


Counting Defiers: A Design-Based Model of an Experiment Can Reveal Evidence Beyond the Average Effect



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Thanks to Jann Spiess for extensive regular feedback and to Charles Manski, Toru Kitagawa, Aleksey Tetenov, and Donald Rubin for encouraging us to use statistical decision theory and teaching us about it. Thanks also to Guido Imbens.

 You want
pregnant women
to take up a
desired health
behavior.




A close-up, high-angle shot of a metal suitcase filled with stacks of US dollar bills. The bills are bundled together with rubber bands. The top of the suitcase is open, revealing the stacks of money. The lighting is dramatic, with the top of the suitcase and the money being brightly lit, while the background is dark. The text "You consider a financial intervention." is overlaid on the left side of the image.


You consider a
financial
intervention.

A close-up photograph of a hand holding a lit cigarette. The cigarette is lit, with a small flame at the tip and a trail of white smoke rising from it. The background is a soft, out-of-focus light blue. The text "But you worry it could backfire for some people." is overlaid on the left side of the image in a white, sans-serif font.


But you worry it
could backfire for
some people.

A row of four colorful dice (red, brown, blue, and purple) is shown on a reflective surface. The blue die in the foreground is in sharp focus, showing the number 5 on its top face and 2 on its front face. The other dice are slightly out of focus. The background is dark and blurred.

You run a
randomized
experiment with
six people, three
in intervention.

A hand with white nail polish holds a single red strawberry. Below the hand is a white bowl filled with several more strawberries. The background is a plain, light-colored wall. The left side of the image is darkened, and the text is overlaid on this dark area.

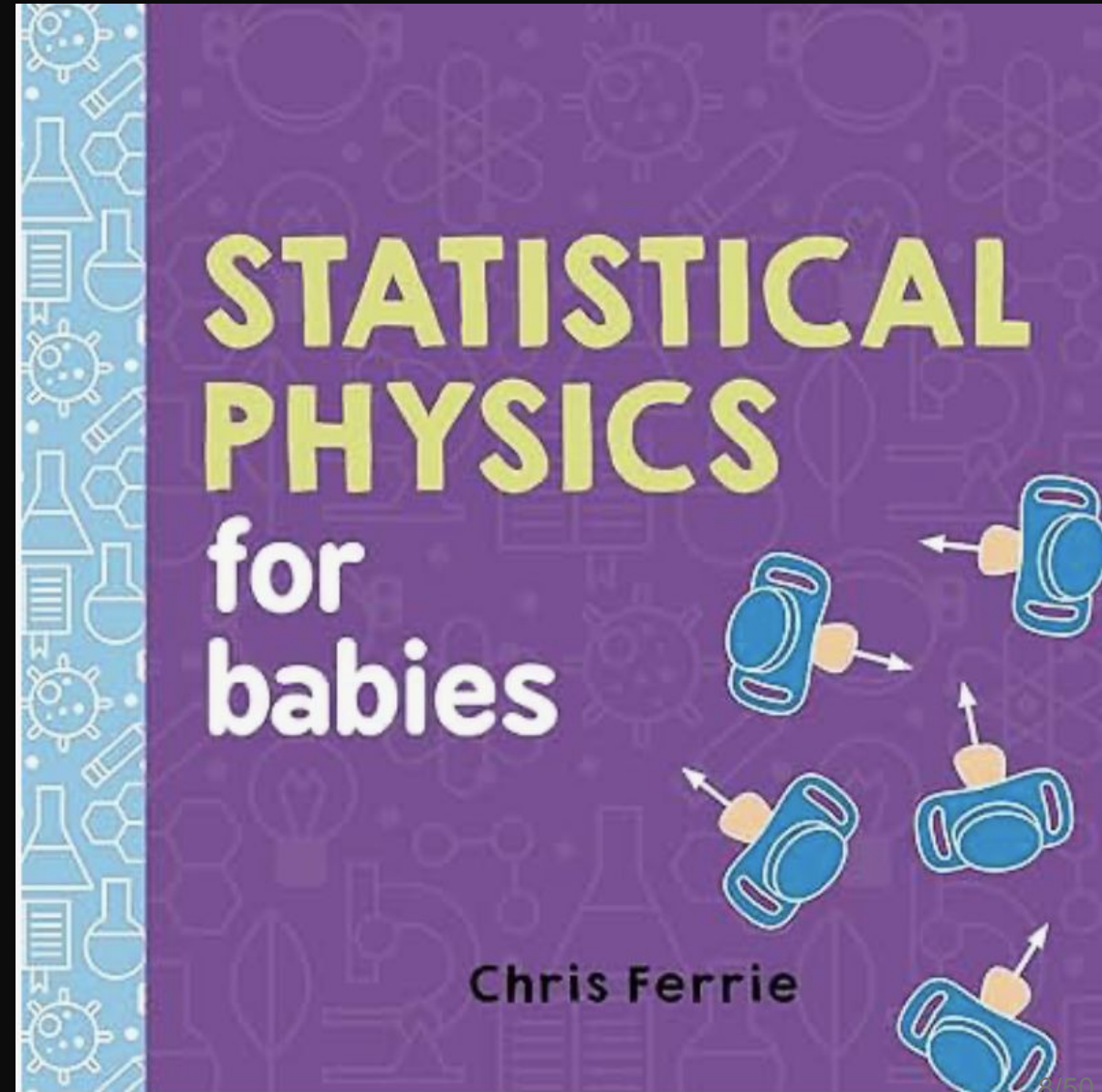
Two take up in
intervention, and
one takes up in
control.



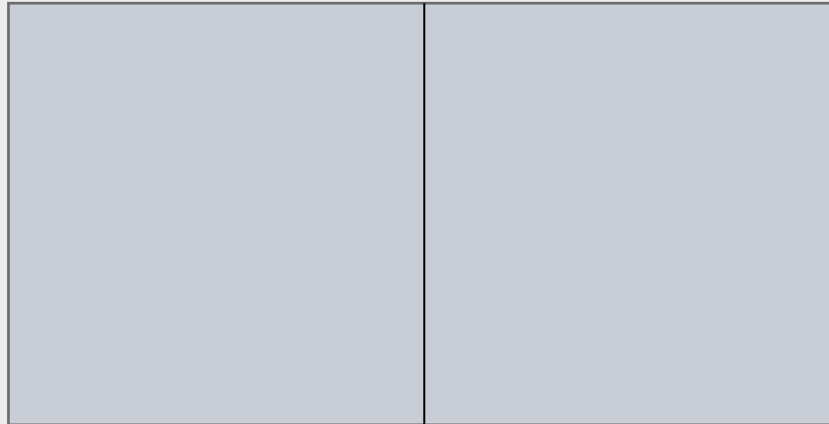
Does the
intervention
backfire for any
of them?

I'll help you decide,
demonstrating that

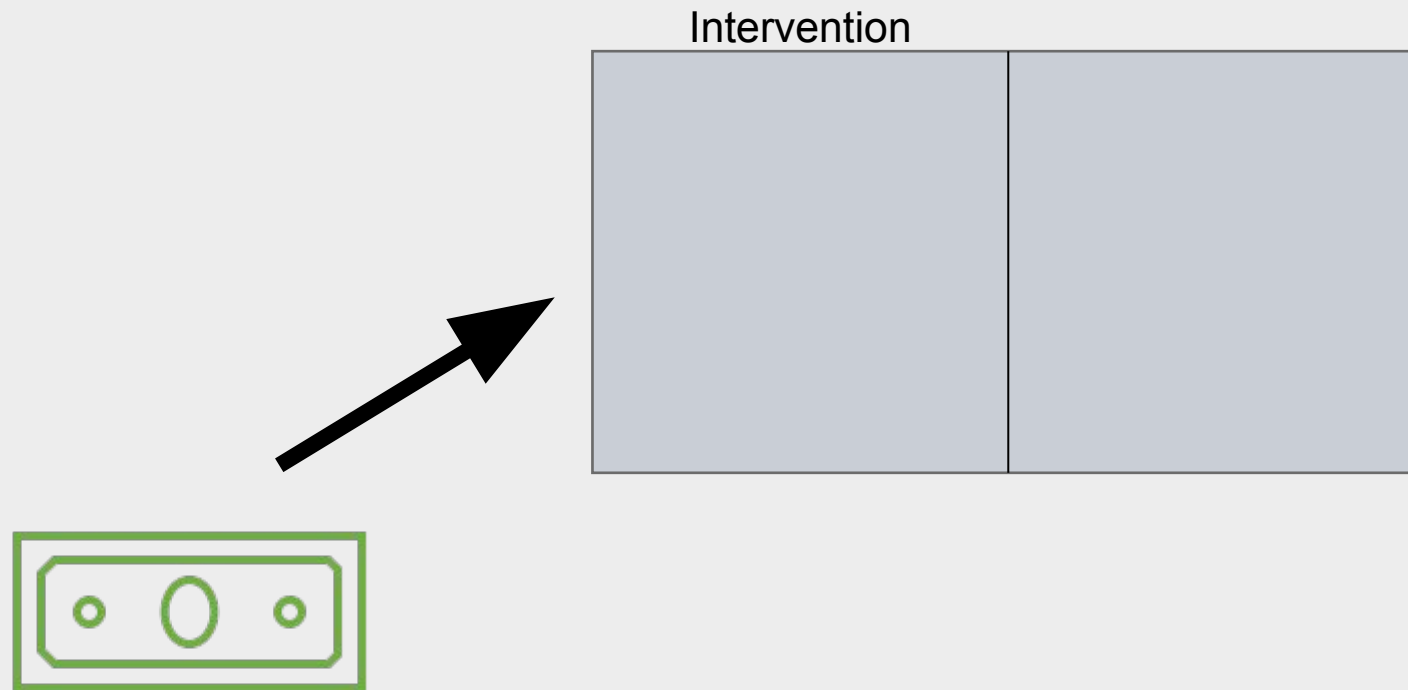
**A design-based model
of an experiment can
reveal evidence
beyond the average
effect.**



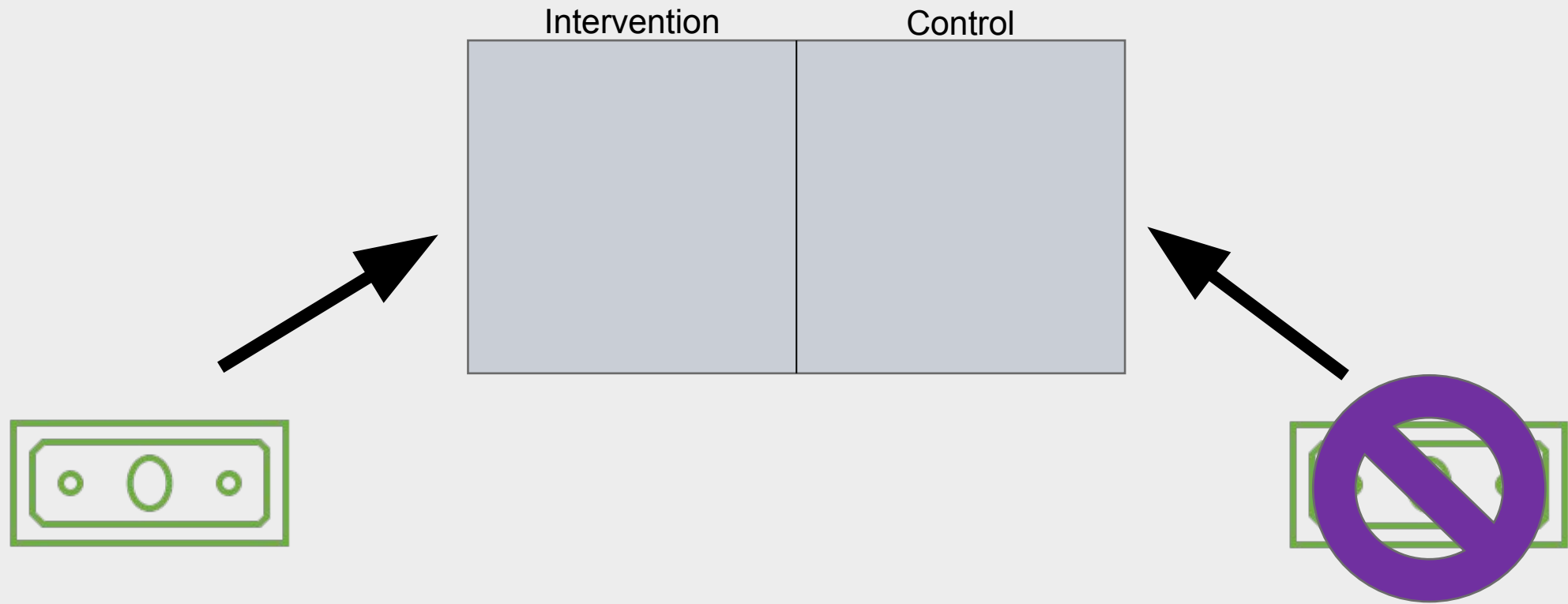
This is your randomized experiment.



