

## Causality and Counterfactuals

When we talk about cause and effect in the social sciences, we usually talk about how one variable affects another variable

The **explanatory variable** (or independent variable) is said to affect or cause change in the **response variable** (or the dependent variable or the outcome variable)

*Example: "Does poverty cause kids to commit crimes?"*

*Explanatory Variable: Whether a child is poor*

*Response Variable: Whether a child commits crimes*

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## Causality and Counterfactuals



- Explanatory Variable
- Independent Variable
- Predictor Variable
- Upstream Variable
- Exogenous Variable
- Regressor Variable
- Cause

- Response Variable
- Dependent Variable
- Outcome Variable
- Downstream Variable
- Endogenous Variable
- Regressand Variable
- Effect

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### Example #1

**UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN**  
**NEWS SERVICE** OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT FOR GLOBAL COMMUNICATIONS  
 HOME NEWS RELEASES MULTIMEDIA CONTACTS

**Air pollution near Michigan schools linked to poorer student health, academic performance**

Published on May 20, 2011  
 Contact Jim Erickson

ANN ARBOR, Mich.—Air pollution from industrial sources near Michigan public schools jeopardizes children's health and academic success, according to a new study from University of Michigan researchers.

The researchers found that schools located in areas with the state's highest industrial air pollution levels had the lowest attendance rates (an indicator of poor health) as well as the highest proportions of students who failed to meet state educational testing standards. The researchers examined the distribution of all 3,660 public elementary, middle, junior high and high schools in the state and found that 62.5 percent of them were located in places with high levels of air pollution from industrial sources. Minority students appear to bear the greatest burden, according to a research team led by Paul Mohai of the U-M School of Natural Resources and Environment and Byoung-Suk Kweon of the U-M Institute for Social Research.

<http://news.umich.edu/news/2011/05/20/air-pollution-near-michigan-schools-linked-to-poorer-student-health-academic-performance>

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## Causality and Counterfactuals

The fact that we do not observe the counterfactual presents a major logical problem

How do we know what the value of the response variable would have been had the explanatory variable taken on a different value?

We can never get around this fundamental logical problem ... but we can design research projects in such a way that we can make sound **inferences** about the nature of the counterfactual

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## Causality and Counterfactuals

**Experimental** research designs are much stronger with respect to their ability to yield valid causal claims

However, we are typically only able to carry out **non-experimental** or **observational** research

Multivariate statistical techniques are valuable for use in non-experimental, observational research precisely because they help us approximate counterfactual situations

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## Criteria for Establishing Causality

Momentarily putting aside this logical issue associated with our inability to observe the counterfactual...

...and recognizing that there are many philosophical schools of thought on our ability to make inferences about cause-and-effect relationships...

...and regardless of our research design (experimental or non-experimental)...

...there are some general criteria that must be satisfied in order to claim that change in explanatory variable X causes change in response variable Y

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## Criteria for Establishing Causality

Three conditions that must be met in order to establish that X causes Y:

1. X and Y must be empirically associated (criteria of **association**)
2. X must precede Y in time (criteria of **temporal ordering**)
3. There must be no third variable, Z, which acts as a "confounder"—or which induces "spuriousness"—in the association between X and Y (criteria of **nonspuriousness**)

Different research designs have their own ways of meeting these criteria, of facilitating inferences about the nature of the counterfactual, and thus of allowing us to make defensible causal claims

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## Criteria for Establishing Causality

### Criteria of Association

In order to establish that X causes Y—or that change in the explanatory variable X causally leads to change in the response variable Y—we must observe an empirical association between X and Y

We have spent the past several weeks learning how to measure the association between variables (with our technique for doing so dependent upon whether X and Y are discrete, continuous, or a combination of the two)

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## Criteria for Establishing Causality

How was the association between X and Y established in these examples?

1. Air pollution affects kids' school performance
2. Breast implants affect women's suicide rates
3. Eating a vegetarian diet makes you smarter
4. Listening to country music leads to suicide
5. Guns in homes lead to more suicides

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## Criteria for Establishing Causality

### Criteria of Temporal Ordering

In order to establish that X causes Y—or that change in the explanatory variable X causally leads to change in the response variable Y—it must be the case that the change in X occurred before the change in Y

As we will discuss, this can be difficult in observational research

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## Criteria for Establishing Causality

Is the criteria of causal ordering clearly met in these examples?

