unexceptionable. There are two difficulties, one material, exactly but can only estimate it from sample data. Hence the statement  $\rho_{zx} \neq .42$  is based on a statistical inference and is, therefore, subject to the other logical. The material difficulty is that we can never know  $\rho_{zx}$ rejected the conclusion of our argument because it is contradicted by mate by statistical methods). The logical difficulty is that, having uncertainty (the degree of uncertainty, however, we may hope to esti-We may have entered into the argument with erroneous values of the facts, we do not know which one(s) of the premises is (are) in error. In the case of our causal chain, if  $\rho_{zy} = .7$  and  $\rho_{yx} = .6$ , we infer that

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either  $\rho_{zy}$  or  $\rho_{yx}$  or both. Moreover, we may have taken the wrong model as the basis for the argument. If, however, we are confident of the conclusion is unsupported by evidence, we must reject the model, the facts as to the two correlations and also reasonably confident that realizing the third advantage claimed for making the model explicitalbeit an advantage the full enjoyment of which calls for a certain taste

for irony, if not masochism. Consider another diagram:



Again, we have two equations, but this time they have the same causal

variable:

$$y = p_{yx}x + p_{yu}u$$
 Model II

variable and the disturbance, so that  $\rho_{xu} = \rho_{xv} = 0$ . We further specify In each equation we specify a zero correlation between the causal a zero correlation between the disturbances of the two equations,

 $\rho_{uv}=0.$ **Exercise.** Show that in the case of Model I it was unnecessary to make this condition explicit, since it was implied by the specification,

 $\rho_{\rm ux}=\rho_{\rm ex}=\rho_{\rm ey}=0.$ 

model, take expectations, and express the result in terms of We now multiply through each equation by each variable in the

correlations.

**Exercise.** Verify the following results.

$$\rho_{yx} = P_{yx}$$

$$\rho_{zx} = P_{zx}$$

$$\rho_{yz} = \rho_{yx}\rho_{zx}$$

$$\rho_{uz} = \rho_{vy} = 0$$

$$\rho_{uy} = P_{yu}$$

 $\rho_{vz} = p_{zv}$ 

We also find:

$$E(y^{2}) = 1 = p_{yx}^{2} + p_{yz}^{2}$$
$$E(z^{2}) = 1 = p_{yx}^{2} + p_{yz}^{2}$$

assuming Model II is true. one of the correlations is inconsistent with the values of the other two. possibility of rejecting the model, upon discovering that the value of The key result for Model II is that  $\rho_{yz} = \rho_{yx} \rho_{zx}$ . Again we see the

esting because the tradition of empirical sociology has placed strong emphasis upon partial correlation, partial association, and "partialpartial correlations. causal relationships that often guide the capable analyst working with relation as such, although it does attempt to exploit the insights into approach taken in this book leaves rather little scope for partial coring" in general as a routine analytical procedure. By contrast, the the null hypothesis that the partial correlation  $\rho_{yz,x} = 0$ . This is inter-It is worth noting that this test of Model II is equivalent to a test of

correlations: the definition of a first-order partial correlation in terms of simple To show the connection of partial correlation with Model II, recall

$$\rho_{yz.x} = \frac{\rho_{yz} - \rho_{yx}\rho_{zx}}{\sqrt{1 - \rho_{yx}^2}\sqrt{1 - \rho_z^2}}$$

study clearly is not zero. We can represent the situation by relinquishpose that Model II has been rejected since  $\rho_{yz,x}$  in the population under correlation is zero, since  $\rho_{yz} = \rho_{yx}\rho_{zx}$ , and thus  $\rho_{yz,x} = 0$ . Let us suping the specification  $\rho_{uv} = 0$  which was originally part of the model We see at once that, if Model II holds, the numerator of this partial We require a new path diagram,



the issue of whether that correlation has any simple causal interpretathe correlation  $(\rho_{uv})$  between these two variables (leaving unresolved in which the curved, double-headed arrow linking u and v stands for

tion). We note that the equations of Model II' can be solved, respectively, for u and v,

$$u = \frac{y - p_{yx}x}{p_{yu}}$$
$$v = \frac{z - p_{zx}x}{z - p_{zx}x}$$

 $p_{zv}$ 

from which it is but a short step to

$$(uv) = \rho_{uv} = \frac{\rho_{yz} - \rho_{yx}\rho_{zx}}{p_{vu}p_{zv}}$$

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in view of results already obtained. We now note that

$$p_{yu}^2 = 1 - p_{yx}^2 = 1 - \rho_{yx}^2$$

and

$$= 1 - p_{zx}^2 = 1 - \rho_{zx}^2$$

 $p_{z_1}^2$ 

so that we may write

$$\rho_{uv} = \frac{\rho_{yz} - \rho_{yx}\rho_{zx}}{\sqrt{1 - \rho_{yx}^2}\sqrt{1 - \rho_{zx}^2}}$$