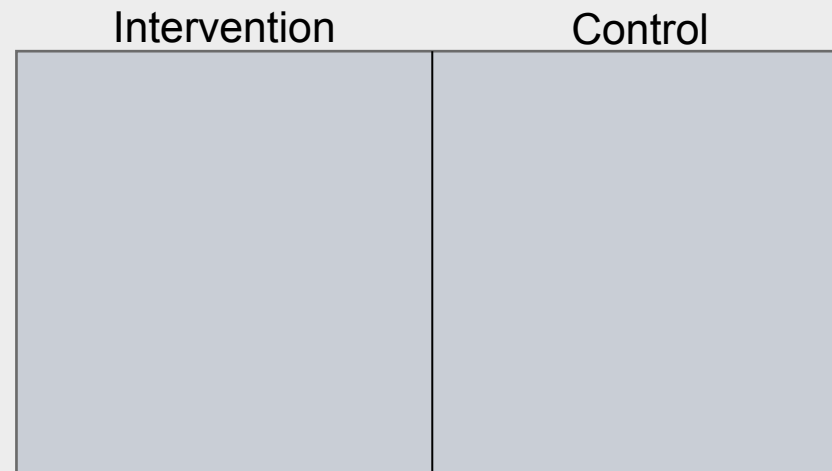
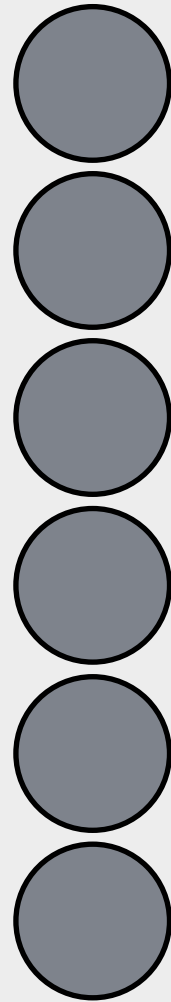
It has an **intervention** on the left,



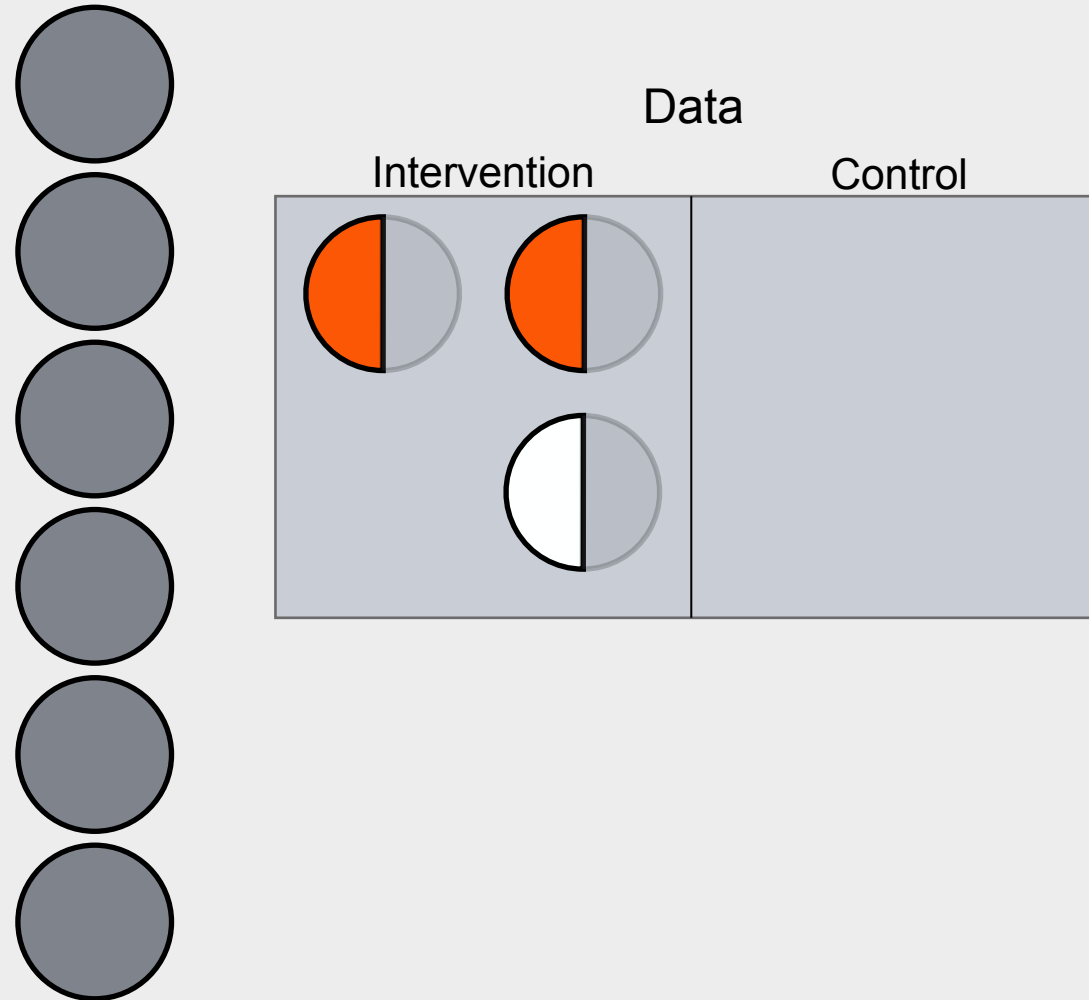
It has an **intervention** on the left, and a **control** on the right.



There are six people,

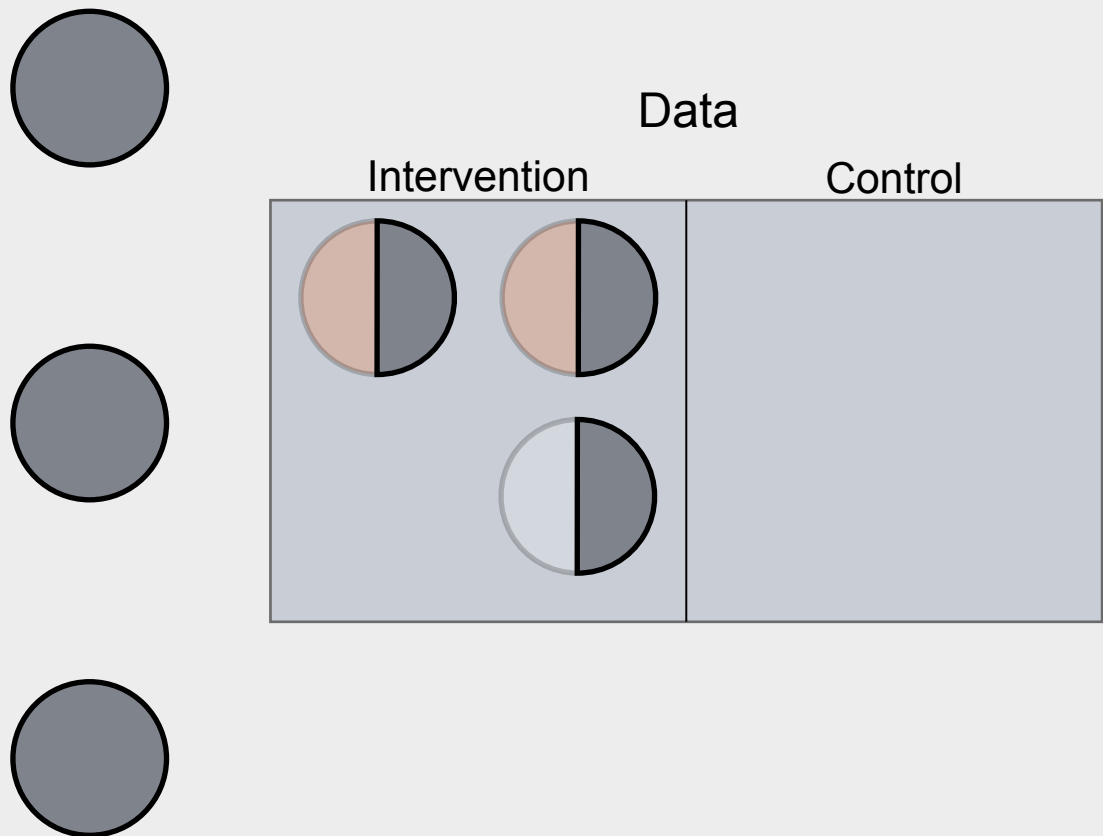


There are six people, and three are randomly assigned intervention.
You observe **takeup** and **no takeup** in intervention.



Intervention:  Takeup  No Takeup  Unobserved

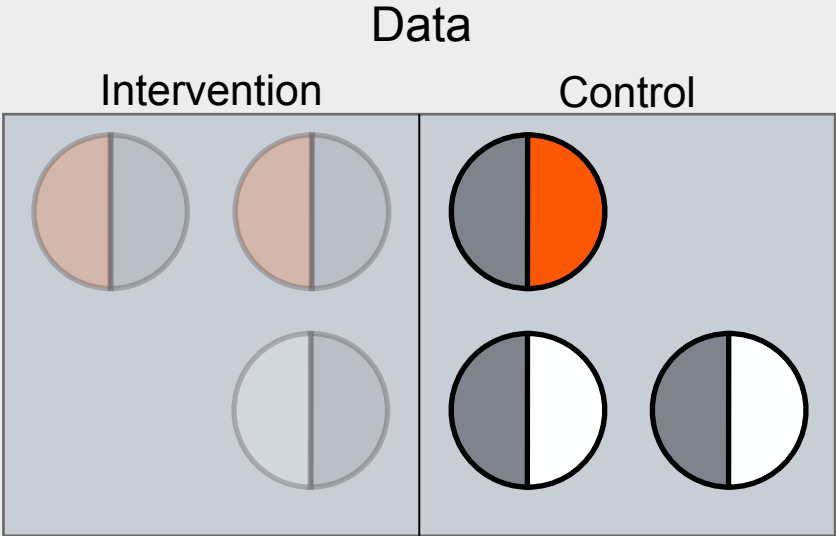
But the **potential outcome** in control remains **unobserved** (Rubin 1974).



Intervention:  Takeup  No Takeup  Unobserved

Control:  Takeup  No Takeup  Unobserved

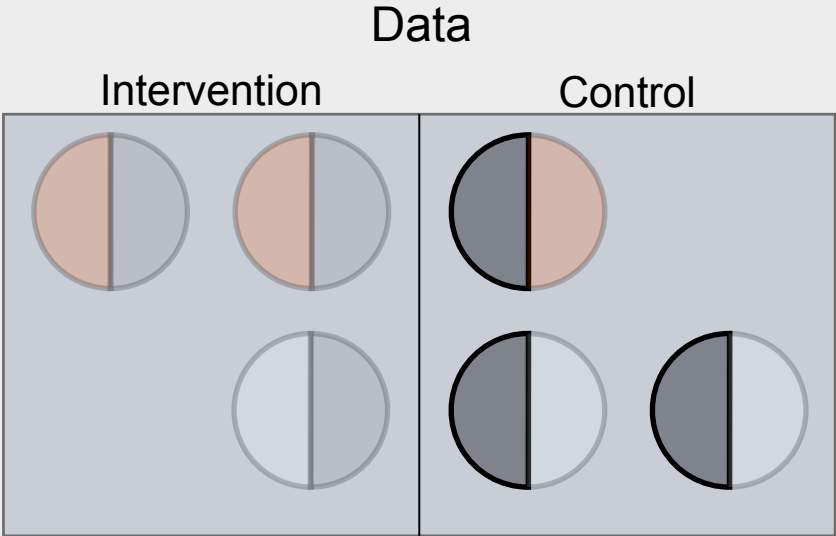
For the people in control, you observe **takeup** and no **takeup** in control.



Intervention:  Takeup  No Takeup  Unobserved

Control:  Takeup  No Takeup  Unobserved

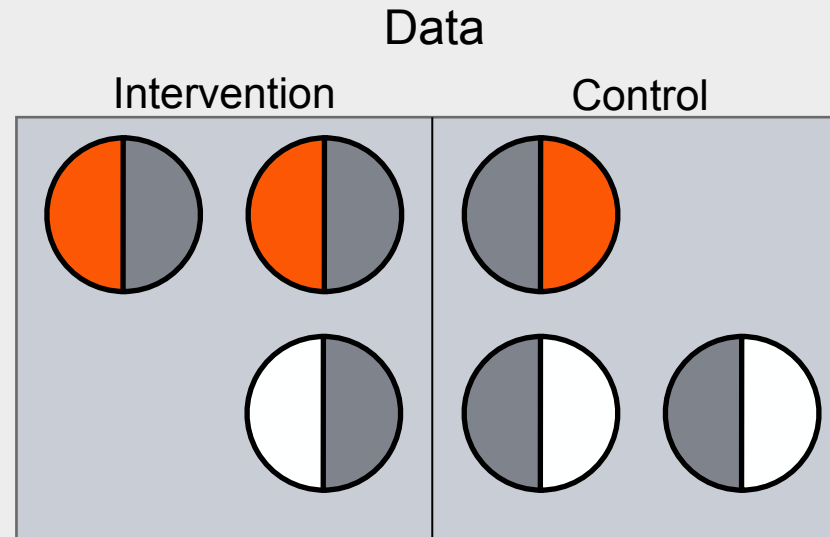
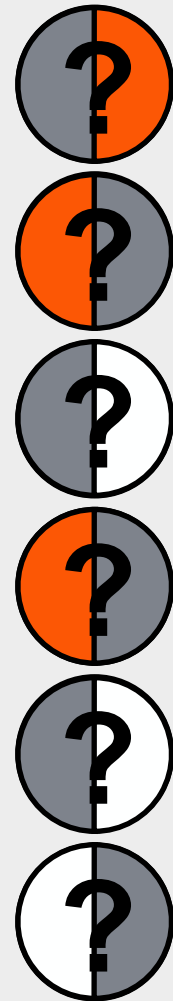
But the potential outcome in intervention remains **unobserved**.