1. Air pollution affects kids' school performance
2. Breast implants affect women's suicide rates
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4. Listening to country music leads to suicide
5. Guns in homes lead to more suicides

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## Criteria for Establishing Causality

### Criteria of Nonspuriousness

Suppose we observe that shoe size at age 18 is associated with frequency of criminal behavior in adulthood, such that people with bigger shoes at age 18 commit more crimes later on

We've met the first two criteria required to make causal statement— but can we say that shoe size at age 18 causally affects criminal behavior in adulthood?

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### Criteria for Establishing Causality

#### Criteria of Nonspuriousness

If some third variable(s) affects both shoe size at age 18 and criminal behavior in adulthood, then the association between shoe size and criminal behavior is a spurious relationship, not a causal relationship

Can you think of any?

The "third variables" are called **confounding variables**

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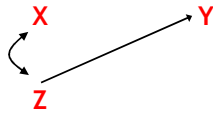
### Criteria for Establishing Causality

#### Criteria of Nonspuriousness

What is the effect of X on Y?

In this example, X and Y are associated, but the association is *entirely* spurious owing to Z

Z is a counfounder



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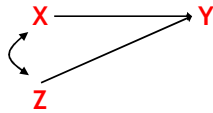
### Criteria for Establishing Causality

#### Criteria of Nonspuriousness

What is the effect of X on Y?

Here X and Y are associated

That association is *partly* spurious (owing to confounder Z) and *partly* causal



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## Criteria for Establishing Causality

Could spuriousness threaten the validity of these causal claim?

1. Air pollution affects kids' school performance
2. Breast implants affect women's suicide rates
3. Eating a vegetarian diet makes you smarter
4. Listening to country music leads to suicide
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## Worksheet

1. Having a TV set in the bedroom (A) correlated with couples having lower frequency of sexual activity (B) ([research finding](#)).
2. Listening to certain types of sexual lyrics (A) correlated with teen sexual activity (B) ([research finding](#)).
3. Alcohol consumption (A) correlated with violent behavior (B) ([research findings](#)).
4. In his career, when Adrian Peterson rushes for 100 yards or more (A) the Vikings usually win, going 20-10 through November 1, 2012 (B)

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## Causality and Research Design

In **experimental research** cases are randomly assigned to two or more comparison groups ... X is defined by the group to which cases are assigned

The response variable Y is measured before (**pre-test**) and after (**post-test**) the manipulation of X

If the change in Y between the pre-test and the post-test differs across levels of X, then X and Y are associated

Because the value of X is assigned at random, spuriousness is not possible

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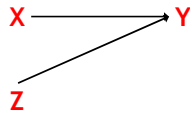
## Causality and Research Design

### Experimental Design

What is the effect of X on Y?

X and Y are associated; X precedes Y in time

Because the value of X is assigned at random, spuriousness is not possible




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## Causality and Research Design

Main weaknesses of experimental methods:

1. Experiments can be expensive or unethical to conduct in many circumstances
2. Experimental research does not typically yield any information about causal mechanisms
3. Randomly assigning cases to comparison groups is not the same thing as randomly selecting a sample ... results from experiments are not always generalizable

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## Causality and Research Design

**Observational research** involves studying naturally-occurring variation in X and Y, with no intervention from the researcher

There are a number of techniques for assessing the magnitude of association between X and Y

However, in observational research...

- ...it is often difficult to establish temporal ordering
- ...it is usually extremely difficult to rule out the possibility that the observed relationship is spurious

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## Causality and Research Design

Despite these threats to making valid causal statements, most social science research is observational

If we want to study the effects of most important social it is usually not possible (or ethical) to randomly assign cases to treatment and control groups

To establish temporal ordering, researchers sometimes use **longitudinal** (as opposed to **cross-sectional**) designs

To avoid problems with spuriousness, researchers attempt to **statistically control** for confounding variables

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## Causality and Research Design

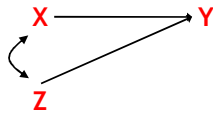
### Observational Design

What is the effect of X on Y?

