

The Sociology of Biological Intelligence

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Speaker notes can be toggled on or off

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Eysenck and the London School



WILEY-BLACKWELL



Three points & three examples

3 points about variation in g

- \circ Human variation in $g \longrightarrow$ social structure
- Population variation is a *social* fact
- Use life tasks as a heuristic to trace its structural effects

3 examples of structural effects

- Evolution of occupational hierarchy
- Evolution of high human intelligence
- Emergence of pervasive health disparities

Eysenck's biological (vertical) focus

HORIZONTAL Life outcomes Educ & job performance g • Educ & job level • Health ٠ IQ scores But he also looked at its social consequences Brain "Environmental" differences Genetic Non-genetic differences influences

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Sociologists' life-course path model





Consistent pattern of correlations

	Father		S	on	
	Occupation	IQ	Education	Occupational	Earnings
Father					
Education	.48	.27	.40	.28	.20
Occupation		.29	.38	.31	.22
Son					
IQ			.57	.46	.28
Education				.61	.38
Occupation					.43

Object of much causal modeling

Sociology's assumptions & inferences, 1970s



Sociology's assumptions & inferences



Sociology's assumptions & inferences, 1970s





Everywhere

- Wide spread (like height)
- Predictable form (~normal curve)
- In all times
- In all places

My focus—what role <u>variation</u>?



Sociology of intelligence



Sociology of intelligence—other units of analysis



Example 1





Intelligence in the 1980s—psychology



Sociological view of jobs



Prestige lines up best with workers' average IQ

		Percentil	e
		of mediai	¹ Position WAIS IQ: 80 90 100 110 120 128 138
		(among a	Il applied WPT 10 15 20 25 30 35 40
		aduns)	for
		91	Allorney Besearch Analyst
			Editor & Assistant
- 4		88	Manager, Advertising
			Chemist
			Engineer engineer
		86	Executive
		0.00	Manager, Trainee
			Auditor
		83	
		00	Accountant
_		91	Manager/Supervisor
		01	Manager, Sales
			Programmer, Analyst
			Teacher
	· ·		Managar Ganaral
wor	'kers'		Purchasing Agent
	~		Nurse, Registered
	Q	1000	Sales, Account Exec.
	-	70	Administrative Asst.
ave	rage		Manager, Store
	,ŭ		Bookkeeper
is hi	gher		Clerk, Credit
	0		Lab Tester & Tesh
		66	Manager Assistant
			Sales, General
			Sales, Telephone
		_	Secretary
			Clerk, Accounting
			Collector, Bad Debt
		60	Bon Cust Ship
			Sales Ben Insurance
			Technician
			Automotive Salesman
			Clerk, Typist
		55	Dispatcher
			Delice, General
			Becentionist
			Cashier
			Clerical, General
		50	Inside Sales Clerk
			Meter Reader
			Printer
			Electrical Helper
		45	Machinist
			Manager, Food Dept.
			Quality Control Chkr.
			Claims Clerk
			Driver, Deliveryman
		40	Labor Upskilled
		42	Maintenance
			Operator, Machine
			Arc Welder, Die Sett.
			Mechanic
			Medical-Dental Asst.
		37	Messenger
			Assembler
			Food Service Worker
			Nurse's Aide
		31	Warehouseman -
			Custodian & Janitor
		25	Material Handler
		21	Packer

But do more prestigious occupations really need smarter workers?

