

Defining causal effects

UCLA SOCIOl 114: Social Data Science
Winter 2026

9 Feb 2026

Learning goals for today

By the end of class, you will be able to

- ▶ explain the fundamental problem of causal inference and the need for causal arguments
- ▶ define potential outcomes
- ▶ recall mathematical concepts from probability
 - ▶ random variables
 - ▶ expectation
 - ▶ conditional expectation

Causal claims hinge on arguments, not on data



Left photo: By Fernando Frazão/Agência Brasil -

http://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/sites/_agenciabrasil2013/files/fotos/1035034-_mg_0802_04.08.16.jpg, CC BY 3.0 br, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=50548410>

Right photo: By Agencia Brasil Fotografias - EUA levam ouro na ginástica artística feminina; Brasil fica em 8 lugar, CC BY 2.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=50584648>

Causal claims hinge on arguments, not on data

1. Statistical evidence

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2. Possible causal claim

- ▶ Swinging on the uneven bars causes a person to win a gold medal.

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	Do you win gold if you:		Causal effect
	Swing	Do not swing	of swinging
Simone Biles	Yes (1)	?	?
Ian	?	No (0)	?

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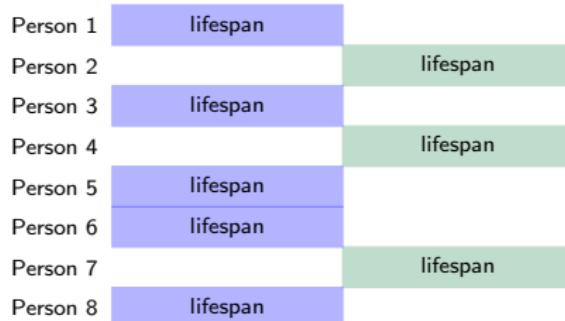
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Simone Biles	Yes (1)	No (0)	+1
Ian	No (0)	No (0)	0



Fundamental problem of causal inference

Holland 1986

Descriptive evidence



Outcome
under
Mediterranean
diet Outcome
under
standard
diet

Fundamental problem of causal inference

Holland 1986

Descriptive evidence



Causal claim



Person 1	lifespan	
Person 2		lifespan
Person 3	lifespan	
Person 4		lifespan
Person 5	lifespan	
Person 6	lifespan	
Person 7		lifespan
Person 8	lifespan	

Outcome
under
Mediterranean
diet

lifespan	lifespan

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Fundamental problem of causal inference

Holland 1986

Descriptive evidence



Causal claim



Person 1	lifespan	missing
Person 2	missing	lifespan
Person 3	lifespan	missing
Person 4	missing	lifespan
Person 5	lifespan	missing
Person 6	lifespan	missing
Person 7	missing	lifespan
Person 8	lifespan	missing

Outcome
under
Mediterranean
diet

lifespan	lifespan

Outcome
under
Mediterranean
diet

Fundamental problem of causal inference

Holland 1986

Descriptive evidence

$$\text{average lifespan} - \text{average lifespan}$$

Causal claim

$$\text{average lifespan} - \text{average lifespan}$$

Causal inference is a **missing data** problem

Person 1	lifespan	missing
Person 2	missing	lifespan
Person 3	lifespan	missing
Person 4	missing	lifespan
Person 5	lifespan	missing
Person 6	lifespan	missing
Person 7	missing	lifespan
Person 8	lifespan	missing

Outcome
under
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lifespan	lifespan

Outcome
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Mathematical notation: Potential outcomes

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Y_i Outcome

Whether person i survived

Mathematical notation: Potential outcomes

Y_i Outcome
 A_i Treatment

Whether person i survived
Whether person i ate a Mediterranean diet

Mathematical notation: Potential outcomes

Y_i	Outcome	Whether person i survived
A_i	Treatment	Whether person i ate a Mediterranean diet
Y_i^a	Potential Outcome	Outcome person i would realize if assigned to treatment value a