But this is precisely the formula for  $\rho_{yz,x}$  given earlier.

We see that Model II is a way of expressing the hypothesis that a single common cause (here called x) exactly accounts for the entirety of the correlation between two other variables (here, y and z). Model II' asserts that y and z do indeed share x as a common cause, but that some other factor or factors, unrelated to x, also serve to induce a correlation between them. Note that the hypothesis underlying Model II is subject to a direct test, once we have sufficiently reliable estimates of the three observable correlations  $\rho_{yz}$ ,  $\rho_{yx}$ , and  $\rho_{zx}$ . Model II' is not so easily rejected. Indeed, one can (if one wishes) defend the truth of Model II' in the face of any conceivable set of three correlations (that is, correlations that satisfy the condition stated for the determinant on page 12). To call Model II' seriously into question really requires that we develop and justify a different model such that, if the new model is correct, Model II' cannot be true. (When you think you have learned enough about the technique of working with structural equation

models to try your hand at it, you should undertake the exercise of posing a countermodel to Model II', such that a set of observable correlations *could* show decisively that, if the new model is true, Model II' cannot be.)

We consider next a model in which one variable has the other two as causes:

$$z = p_{zy}y + p_{zx}x + v$$
 Model II

It takes only one equation to write this model. Since the equation has two variables that are causally prior to z, we specify that both are uncorrelated with the disturbance term:  $\rho_{yv} = \rho_{xv} = 0$ . The model as such says nothing about the correlation of y and x. In the absence of definite information to the contrary, we would do best to assume that this correlation may not be zero. Hence, the path diagram will be drawn as



In some previous literature (for example, Blalock, 1962–1963), the contrary assumption led to Model III', as below, with  $\rho_{xy} = 0$ .



Model III' has the ostensible advantage that one can test and possibly reject it. The "test" would consist merely in ascertaining whether a set of sample data are consistent with the hypothesis,  $\rho_{xy} = 0$ . But this "test" does not get at the *causal* properties of the model in any way. Indeed, one should think of the value of  $\rho_{xy}$  as being entirely exogenous in this model. The model might well hold good in different populations with varying values (not excluding zero) of  $\rho_{xy}$ . We will have to work harder to get a cogent test of Model III.

Let us multiply through the equation of Model III by each of the causal variables, take expectations, and express the result in terms of

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correlations. (By now, this technique should be quite familiar.) We find

$$\rho_{yz} = p_{zy} + p_{zx}\rho_{xy}$$
(from Model III)  
$$\rho_{xz} = p_{zy}\rho_{xy} + p_{zx}$$

erated by the path coefficients and the exogenous correlation,  $\rho_{xy}$ to which Model III applies, we may solve these equations uniquely for Second, if we know the values of the three correlations in a population shows how the correlations involving the dependent variable are genthe path coefficients: This set of equations may be looked at from two viewpoints. First, it

$$p_{zy} = \frac{\rho_{zy} - \rho_{zx}\rho_{xy}}{1 - \rho_{xy}^2}$$
$$p_{zx} = \frac{\rho_{zx} - \rho_{zy}\rho_{xy}}{1 - \rho_{xy}^2}$$

consistent with the truth of Model III. (It may happen, incidentally, coefficients-really requires one to pit it against some alternative questioning the plausibility of estimated values of correlation is.) Thus to call Model III into question-other than by that a path coefficient will have a value greater than unity or less than relations meeting the condition on the determinant on page 12) will be to exemplify this strategy here; but upon completing your study of this tions, such that if the new model is true Model III is necessarily faulty. model, supported by equally strong or stronger theoretical considerabook, you should be able to employ it with confidence.) (We have not yet developed a broad enough grasp of the possibilities -1.0, for this coefficient is not constrained in the same way that a We note that any conceivable set of three correlations (that is, corthe path

