

# 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](http://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/sites/_agenciabrasil2013/files/fotos/1035034-_mg_0802_04.08.16.jpg), CC BY 3.0, <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>

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

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Ian	No (0)	No (0)	0



# Fundamental problem of causal inference

Holland 1986

## Descriptive evidence



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

Outcome  
under  
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diet

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Holland 1986

Descriptive evidence



Causal claim



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lifespan	lifespan
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
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# Fundamental problem of causal inference

Holland 1986

Descriptive evidence



Causal claim



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
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Mathematical notation: Potential outcomes

## Mathematical notation: Potential outcomes

$Y_i$  Outcome

Whether person  $i$  survived

## 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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$Y_i$	Outcome	Whether person $i$ survived
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Examples:

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

Ian survived

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Examples:

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

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## Examples:

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

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## Examples:

$Y_{\text{Ian}}$	= survived	Ian survived
$A_{\text{Ian}}$	= 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
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## Examples:

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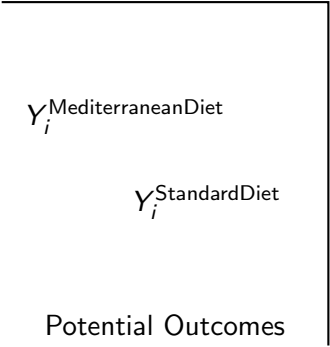
## Discuss.

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 diagram consists of two square boxes side-by-side. The left box is labeled 'Potential Outcomes' at the bottom and contains two labels:  $Y_i^{\text{MediterraneanDiet}}$  in the upper left and  $Y_i^{\text{StandardDiet}}$  in the lower right. The right box is labeled 'Factual Outcomes' at the bottom and contains a single label  $Y_i$  in the upper right. The labels in the right box are vertically aligned with the corresponding labels in the left box.

$Y_i^{\text{MediterraneanDiet}}$

$Y_i^{\text{StandardDiet}}$

Potential Outcomes

$Y_i$

Factual Outcomes

# 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**

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



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- ▶ Draw a random person from the population

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

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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

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**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

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

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

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

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► Average earnings are higher among those with college degrees

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► 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

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## Practice: How would you write this in math?

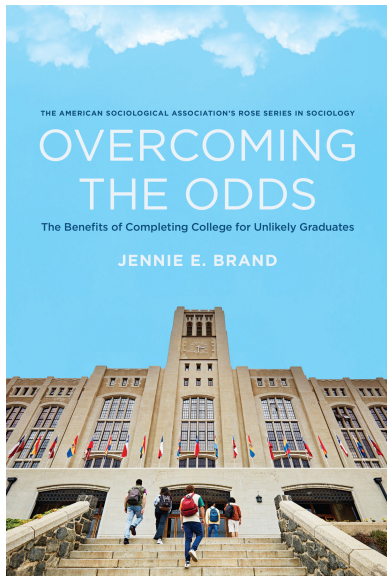
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# An example about inequality

