

# The Most Dangerous Profession: A Note on Nonsampling Error

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Nonsampling errors are subtle, and strategies for dealing with them are not particularly well known within psychology. This article provides a compelling example of an incorrect conclusion drawn from a nonrandom sample: H. C. Lombard's (1835) mortality data. This example is augmented by a second example (A. Wald, 1980) that shows how modeling the selection mechanism can correct for the bias introduced by nonsampling errors. These 2 examples are then connected to modern statistical methods that through the method of multiple imputation allow researchers to assess uncertainty in observational studies.

The APA's task force on Statistical Inference has received comments and suggestions from interested parties throughout the entire time I have served on it. These comments have always been treated by the task force with careful attention. In the most recent batch was a one-page missive from John Tukey containing seven suggestions. In the course of my professional life I have made many errors, but happily, ignoring statistical advice from John Tukey is not one of them.

Tukey's fifth suggestion, in its entirety, is, "nonsampling errors deserve greater attention, especially when randomization is absent. The formal statistical analysis treats only some of the uncertainties" (J. W. Tukey, personal communication, June 16, 1997). Indeed, but nonsampling errors are subtle, and strategies for dealing with them are not particularly well known within psychology. Thus, I think it would be worthwhile to provide a particularly interesting illustration of one and point the way toward alternative methodologies for interested readers.

## Illustration: The Most Dangerous Profession

In 1835 the Swiss physician H. C. Lombard published the results of a study on the longevity of various professions. His data were very extensive, consisting of 8,496 death certificates gathered over more than a half century in Geneva. Each certificate contained the name of the deceased, his profession, and age at death. Lombard used these data to calculate the mean longevity associated with each profession. Lombard's methodology was not original with him but instead was merely an extension of a study carried out by R. R. Madden, Esq., published 2 years earlier. Lombard found that the average age of death for the various professions ranged principally from the 40s to the mid 70s. Those were somewhat younger than those found by Madden, but this result was expected, because Lombard was dealing with ordinary people rather than the "geniuses" in Madden's study (the positive correlation between fame and longevity was well known even then). But Lombard's study yielded one surprise, the most dangerous profession—the one with the lowest longevity—was that of "student" with an average age of death of only 20.2! Lombard's data are reproduced almost exactly in Table 1 ("almost exactly" in that I corrected one typographical error and a couple of numerical errors).

It doesn't take John Tukey to figure out what's the cause of the problem; even Lombard recognized the reason for the anomaly (but apparently did not connect it to his other results). But what is to be done about it? Note that sampling error is not the issue. Although 70 of Lombard's 145 professions have small sample sizes ( $n < 20$ ), the error introduced by small  $n$  does not yield a bias; it just increases the

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variance (the mean longevity for the 70 professions with  $n < 20$  is 56.5, with a variance of 66.3; the corresponding values for the 75 professions with  $n \geq 20$  are 55 and 51.2). Thus, focusing on sample size by using such strategies as collapsing across categories with small  $n$ s will not do it. At best (at worst?) such a strategy will only hide the problem.

Obviously the error we must deal with is a selection effect that occurs because of the nonrandom sample that Lombard (1835) collected.<sup>1</sup> People pass from one profession to another throughout their lives, and if the sample is drawn from an early profession anomalies will result—although Lombard didn't include it, I suspect that the prize for greatest longevity would go to "retiree" (*retraiteé*). How do we correct for it?

### A Model for Nonresponse

Sadly there is no general answer, although there is a general strategy. Getting a correct answer when data are chosen in a nonrandom way requires a model for the selection process. If the model is accurate so too will be the result. But, because the model must describe what was not observed, there is often no way to check it. One wonderful example of such a model was developed by Abraham Wald (Mangel & Samaniego, 1984; Wald, 1980) in some work he did during World War II, in which he was trying to determine where to add extra armor to planes on the basis of the pattern of bullet holes in returning aircraft. His conclusion was to determine carefully where returning planes had been shot and put extra armor every place else!

