Within-Family Differences

Lecture 34

The Power of the Nonshared Environment

Plomin & Daniels (1987)

Why are Children From the Same Family So Different From Each Other?

- Each Has a Different Genetic Heritage
- Environment Beyond the Family

Variability Within Families is Almost As Great as Variability Between Families

Sources of Within-Family Environmental Differences

Harris (1995, 1998, 2006), after McCartney et al. (1991)

Child-Driven Effects Relationship-Driven Effects Parent-Driven Effects Family Context Effects



THE NURTURE

Assumption

Why Children Turn Out the Way They Do

JUOYTH TECH HARRIS

Add. Intil and provid-

shield reached the New York,





Child-Driven (Reactive) Effects

Person-by-Situation Interaction Evocation

- Gender-Role Socialization
 "Baby X" Studies
- Other Aspects of Physical Appearance – Pretty/Cute vs. Homely vs. "Disfigured"
 - Healthy vs. Ill



Child-Driven (Reactive) Effects

Person-by-Situation Interaction Behavioral Manipulation

- Temperament
 - Speed, Strength of Arousal
 - Quiet vs. Fussy
- Positive Feedback
 - Vicious (and Virtuous) Cycles
- Negative Feedback
 - Lower-Limit Control Behaviors
 - Upper-Limit Control Behavior



Relationship-Driven Effects

Person-By-Situation Interaction "Selection"

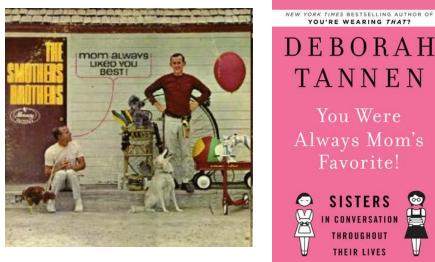
- Temperamental "Fit" Between Child, Parent – Expectations, Preferences
- Extraverted Child
 - Extraverted vs. Introverted Adult
- Introverted Child
 - Introverted vs. Extraverted Adult

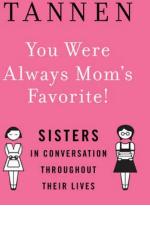


Parent-Driven Effects

Person-by-Situation Interaction Cognitive Transformation

- Independent of Child's Characteristics
- "Unplanned" Child
- Identical Twins - Differential Treatment
- Contrast Effects
 - First Child "Easy" vs. "Difficult"





YOU'RE WEARING THAT



Family Context Effects

Family "Microenvironment" Systematic Differences Between Nontwin Siblings

- No Systematic Genetic Differences
 Share Random 50% of Genes
- Systematic Differences in Birth Order
 - Position within Family Constellation
 - Older (Firstborn) vs. Younger (Laterborn)

Birth Order Effects

- Traditional View: No Systematic Effects
 - Schooler (1966)
 - Ernst & Young (1983)
- Potential Confounds
 - Age
 - Family Size
 - Socio-Economic Status

Sulloway (1996)

- Sibling relations:
 - Competition for Niche in Family
- Firstborns Have First Choice
 - Primogeniture



- Please Parents by Traditional Behavior
- Become Conscientious, Conservative
- Laterborns Threaten Authority of Firstborns
 - "Born to rebel"
 - Seek Alternative Paths to Distinction
 - Become Empathic, Egalitarian, Anti-Authoritarian, Strive for Uniqueness ¹⁰

Meta-Analysis of 196 Comparisons by Sulloway (1996)

• Neuroticism: First > Later

- More Jealous
- Anxious
- Neurotic
- Fearful
- Likely to Affiliate Under sStress

- Neuroticism: *First > Later*
- Extraversion: First > Later
 - More Extraverted
 - Assertive
 - Likely to Exhibit Leadership

- Neuroticism: *First > Later*
- Extraversion: *First > Later*
- Agreeableness: Later > First
 - More Easygoing
 - Cooperative
 - Popular

- Neuroticism: *First > Later*
- Extraversion: *First > Later*
- Agreeableness: Later > First
- Conscientiousness: First > Later
 - More Responsible
 - Achievement Oriented
 - Organized
 - Planful

- Neuroticism: *First > Later*
- Extraversion: *First > Later*
- Agreeableness: Later > First
- Conscientiousness: *First > Later*
- **Openness:** *First < Later*
 - More Conforming
 - Traditional
 - Closely Identified with Parents

<u>Trait</u>	<u>Pos</u>	<u>Null</u>	<u>Neg</u>
Neuroticism	14	29	5
Extraversion	5	18	6
Agreeableness	12	18	1
Conscientiousness	20	25	0
Openness	21	20	2
Total	37%	56%	7%

Achievers and Rebels in California

Paulhus et al. (1999), Study 1

	<u>FB Achievers</u>		<u>LB Rebels</u>	
<u>Sibship</u> <u>Size</u>	<u>Observed</u>	<u>Expected</u>	<u>Observed</u>	<u>Expected</u>
2	.65	.50	. <mark>61</mark>	.50
3	.37	.33	.71	.67
4	.35	.25	.83	.75
More	.26	.15	.94	.85

Achievers and Rebels in Canada

Paulhus et al. (1999), Study 2

	<u>FB Achievers</u>		<u>LB Rebels</u>	
<u>Sibship</u> <u>Size</u>	<u>Observed</u>	<u>Expected</u>	<u>Observed</u>	<u>Expected</u>
2	.63	.50	.64	.50
3	.40	.33	.71	.67
4	.39	.25	.88	.75
More	.27	.15	.97	.85