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Examples:

$$Y_{\text{Ian}} = \text{survived}$$

Ian survived

Mathematical notation: Potential outcomes

Y_i	Outcome	Whether person i survived
A_i	Treatment	Whether person i ate a Mediterranean diet
Y_i^a	Potential Outcome	Outcome person i would realize if assigned to treatment value a

Examples:

$$Y_{\text{Ian}} = \text{survived} \quad \text{Ian survived}$$

$$A_{\text{Ian}} = \text{MediterraneanDiet} \quad \text{Ian ate a Mediterranean diet}$$

Mathematical notation: Potential outcomes

Y_i	Outcome	Whether person i survived
A_i	Treatment	Whether person i ate a Mediterranean diet
Y_i^a	Potential Outcome	Outcome person i would realize if assigned to treatment value a

Examples:

Y_{Ian} = survived	Ian survived
A_{Ian} = MediterraneanDiet	Ian ate a Mediterranean diet
$Y_{\text{Ian}}^{\text{MediterraneanDiet}}$ = survived	Ian would survive on a Mediterranean diet

Mathematical notation: Potential outcomes

Y_i	Outcome	Whether person i survived
A_i	Treatment	Whether person i ate a Mediterranean diet
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Examples:

Y_{Ian} = survived	Ian survived
A_{Ian} = MediterraneanDiet	Ian ate a Mediterranean diet
$Y_{\text{Ian}}^{\text{MediterraneanDiet}}$ = survived	Ian would survive on a Mediterranean diet
$Y_{\text{Ian}}^{\text{StandardDiet}}$ = died	Ian would die on a standard diet

Mathematical notation: Potential outcomes

Y_i	Outcome	Whether person i survived
A_i	Treatment	Whether person i ate a Mediterranean diet
Y_i^a	Potential Outcome	Outcome person i would realize if assigned to treatment value a

Examples:

Y_{Ian} = survived	Ian survived
A_{Ian} = MediterraneanDiet	Ian ate a Mediterranean diet
$Y_{\text{Ian}}^{\text{MediterraneanDiet}}$ = survived	Ian would survive on a Mediterranean diet
$Y_{\text{Ian}}^{\text{StandardDiet}}$ = died	Ian would die on a standard diet

Discuss.

Which potential outcome is observed?

Which is counterfactual?

The consistency assumption

The consistency assumption

$Y_i^{\text{MediterraneanDiet}}$

$Y_i^{\text{StandardDiet}}$

Potential Outcomes

The consistency assumption



The consistency assumption

Consistency Assumption

$$Y_i^{A_i} = Y_i$$

$Y_i^{\text{MediterraneanDiet}}$

$Y_i^{\text{StandardDiet}}$

Potential Outcomes

Y_i

Factual Outcomes

Mathematical notation: Potential outcomes are fixed

A person's potential outcome is a **fixed quantity**

Mathematical notation: Potential outcomes are fixed

A person's potential outcome is a **fixed quantity**

$$Y_{\text{lan}}^{\text{MediterraneanDiet}} = \text{survived}$$

Mathematical notation: Potential outcomes are fixed

A person's potential outcome is a **fixed quantity**

$$Y_{\text{Ian}}^{\text{MediterraneanDiet}} = \text{survived}$$

The outcome for a random person is a **random variable**

Mathematical notation: Potential outcomes are fixed

A person's potential outcome is a **fixed quantity**

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The outcome for a random person is a **random variable**

- ▶ Draw a random person from the population

Mathematical notation: Potential outcomes are fixed

A person's potential outcome is a **fixed quantity**

$$Y_{\text{Ian}}^{\text{Mediterranean Diet}} = \text{survived}$$

The outcome for a random person is a **random variable**

- ▶ Draw a random person from the population
- ▶ Assign them a Mediterranean diet

Mathematical notation: Potential outcomes are fixed

A person's potential outcome is a **fixed quantity**

$$Y_{\text{Ian}}^{\text{MediterraneanDiet}} = \text{survived}$$

The outcome for a random person is a **random variable**

- ▶ Draw a random person from the population
- ▶ Assign them a Mediterranean diet
- ▶ The outcome $Y^{\text{MediterraneanDiet}}$ is a random variable:
 - ▶ takes the value survived if we randomly sample some people
 - ▶ takes the value died if we randomly sample others

