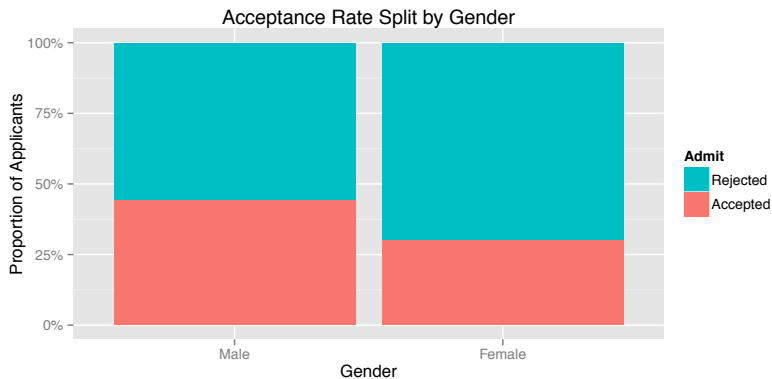
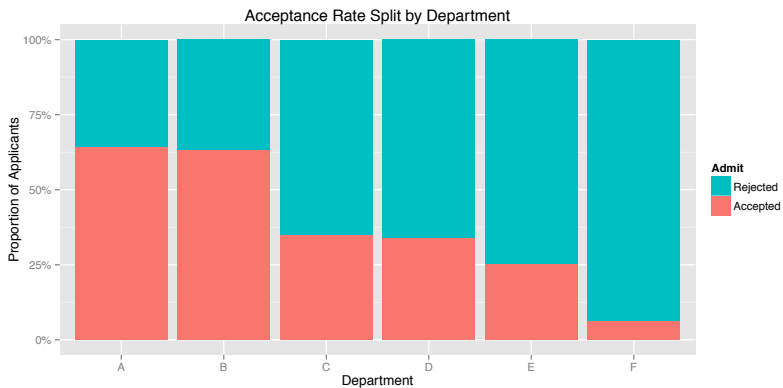


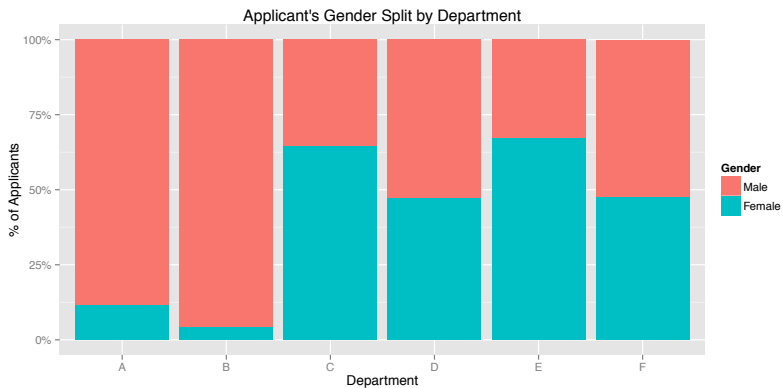
Look at proportions instead of counts:



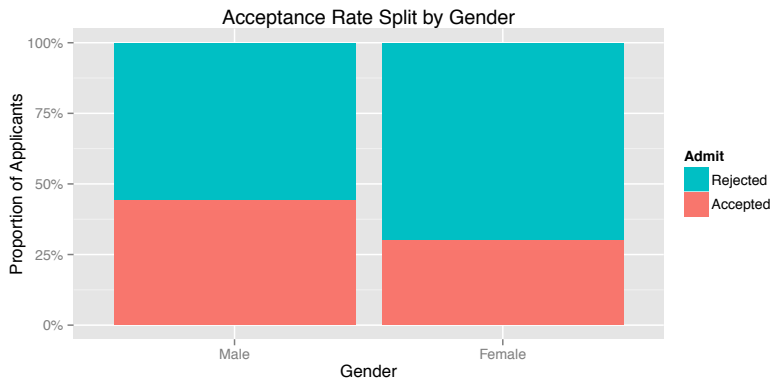
What was the “competitiveness” of departments?



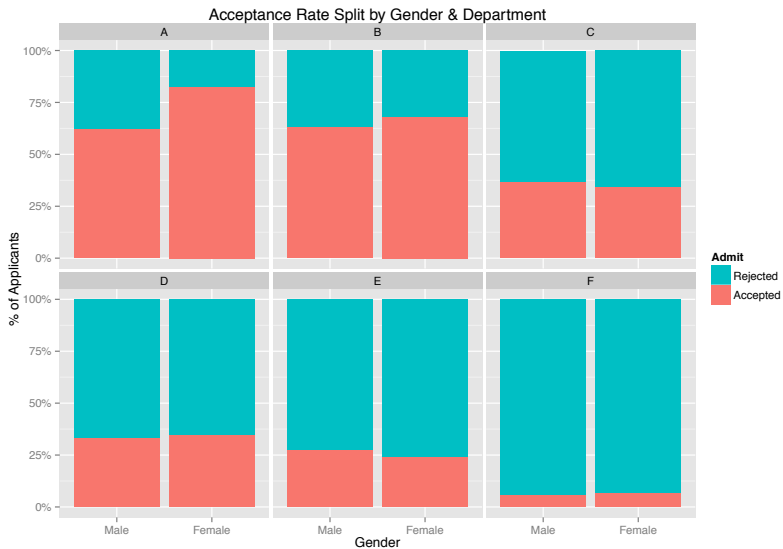
Where were the women applying?



So while in aggregate things looked like this:



You need to account for department!



Bickel et al.'s (1975) Explanation

There was a confounding variable: competitiveness of department, which is a function

- ▶ # of applicants
- ▶ # of available slots

Departments weren't discriminating against women per se, rather:

Bickel et al.'s (1975) Explanation

There was a confounding variable: **competitiveness of department**, which is a function

- ▶ # of applicants
- ▶ # of available slots

Departments weren't discriminating against women per se, rather:

- ▶ women tended to apply to departments with high competition and hence lower admission rates, primarily the humanities.
- ▶ men tended to apply to departments with low competition and hence higher admission rates, primarily the sciences.

Bickel et al.'s (1975) Explanation

In fact, Bickel et al. found that “If the data are properly pooled...there is a small but statistically significant bias in favor of women.”

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In fact, Bickel et al. found that “If the data are properly pooled...there is a small but statistically significant bias in favor of women.”

This was the exact opposite claim of the lawsuit. This is known as [Simpson's Paradox](#).