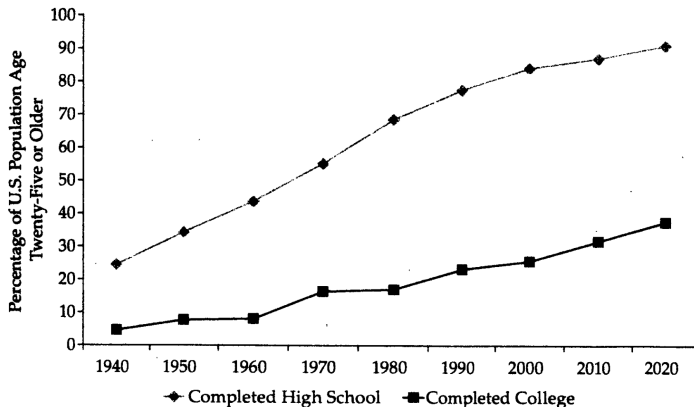


## Americans' education in 1900

(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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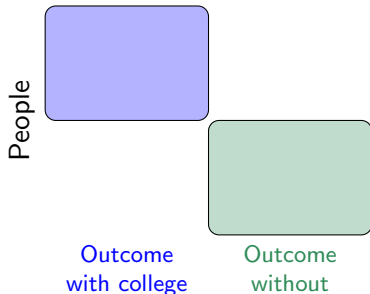
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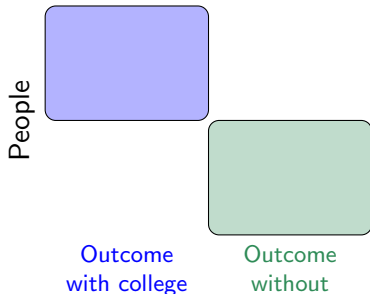
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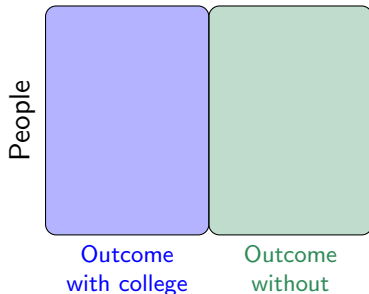
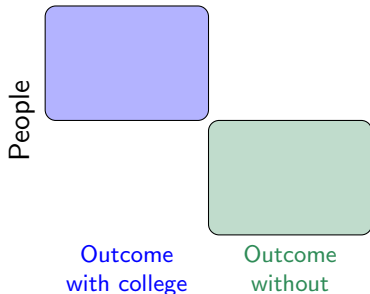
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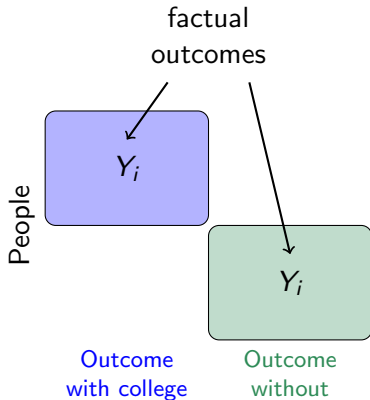
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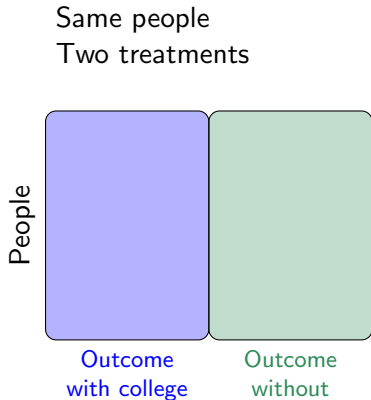


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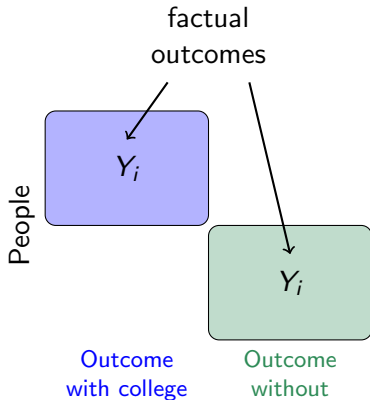


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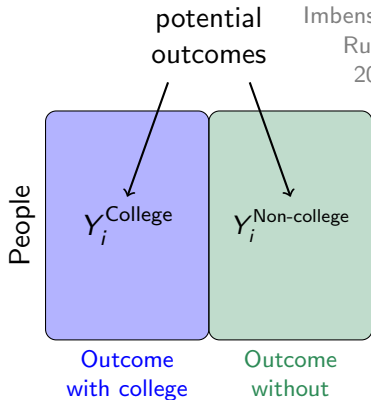


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Imbens &  
Rubin  
2015



# The fundamental problem of causal inference

## The data

Each Row is a Person

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

Outcome under treatment      Outcome under control

Holland 1986

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Outcome under treatment	Outcome under control

The claim	
$Y^{\text{College}}$ Nick	$\longleftrightarrow$ $Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Nick
$Y^{\text{College}}$ William	$\longleftrightarrow$ $Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ William
$Y^{\text{College}}$ Rich	$\longleftrightarrow$ $Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Rich
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# The fundamental problem of causal inference

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## Counterfactuals are **not** observed

## Holland 1986

## Preview: Solving the problem by assumptions

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$Y^{\text{College}}$ Diego	$\longleftrightarrow$	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Diego
$Y^{\text{College}}$ Javier	$\longleftrightarrow$	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Javier
$Y^{\text{College}}$ Jesús	$\longleftrightarrow$	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Jesús

Outcome under treatment      Outcome under control

# Preview: Solving the problem by assumptions

## The data

Each Row is a Person

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

Outcome under treatment      Outcome under control

## The claim

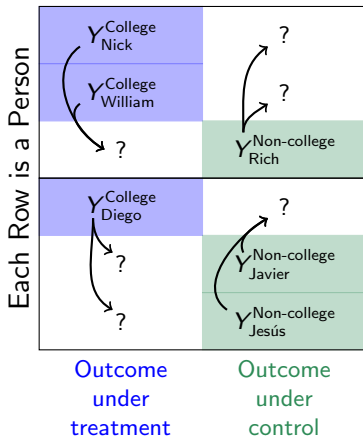
$Y^{\text{College}}$ Nick	$\longleftrightarrow$	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Nick
$Y^{\text{College}}$ William	$\longleftrightarrow$	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ William
$Y^{\text{College}}$ Rich	$\longleftrightarrow$	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$ Rich
$Y^{\text{College}}$ Diego	$\longleftrightarrow$	$Y^{\text{Non-college}}$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

Outcome under treatment      Outcome under control

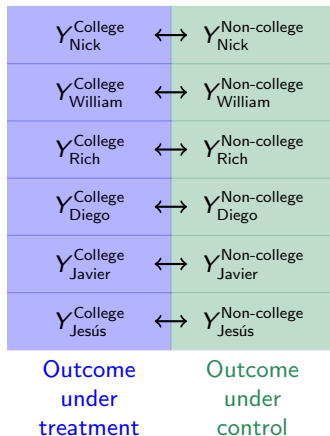


# Preview: Solving the problem by assumptions

## The data



## The claim



## 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