Mathematical notation: Potential outcomes are fixed

A person's potential outcome is a **fixed quantity**

$$Y_{\text{Ian}}^{\text{MediterraneanDiet}} = \text{survived}$$

The outcome for a random person is a **random variable**

- ▶ Draw a random person from the population
- ▶ Assign them a Mediterranean diet
- ▶ The outcome $Y^{\text{MediterraneanDiet}}$ is a random variable:
 - ▶ takes the value survived if we randomly sample some people
 - ▶ takes the value died if we randomly sample others

Check for understanding:

Does it make sense to write $V(Y_i^a)$? How about $V(Y^a)$

Notation: Expectation operator

The **expectation operator** $E()$ denotes the population mean

$$E(Y^a) = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n Y_i^a$$

The quantity Y^a inside the expectation must be a random variable

Notation: Expectation operator

The **expectation operator** $E()$ denotes the population mean

$$E(Y^a) = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n Y_i^a$$

The quantity Y^a inside the expectation must be a random variable

A **conditional expectation** is denoted with a vertical bar

$$E(Y | A = a) = \frac{1}{n_a} \sum_{i:A_i=a} Y_i$$

Practice: How would you say this in English?

We might wonder how a person's earnings relate to whether they hold a college degree

1. $E(\text{Earnings} \mid \text{Degree} = \text{TRUE}) > E(\text{Earnings} \mid \text{Degree} = \text{FALSE})$
2. $E(\text{Earnings}^{\text{Degree}=\text{TRUE}}) > E(\text{Earnings}^{\text{Degree}=\text{FALSE}})$

Practice: How would you say this in English?

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 - ▶ Average earnings are higher among those with college degrees
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2. $E(\text{Earnings}^{\text{Degree}=\text{TRUE}}) > E(\text{Earnings}^{\text{Degree}=\text{FALSE}})$
 - ▶ On average, a degree causes higher earnings

Practice: How would you write this in math?

1. On average, students who do the homework learn more than those who don't
2. On average, doing the homework causes more learning

Practice: How would you write this in math?

1. On average, students who do the homework learn more than those who don't

$$E(\text{Learning} \mid \text{HW} = \text{TRUE}) > E(\text{Learning} \mid \text{HW} = \text{FALSE})$$

2. On average, doing the homework causes more learning

Practice: How would you write this in math?

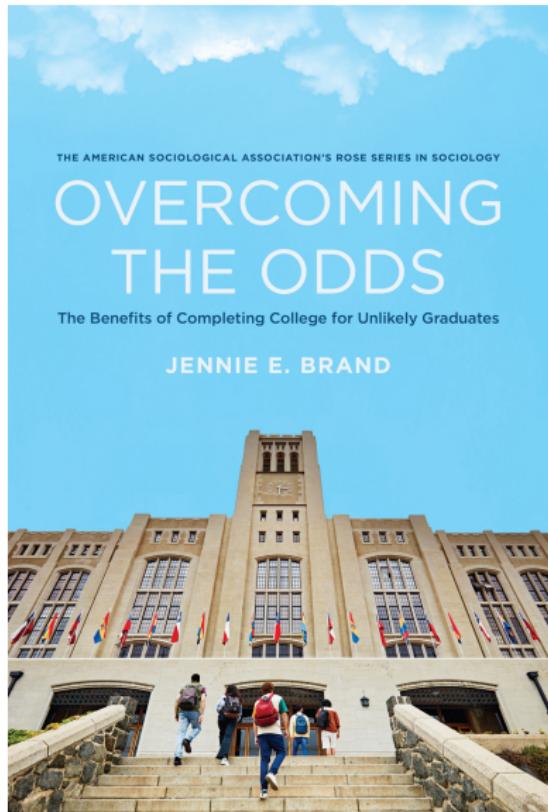
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An example about inequality