Wald made his discovery by drawing an outline of a plane (crudely shown in Figure 1, from Wainer, 1997, p. 60) and then putting a mark on it where a returning aircraft had been shot. Soon the entire plane had been covered with marks except for a few key areas. It was at this point that he interposed a model for the missing data, the planes that did not return. He assumed that planes had been hit more or less uniformly, and hence those aircraft hit in the unmarked

places had been unable to return and thus were the areas that required more armor.

Wald's key insight was his model for the nonresponse. From his observation that planes hit in certain areas were still able to return to base, Wald inferred that the planes that didn't return must have been hit somewhere else. Note that if he used a different model analogous to "those people in professions that are dead have the same longevity as those who are still alive" (i.e., that the planes that returned were hit about the same as those that didn't return), he would have arrived at exactly the opposite (and wrong) conclusion.

To test Wald's model requires heroic efforts. Planes that did not return must be found, and the patterns of bullet holes in them must be recorded. In short, to test the validity of Wald's model for missing data requires that we sample from the unselected population. In other words, we must try to get a random sample, even if it is a small one. This strategy remains the basis for the only empirical solution to making inferences from nonrandom samples.

### Conclusion

I do not mean to suggest that it is impossible to gain useful insights from nonrandomly selected data; only that it is difficult and that great care must be taken in drawing inferences. James Thurber's (1939) *Fables for Our Time* tells the story of "The Glass in the Field." It seems that a builder left a huge pane of window glass standing upright in a field one day. Flying at high speed, a goldfinch struck the glass and was struck senseless. Later, on recovering his wits, he told a seagull, a hawk, an eagle, and a swallow about his injuries caused by crystallized air. The gull, the hawk, and the eagle laughed and bet the goldfinch a dozen worms that they could fly the same route without encountering crystallized air, but the swallow declined and was alone in escaping injury. Thurber's moral: "He who hesitates is sometimes saved." This is my main point: that a degree of safety can exist when one makes inferences from nonrandomly selected data, if those inferences are made with caution. There are some simple methods available that help us draw inferences when caution is warranted; they ought to be used.

This is an inappropriate vehicle to discuss these special methods for inference in detail. For such details the interested reader is referred to Little and Rubin (1987), Rosenbaum (1995), and Wainer (1986) for

<sup>1</sup> Thinking about nonrandom samples, I am drawn inexorably to the sort of inferences about language development that would evolve if cross-sectional rather than longitudinal samples were used. For example, in a tour of North Miami, I inferred that people speak Spanish when they are young but Yiddish when they are old. This theory received some confirmation when I noted that adolescents who worked in local stores spoke mostly Spanish but a little Yiddish.

Table 1

**Table**  
of longevity for various professions in Geneva  
(from 1776 until 1830)

Professions	Total Number of Deaths	Average Longevity			
		Calculated on the total num. of deaths	Calculated after eliminating violent deaths		
			Number of cases of violent death		Average longevity
			suicide	accidental	
Farmers	267	54.7	2	16	55.4
Lawyers	12	64.3			
Apothecaries	19	64.3	1	1	69.2
Money changers	12	61.5			
Businessmen	7	57.5			
Architects	7	62.1		1	68.5
Innkeepers	8	53.4		1	63.8
Armorer	7	57.2			
Butchers	77	53.0		3	53.1
Bakers	82	49.8		4	50.3
Boatmen	46	49.2		6	51.3
Brushmakers	11	50.1			
Barbers	16	47.4		1	49.3
Street sweepers	6	56.0			
Laundry workers	11	63.5			
Harness makers	10	60.4		1	60.4
Shepherds	9	40.8			
Cartwrights	21	54.7			
Hat makers	39	50.9		2	51.6
Surgeons	41	54.0		1	54.0
Consignees	17	64.8			
Cutlers	10	57.4			
Kettle makers	20	51.8	1	1	48.6
Carpenters	176	55.1		12	55.7
Woodcutters	99	58.8		4	59.4
Candy makers	28	55.2		2	57.1
Coal merchant	12	55.1			
Wine merchant	120	56.3	2	5	56.3
Shoe makers	376	54.2		5	54.4
Chamois makers	13	61.2			
Brokers	15	58.4			
Carters	15	55.3	1		57.1
Chocolate makers	9	73.6			
Cooks	12	54.1			
Roofers	26	47.7		7	48.8
Pants maker	12	63.2			
Merchants assistant	58	38.9	1	5	39.4
Coachmen	12	45.0	1	4	60.3
Playing card makers	7	57.3			
Blanket makers	10	53.0			
Servants	177	45.4		7	46.0
Gilders	15	51.7	1	1	53.8
Draftsmen	24	57.5			
Enamel worker	75	48.7	2	5	49.7
Cellar storers	28	53.4		2	54.3
Public writers & writing teachers	46	51.0		1	50.5