Intervention:  Takeup  No Takeup  Unobserved

Control:  Takeup  No Takeup  Unobserved

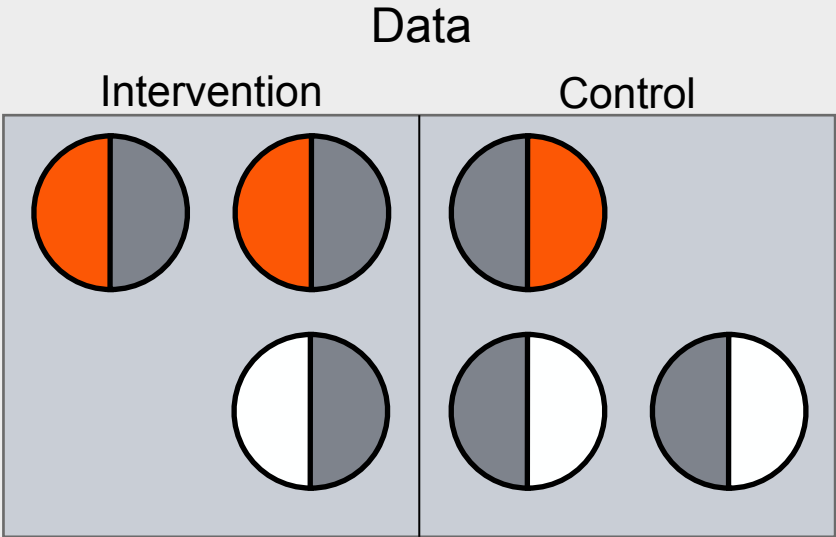
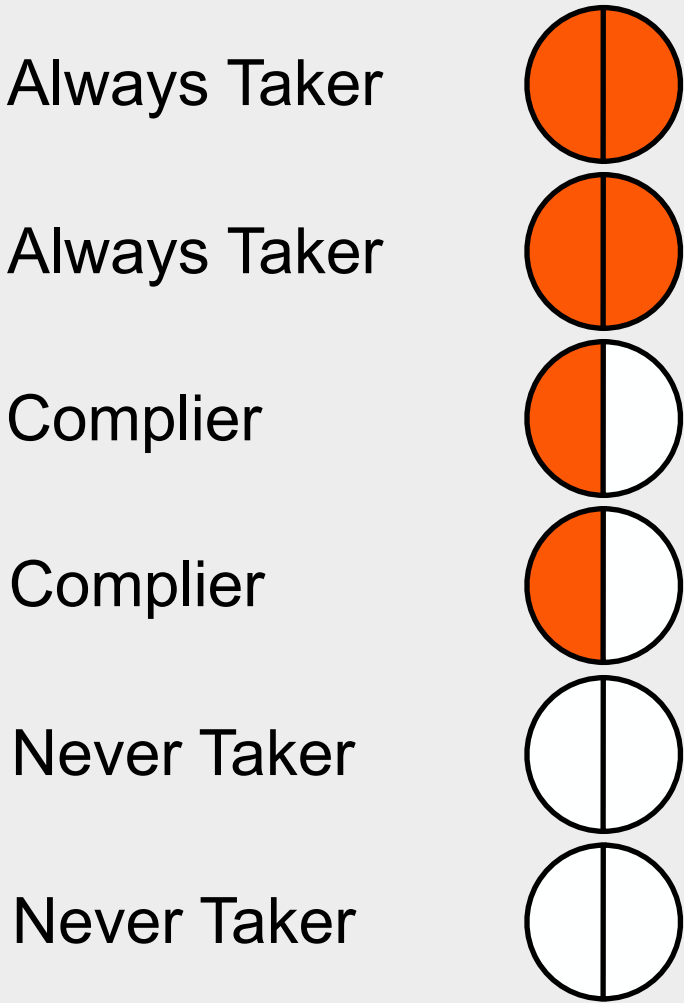
What is your best guess of the **unobserved** potential outcomes that generated the data?
What is the joint distribution of potential outcomes?



Intervention: Takeup No Takeup Unobserved

Control: Takeup No Takeup Unobserved

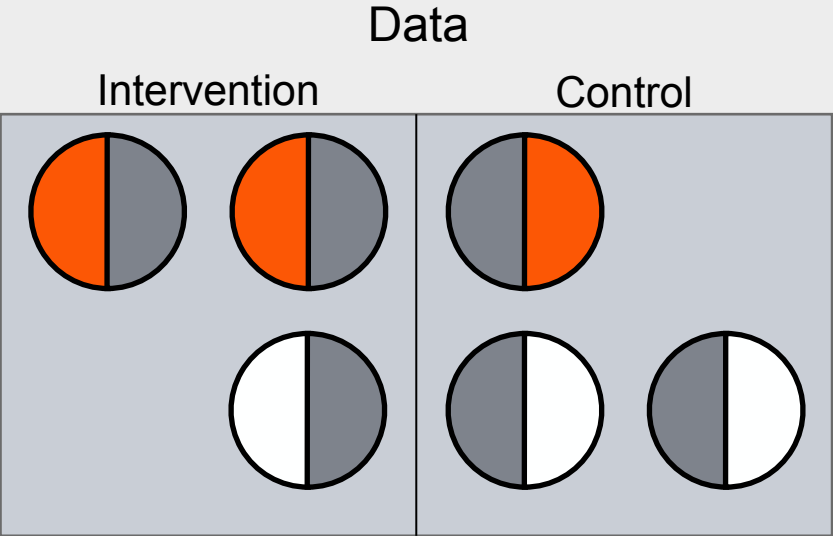
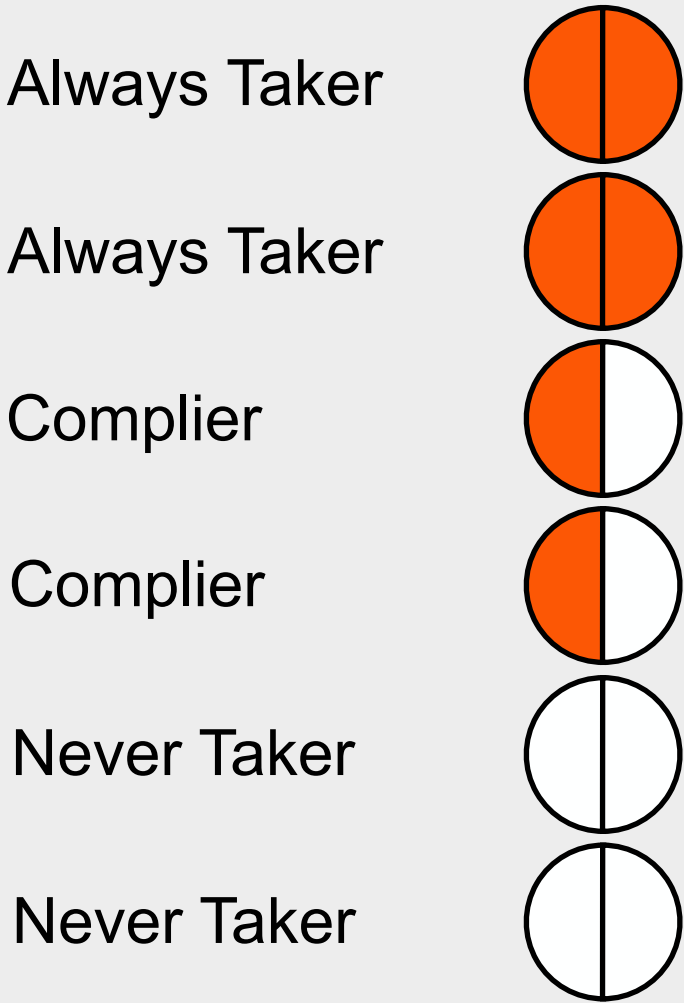
Here is one possible answer.









Intervention: Takeup No Takeup Unobserved

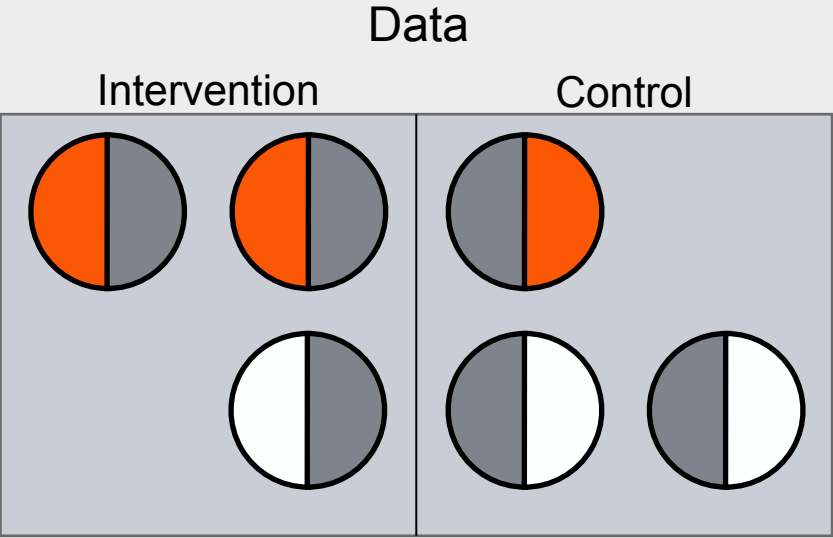
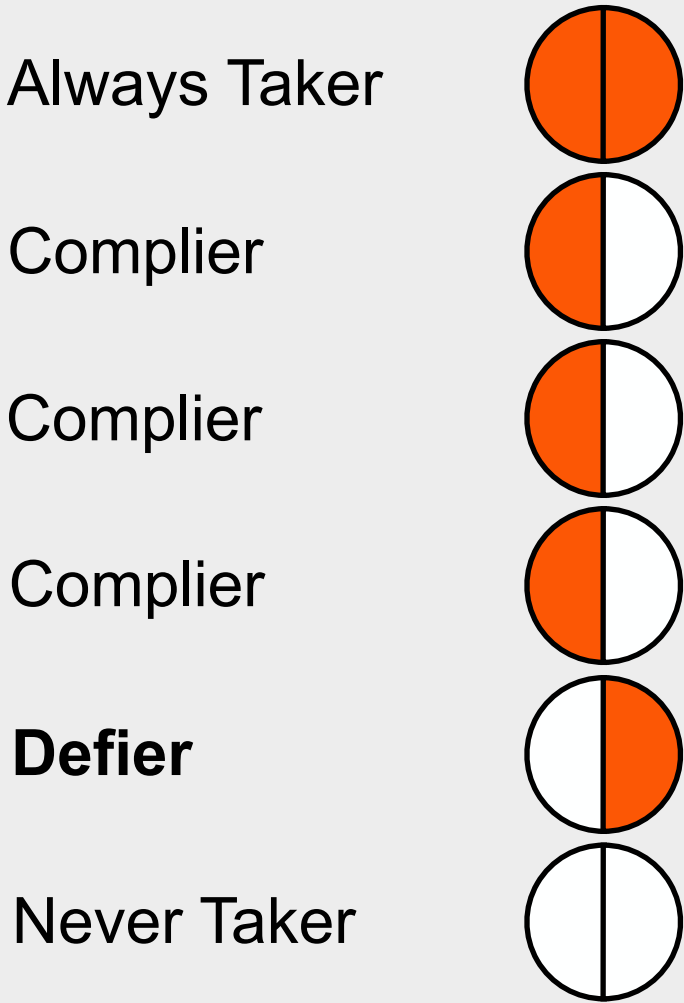
Control: Takeup No Takeup Unobserved

This answer satisfies **monotonicity** (Imbens and Angrist 1994).

