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An increase of intelligence measured by the WPPSI in China, 1984–2006

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Abstract

Normative data for 5–6 year olds on the Chinese Preschool and Primary Scale of Intelligence (WPPSI) are reported for samples tested in 1984 and 2006. There was a significant increase in Full Scale IQ of 4.53 points over the 22 year period, representing a gain of 2.06 IQ points per decade. There were also significant increases in Verbal IQ of 4.27 points and in Performance IQ of 4.08 points.

Keywords

Intelligence; China; Flynn effect

1. Introduction

It has been reported in numerous studies from the 1940s that the intelligence of the populations of the economically developed nations has been increasing. The first major study showing this was carried out in the United States by Tuddenham (1948), who reported that the average IQs of men conscripted into the American army in 1943 was 11.5 IQ points higher than those conscripted in 1917, representing a gain of 4.4 IQ points per decade. The second major study was carried out in Scotland and reported that the intelligence of 11 years old children had increased by 2.21 IQ points over the years 1932–1947, representing a gain of 1.47 IQ points per decade (Thomson, 1949). The presence of these increases has been confirmed in many Western countries and has been reviewed by Flynn (1984, 1987) and Flynn and Weiss (2007) after whom they have been designated “the Flynn effect.”

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Disclosure

The authors have declared that no competing interests exist.

There have only been two studies of the Flynn effect in Asia. The first of these were reported for Japan by Lynn and Hampson (1986). Recently, te Nijenhuis, Cho, Murphy, and Lee (in press) have reported large IQ gains averaging 7.7 points per decade in South Korea.

It is only in the last decade that increases in intelligence have been studied in economically developing countries. Only four studies of these have been reported. Daley, Whaley, Sigman, Espinosa, and Neumann (2003) reported a 15 IQ point gain over 14 years for school students on the Coloured Progressive Matrices in Kenya, representing a gain of 10.7 IQ points per decade. Meisenberg, Lawless, Lambert, and Newton (2005) reported an 18 IQ point gain for 20–70 year olds over 35 years on the Coloured Progressive Matrices in Dominica, where it represents a gain of 5.1 IQ points per decade. Colom, Flores-Mendoza, and Abad (2007) reported a 17 IQ point gain for 7–11 year olds in Brazil, over the 72 years (1930–2002) on the Draw-a-Man Test, representing a gain of 0.24 IQ points per decade. Finally, Khaleefa, Sulman, and Lynn (2009) reported WAIS-R Full Scale IQ gain of 4.05 points over the 20 year period (1987–2007) in Sudan, representing a gain of 2.05 IQ points per decade. The objective of this paper is add to the literature on IQ gains in economically developing nations by reporting data for an IQ gain in China.

2. Methods

This study compares the IQs obtained by 5–6 year olds on the Chinese version of the Wechsler Preschool and Primary Scale of Intelligence (WPPSI) in 1984 and 2006. The WPPSI was constructed in the U.S.A. by Wechsler to measure the intelligence of children aged 3 to 7 years old (Wechsler, 1967). The WPPSI consists of 10 subtests, five of which comprise Verbal IQ (Information, Comprehension, Arithmetic, Vocabulary and Similarities) and five comprise Performance IQ (Geometric Design, Animal House, Block Design, Mazes and Picture Completion) (Wechsler, 1967). The verbal subtests are combined to produce a Verbal IQ (VIQ) and the performance subtests are combined to produce a Performance IQ (PIQ). All ten subtests are combined to produce a Full Scale IQ (FIQ), which is widely recognized as a good measure of general intelligence defined as an average of all cognitive abilities.

The Chinese WPPSI was standardized in China in 1984 on a representative nationwide sample of 1628 children aged 5–6 years old (Song & Yue-mei, 1987). The test has been shown to have good reliability in Chinese children (Gong & Dai, 1986; Gong & Dai, 1988; Yang, Liu, & Townes, 1994; Zhu, Lu, & Tang, 1984).