Table 1  
Continued

Professions	Total Number of Deaths	Average Longevity			
		Calculated on the total num. of deaths	Calculated after eliminating violent deaths		
			Number of cases of violent death		Average longevity
			suicide	accidental	
Assemblers	7	42.9			
Bureaucrats	67	61.9		2	62.3
Students	39	20.2	1	3	20.7
Packers	7	58.3			
Pin-makers	7	65.4			
Secondhand clothes dealers	17	56.0			
Tinsmiths	39	45.6		4	47.0
Hosiery makers	38	69.0	1		69.1
Casters	47	59.4	1	3	60.4
Spring makers	117	54.7	1		55.3
Blacksmiths	63	54.5		2	55.3
File makers	37	53.6	1	3	54.0
Furbishers	10	55.4		1	58.8
Dial makers	15	53.9			
Candle makers	11	63.9		1	63.8
Fountain makers	10	50.5		1	53.2
Watch stem makers	8	56.1			
Engravers	179	54.7		5	45.6
Small wage-earners	48	52.3		2	52.2
Chequerers	14	58.2			
Policemen	17	34.8	2	4	35.2
Nurses	13	53.6			
Men of Letters	15	52.7	1		52.8
Clocksmiths	1,073	55.3	5	53	55.9
Bailiffs	40	59.1	1	1	59.3
Lawmen	12	59.7	1	1	61.9
Calico makers	125	52.1	1	1	52.1
Printers	41	54.3			
Teachers	7	58.4			
Gaugers	7	65.9			
Gardeners	202	60.1	2	10	61.8
Jewelers	138	49.6	2	8	50.3
Lapidaries	29	57.8			
Cafe owners	16	48.7			
Booksellers	11	55.5		1	59.2
Millers	27	42.0		5	45.1
Day laborers	171	52.4		8	52.4
Ebinistes	143	49.7	1	11	49.8
Watch case fitters	370	52.2			
Masons	124	55.2	2	12	55.6
Magistrates	71	69.1			
Doctors	18	66.4			
Coal measurers	15	59.1		1	59.2
Messengers	35	57.9		1	59.2
Mattress makers	20	60.3			
Musicians	27	61.1			
Clergymen	52	63.8			

Table 1  
Continued

Professions	Total Number of Deaths	Average Longevity			
		Calculated on the total num. of deaths	Calculated after eliminating violent deaths		
			Number of cases of violent death		Average longevity
			suicide	accidental	
Mechanics	37	50.4	3	1	50.6
Spice merchants	33	57.7	1	1	57.7
Cloth merchants	21	56.7			
Ironware merchants	16	55.9		1	57.5
Tobacconists	11	58.3	1	1	63.2
Wood merchants	10	60.0			
Cheese merchants	8	68.5			
Miscellaneous merchants	53	55.7		1	55.4
Casters	7	59.7			
Merchants	476	62.0	5	15	63.0
Cleaners	52	60.0		7	59.1
Notaries	15	62.1			
Silversmiths/Goldsmiths	152	61.6	1	1	68.8
Retired Military Officers	80	63.6		1	63.8
Grooms	27	57.2			
Painters/varnishers	65	44.3		4	45.0
Metal polishers	35	53.7			
Wigmakers	94	57.5		5	57.9
Furnishing makers	24	68.1			
Road pavers	10	58.2		1	58.2
Potters	14	51.8		1	53.1
Laundry deliverymen	15	54.1			
Professors	10	66.6			
Porters	25	65.9		1	66.3
Funeral bearers	9	75.0			
Sedan bearers	11	53.7			56.3
Furriers	8	70.0			
Pastry makers	13	46.0			
Binders	18	50.9		1	50.7
School masters	18	64.4			
Chimney sweeps	8	45.0		1	45.3
Person of private means	275	65.8	2	2	66.2
Soldiers	338	48.4		33	46.6
Locksmiths	62	47.2	2	4	49.1
Clog makers	21	55.0		1	55.0
Saddler	29	52.6		1	53.5
Sculptors	6	36.3			
Tailors	247	54.2	3	9	54.9
Coopers	97	54.2	3	7	54.2
Dyers	25	63.4		1	63.7
Tool makers	22	52.4		2	53.7
Lathe workers	26	57.4			
Weavers	41	60.5			
Tanners	43	55.2		1	54.6
Bookkeepers	35	58.9		3	61.6
Stone workers	10	34.4	1	2	36.3
Road workers	6	58.0			