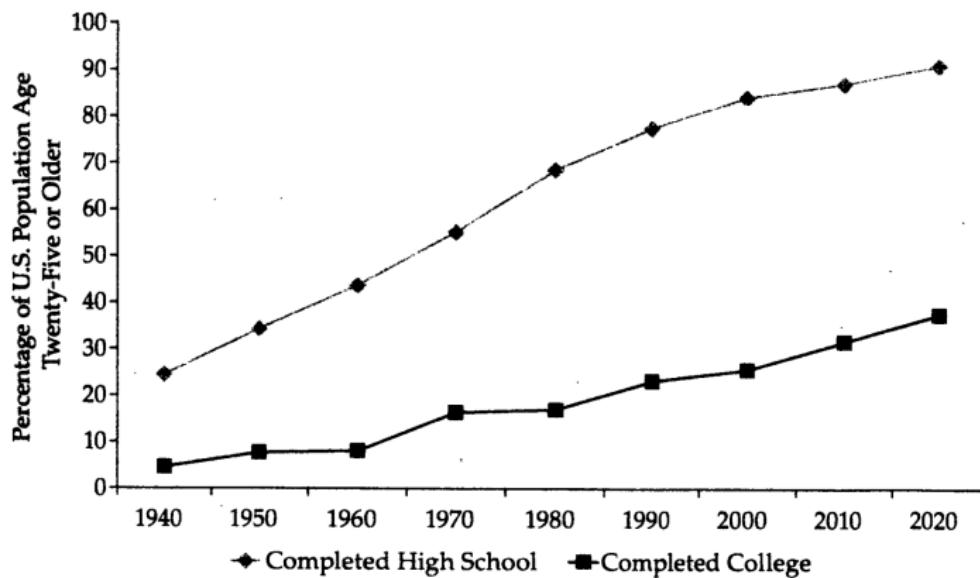


Americans' education in 1900

(Brand 2023 p. 6)

- ▶ 6% graduated from high school
- ▶ 3% graduated from college

**Figure 1.1 High School and Four-Year College Completion Rates,
1940–2020**



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, March Current Population Survey and Annual Social and Economic Supplement to the Current Population Survey.

(Brand 2023)

We would like to know whether **college pays off**:
does it have positive effects on desired outcomes?

Mathematical notation for two types of claims

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People with
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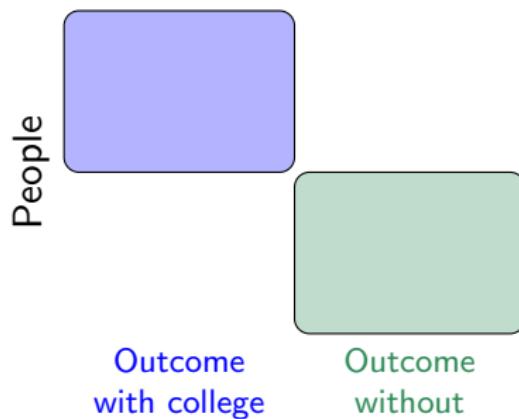
Two sets of people
Two treatments

Mathematical notation for two types of claims

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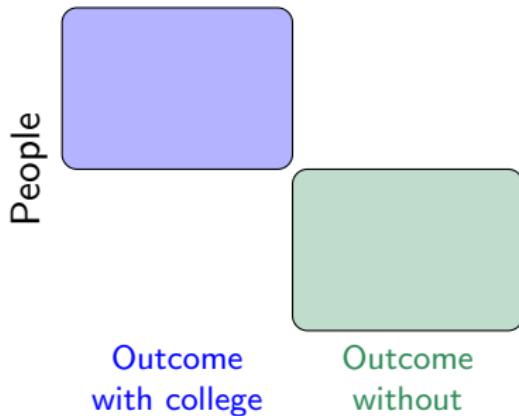
Mathematical notation for two types of claims

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Two sets of people
Two treatments

