Self-Control, IQ, and Academic Achievement in Adolescence Angela Duckworth University of Pennsylvania May 16, 2008

Overview

- Definition And Measurement Of Self-Control
- Study 1: Self-Control Outdoes IQ among College-Bound Adolescents
- Study 2: Self-Control Gives Girls The Edge
- Study 3: Replication Study in Low-Performing School
- Study 4: National Sample of Youth Aged 14 To 22
- Implications And Future Directions

Self-Control: The control of impulses, emotions, attention, or behavior in the service of a valued goal (Baumeister)

"...many who are capable of the higher pleasures, occasionally, under the influence of temptation, postpone them to the lower. But this is guite compatible with a full appreciation of the intrinsic superiority of the higher. Men often, from infirmity of character, make their election for the nearer good, though they know it to be the less valuable..."

--John Stuart Mill, Utilitarianism



Mischel's Marshmallow Test

- Four-year old preschoolers
- One marshmallow now vs. two later
- Wait time in seconds predicts SAT scores more than 10 years later, as well as a range of socialcognitive, personal and other competencies. (*r* = .42 with verbal SAT and *r* = .57 with math SAT)



Measuring self-control

- Reported correlations among measures are moderate and often inconsistent in magnitude
- Self-control measures tap <u>multiple</u> constructs whose reliable variance has both specific and general elements
- This suggests a multimethod, multisource approach to measurement

Study 1: Self-Discipline Outdoes IQ

A prospective longitudinal study of college-bound adolescents

- Eighth graders (N = 164) at urban school
- Self-control and IQ measured in the fall
- Academic performance measured in the spring
 - GPA
 - Achievement test scores
 - Attendance
 - Studying and lifestyle habits

Questionnaires

- Brief Self-Control Scale (Tangney, Baumeister, & Boone, 2004)
 - Example item: "Pleasure and fun sometimes keep me from getting work done."
 - Completed by students, parents, homeroom teachers
- Eysenck Impulsiveness Scale
 - Example item: "Do you save regularly?"
 - Completed by students

Monetary Choice Questionnaire



- Would you prefer \$55 today, or \$75 in 61 days?
- Would you prefer \$19 today, or \$25 in 53 days?
- Would you prefer \$31 today, or \$85 in 7 days?
- Would you prefer \$14 today, or \$25 in 19 days?
- Would you prefer \$47 today, or \$50 in 160 days?
- Would you prefer \$15 today, or \$35 in 13 days?
- Would you prefer \$25 today, or \$60 in 14 days?
- Would you prefer \$78 today, or \$80 in 162 days?

$$V = \frac{A}{1+kD}$$



Delay

Figure adapted from Green, Frey, and Myerson, 1994

Choice Delay Task

- Participants are given a \$1
- The choice is posed: \$1 now or \$2 in a week
- About 20% of participants choose \$1 now



Intercorrelations among self-control measures averaged .32

Correlations									
		GPA,		Brief Self-Control Scale	Brief Self-Control	Brief Self-Control Scale	Eysenck Junior	KDD mean	
		school year	Delay Choice (c2)	Teacher	Scale Parent	Self-Report	Impulsivity	(natural	
GPA, school vear	Pearson Correlation	2003/2004	340**	559**	465**	(as) 339**	(a3) - 407**	- 456**	
2003/2004	Sig. (2-tailed)		000	000	000	000	000	000	
	N	162	154	158	151	155	155	142	
Delay Choice (a3)	Pearson Correlation	.340**	1	.237**	.102	.061	073	232**	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.003	.220	.456	.372	.006	
	Ν	154	156	152	145	150	150	137	
Brief Self-Control Scale	Pearson Correlation	.559**	.237**	1	.365**	.445**	326**	320**	
Teacher Rating (a3)	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.003		.000	.000	.000	.000	
	Ν	158	152	160	149	153	153	139	
Brief Self-Control Scale Parent Rating (a3)	Pearson Correlation	.465**	.102	.365**	1	.519**	444**	308**	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.220	.000		.000	.000	.000	
	Ν	151	145	149	153	147	147	133	
Brief Self-Control Scale Self-Report (a3)	Pearson Correlation	.339**	.061	.445**	.519**	1	728**	288**	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.456	.000	.000		.000	.000	
	Ν	155	150	153	147	157	157	143	
Eysenck Junior Impulsivity (a3)	Pearson Correlation	407**	073	326**	444**	728**	1	.394**	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.372	.000	.000	.000		.000	
	N	155	150	153	147	157	157	143	
KDD mean (natural log) (a3)	Pearson Correlation	456**	232**	320**	308**	288**	.394**	1	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.006	.000	.000	.000	.000		
	Ν	142	137	139	133	143	143	143	