Table 1  
Continued

Professions	Total Number of Deaths	Average Longevity			
		Calculated on the total num. of deaths	Calculated after eliminating violent deaths		
			Number of cases of violent death		Average longevity
			suicide	accidental	
Carriers	78	51.4	1	3	52.4
Glaziers	18	57.3			
Basket makers	9	54.3			
Pasta makers	6	66.7			
Wine growers	8	54.8			
Total	8,496	55.7	58	354	54.8

*Note.* This table is a translation from the original French. Lombard ordered his table alphabetically, which eases the task of locating specific vocations. This benefit does not come through in the translation. Not only would reordering of this table by "average age of death" have been far more informative, but the information in the ordering would have survived translation intact; such a table is available from Howard Wainer. From "De l'Influence des Professions Sur la Durée de la Vie," by H. C. Lombard, 1835, *Annales d'Hygiène Publique et de Médecine Légale* (Vol. 14, pp. 88–131). Translated by William J. Berg and Howard Wainer.

a beginning. Instead let me describe the general character of any "solution." First, no one should be deluded into thinking that when there is a nonrandom sample unambiguous inferences can be made. They can't. The magic of statistics cannot create information when there is none. We cannot know for sure the longevity of those who are still alive. Any inferences that involve such information are doomed to be equivocal.

What can we do? One approach is to make up data that might plausibly have come from the unsampled population and include them with our sample as if they were real. Then see what inferences we would draw. Next make up some other data and see what inferences are suggested. Continue making up data until all plausible possibilities are covered. When this is done see how stable were the inferences you drew

over the entire range of these data imputations. The multiple imputations may not give you a good answer, but they can provide you with an estimate of how sensitive your inferences are to the unknown. If you do not do this you have not dealt with possible selection biases; you have only ignored them.

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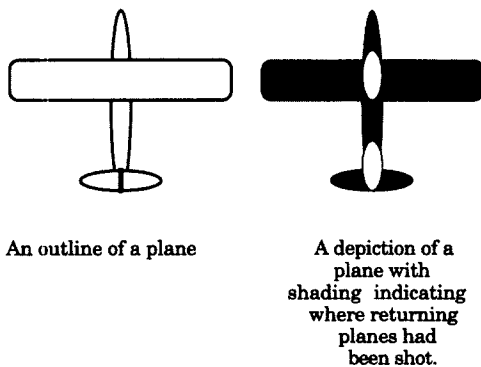


Figure 1. A stylized depiction of where Wald found bullet holes on returning aircraft.

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The Publications and Communications Board of the American Psychological Association announces the appointment of seven new editors for 6-year terms beginning in 2001. As of January 1, 2000, manuscripts should be directed as follows:

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Manuscript submission patterns make the precise date of completion of the 2000 volumes uncertain. Current editors, Milton E. Strauss, PhD; Charles T. Snowdon, PhD; James H. Neely, PhD; Arie Kruglanski, PhD; Patrick H. DeLeon, PhD, JD; Robert A. Bjork, PhD; and Bruce D. Sales, JD, PhD, respectively, will receive and consider manuscripts through December 31, 1999. Should 2000 volumes be completed before that date, manuscripts will be redirected to the new editors for consideration in 2001 volumes.