Prestige lines up best with workers' average IQ

		Percentile							
		of mediar	Position WAIS IC	Q: 80	90) 10	0 110	120 128	8 138
		(among a adults)	for WPT:	10	15	20) 25	30 3	5 40
		dou ,	Attorney	-	1				- r
		91	Research Analyst						
			Editor & Assistant				-		
- 1		88	Manager, Advertising				-		
			Chemist						
			Engineer						
		86	Executive Managor Trainco						
			Systems Analyst						
			Auditor						
		83	Copywriter				-		
			Accountant						
_		81	Manager/Supervisor						
		0.000/0	Manager, Sales					_	
			Programmer, Analyst						
			Adjuster			-	1		
	lore?	77	Manager, General					_	
VVOI	Kers		Purchasing Agent						
	~		Nurse, Registered			-			
I	Q	70	Sales, Account Exec.					_	
		70	Administrative Asst.					-	
ave	rage		Manager, Store						
			Bookkeeper			-		-	
is hi	gher		Clerk, Credit			100		•:	
	0 -		Drafter, Designer			Surger.			
		66	Managar Assistant					_	
			Sales General						
			Sales, Telephone						
			Secretary					-	
			Clerk, Accounting			_		-	
			Collector, Bad Debt			-		e.	
		60	Operator, Computer		-			-	
		00	Rep., Cust. Srvc.			-		•	
			Sales Rep., Insurance	t		-		•	
			Automotive Salesmar				1	-	
			Clerk, Typist						
		EE	Dispatcher			-			
		55	Office, General			-			
			Police, Patrol Off.						
			Receptionist			-	_		
			Cashier		1	_	-		
			Clerical, General		1				
		50	Inside Sales Cierk		1				
			Printer Nedder		Ľ				
			Teller						
			Data Entry		-	-			
			Electrical Helper		- H	-			
		45	Machinist		- H		-		
			Manager, Food Dept.		-				
			Quality Control Chkr.	_		1			
			Daims Clerk			24 2	_		
			Guard Security			0.0.0			
		42	Labor Unskilled		-				
		+2	Maintenance						
			Operator, Machine						
			Arc Welder, Die Sett.			1			
			Mechanic				-		
			Medical-Dental Asst.		+	1 1	- 1		
		37	Messenger			1			
			Accompler	_		1			
			Food Service Worker						
			Nurse's Aide			1			
		31	Warehouseman		T		-		
			Custodian & Janitor	L L					
		25	Material Handler			_			
		21	Packer	-					
		100000							

But do more prestigious occupations really need smarter workers?

Sociology in 1970s

"No"

- Hierarchy based on power
- IQ = privilege, not merit
- ~All can master any job















How many jobs in the Pleistocene?





3. Ceaseless (re)sorting





2. Task population (fluid)

3. Ceaseless (re)sorting











The task heuristic

- Humans generate instrumental tasks
- Tasks evoke performance differences
- Myriad tweaks in who does what
- Toward higher g-e correlation
- Occupational hierarchy is human's extended phenotype

Example 2—the 1990s

1990, London School comes to Manhattan





Intelligence in the 1990s



What is _____ ?

• Ability:

"the possible variations over individuals in the liminal [threshold] levels of task difficulty ...at which, on any given occasion in which all conditions appear favorable, individuals perform successfully on a defined class of tasks"

• Task:

"any activity in which a person engages, given an appropriate setting, in order to achieve a specifiable class of objectives, final results, or terminal states of affairs"

• Cognitive task:

"any task in which correct or appropriate processing of mental information is critical to successful performance"

Carroll (1993)

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Carroll (1993)

Ability = behavior in response to <u>task</u> stimuli

Example 2



Could a general intelligence have evolved?

- Some evo psych—"no"
 - Modular brain
 - Specific heuristics for specific needs

But it <u>did</u> evolve

Could a general intelligence have evolved?

- Some evo psych—"no"
 - Modular brain
 - Specific heuristics for specific needs

But it <u>did</u> evolve

- Other evo psych—"yes"
 - "Mating mind"
 - "Social brain"

But g is instrumental, not social



Challenge

- g is general
- What selection pressure was equally general <u>and</u> unique to humans?

Hypothesis

- Human innovation
 - Novel tasks
 - Novel hazards
 - Relative risk steepens



Example 2







% of civilian deaths

		USA (1	986)		Acł	ne (<19	971)
Age:	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-64	0-3	4-14	15-59
Illness	22	44	72	93	50	35	49
Accident	51	31	15	4	3	(25)	(37)
Suicide	13	12	7	2	0	0	0
Homicide	14	13	6	1	47	40	14

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Drowning Firearms Vehicles Lightning	Cut/pierced Caught/crushed Falling object Machines	FIRE		Snake bite Drowned Lightning Got lost	Snake bite Falling object Lightning Jaguar
	All preve	ntable using "	<mark>mind's e</mark>	ye"	



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Drowning	Cut/pierced
Eirearms	Caught/crushed
venicles	Failing object
Lightning	Machines
Firearms Vehicles Lightning	Caught/crushed Falling object Machines

Hi <u>relative</u>risk by SES & male

	Snake bite Drowned Lightning Got lost	Snake bite Falling object Lightning Jaguar
Parer	nt(s) died	

Г

Hazards of daily life



Preventing accidents = cognitive process "Keeping systems under control"

Task clues from job analysis

"Judgment & Reasoning Factor" (1st factor)

- Deal with unexpected situations
- Learn & recall job-related information
- Reason & make judgments
- Identify problem situations quickly
- React swiftly when unexpected problems occur
- Apply common sense to solve problems

None of these is domain-specific.