study the entire set of models that can be formulated in this way. already studied can be developed, however, merely by interchanging back" or "reciprocal" relationships. Other models of the kinds three-variable models involving just two causal paths and no "feedthe positions of the variables in Model I, II, or III. It is instructive to We have now surveyed the whole field of possibilities for the class of

names (as they would be in the algebraic representation of these models), but are symbolized by the arrows that originate outside the In the diagrams in Table 2.1 the disturbances are not given letter



as those already stated for Models I, II, and III diagram. The specifications on the disturbances are the same, in form,

sing correlations in terms of path coefficients. IIC. For each of Models IIIB and IIIC, derive a pair of equations expres-Exercise. Derive the conditions written below Models IB, IC, IIB, and

With the aid of this figure, it is worth pondering the problem of "causal inference." Suppose that one does not know which variables cause which other variables, but does know the values of the correlations among the three variables in some population. Imagine that these correlations satisfy the condition given for Model IA(i) ( $\rho_{xz} = \rho_{xy} \rho_{yz}$ ). Should one report his "discovery" that *z* depends on *y* and *y* in turn depends on *x*? No, for this same condition is also consistent with either Model IA(ii) or Model IIB, where the causal relationship is quite different.

You should immediately leap to the conclusion that one can *never* infer the causal ordering of two or more variables knowing only the values of the correlations (or even the partial correlations!).

We can reason in the other direction, however. Knowing the causal ordering, or, more precisely, the causal model linking the variables, we can sometimes infer something about the correlations. Or, assuming a model for sake of argument, we can express its properties in terms of correlations and (sometimes) find one or more conditions that must hold if the model is true but that are potentially subject to refutation by empirical evidence. Thus any one of Models IA, IB, IC, IIA, IIB, IIC by empirical evidence. Thus any one of Models IA, IB, IC, IIA, IIB, IIC can be rejected on the basis of reliable estimates of the three correlations, if their estimated values do not come close to satisfying the condition noted in the figure. Failure to reject a model, however, does not require one to accept it, for the reason, already noted, that some other model(s) will always be consistent with the same set of data. Only if one's theory is comprehensive and robust enough to rule out all the inference be justified.

We turn more briefly to three-variable models with one causal arrow we turn more briefly to three-variable models with one causal arrow

connecting each pair of variables in one direction or the other. There are actually only two kinds of models. One is the recursive model of the form



in which each variable depends on all "prior" or "predetermined" variables.

**Exercise.** Enumerate the six possible models of this general form, interchanging variables.

The three-variable recursive model is included within the fourvariable recursive model treated in the next chapter, so we shall not investigate it further here.

The second kind of model involving three causal arrows is represented by either of the diagrams below:



As we shall discover in the next chapter, neither of these is a recursive model. For reasons that are probably not clear now, but should become so upon study of nonrecursive models, we are no longer entitled to assume that the disturbance in a particular equation is uncorrelated with the causal variable in that equation. Indeed, that assumption is not merely contrary to fact, it gives rise to logical contradictions. The kinds of deductions made for Models I, II, and III are no longer legitimate. Moreover, with nonrecursive models it is often not plausible to assume that the disturbances in the several equations are uncorrelated among themselves (although this assumption can be made if there are adequate grounds for doing so). In that event, we should confront a model like the following:



But this model is "underidentified," the meaning and implications of which condition we shall consider in Chapter 6.

### Note on Partial Correlation

In the foregoing we paid no attention to partial correlations except when comparing Model II with Model II', in which the partial correlation  $\rho_{yz,x} = \rho_{uv}$  is actually a parameter of the model. This omission may seem odd to readers acquainted with the literature on "causal inference" in sociology, wherein partial correlations seem to play a central role. It is true, of course, that each of the conditions tabulated on page 19 could be restated in terms of a certain partial correlation. Thus, if, as for Model IA,

$$\rho_{xz} = \rho_{xy}\rho_{yz}$$

it will also be true that

$$\rho_{xz,y} = \frac{\rho_{xz} - \rho_{xy}\rho_{yz}}{\sqrt{1 - \rho_{xy}^2}\sqrt{1 - \rho_{yz}^2}} = 0.$$

Accordingly, we might treat the sample partial correlation  $r_{xx,y}$  as a test statistic for the null hypothesis,  $\rho_{xx} = \rho_{xy}\rho_{yx}$ . But we shall find in Chapter 3 that it is not necessary to invoke the concept of partial correlation in order to carry out an equivalent test.