Same people
Two treatments



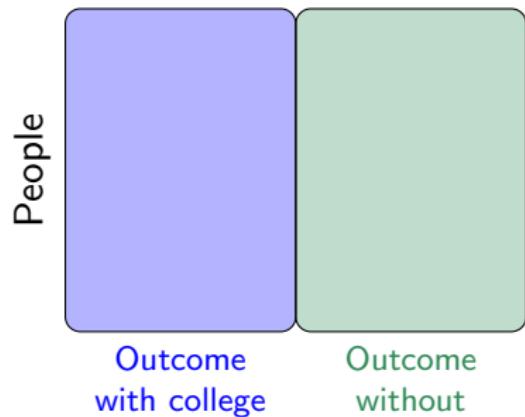
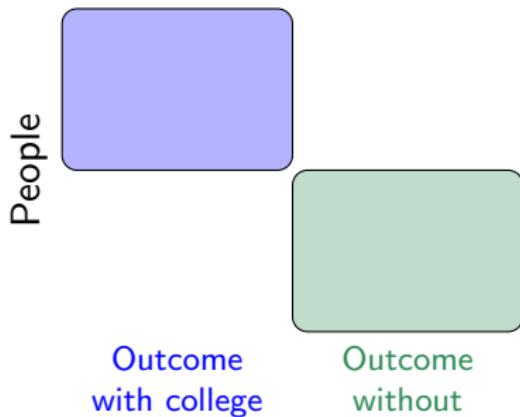
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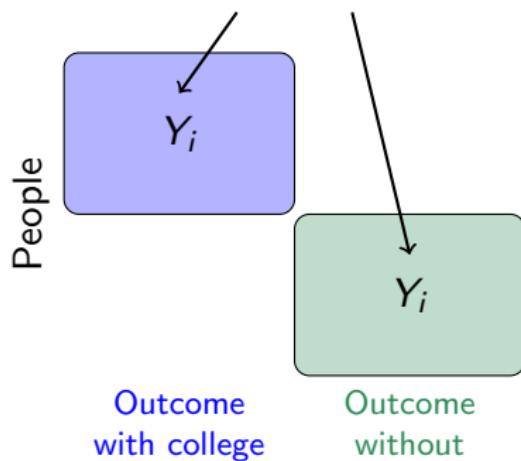


Mathematical notation for two types of claims

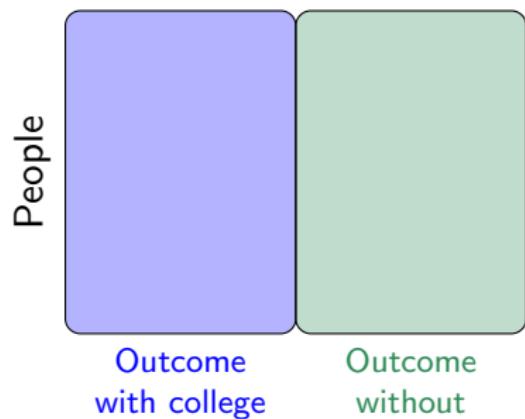
People with
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A college degree
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factual
outcomes