X and Y are associated; X may precede Y in time

The association between X and Y that remains after statistically controlling for Z is causal in nature

(but only if we control for all Z variables!)




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## Statistical Control

Statistical control is a technique used in observational research to reduce the risk of spuriousness

The confounding variables Z are “held constant” so that we can observe the independent association between X and Y “net of” Z

Conceptually, holding Z “constant” means observing the association between X and Y among people with equal values on the confounding Z variables

We presume that the association between X and Y that persists after statistically controlling for Z is causal in nature (as long as the other criteria have been met)

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## Statistical Control

**Example:** What is the effect of education on family income as an adult?

		Family Income as Adult		
		< Avg	Avg	> Avg
Education	< H.S.	2,141	2,959	440
	H.S.	2,346	5,252	1,403
	> H.S.	2,525	5,682	4,406

Source: GSS  
Gamma = 0.37

Criteria of Association? ... OK

Temporal Ordering Criteria? ... OK

Nonspuriousness? ... What about family background?

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## Statistical Control

**Example:** What is the effect of education on family income as an adult *net of father's education*?

Father: <H.S.		Family Income as Adult			Father: H.S.		Family Income as Adult		
		< Avg	Avg	> Avg			< Avg	Avg	> Avg
Education	< H.S.	1,811	2,445	341	Education	< H.S.	242	359	53
	H.S.	1,461	3,106	731		H.S.	613	1,594	467
	> H.S.	908	1,981	1,300		> H.S.	684	1,776	1,190

Source: GSS  
Gamma = 0.34

Source: GSS  
Gamma = 0.30

Father: >H.S.		Family Income as Adult		
		< Avg	Avg	> Avg
Education	< H.S.	88	155	46
	H.S.	272	552	205
	> H.S.	933	1,925	1,916

Source: GSS  
Gamma = 0.32

The association between X and Y is partially spurious

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## Causality: Myths Dispelled

**Myth #1:** "X isn't the only (or even the most important) cause of Y, so it's wrong to say that X causes Y"

- Mechanical vs. probabilistic explanations
- Whether you get lung cancer depends on a lot of things ... only one of which is cigarette smoking
- Just because smoking isn't the only factor that affects whether you get lung cancer doesn't mean it isn't a causal factor

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## Causality: Myths Dispelled

**Myth #2:** “Exceptions Disprove the Rule”

- Mechanical vs. probabilistic explanations
- Remember that causal statements pertain to how one *variable* affects another
- Even if smoking does cause lung cancer, we should still expect to find many smokers who don't get lung cancer and many people with lung cancer who never smoked

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## Causality: Myths Dispelled

**Myth #3:** “X doesn't always—or even usually—lead to Y, so therefore X doesn't cause Y”

- Does driving drunk cause people to crash their cars?
- The vast majority of drunk drivers get home safely
- Does this mean that drunk driving has no effect on the odds of crashing? No...
- As long as the probability of crashing is higher for drunk drivers than for sober drivers — even if the probability is still very low for drunk drivers — then it is still true that driving drunk is causally related to crashing

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**BREAK**

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## Quick Review of Causality

We've talked about three basic criteria that must be met in order to infer that X causes Y:

1. X and Y must be associated
2. X must precede Y in time ... this is a matter of research design, and is often fairly easily to establish (especially with longitudinal data)
3. There must be no third variable(s), Z, that induce spuriousness in the observed association between X and Y

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## Does X Causally Affect Y?

In experimental research, X precedes Y in time and spurious is not possible. So, any association between X and Y is entirely causal in nature




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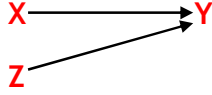
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### Does X Causally Affect Y?

In observational research, if X and Y are associated with one another *and* X precedes Y in time, one of three things could be true:

1. The association is entirely causal in nature




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### Does X Causally Affect Y?

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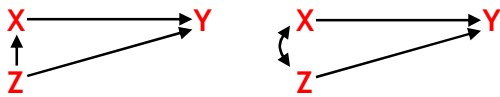
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### Does X Causally Affect Y?