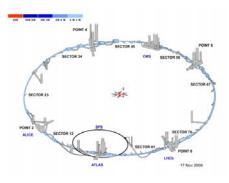
Birth-Order and IQ

Zajonc & Markus (1975), after Belmont & Marolla (1973)

- Sequelae of Dutch Famine of 1944
- Every Dutch Male Aged 19
 1963-1966 (N = 386,114)
- Nonverbal Intelligence
 - Raven's Progressive Matrices
- Family Size
- Birth Order

Birth Order and IQ Zajonc & Markus (1975)

- Family Size
- Birth Order
- Last-Born Child
- Rate of Decline
- Only Child



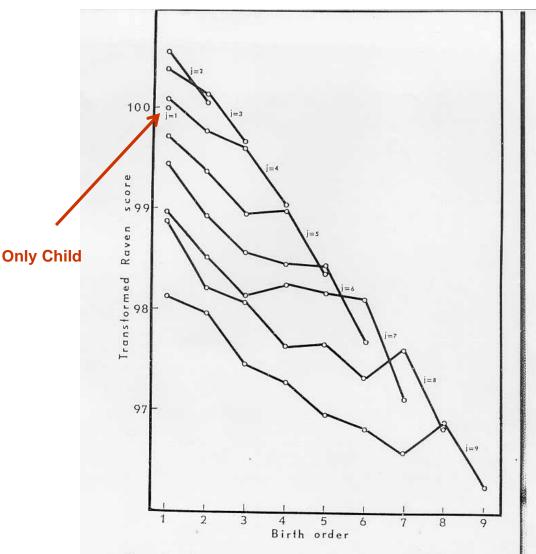


FIGURE 1. Average transformed Raven scores as a function of birth order (*i*) and family size (*j*), recalculated from Belmont and Marolla (1973). (The Raven scores were reported by Belmont and Marolla in terms of six categories from 1, high, to 6, low. For the purposes of the present analysis a linear transformation, $X_{tr} = 113.45 - 5.0047X$, was performed on these scores, inverting the scale so that increasing values now indicate increasing intelligence and setting the score of the only child at 100.)

The Large Hadron Collider, Geneva



Confluence Model of Intellectual Development

Zajonc & Markus (1975)



- Dilution Effect
 - Newborn Diminishes Intellectual Resources
- Growth Effect
 - Developing Child Contributes More Intellectual Resources
- Each Laterborn Increases Dilution
- Each Earlyborn Counteracts Dilution
- Spacing Matters and So Does Family Size

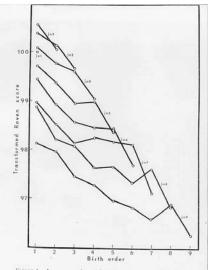


FIGURE 1. Average transformed Raven scores as a function of birth order (i) and family size (j), recalculated from Belmont and Marolla (1973). (The Raven scores were reported by Belmont and Marolla in terms of six categories from Lingh, to 6, owe. For the purposes of the present analysis a linear transformation, $X_{20} = 11345 = 5.0047X$, was performed on these scores, inverting the scale so that increasing values now indicate increasing intelligence and etting the score of the only child at 100.)

Confluence Model of Intellectual Development

Zajonc & Markus (1974)

- Teaching Effect
 - Earlyborns Profit from Laterborns
- Last-Child Handicap
- Only-Child Handicap
- Multiple Births
- Single-Parent Households
- Extended Families

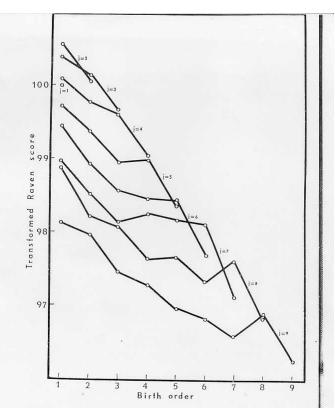


FIGURE 1. Average transformed Raven scores as a function of birth order (i) and family size (j), recalculated from Belmont and Marolla (1973). (The Raven scores were reported by Belmont and Marolla in terms of six categories from 1, high, to 6, low. For the purposes of the present analysis a linear transformation, $X_{tr} = 113.45 - 5.0047X$, was performed on these scores, inverting the scale so that increasing values now indicate increasing intelligence and setting the score of the only child at 100.)

The Confluence Model

Zajonc & Markus (1974)

- Individual is Part of His or Her Own Environment
- Environment is Dynamically Changing
- Individual Constantly Influenced by Environment
- Individual Reciprocally Influences Environment
- Individual as Active Agent of Own Development

The Origins of Uniqueness

- Individual Creates Unique Environment
 - Evocation
 - Selection
 - Behavioral Manipulation
 - Cognitive Transformation
- Unique Environment Reciprocally Creates
 Unique Individual

Widely Shared General Processes Produce Uniqueness in Human Personality

Interactions in Development

Interactions Nature and Nurture Person and Environment

The Person is Part of His/Her Environment

The Child is an Agent of His/Her Own Socialization

In Psychological Terms...

Every Child Is... Born to Different Parents Raised in a Different Family Lives in a Different Neighborhood Attends a Different School and Worships in a Different Church.



Norman Rockwell, "Freedom from Want" Saturday Evening Post, 1943