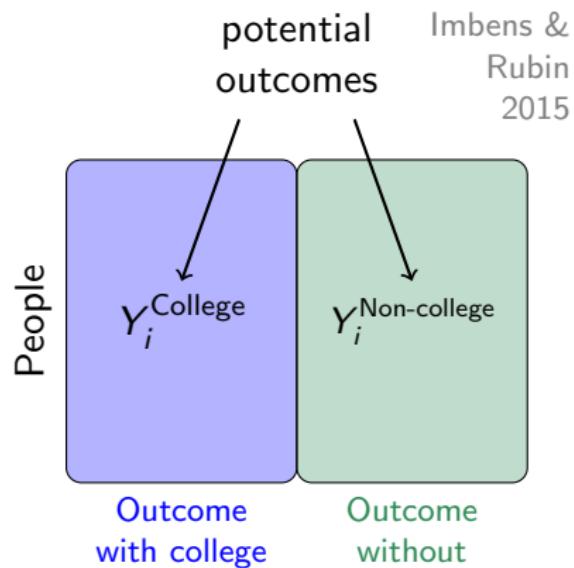
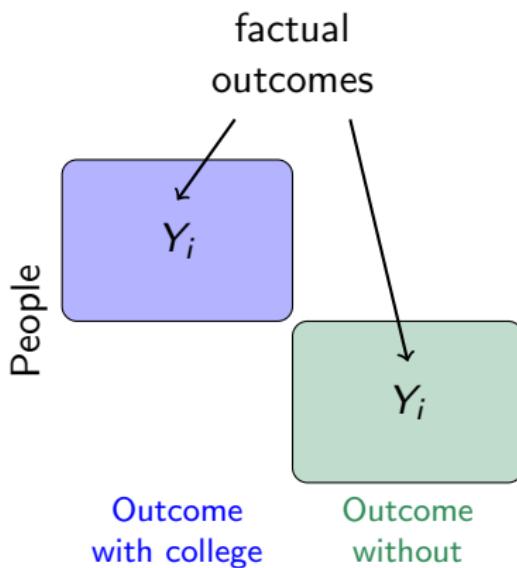
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Mathematical notation for two types of claims

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The fundamental problem of causal inference

The data

Each Row is a Person	Y_{Nick} College	
	Y_{William} College	
		Y_{Rich} Non-college
	Y_{Diego} College	
		Y_{Javier} Non-college
		$Y_{\text{Jesús}}$ Non-college
Outcome under treatment		Outcome under control

Holland 1986

The fundamental problem of causal inference

The data		The claim	
Each Row is a Person	Y_{Nick} College	Y_{Nick} Non-college	Y_{Nick} \leftrightarrow College
	Y_{William} College	Y_{William} Non-college	Y_{William} \leftrightarrow College
		Y_{Rich} Non-college	Y_{Rich} \leftrightarrow College
	Y_{Diego} College		Y_{Diego} \leftrightarrow College
		Y_{Javier} Non-college	Y_{Javier} \leftrightarrow College
		Y_{Jesus} Non-college	Y_{Jesus} \leftrightarrow College
Outcome under treatment		Outcome under control	

Holland 1986

The fundamental problem of causal inference

The data		The claim	
Each Row is a Person	$Y^{\text{College}}_{\text{Nick}}$?	$Y^{\text{College}}_{\text{Nick}} \leftrightarrow Y^{\text{Non-college}}_{\text{Nick}}$
	$Y^{\text{College}}_{\text{William}}$?	$Y^{\text{College}}_{\text{William}} \leftrightarrow Y^{\text{Non-college}}_{\text{William}}$
	?	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}_{\text{Rich}}$	$Y^{\text{College}}_{\text{Rich}} \leftrightarrow Y^{\text{Non-college}}_{\text{Rich}}$
	$Y^{\text{College}}_{\text{Diego}}$?	$Y^{\text{College}}_{\text{Diego}} \leftrightarrow Y^{\text{Non-college}}_{\text{Diego}}$
	?	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}_{\text{Javier}}$	$Y^{\text{College}}_{\text{Javier}} \leftrightarrow Y^{\text{Non-college}}_{\text{Javier}}$
	?	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}_{\text{Jesús}}$	$Y^{\text{College}}_{\text{Jesús}} \leftrightarrow Y^{\text{Non-college}}_{\text{Jesús}}$
	Outcome under treatment	Outcome under control	Outcome under treatment Outcome under control

Counterfactuals are **not observed**

Holland 1986

Preview: Solving the problem by assumptions

The data

Each Row is a Person	$Y^{\text{College}}_{\text{Nick}}$?
	$Y^{\text{College}}_{\text{William}}$?
	?	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}_{\text{Rich}}$
	$Y^{\text{College}}_{\text{Diego}}$?
	?	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}_{\text{Javier}}$
	?	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}_{\text{Jesús}}$
	Outcome under treatment	Outcome under control