In observational research, if X and Y are associated with one another *and* X precedes Y in time, one of three things could be true:

2. The association is partly causal and partly spurious owing to confounder Z




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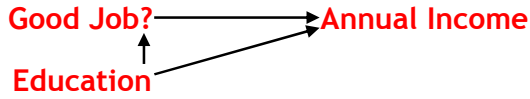
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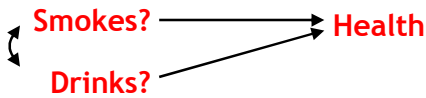
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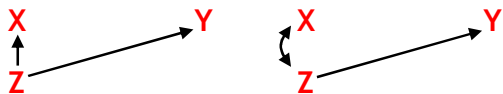
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In observational research, if X and Y are associated with one another *and* X precedes Y in time, one of three things could be true:

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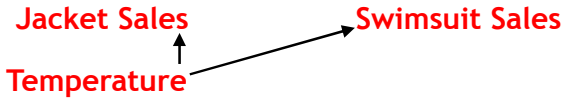
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### Does X Causally Affect Y?

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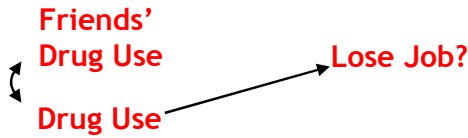
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### Does X Causally Affect Y?

In observational research, if X and Y are associated with one another *and* X precedes Y in time, one of three things could be true:

- 3. The association is entirely spurious owing to Z




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### “Control” for Z?

In observational research, should we “control” for Z?

“Controlling for” Z means focusing on the association between X and Y for cases with the same level of Z

Imagine that X and Y are associated and that X precedes Y in time

1. What are the consequences of *failing to control for Z* in each of the three situations reviewed above?
2. What are the consequences of *controlling for Z* in each situation?

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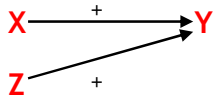


### “Control” for Z?

Here, the true causal effect of X on Y is  $\beta$

If we *fail to control for Z*, we would infer that the effect of X on Y is  $\beta$ ;

If we *control for Z*, we would infer that the effect of X on Y is  $\beta$  ... so, **controlling for Z makes no difference**




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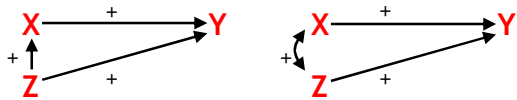
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### “Control” for Z?

Here, the true causal effect of X on Y is  $\beta$

If we *fail to control for Z*, we would infer that the effect of X on Y is **larger** than  $\beta$ ;

If we *control for Z*, we would infer that the effect of X on Y is  $\beta$  ... so, **controlling for Z is a good thing!**




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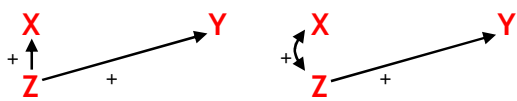
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### “Control” for Z?

Here, the true causal effect of X on Y is 0

If we *fail to control for Z*, we would infer that the effect of X on Y is **larger** than 0;

If we *control for Z*, we would infer that the effect of X on Y is 0 ... so, **controlling for Z is a good thing!**




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## Three Variable Relationships

So why not just control for Z every time we can think of any variables (Z) that might be associated with X and Y?

In establishing the causal impact of X on Y we have—to this point—only thought of third variable(s) Z as inducing spuriousness ... a bad thing

This suggests that to estimate the true, causal impact of X on Y we should always “control” (or “adjust”) for Z

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## Three Variable Relationships

In fact there are a variety of ways in which X, Y, and Z might be related to one another

**Theory** and **prior evidence** should guide our decision about how Z plays into the relationship between X and Y

Depending on our theoretical understanding of how Z plays into the relationship between X and Y, we might or might not want to statistically control for Z

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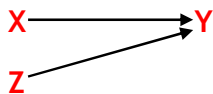
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## Three Variable Relationships

Under the scenario depicted below, the association between X and Y is unaffected by the presence of third variable(s) Z




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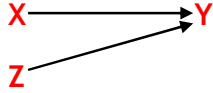
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### Three Variable Relationships

Statistically controlling for Z has no bearing on our assessment of the association between X and Y ... so there is no need to do so (but it doesn't hurt anything)



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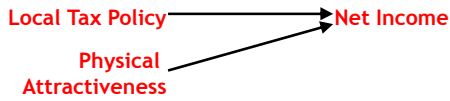
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### Three Variable Relationships