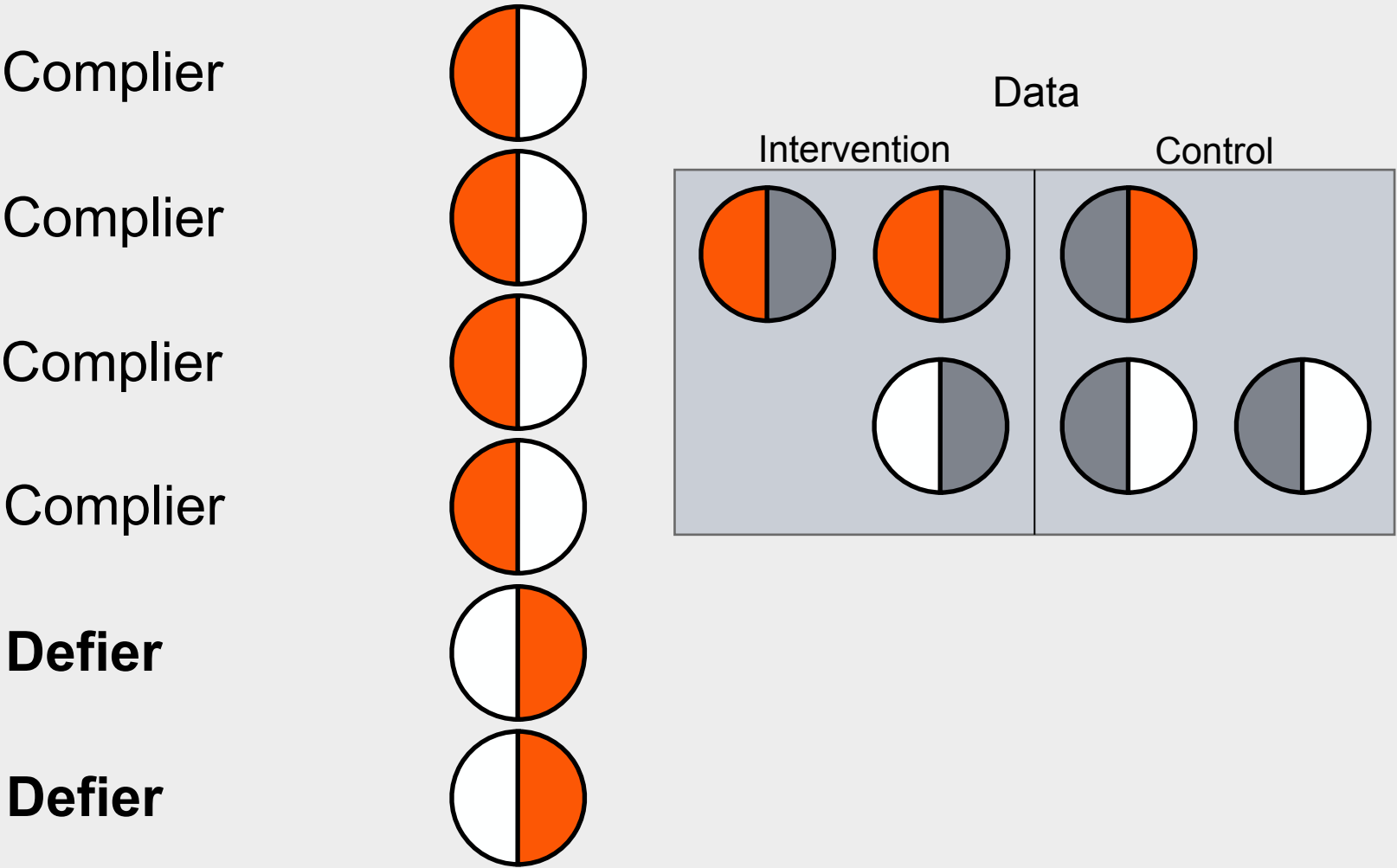


Intervention:  Takeup  No Takeup  Unobserved Control:  Takeup  No Takeup  Unobserved

Here is another answer with a **defier** (Angrist, Imbens, and Rubin 1996).

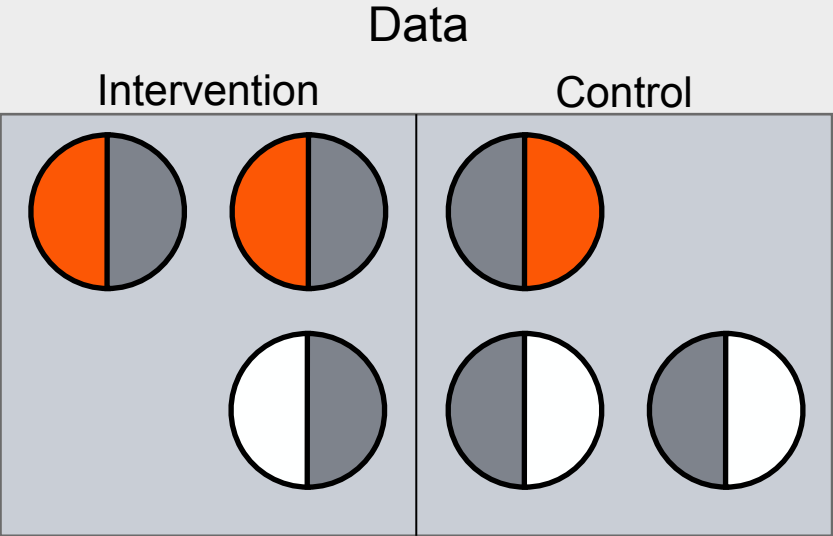
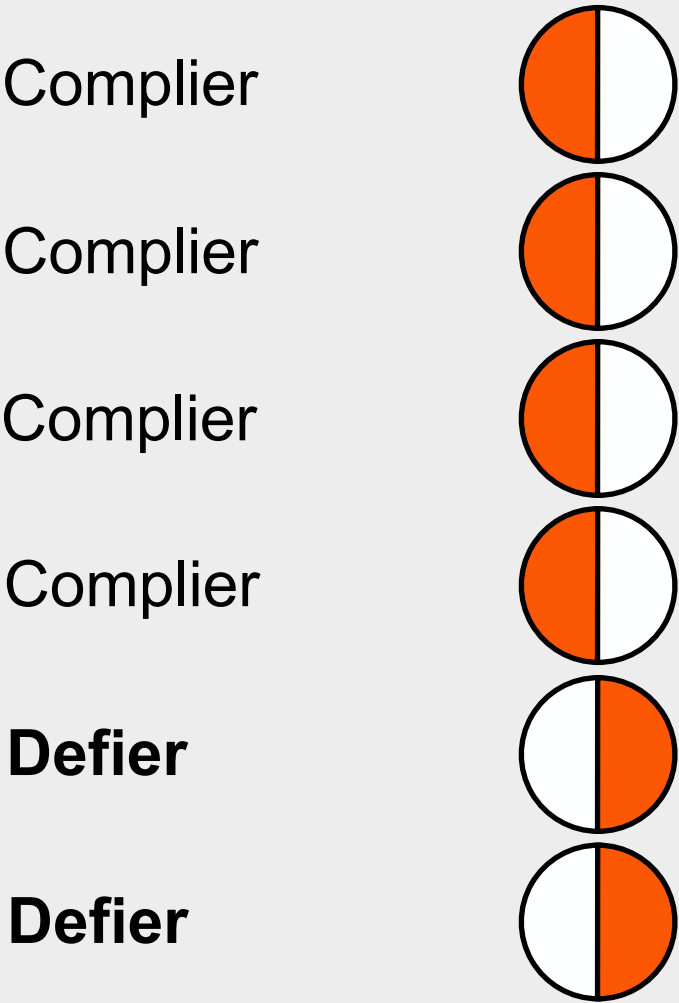


Here is another answer with **two defiers**.



Intervention: Takeup No Takeup Unobserved Control: Takeup No Takeup Unobserved

This is the optimal answer!

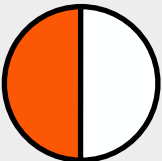


Intervention: Takeup No Takeup Unobserved

Control: Takeup No Takeup Unobserved

Really? Why?

Complier



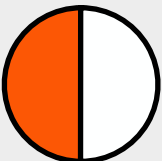
Complier



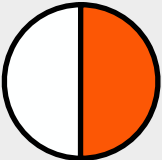
Complier



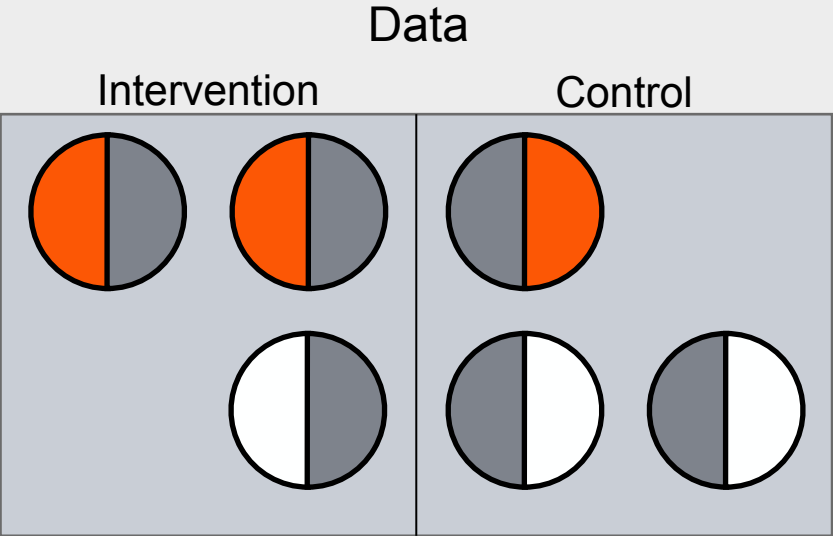
Complier



Defier



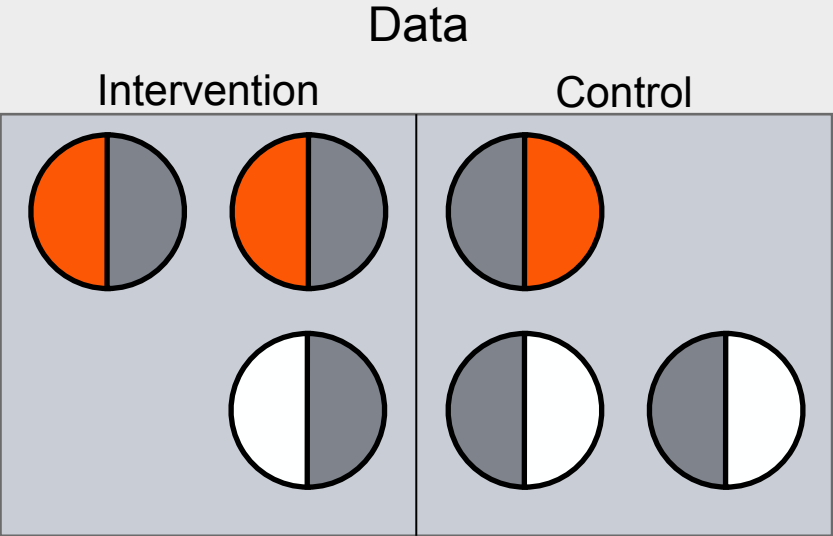
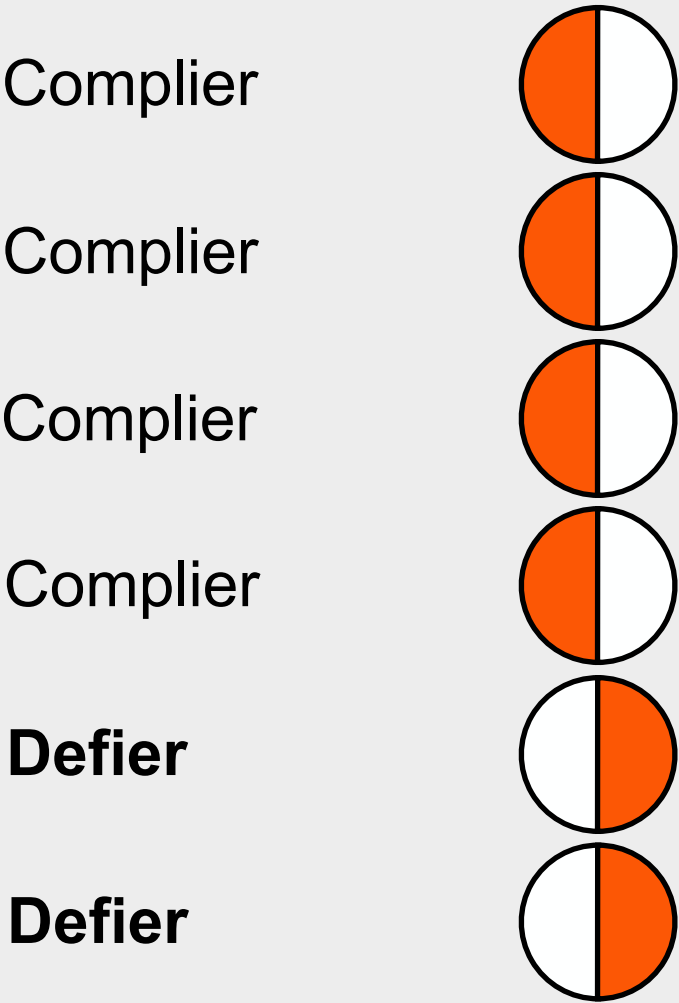
Defier



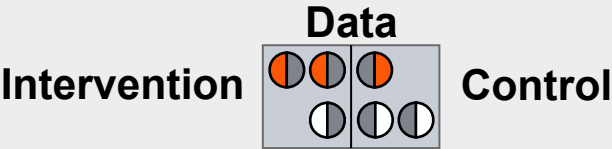
Intervention: Takeup No Takeup Unobserved

Control: Takeup No Takeup Unobserved

We answer with our proposed design-based maximum likelihood decision rule.