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

A composite self-control score predicted academic performance better than did IQ

TABLE 2

Intercorrelations Between Academic-Performance Indicators and Composite Self-Discipline Score and IQ

Academic-performance variable	$\frac{\text{Study 1 (N = 140)}}{\text{Self-discipline}}$	Study 2 (N = Self-discipline	= 164) IQ	Two-tailed <i>p</i> of difference between the IQ and self-discipline correlations		
First-marking-period GPA	.52***	.66***	.34,***	<.001		
Final GPA	.55***	.67***	.32***	<.001		
Spring achievement test	.29**	.43***	.36***	n.s.		
Selection to high school	.42***	.56***	.26**	<.001		
School absences	17*	26**	07	.06		
Homework hours		.35***	09	<.001		
Television hours		33***	06	.01		
Time of day homework is begun		26**	.18*	<.001		
N . 001 1 1						

Note. GPA = grade point average. *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.



Self-control was still a significant predictor holding first-marking period GPA and IQ constant

TABLE 3

Summary of Simultaneous Multiple Regression for Variables Predicting Final Grade Point Average (GPA) in Study 1 (N = 137) and in Study 2 (N = 154)

Variable	В	SE B	β
Study 1			
First-marking-period GPA	0.96	0.04	.87***
Self-discipline	0.95	0.39	.10*
Study 2			
10	0.01	0.01	.01
First-marking-period GPA	0.84	0.04	.89***
Self-discipline	0.76	0.33	.08*
*p < .05, ***p < .001.			

Study 1 findings

- Self-control accounted for more variance in academic outcomes than did IQ
- More importantly, because self-control was not strongly related to IQ (*r* = .13, *ns*), self-control provided incremental predictive validity over and beyond IQ
- Multi-method, multi-source measurement may increase predictive validity of personality measures



Study 2: Self-Discipline Gives Girls the Edge

Underprediction

- Girls earn higher grades than boys in all subjects at all grade levels
- Girls do not consistently outperform boys on standardized tests of achievement or aptitude
- Hence, standardized tests tend to underpredict grades earned by girls and to overpredict grades earned by boys

Girls in our study earned significantly higher grades but not achievement test or IQ scores

Table 8

Summary Statistics for Academic Performance and IQ Variables in Study 2

	Gir	s	E		
Measure	М	SD	М	SD	d
Algebra II final grade $(n = 31)$	3.53	0.82	2.98	0.83	.80*
Algebra 1 final grade $(n = 133)$	3.25	0.78	2.98	0.83	.25
English final grade	3.52	0.65	3.04	0.68	.69***
Social studies final grade	3.64	0.49	3.41	0.47	.53**
Overall GPA	3.47	0.63	3.13	0.57	.54***
TerraNova Second Edition Achievement Test					-
normal curve equivalent score	77.89	9.72	76.37	10.81	.15
Otis-Lennon School Ability Test-Seventh Edition	106.94	9.95	111.21	9.43	.48**

Note. n = 164, unless otherwise indicated. Effect size and statistical significance of independent-sample *t* tests were conducted with normal curve equivalent, not school ability index, scores. * p < .05. ** p < .01. *** p < .001.