Example



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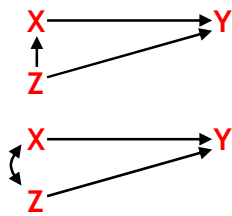
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### Three Variable Relationships

Under both scenarios depicted below, the association between X and Y is—at least partly—spurious owing to the influence of **confounding variable(s)** Z



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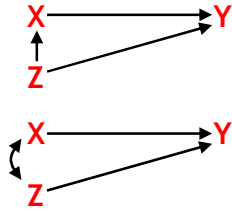
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### Three Variable Relationships

Under each of these scenarios, statistically controlling for Z is designed to estimate the *independent* association between X and Y ... the association "net of" Z




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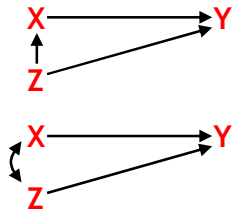
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### Three Variable Relationships

Here, the independent association between X and Y ... the association "net of" Z ... represents the **direct effect** of X on Y (but don't forget about the other criteria for establishing causality)




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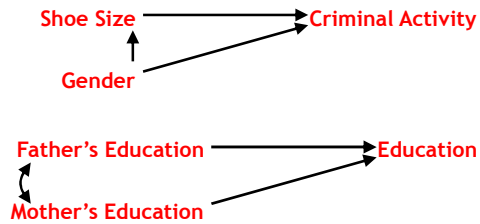
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### Three Variable Relationships

Example




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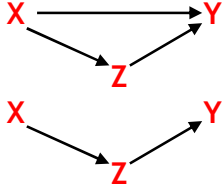
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### Three Variable Relationships

Under the scenarios depicted below, Z is associated with both X and Y but does **not** induce spuriousness  
Z is a **mechanism** through which X affects Y ... Z is known as a **mediating variable(s)**



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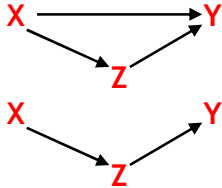
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### Three Variable Relationships

Statistically controlling for Z under these scenarios is also designed to estimate the independent association between X and Y ... the association "net of" Z



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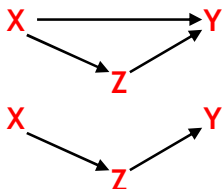
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### Three Variable Relationships

Conceptually, in these cases the independent association between X and Y ... the association "net of" Z ... represents the **direct effect** of X on Y  
Is that really what we want to estimate? **It depends...**



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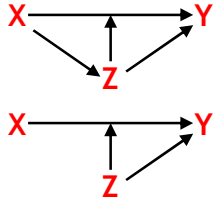
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### Three Variable Relationships

In some cases the association between X and Y may be different across levels of Z

In these cases we say that there is an **interaction** between X and Z ... Z is known as a **moderating** variable




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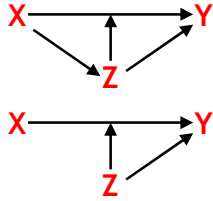
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### Three Variable Relationships

If we simply statistically adjust for Z in these situations, then the resulting "net" association between X and Y isn't very meaningful

We must allow for different associations by level of Z




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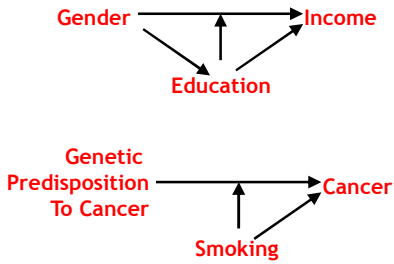
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### Three Variable Relationships

Example




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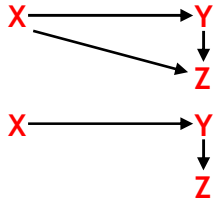
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### Three Variable Relationships

Under the scenarios depicted below, Z is affected by Y (and also possibly X)

Here, Y is a mechanism through which X affects Z



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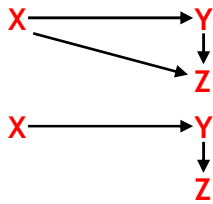
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### Three Variable Relationships

If we are trying to assess the independent association between X and Y, then in these situations statistically controlling for Z is a **terrible idea**