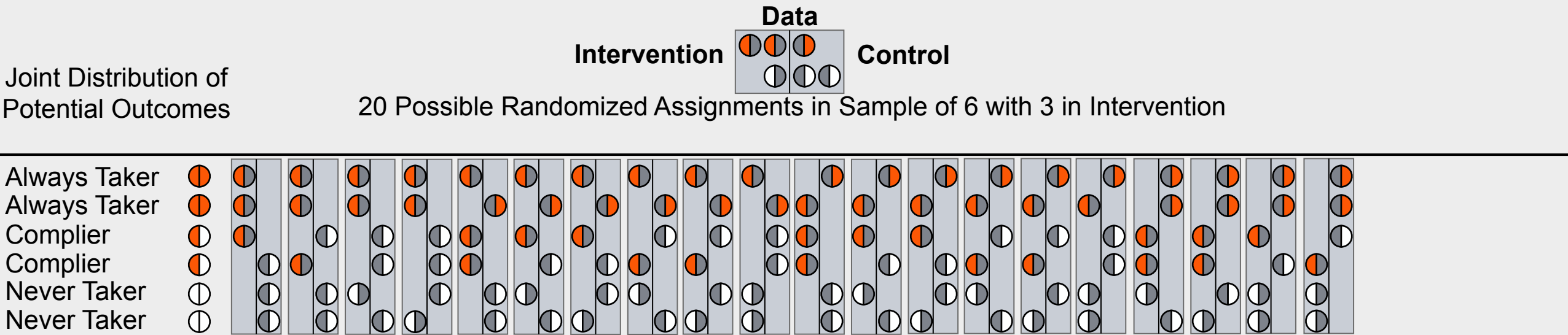
Here are the data again.



Intervention:  Takeup  No Takeup  Unobserved

Control:  Takeup  No Takeup  Unobserved

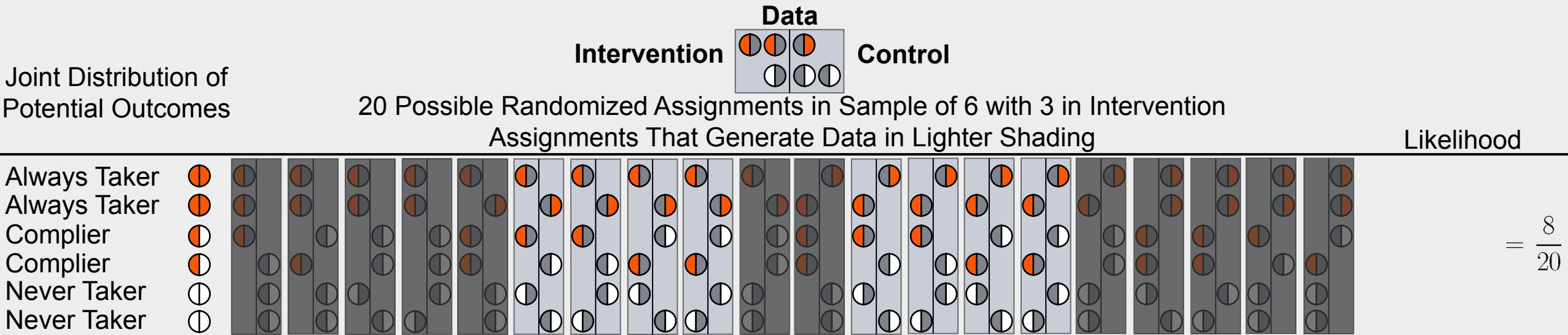
We can randomize three of the six people into intervention with 20 possible assignments.



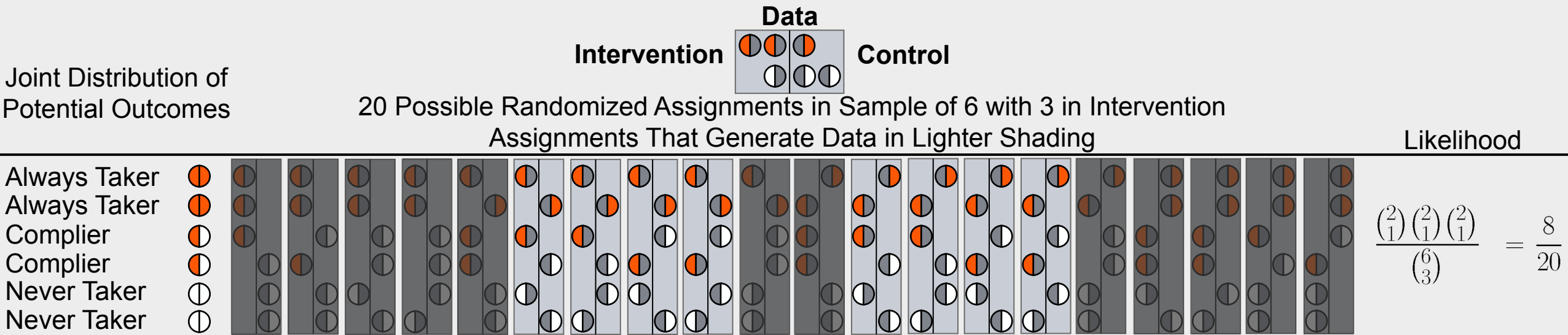
Intervention: Takeup No Takeup Unobserved

Control: Takeup No Takeup Unobserved

We can randomize three of the six people into intervention with 20 possible assignments. The eight assignments that generate the data are in lighter shading.



Assignments that generate the data have one always taker, one complier, and one never taker in intervention.



2 Always Takers, 2 Compliers, 2 Never Takers







1 Always Taker
1 Complier
0 Defiers
1 Never Taker

1 Always Taker
1 Complier
0 Defiers
1 Never Taker

Intervention: Takeup No Takeup Unobserved

Control: Takeup No Takeup Unobserved

Assignments that generate the data have one always taker, one complier, and one never taker in intervention.







Joint Distribution of Potential Outcomes		Data		Control		Likelihood	
		Intervention					
20 Possible Randomized Assignments in Sample of 6 with 3 in Intervention							
Assignments That Generate Data in Lighter Shading							
Always Taker		2 Always Takers, 2 Compliers, 2 Never Takers				$\frac{\binom{2}{1} \binom{2}{1} \binom{2}{1}}{\binom{6}{3}} = \frac{8}{20}$	
Always Taker							
Complier		1 Always Taker					
Complier		1 Complier					
Never Taker		0 Defiers					
Never Taker		1 Never Taker					

Intervention:  Takeup  No Takeup  Unobserved

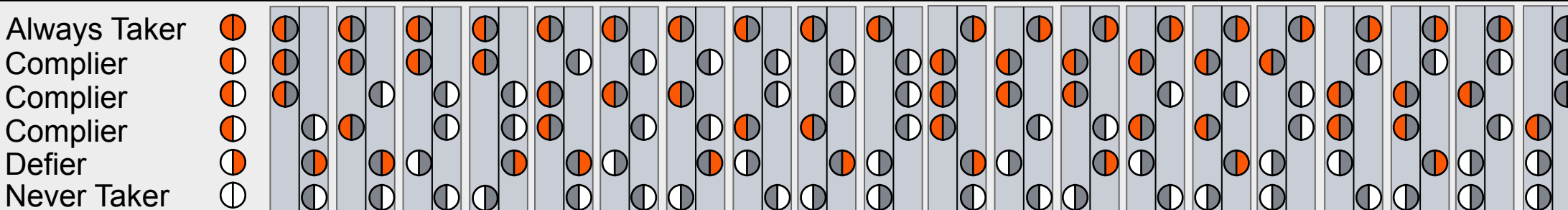
Control:  Takeup  No Takeup  Unobserved

Joint Distribution of Potential Outcomes

2 Always Takers, 2 Compliers, 2 Never Takers

1 Always Taker			1 Always Taker
1 Complier			1 Complier
0 Defiers			0 Defiers
1 Never Taker			1 Never Taker







$$\frac{\binom{2}{1}\binom{2}{1}\binom{2}{1}}{\binom{6}{3}} = \frac{8}{20}$$



Control:  Takeup  No Takeup  Unobserved

Joint Distribution of Potential Outcomes

2 Always Takers, 2 Compliers, 2 Never Takers

1 Always Taker			1 Always Taker
1 Complier			1 Complier
0 Defiers			0 Defiers
1 Never Taker			1 Never Taker

$$\frac{\binom{2}{1} \binom{2}{1} \binom{2}{1}}{\binom{6}{3}} = \frac{8}{20}$$

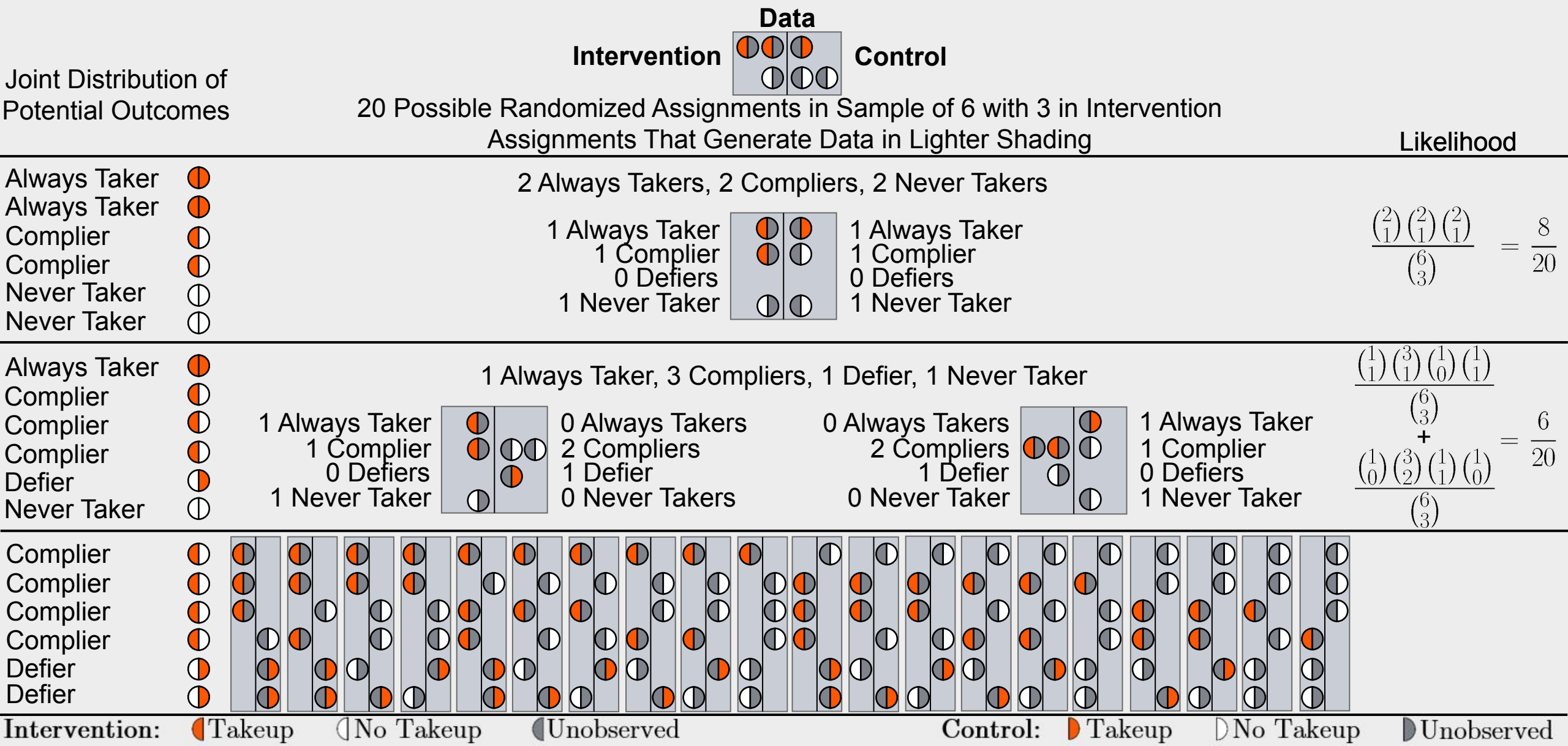
$$\frac{\frac{\binom{1}{1} \binom{3}{1} \binom{1}{0} \binom{1}{1}}{\binom{6}{3}} + \frac{\binom{1}{0} \binom{3}{2} \binom{1}{1} \binom{1}{0}}{\binom{6}{3}}}{2} = \frac{6}{20}$$

Control:  Takeup  No Takeup  Unobserved

Only six assignments generate the data.