The claim

$Y^{\text{College}}_{\text{Nick}}$	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}_{\text{Nick}}$
$Y^{\text{College}}_{\text{William}}$	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}_{\text{William}}$
$Y^{\text{College}}_{\text{Rich}}$	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}_{\text{Rich}}$
$Y^{\text{College}}_{\text{Diego}}$	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}_{\text{Diego}}$
$Y^{\text{College}}_{\text{Javier}}$	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}_{\text{Javier}}$
$Y^{\text{College}}_{\text{Jesús}}$	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}_{\text{Jesús}}$
Outcome under treatment		Outcome under control

Preview: Solving the problem by assumptions

The data

$Y^{\text{College}}_{\text{Nick}}$?
$Y^{\text{College}}_{\text{William}}$?
?	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}_{\text{Rich}}$
$Y^{\text{College}}_{\text{Diego}}$?
?	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}_{\text{Javier}}$
?	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}_{\text{Jesús}}$

Each Row is a Person

Outcome under treatment Outcome under control

The claim

$Y^{\text{College}}_{\text{Nick}}$	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}_{\text{Nick}}$
$Y^{\text{College}}_{\text{William}}$	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}_{\text{William}}$
$Y^{\text{College}}_{\text{Rich}}$	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}_{\text{Rich}}$
$Y^{\text{College}}_{\text{Diego}}$	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}_{\text{Diego}}$
$Y^{\text{College}}_{\text{Javier}}$	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}_{\text{Javier}}$
$Y^{\text{College}}_{\text{Jesús}}$	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}_{\text{Jesús}}$

Outcome under treatment Outcome under control

Preview: Solving the problem by assumptions

The data

Each Row is a Person	Y^{College} Nick	?
	Y^{College} William	
	?	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Rich
	Y^{College} Diego	?
	?	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Javier
	?	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Jesús
	Outcome under treatment	Outcome under control

The claim

Y^{College} Nick	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Nick
Y^{College} William	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ William
Y^{College} Rich	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Rich
Y^{College} Diego	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Diego
Y^{College} Javier	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Javier
Y^{College} Jesús	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Jesús
Outcome under treatment		Outcome under control

Preview: Solving the problem by assumptions

The data

Each Row is a Person	Y^{College} Nick	?
	Y^{College} William	
	?	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Rich
	Y^{College} Diego	?
	?	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Javier
	?	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Jesús

Outcome under treatment Outcome under control

The claim

Y^{College} Nick	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Nick
Y^{College} William	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ William
Y^{College} Rich	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Rich
Y^{College} Diego	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Diego
Y^{College} Javier	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Javier
Y^{College} Jesús	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Jesús

Outcome under treatment Outcome under control

Preview: Solving the problem by assumptions

The data

Each Row is a Person	Y^{College} Nick	?
	Y^{College} William	
?	Y^{College} Rich	?
	Y^{College} Diego	
?	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Javier	?
	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Jesús	

Outcome under treatment Outcome under control

The claim

Y^{College} Nick	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Nick
Y^{College} William	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ William
Y^{College} Rich	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Rich
Y^{College} Diego	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Diego
Y^{College} Javier	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Javier
Y^{College} Jesús	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Jesús

Outcome under treatment Outcome under control

Preview: Solving the problem by assumptions

The data

Each Row is a Person	Y^{College} Nick	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Rich
	Y^{College} William	
Y^{College} Diego	?	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Javier
	?	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Jesús

Outcome under treatment Outcome under control

The claim

Y^{College} Nick	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Nick
Y^{College} William	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ William
Y^{College} Rich	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Rich
Y^{College} Diego	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Diego
Y^{College} Javier	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Javier
Y^{College} Jesús	\leftrightarrow	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Jesús

Outcome under treatment Outcome under control

Quick review

Quick review

1. causal claims involve potential outcomes: Y^a
2. not all potential outcomes are observed
3. causal inference is a missing data problem

Learning goals for today

By the end of class, you will be able to

- ▶ explain the fundamental problem of causal inference and the need for causal arguments
- ▶ define potential outcomes
- ▶ recall mathematical concepts from probability
 - ▶ random variables
 - ▶ expectation
 - ▶ conditional expectation