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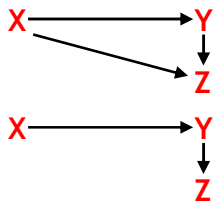
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### Three Variable Relationships

In effect, controlling for Z in these situations is like selecting on the dependent variable

This is known as **over-controlling**



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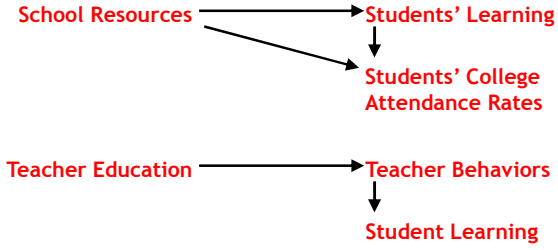
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### Three Variable Relationships

Example




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### Three Variable Relationships

In assessing the causal effect of X on Y, is Z...

- ...totally orthogonal to the association between X and Y?
- ...a confounding variable which must be controlled?
- ...a mediating variable which we might want to control?
- ...a moderating variable which we must treat with care?
- ...a variable that it would be a mistake to control for?

It depends on the situation ... so carry out analyses on the basis of **theory** and on evidence from **prior research**

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### How Do We Control for "Z?"

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### Statistical Control in Cross-Tabulations

What is the effect of shoe size (X) on whether someone has committed a felony (Y)?

Start with a **zero-order table** ... a cross-table in which **zero** third variables (Z) have been controlled

$\chi^2 = 4.8$  ( $p < 0.05$ )

Gamma = 0.31

		Shoe Size		Row
		1=Small	2=Large	
Felony?	2=Yes	55	70	125
	1=No	45	30	75
Column		100	100	N=200

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### Statistical Control in Cross-Tabulations

Shoe size is unlikely to causally affect people's chances of committing a felony

The association is probably spurious owing to gender



Controlling for gender in this case would be appropriate ... it would allow us to estimate the effect of shoe size on crime net of confounding variable gender

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### Statistical Control in Cross-Tabulations

What is the effect of shoe size (X) on whether someone has committed a felony (Y) net of gender (Z)?

Here we produce **first-order tables** ... cross-tables in which **one** third variables (Z) has been controlled

$\chi^2 = 0.0$

		MEN Shoe Size		Row
		1=Small	2=Large	
Felony?	2=Yes	15	60	75
	1=No	5	20	25
Column		20	80	N=100

Gamma = 0.0

$\chi^2 = 0.0$

		WOMEN Shoe Size		Row
		1=Small	2=Large	
Felony?	2=Yes	40	10	50
	1=No	40	10	50
Column		80	20	N=100

Gamma = 0.0

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### Statistical Control in Cross-Tabulations

Note that the measures of association in each sub-table of this three-way cross-tabulation are known as conditional associations

The “conditional association” between X and Y is the association after controlling for Z

Note also that controlling for Z may...

- ...entirely account for the observed (zero-order) association between X and Y (as in our example) ,
- ...partially account for that association, or
- ...not account for that association at all

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### Statistical Control in Cross-Tabulations

In the previous example, gender was a **confounder**  
 What if we thought—from a theoretical point of view—that gender was a **mediating variable**, such that:



Here we (stupidly) conceive of gender as a **mechanism** through which shoe size affects criminality

How do we know whether gender is a confounder or a mediator? **Theory!** (The analysis looks exactly the same! How we make sense of the results is different, though)

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### Statistical Control in Cross-Tabulations

Question: “What is the effect of getting a physical exam (X) on whether people die within the next year (Y)?”

Start with a **zero-order table** ... a cross-table in which **zero** third variables (Z) have been controlled

$\chi^2 = 54.8$   
( $p < 0.01$ )

Gamma = 0.35

		Exam?		Row
		1=No	2=Yes	
Died?	2=Yes	270	330	600
	1=No	880	520	1400
Column		1,150	850	N=2,000

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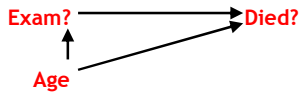
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### Statistical Control in Cross-Tabulations

In the zero-order table, getting a physical exam is associated with a higher chance of dying!