Joint Distribution of Potential Outcomes		Data				Likelihood	
		Intervention		Control			
20 Possible Randomized Assignments in Sample of 6 with 3 in Intervention							
Assignments That Generate Data in Lighter Shading							
Always Taker		2 Always Takers, 2 Compliers, 2 Never Takers				$\frac{\binom{2}{1} \binom{2}{1} \binom{2}{1}}{\binom{6}{3}} = \frac{8}{20}$	
Always Taker							
Complier		1 Always Taker					
Complier		1 Complier					
Never Taker		0 Defiers					
Never Taker		1 Never Taker					
Always Taker		1 Always Taker, 3 Compliers, 1 Defier, 1 Never Taker				$\frac{\binom{1}{1} \binom{3}{1} \binom{1}{0} \binom{1}{1}}{\binom{6}{3}} + \frac{\binom{1}{0} \binom{3}{2} \binom{1}{1} \binom{1}{0}}{\binom{6}{3}} = \frac{6}{20}$	
Complier							
Complier		1 Always Taker					
Complier		1 Complier					
Defier		0 Defiers					
Never Taker		1 Never Taker					
Always Taker		0 Always Takers					
Always Taker		2 Compliers					
Complier		1 Defier					
Never Taker		0 Never Takers					
Always Taker		0 Always Takers					
Always Taker		2 Compliers					
Complier		1 Defier					
Never Taker		0 Never Taker					
Always Taker		1 Always Taker					
Always Taker		1 Complier					
Complier		0 Defiers					
Never Taker		1 Never Taker					
Always Taker							
Always Taker							
Complier							
Complier							
Defier							
Never Taker							

Now consider the solution with two defiers. How many assignments generate the data?



12 of the 20 possible assignments generate the data!

Joint Distribution of Potential Outcomes







Intervention **Data** **Control**

20 Possible Randomized Assignments in Sample of 6 with 3 in Intervention
Assignments That Generate Data in Lighter Shading

Likelihood

Always Taker	
Always Taker	
Complier	
Complier	
Never Taker	
Never Taker	

2 Always Takers, 2 Compliers, 2 Never Takers

1 Always Taker			1 Always Taker
1 Complier			1 Complier
0 Defiers			0 Defiers
1 Never Taker			1 Never Taker

$$\frac{\binom{2}{1}\binom{2}{1}\binom{2}{1}}{\binom{6}{3}} = \frac{8}{20}$$

Always Taker	
Complier	
Complier	
Complier	
Defier	
Never Taker	

1 Always Taker, 3 Compliers, 1 Defier, 1 Never Taker

Diagram illustrating the distribution of prisoner types across two columns:

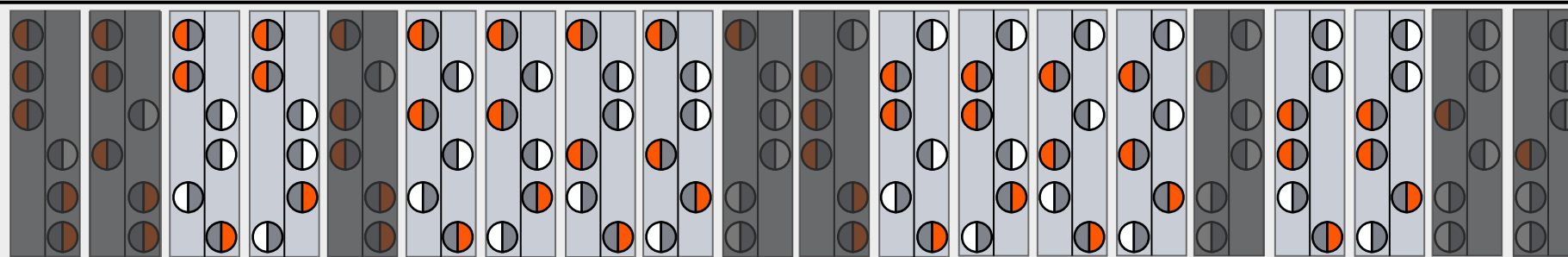
- Column 1 (Left):**
 - 1 Always Taker
 - 1 Complier
 - 0 Defiers
 - 1 Never Taker
- Column 2 (Right):**
 - 0 Always Takers
 - 2 Compliers
 - 1 Defier
 - 0 Never Takers

Diagram illustrating the distribution of prisoner types across two columns (reversed):

- Column 1 (Left):**
 - 0 Always Takers
 - 2 Compliers
 - 1 Defier
 - 0 Never Takers
- Column 2 (Right):**
 - 1 Always Taker
 - 1 Complier
 - 0 Defiers
 - 1 Never Taker

$$\frac{\frac{\binom{1}{1} \binom{3}{1} \binom{1}{0} \binom{1}{1}}{\binom{6}{3}} + \frac{\binom{1}{0} \binom{3}{2} \binom{1}{1} \binom{1}{0}}{\binom{6}{3}}}{20} = \frac{6}{20}$$

Complier	
Complier	
Complier	
Complier	
Defier	
Defier	


$$\frac{\binom{4}{2} \binom{2}{1}}{\binom{6}{3}} = \frac{12}{20}$$

Intervention: Takeup No Takeup Unobserved Control: Takeup No Takeup Unobserved

The answer with two defiers has the maximum likelihood!

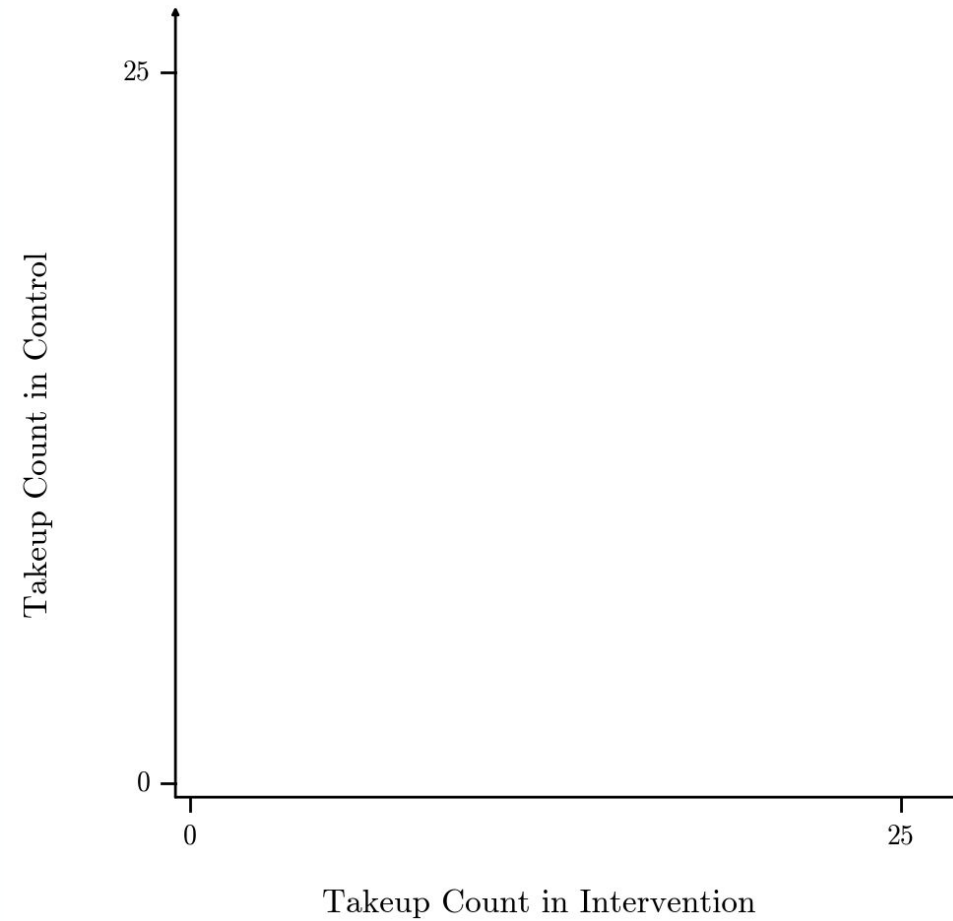
We decide that the intervention backfires for two people in the sample.

Joint Distribution of Potential Outcomes		Data				Likelihood	
		Intervention		Control			
20 Possible Randomized Assignments in Sample of 6 with 3 in Intervention							
Assignments That Generate Data in Lighter Shading							
Always Taker		2 Always Takers, 2 Compliers, 2 Never Takers					
Always Taker							
Complier		1 Always Taker		1 Always Taker	$\frac{\binom{2}{1} \binom{2}{1} \binom{2}{1}}{\binom{6}{3}} = \frac{8}{20}$		
Complier		1 Complier		1 Complier			
Never Taker		0 Defiers		0 Defiers			
Never Taker		1 Never Taker		1 Never Taker			
Always Taker		1 Always Taker, 3 Compliers, 1 Defier, 1 Never Taker				$\frac{\binom{1}{1} \binom{3}{1} \binom{1}{0} \binom{1}{1}}{\binom{6}{3}} + \frac{\binom{1}{0} \binom{3}{2} \binom{1}{1} \binom{1}{0}}{\binom{6}{3}} = \frac{6}{20}$	
Complier		1 Always Taker		0 Always Takers	0 Always Takers		
Complier		1 Complier		2 Compliers	2 Compliers		
Complier		0 Defiers		1 Defier	1 Defier		
Defier		1 Never Taker		0 Never Takers	0 Never Taker		
Never Taker							
Complier		4 Compliers, 2 Defiers				$\frac{\binom{4}{2} \binom{2}{1}}{\binom{6}{3}} = \frac{12}{20}$	
Complier							
Complier		0 Always Takers		0 Always Takers			
Complier		2 Compliers		2 Compliers			
Defier		1 Defier		1 Defier			
Defier		0 Never Taker		0 Never Takers			
Intervention:		Takeup	No Takeup	Unobserved	Control: Takeup No Takeup Unobserved		

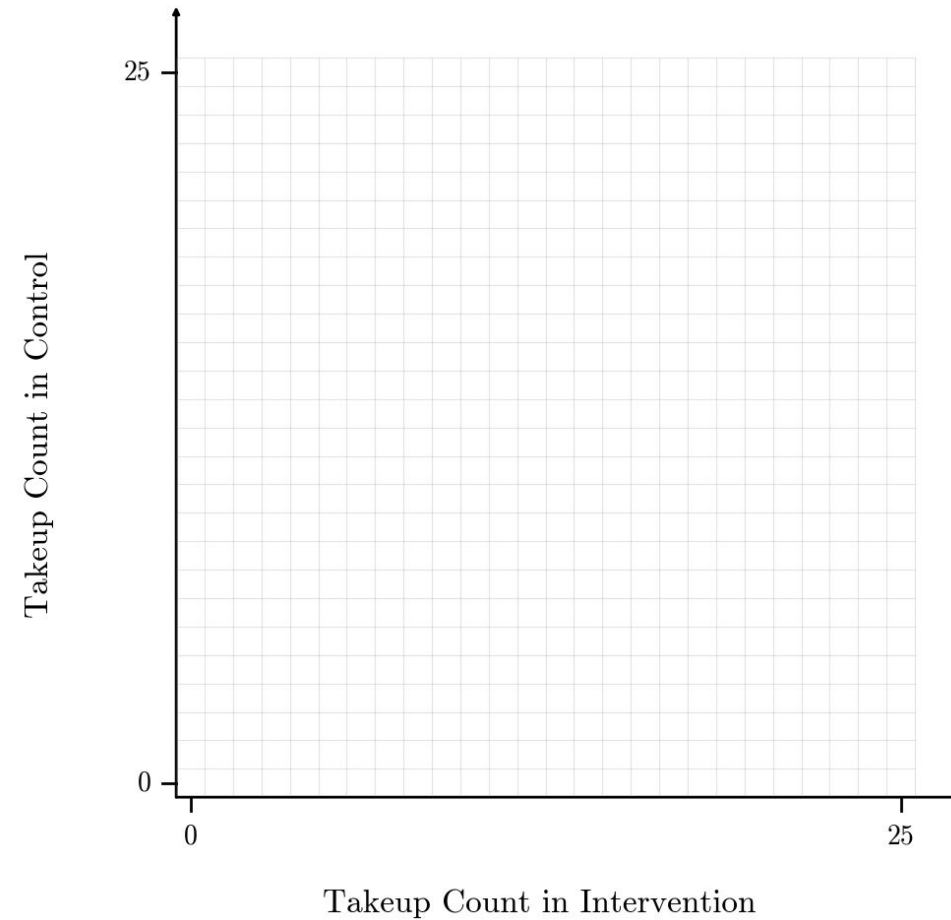
What can we say
beyond the
average effect in
all possible
results with 50
people, 25 in
intervention?



These axes show the takeup count in intervention and the takeup count in control.



There are the 676 ($=26 \times 26$) possible realizations of the data in a sample of 50 people.