Ecological pressure?

Not the obvious

- Starvation, harsh climate
- Because *g*-based benefits shared—meat from hunting, shelter

But the "minor" side-effects of core tasks

- "Accidental" injury—the myriad low-probability, chance-laden, oft-ignored hazards in daily chores
- Because their *g*-based costs not shared

Lesson-

Hazards are <u>unobtrusive</u> tests Not avoided if not seen Not seen if weak "mind's eye"

Simpler life ≠ *g*-proof environment

- Opportunity to learn & reason + within-group
 variation in g = opportunity for selection
- Tiny effect size + many generations = big shift in distribution

Example 3—Health disparities

- Same principles
 - Task requirements
 - Mind's eye to recognize them
 - Aggregate small risks
- Applied to health self-care
 - Diabetes self-management

Current models of health disparities



Assumption: Disparities can be traced to social inequalities

Braverman, Egerter, & Williams, 2011, Figure 2

Current models of health disparities



Assumption: Disparities can be traced to social inequalities

Unique challenge: How does inequality "get under the skin"?

Current models of health disparities



Assumption: Disparities can be traced to social inequalities

Unique challenge: How does inequality "get under the skin"?

Usual constraint: No traits Behavior not genetic

How does inequality kill?

Diabetes self-management

- A complex "job"
- Unwanted
- Little training
- Little supervision
- Little feedback
- Much non-adherence

Job description Learn about diabetes in general (At "entry") Physiological process Interdependence of diet, exercise, meds Symptoms & corrective action Consequences of poor control Apply knowledge to own case (Daily, Hourly) Implement appropriate regimen Continuously monitor physical signs Diagnose problems in timely manner <u>Adjust food, exercise, meds in timely and appropriate manner</u> Coordinate with relevant parties (Frequently)

- <u>Negotiate</u> changes in activities with family, friends, job
- <u>Enlist/capitalize</u> on social support
- <u>Communicate</u> status and needs to practitioners
- Update knowledge & adjust regimen (Occasionally)
 - When other chronic conditions or <u>disabilities develop</u>
 - When <u>new treatments</u> available
 - When life <u>circumstances change</u>

Self-management



Mimics accident prevention process

- <u>Not</u> mechanically following a recipe
- Task—keep complex system under control in often unpredictable circumstances
- Goal—prevent complications
- Performance measures—what doesn't develop
 - Blindness
 - Amputations
 - Kidney failure
 - Heart attack

Tremendous need for mind's eye

* See Gottfredson (1997, 2006)

Relative risk generator



Relative risk steepens when self-care more complex



Practical implications?

- Cannot eradicate g-based disparities without
 - Extreme state coercion
 - To redistribute resources
 - To create <u>negative</u> gene-environment correlations
- Cannot level differences in patient "literacy"
- But can husband their cognitive resources

Collaborative project in Delaware

- 1. Audit self-management tasks (provider survey)
 - Rank by criticality
 - Rank by difficulty of learning
 - Examples of critical patient errors

Part II - Ch Definitions: but it can ha characterist	aracteristics of tasks in diabetes self-management Managing one's diabetes is a complex job. Not only is it difficult for patients to learn and perform we ve dire consequences for their nealth and well-being in not performed well. We are interested in two cs of various tasks in diabetes self-management. Rightly, How critical is it for patients to <i>eventy perform</i> this task as required? <u>tellectual difficulty</u> . How difficult is it for patients to <i>learn how to perform</i> this task well?
priorities in	s aim is to identify self-management tasks that are both critical and difficult to learn in order to set hstruction for patients who have a general intellectual disability.
	Top priority for instruction Tasks are more difficult to learn
Directions: 1	n his section asks you to rank three specific self-management tasks in each of seven categories" the <i>criticality of patients actually performing these tasks as required</i> .

- 2. Identify cognitive hurdles in self-care (patient focus groups)
- 3. Design a job ladder, from novice to expert (prioritize/triage tasks)
- 4. Redesign training (for greater cognitively accessibility)

Access to care isn't enough—effectively exploiting it is also required

Non-biological sociology





Biological Sociology



Intelligence: A New Look



Thank you