Perhaps in this example age is a confounder, such that:



Controlling for age in this case would allow us to better estimate the effect of getting a physical exam on whether people die

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### Statistical Control in Cross-Tabulations

Whereas the effect in the zero-order table was positive, in the first-order table the effect is zero for the young and negative for the old

This is an example of an **interaction effect**

	$\chi^2 = 0.0$	YOUNG Exam?	$\chi^2 = 140.6$ ( $p < 0.01$ )	OLD Exam?																									
Gamma = 0.0			Gamma = -0.82																										
		1=No   2=Yes   Row		1=No   2=Yes   Row																									
Died?		<table border="1" style="display: inline-table;"> <tr><td>2=Yes</td><td>95</td><td>5</td><td>100</td></tr> <tr><td>1=No</td><td>855</td><td>45</td><td>900</td></tr> <tr><td>Column</td><td>950</td><td>50</td><td>N=1000</td></tr> </table>	2=Yes	95	5	100	1=No	855	45	900	Column	950	50	N=1000		<table border="1" style="display: inline-table;"> <tr><td>2=Yes</td><td>175</td><td>325</td><td>500</td></tr> <tr><td>1=No</td><td>25</td><td>475</td><td>500</td></tr> <tr><td>Column</td><td>200</td><td>800</td><td>N=1000</td></tr> </table>	2=Yes	175	325	500	1=No	25	475	500	Column	200	800	N=1000	
2=Yes	95	5	100																										
1=No	855	45	900																										
Column	950	50	N=1000																										
2=Yes	175	325	500																										
1=No	25	475	500																										
Column	200	800	N=1000																										

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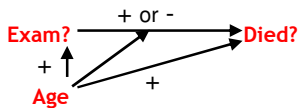
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### Statistical Control in Cross-Tabulations

For the “old,” getting an exam is negatively associated with the chances of dying; for the “young,” there is no association between getting an exam and the chances of dying



Because the association is not the same across the first-order tables, we say that there is an interaction between X and Z, such that the effect of X varies by Z (and the effect of Z varies by X)

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### Statistical Control in Cross-Tabulations

Question: "What is the effect of educational credentials (X) on income (Y)?"

Start with a **zero-order table** ... a cross-table in which **zero** third variables (Z) have been controlled

$\chi^2 = 7.94$   
( $p < 0.01$ )

Gamma = 0.20

		College Grad?		Row
		1=No	2=Yes	
Income?	2=High	100	200	300
	1=Low	300	400	700
Column		400	600	N=1,000

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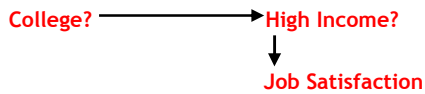
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### Statistical Control in Cross-Tabulations

In the zero-order table, completing college is associated with a greater chance high income  
Imagine the world works this way:



Controlling for job satisfaction in this case would take us **away** from estimating the causal effect of X on Y

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### Statistical Control in Cross-Tabulations

Whereas the "effect" in the zero-order table was 0.2, in the first-order tables the effect is **different**  
This is an example of **over-controlling**

$\chi^2 = 0.0$	Dissatisfied w/ Job College Grad?	$\chi^2 = 15.9$ ( $p < 0.01$ )	Satisfied w/ Job College Grad?
Gamma = 0.0		Gamma = 0.40	
	1=No 2=Yes Row		1=No 2=Yes Row
Income?	2=High	60 90 150	40 110 150
	1=Low	140 210 350	160 190 350
	Column 200 300 N=500		Column 200 300 N=500

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## Worksheet

How do you interpret the following results?

In the association between whether high school students work at paid jobs during the school year (X) and whether they drop out of high school (Y), gamma is 0.25

After statistically controlling for children's family income and wealth (Z), gamma is reduced to 0.20

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## Worksheet

How do you interpret the following results?

The correlation between parents' wealth (X) and their children's wealth (Y) is 0.40

After statistically controlling for children's education (Z), the correlation between X and Y is 0.10

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## Worksheet

How do you interpret the following results?

In a regression of final exam scores (Y) on number of hours people studied for the exam (X), the slope is estimated to be 5.0

After statistically controlling for students' year in college (Z), the slope is estimated to be 2.0 among freshman and sophomores, 5.0 among juniors, and 8.0 among seniors.

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