We also note that the partial correlation, unless it has a well-defined role as a parameter of the model or as a test statistic, may actually be misleading. Continuing with the example of Model IA, suppose it occurred to an investigator to estimate the partial correlation  $\rho_{zy,x}$ —not for any clearly defined purpose, but simply because it is a "good idea" to look at the partial correlations when one is working with three or more variables. We know that, by definition,

$$x = \frac{\rho_{zy} - \rho_{zx}\rho_{yx}}{\sqrt{1 - \rho_{zx}^2}\sqrt{1 - \rho_{yy}^2}}$$

 $\rho_{zy}$ 

If Model IA is true, we have seen that  $\rho_{zx} = \rho_{zy} \rho_{yx}$ , so we may substitute that value into the foregoing formula to see what  $\rho_{zy,x}$  would be under this model:

$$\rho_{zy,x} = \frac{\rho_{zy} - \rho_{zy} \rho_{yx}^2}{\sqrt{1 - \rho_{zx}^2} \sqrt{1 - \rho_{yx}^2}}$$
$$= \rho_{zy} \sqrt{\frac{1 - \rho_{yx}^2}{1 - \rho_{zx}^2}}$$

Now, if all the correlations are less than unity and  $\rho_{zx} = \rho_{zy}\rho_{yx}$  (as it does when the model is true), we must have  $\rho_{zx}^2 < \rho_{yy}^2$  and also  $\rho_{zx}^2 < \rho_{yx}^2$ . It follows that the fraction on the right-hand side is less than unity, so that

$$\left| 
ho_{zy.x} \right| < \left| 
ho_{zy} \right|$$

or, if  $\rho_{zy}$  is positive,

$$\rho_{zy,x} < \rho_{zy}$$

Now, it is not always clear what one does after "partialing," but it seems likely that the investigator who goes so far as to estimate  $\rho_{zy,x}$  will not leave the result unreported. Most likely he will announce something like, "The relationship between z and y is reduced when x is held constant," and perhaps offer reasons why this might happen. But, if Model IA is true, this result is artifactual, and the investigator's report is erroneous.

We might also note, in light of our work with Model III, that if the investigator had computed, not the partial correlation  $\rho_{zy,x}$ , but the corresponding partial *regression* coefficient, the outcome would not be misleading. For the value of that regression coefficient is

$$\frac{\rho_{zy} - \rho_{zx}\rho_{yx}}{1 - \rho_{yx}^2}$$

or, upon substituting  $\rho_{zy}\rho_{yx}$  for  $\rho_{zx}$  on the assumption that Model I is true,

$$\frac{y - \rho_{zy}\rho_{yx}^2}{1 - \rho_{yx}^2} = \rho_{zy} = p_z$$

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That is, the partial regression coefficient is the same as the path coefficient, as it should be for this kind of model, and the numerical result is intelligible in terms of the model, while the one for the partial correlation is misleading.

We find, therefore, that partial correlations may only be a distraction when studying some of the models treated in this chapter (see also Duncan, 1970). Indeed the very concept of correlation itself has a subordinate role in the development of structural equation models. Although in Chapter 3 the presentation of recursive models does fea-

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ture correlations, in subsequent chapters both recursive and nonrecursive models are treated from a different and more fundamental point of view.

### FURTHER READING

The classic exposition of the causal structures that may underlie the correlations among three variables is that of Simon (1954). A didactic presentation of four-variable models much in the spirit of this chapter is given by Blalock (1962–1963). Both papers are reprinted in Blalock (1971).

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## **Recursive Models**

A model is said to be recursive if all the causal linkages run "one way," that is, if no two variables are reciprocally related in such a way that each affects and depends on the other, and no variable "feeds back" upon itself through any indirect concatenation of causal linkages, however circuitous. However, recursive models do cover the case in which the "same" variable occurs at two distinct points in time, for, in that event, we would regard the two measurements as defining two different variables. For example, a dynamic model like the following:



where t and t + 1 are two points in time, is recursive (even though x appears to feed back upon itself). The definition also subsumes the case in which there are two or more ostensibly contemporaneous dependent variables where none of them has a direct or indirect causal

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