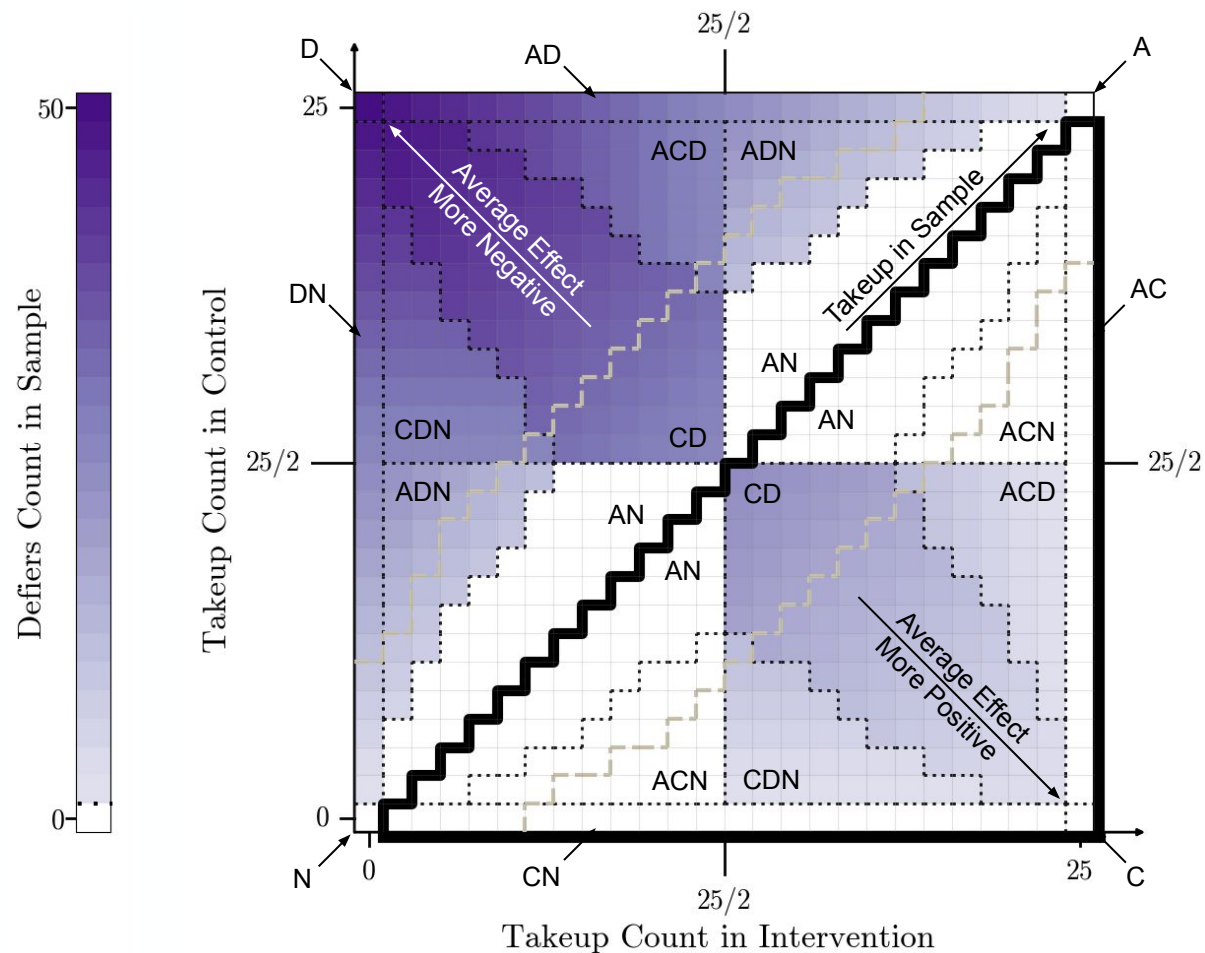


We can reveal evidence beyond the average effect!

Region with Positive Average Effect

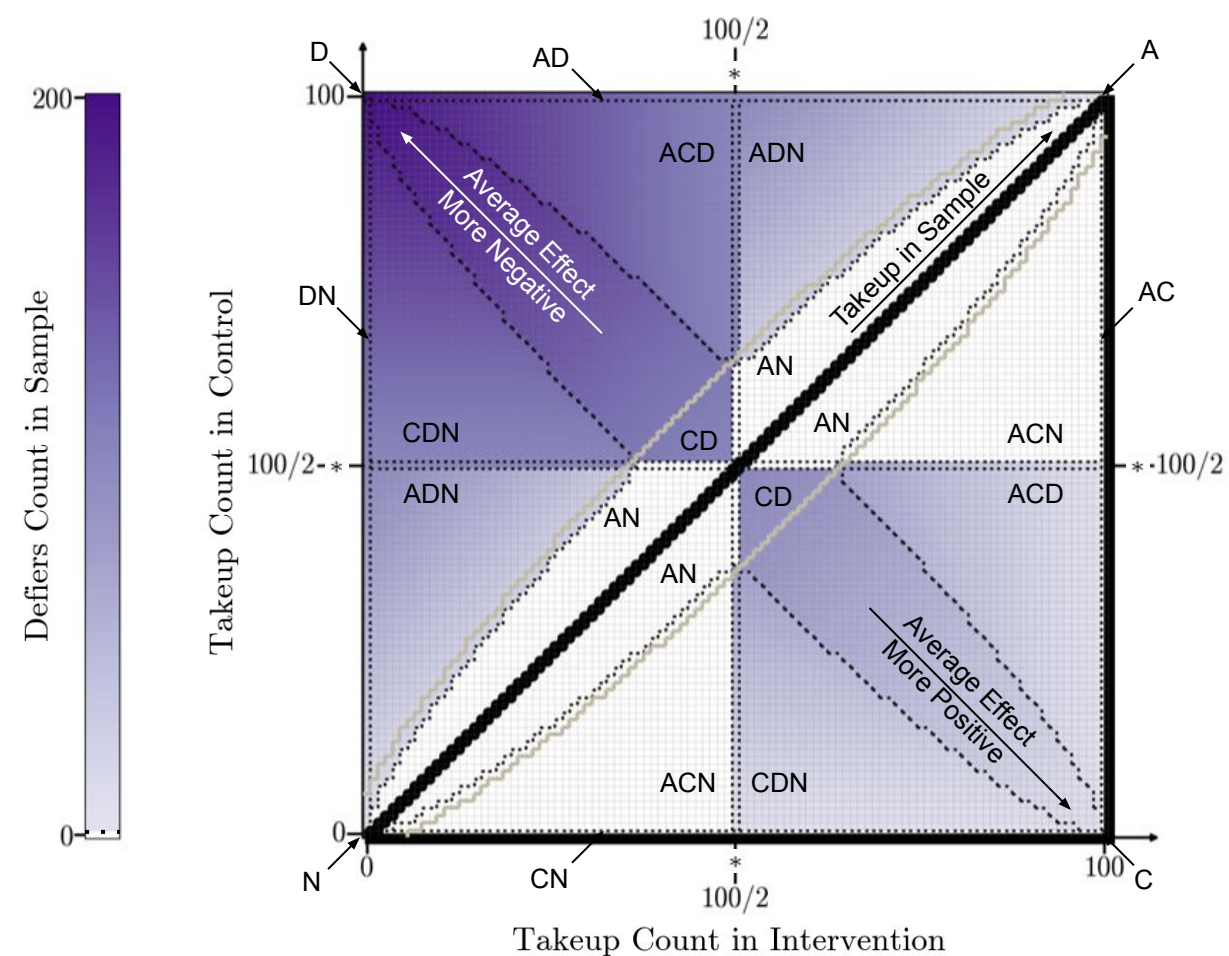
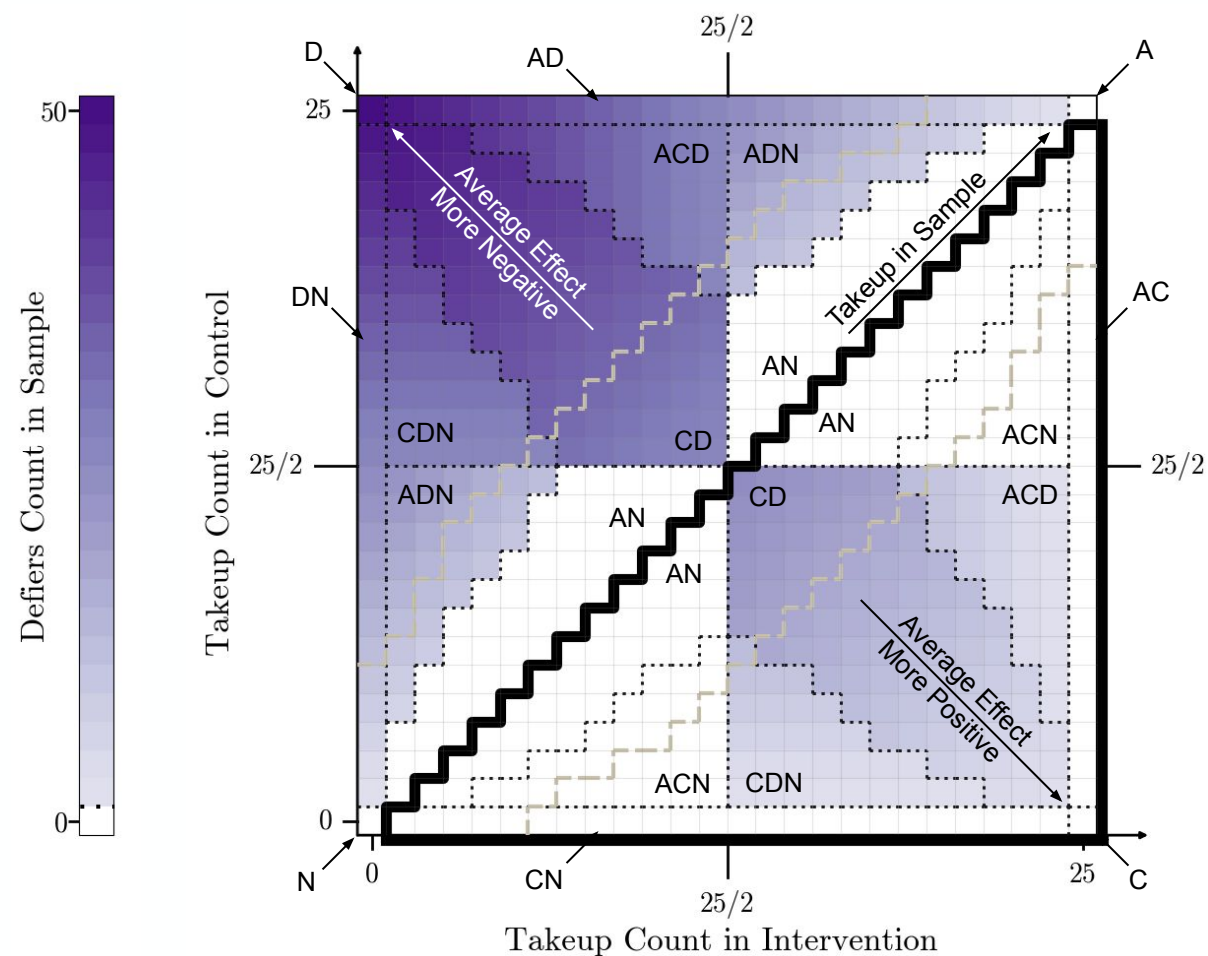
Regions with Same Types Present in MLE

Region where Fisher's Exact Test Fails to Reject Null at 5% Level



What happens to the patterns if the sample size quadruples to 200?

- Region with Positive Average Effect
- Regions with Same Types Present in MLE
- Region where Fisher's Exact Test Fails to Reject Null at 5% Level



* Two-way ties in the MLE occur in cells bisected by the 100/2 lines, between MLEs in the cells on either side of the line, only when takeup count in intervention or control is not zero or full.

40/50

In this published experiment that offered a payment to pregnant smokers, we decide that the intervention does not backfire for anyone in the sample.