Girls were more self-controlled

Table 10

Summary Statistics for Self-Discipline Measures in Study 2

	Internal	Gir	Girls		Boys	
Measure	consistency	М	SD	М	SD	d
Eysenck I6 Junior Questionnaire Impulsivity subscale" Brief Self-Control Scale	.83	10.56	4.86	11.63	5.19	.21
Self-report	.86	3.40	0.65	3.10	0.79	.42**
Teacher report	.97	4.38	0.81	3.79	1.09	.61***
Parent report	.91	3.98	0.74	3.83	0.75	.19
Kirby Delay-Discounting Rate Monetary Choice Questionnaire"	.98	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.04	.14
Delay choice task		84%		80%		.08
Composite self-discipline score	.90	0.13	0.64	-0.14	0.67	.41***

Note. For the dichotomous delay choice task, effect size was first calculated as Φ , according to Cohen (1988), and then converted to d. * Higher scores for these measures indicate lower self-discipline.

p < .01. *p < .001.



Summary of Studies 1 & 2

- Self-control—measured precisely—can be shown to be a more robust predictor of academic achievement than previously thought
- Advantages in trait self-control help explain why girls bring home better report cards than boys, but not better standardized test scores

A prospective longitudinal study of low-achieving adolescents

- Ninth graders (N = 115)
- Self-control and IQ measured in the fall
 - Average IQ about 80, about 2 SD below that of college-bound sample
- Academic performance measured in the spring
 - About 40% of students were below gradelevel on state tests, compared to only 1% of college-bound sample

Study 3 findings

- Self-control predicted GPA better than did IQ
- However, IQ predicted standardized achievement test scores better than did self-discipline
- Girls were more self-disciplined (d = .4, p < .01) and earned higher GPAs (d = .8, p < .001), despite roughly equivalent IQ and standardized test scores

Study 4: National Annenberg Risk Survey of Youth

Cross-sectional study of youth

- Adolescents and young adults aged 14 to 22 years (N = 900)
- Sample matched US Census estimates of gender, ethnicity, and region of the country
- Demographic variables controlled
 - Household income by zip code, urban/rural/suburban, public/non-public school, region of country
- Self-reported GPA

Self-Control Measure

Four self-report items

- Monetary Choice Series: "Suppose you had an offer to get paid \$1000 for doing a job if you could wait six months from completion of the job to get paid. If you didn't want to wait the six months, you could get \$500 as soon as you finished."
- "Living for the moment is more important than planning for the future"
- "I spend a lot more time thinking about today than thinking about the future"
- "I have a good sense of what my long-term priorities are in life." (reverse-scored)

Sensation Seeking Measure

- Four self-report items from Brief Sensation Seeking Scale
 - "I like to explore strange places"
 - "I like to do frightening things"
 - "I like new and exciting experiences, even if I have to break the rules"
 - "I prefer friends who are exciting and unpredictable

Study 4 findings

- Youth a standard deviation lower in selfcontrol than other respondents were ¹/₃ more likely to have lower grades
- Girls were more self-controlled than girls (*d* = .13, *p* < .05)
- Young adults a standard deviation lower in self-control were ¼ less likely to remain in school

Sensation seeking is detrimental only when impulsivity is high



Impulsivity declines over adolescence, whereas sensation seeking peaks then falls



Summary

- Self-controlled children do better in school than their more impulsive peers, even when controlling for IQ
- Girls are slightly more self-controlled than boys
- Measures of academic achievement vary in their relative saturation of IQ and self-control variance
- Other traits, including sensation-seeking and IQ, may moderate the relationship between selfcontrol and academic performance

Future directions: Construct and Measurement

- Research on self-control is where IQ research was a century ago
 - Construct confusion
 - Unreliable performance measures
- Holy grail: a battery of behavioral measures of self-control with minimal IQ variance suitable for older children, adolescents, and adults
- Dimensionality of self-control
 - "g" and "s" components for self-control

Thank you!