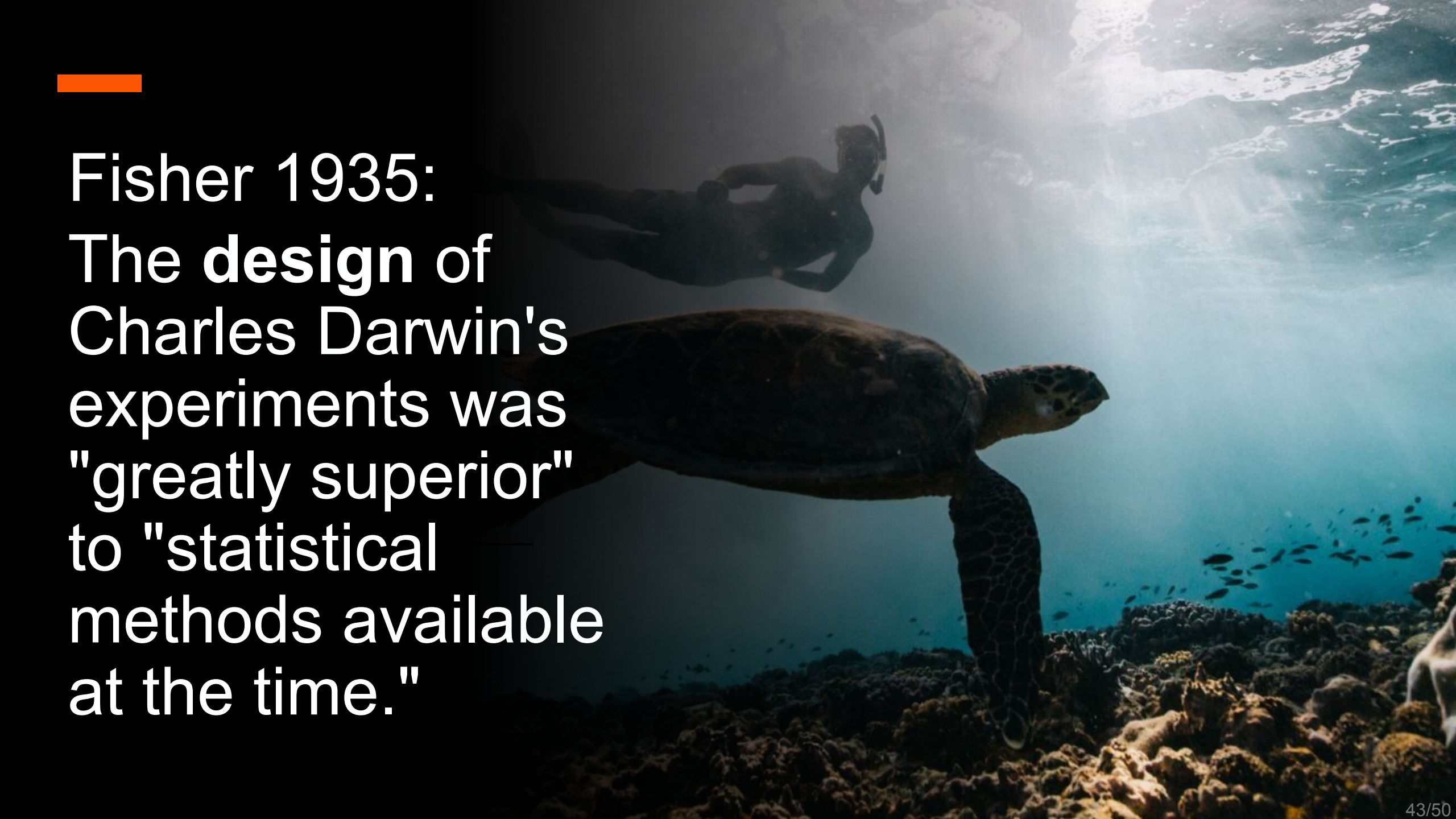
	Tappin et al. (2015)	Johnson and Goldstein (2003)
Context and Design		
Takeup	Quit Smoking	
Intervention	Payment	
Control	Usual Care	
Sample	Pregnant Smokers	
Design	Completely Randomized	
Standard Statistics		
Average Effect	$69/306 - 26/306 = 14\%$	
[95% Confidence Interval]	[8%, 20%]	
Fisher's Exact Test <i>p</i> -value	< 0.001	
Intervention Takeup Rate	$69/306 = 23\%$	
Control Takeup Rate	$26/306 = 8\%$	
Sample Size	612	
Proposed Design-Based Maximum Likelihood Estimates		
Always Takers	$52/612=8\%$	
[95% Smallest Credible Set]	[0/612, 72/612]=[0%, 12%]	
Compliers	$86/612=14\%$	
[95% Smallest Credible Set]	[44/612, 164/612]=[7%, 27%]	
Defiers	$0/612=0\%$	
[95% Smallest Credible Set]	[0/612, 71/612]=[0%, 12%]	
Never Takers	$474/612=77\%$	
[95% Smallest Credible Set]	[388/612, 498/612]=[63%, 81%]	

Percentages are rounded to whole numbers. We construct a 95% smallest credible set on the number of each type in the sample by reporting the collection of values for each type occurring within the 95% smallest credible set on the joint distribution of potential outcomes. Because the numbers of each type must sum to the sample size, the 95% smallest credible sets for each of the four types are dependent.

But in this well-known experiment that offered an opt-out nudge to become an organ donor, we decide that the intervention does backfire for 18% of the sample.

	Tappin et al. (2015)	Johnson and Goldstein (2003)
Context and Design		
Takeup	Quit Smoking	Become Organ Donor
Intervention	Payment	Opt-out
Control	Usual Care	Opt-in
Sample	Pregnant Smokers	Online Respondents
Design	Completely Randomized	Bernoulli Randomized
Standard Statistics		
Average Effect	$69/306 - 26/306 = 14\%$	$50/61 - 23/54 = 39\%$
[95% Confidence Interval]	[8%, 20%]	[23%, 56%]
Fisher's Exact Test p -value	< 0.001	< 0.001
Intervention Takeup Rate	$69/306 = 23\%$	$50/61 = 82\%$
Control Takeup Rate	$26/306 = 8\%$	$23/54 = 43\%$
Sample Size	612	115
Proposed Design-Based Maximum Likelihood Estimates		
Always Takers	$52/612=8\%$	$28/115=24\%$
[95% Smallest Credible Set]	$[0/612, 72/612]=[0\%, 12\%]$	$[0/115, 63/115]=[0\%, 55\%]$
Compliers	$86/612=14\%$	$66/115=57\%$
[95% Smallest Credible Set]	$[44/612, 164/612]=[7\%, 27\%]$	$[23/115, 81/115]=[20\%, 70\%]$
Defiers	$0/612=0\%$	$21/115=18\%$
[95% Smallest Credible Set]	$[0/612, 71/612]=[0\%, 12\%]$	$[0/115, 34/115]=[0\%, 30\%]$
Never Takers	$474/612=77\%$	$0/115=0\%$
[95% Smallest Credible Set]	$[388/612, 498/612]=[63\%, 81\%]$	$[0/115, 32/115]=[0\%, 28\%]$

Percentages are rounded to whole numbers. We construct a 95% smallest credible set on the number of each type in the sample by reporting the collection of values for each type occurring within the 95% smallest credible set on the joint distribution of potential outcomes. Because the numbers of each type must sum to the sample size, the 95% smallest credible sets for each of the four types are dependent.

An underwater photograph showing a diver in the upper left and a large sea turtle swimming towards the right. The background is a deep blue ocean with sunlight filtering through the surface, creating a shimmering effect. The foreground shows a rocky, coral-covered seabed.

Fisher 1935:
The **design** of
Charles Darwin's
experiments was
"greatly superior"
to "statistical
methods available
at the time."

Athey and Imbens
2017:

"We recommend using statistical methods that are directly justified by randomization, in contrast to the more traditional sampling-based approach that is commonly used in econometrics."

Counting Defiers: A Design-Based Model of an Experiment Can Reveal Evidence Beyond the Average Effect

We estimate the numbers of always takers, compliers, defiers, and never takers in the sample

- The sampling-based literature considers the shares of these types in a superpopulation.
- It is well-known that the sampling-based likelihood does not vary with the share of defiers within the Boole 1854, Hoeffding 1940, and Fréchet 1957 bounds.
- Sampling-based literature considers bounds on shares of defiers in the population.
 - Balke and Pearl 1997, Heckman, Smith and Clements 1997, Manski 1997, Tian and Pearl 2000, Zhang and Rubin 2003, Imbens and Manski 2004, Fan and Park 2010, Mullahy 2018, Ding and Miratrix 2019. Li and Pearl 2019, Bai, Huang, Shaikh, and Vytlačil 2024, Semenova 2024.

Counting Defiers: A Design-Based Model of an Experiment Can Reveal Evidence Beyond the Average Effect

We consider a primitive estimand: always takers, compliers, defiers, and never takers in the sample

1. Using a causal model with parametric structure from the randomization design
 - Neyman 1923, Welch 1937, Kempthorne 1952, Copas 1973, Rubin 1974, 1977, Greenland and Robins 1986, Holland 1986, and others develop the causal model.
 - Copas 1973 uses the design-based likelihood to compare hypothesis tests.
 - Li and Ding 2016 use parametric structure to construct exact confidence intervals on the average effect.

Counting Defiers: A Design-Based Model of an Experiment Can Reveal Evidence Beyond the Average Effect

We consider a primitive estimand: always takers, compliers, defiers, and never takers in the sample

1. Using a causal model with parametric structure from the randomization design
2. And a maximum likelihood decision rule that can harness weak evidence
 - Fisher 1935 exact test discards this weak evidence.
 - Tetenov 2012 discusses how implied rules from all tests treat Type I and II errors asymmetrically.
 - Our rule varies with the data.
 - Ferguson 1967: our rule is “reasonable” because it is “better than just guessing.”
 - Minimax and minimax regret rules do not necessarily vary with data.
 - Schalg 2003, Manski 2004, Hirano and Porter 2009, and Stoye 2009.
 - Our rule is Bayes optimal.
 - Our rule is admissible (Ferguson 1967).
 - Our rule cannot be bested in a betting framework (Freedman and Purves 1969).
 - We can quantify the gains of our rule over a Fréchet rule and a monotonicity rule.
 - We can construct credible sets as an alternative to sampling-based inference on Fréchet bounds (Manski, Sandefur, McLanahan, and Powers 1992, Horowitz and Manski 2000, Tamer, Chernozhukov, and Hong 2004) and defiers within the Fréchet bounds (Imbens and Manski 2004)
 - Our rule is optimal by the principle of maximum entropy (Jaynes 1957a,b).
 - Golan 2002 uses entropy to abstract away from parametric structure, which we embrace.

Counting Defiers: A Design-Based Model of an Experiment Can Reveal Evidence Beyond the Average Effect

We consider a primitive estimand: always takers, compliers, defiers, and never takers in the sample

1. Using a causal model with parametric structure from the randomization design
2. And a maximum likelihood decision rule that can harness weak evidence
 - Our rule contributes to the integration of statistical decision theory into econometrics,
 - Manski 2004, Dehejia 2005, Manski 2007, Hirano 2008, Hirano and Porter 2009, Stoye 2012, Kitagawa and Tetenov 2018, Manski 2018, 2019, Manski and Tetenov 2021, Fernandez, Montiel Olea, Qiu, Stoye, and Tinda 2024
 - Particularly in finite sample settings.
 - Canner 1970, Manski and Tetenov 2007, Schlag 2007, Stoye 2007, 2009, Tetenov 2012.

Counting Defiers: A Design-Based Model of an Experiment Can Reveal Evidence Beyond the Average Effect

We consider a primitive estimand: always takers, compliers, defiers, and never takers in the sample

1. Using a causal model with parametric structure from the randomization design
2. And a maximum likelihood decision rule that can harness weak evidence
3. To support a monotonicity assumption or a specific alternative.
 - Previous evidence against monotonicity requires more data than a binary intervention and outcome.
 - Machine learning requires covariates.
 - For example: Wager and Athey 2018, Semenova 2024.
 - Analysis of side effects in medicine requires secondary outcomes.
 - For example, Barnard et al. 2001.
 - Other approaches require data on a second stage outcome and a two-stage model.
 - Specification tests reveal evidence against model and/or monotonicity in the first stage.
 - Imbens and Rubin 1997, Richardson and Robins 2010, Huber and Mellace 2012, 2015, Kitagawa 2015, Mourifié and Wan 2017, Machado, Shaikh, and Vytlacil 2019.
 - Marginal treatment effect models can reveal evidence against monotonicity in the second stage under instrumental variable assumptions plus ancillary assumptions.
 - Bjorklund and Moffit 1987, Heckman and Vytlacil 1999, Kowalski 2023a,b.
 - Chan, Gentzkow, and Yu (2022) require a multi-valued instrument and a second stage outcome for at least one value of the first stage outcome.

Counting Defiers: A Design-Based Model of an Experiment Can Reveal Evidence Beyond the Average Effect

We consider a primitive estimand: always takers, compliers, defiers, and never takers in the sample

1. Using a causal model with parametric structure from the randomization design
2. And a maximum likelihood decision rule that can harness weak evidence
3. To support a monotonicity assumption or a specific alternative.

Our goal is to improve the average effect of future interventions by targeting away from defiers.

Our work has implications for methodological and applied work.

- Derive design-based likelihoods for other designs: two stage models, matched pairs, stratified, and permuted block to obtain exact test statistics and confidence intervals
- Improve computation.
- Consider other utility functions
 - Outcome quantiles (Guggenberger, Mehta, and Pavlov 2024)
 - Welfare (Cui and Han 2023)
 - Asymmetric counterfactual utilities (Ben-Michael, Imai, Jiang 2024, Christy and Kowalski 2024, Gelman and Mikhaeil 2025)
- Leverage our visualizations, which we see as a secondary contribution.
- Revisit results on optimal experimental design that focus on the average effect (Bai 2022).
- Report randomization design and sample counts in applied work.

Counting Defiers: A Design-Based Model of an Experiment Can Reveal Evidence Beyond the Average Effect



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Thanks to Jann Spiess for extensive regular feedback and to Charles Manski, Toru Kitagawa, Aleksey Tetenov, and Donald Rubin for encouraging us to use statistical decision theory and teaching us about it. Thanks also to Guido Imbens.