In the current study, data for 1195 children aged 5–6 years old on the Chinese WPPSI were obtained in 2005–2007 in the Jintan Child Study. This study consisted of a sample of 1656 children comprising 24.3% of all preschool children in the Jintan City region. The original sample of 1656 children was reduced to a sample of 1195 children to provide a match for age and gender distribution to the 1984 sample. The mean age of both samples was 5.7 years. The Jintan sample, composed of 55.5% boys and 44.5% girls, was drawn from four preschools that reflect the region's geographical, social, and economic profile: the urban city center (Jianshe preschool), the suburbs (Huacheng preschool), and the surrounding rural area (Xuebu and Huashan preschools). Jintan is located in southeast China, approximately 50

miles south of Nanjing and 120 miles north of Shanghai, in the province of Jiangsu. Although the 1984 sample is nationally representative and the 2006 sample is regionally representative, the two samples are still comparable. Not only is the Jintan sample drawn from city, town, and village populations, but the demographics of Jiangsu are similar to those found on the national level (e.g., sex ratio, proportion of population living in urban or rural areas, ethnic majority) (All China Data Center, n.d.). Institutional Review Board approval was obtained from the University of Pennsylvania and the ethical committee for research at Jintan Hospital in China. Further information regarding the subjects, recruitment, and setting are described in Liu, McCauley, Zhao, Zhang, and Pinto- Martin (2010) and in Liu and Lynn (2011).

3. Results

Table 1 gives the mean scaled scores and standard deviations of the 1984 and the 2006 samples on the ten subtests, as well as for the Verbal, Performance, and Full Scale scores. The right hand columns give the differences between the two samples expressed as *ds* (standard deviation units), and *t* values for the statistical significance of the differences in the scores obtained in the two samples. It will be noted that the 2006 sample obtained significantly higher Verbal, Performance, and Full Scale scores than the 1984 sample, although this advantage was not present in all of the subtests.

Table 2 gives the mean IQ scores between the 1984 norm sample and 2006 sample. Comparing the two samples, significant increases of 4.27, 4.08, and 4.53 IQ points can be observed for Verbal, Performance, and Full scale scores, respectively.

Table 3 gives the mean IQs of the boys and girls in the two samples. It will be seen boys obtained slightly higher mean IQs than girls in both samples, and that comparable gains from 1984 to 2006 were obtained by both boys and girls.

For the 2006 sample, correlation matrices of subtests and VIQ, PIQ, and FIQ are provided in Tables 4 and 5. Since it was not included in previously published data, this information could not be presented for the 1984 sample.

4. Discussion

The present study compared 2006 WPPSI-R test scores of a sample of Chinese children aged 5–6 years with those of same-age children obtained in the 1984 Chinese standardization sample. Three key findings emerged. First, there was a significant increase in the Wechsler FIQ of 4.53 points over the 22 year period (1984–2006), representing a gain of 2.06 IQ points per decade. This is less than the FIQ gains of approximately 3 IQ points per decade on the Wechsler tests for all age groups in the United States over the periods of 1932–1978 and 1972–1995, as reported by Flynn (1984, p.184) and Flynn and Weiss (2007). The IQ gain reported here for Chinese 5–6 year olds is also less than the gain of 5.3 IQ points per decade for the same age group in the United States for the years from 1932 to 1978 reported by Flynn (1984) (his Table 2). However, this gain of 5.3 IQ points per decade for 5–6 year olds was obtained as the average of five studies which vary considerably from 1.6 to 11.3 IQ points per decade. No American data for 5–6 year olds are given by Flynn and

Weiss (2007) for the years 1972–1995. Taking the American results as a whole, it appears that the IQ gain in China reported here for 5–6 year olds is slightly less than those reported for the United States.

Second, the average VIQ increased by 4.27 points and the average PIQ increased 4.08 points. This is an unusual finding compared with the results obtained in economically developed Western countries, where performance (non-verbal, fluid intelligence) gains have generally been larger than verbal (crystallized intelligence) gains. It was reported by Lynn and Hampson (1986) in Britain that, from 1932 to 1982, six verbal IQ tests showed average gains of 1.5 IQ points per decade, while five non-verbal tests showed average gains of 1.86 IQ points per decade. Similar results have been reported for Germany, Switzerland, Austria and France (Flynn, 1987), and Northern Ireland (Lynn, 1990). A possible explanation for the greater verbal than performance (non-verbal) gains in the present study is that the samples are 5–6 year olds and no other data are available for this age group.

Third, although the 2006 sample generally outperformed the 1984 sample, this was not found for all the subtests. The 2006 sample scored significantly higher in information, vocabulary, math, comprehension, animal-house, maze, and geometric design subtests than the 1984 sample. However, the 2006 sample scored significantly lower in the blockdesign and similarities subtests, and there was a nonsignificant decrease in the picture-completion subtest.

The increase in intelligence in China is probably attributable to the same socioeconomic development and its accompanying changes in recent decades that have occurred in parallel with increasing IQs elsewhere. Standards of living in China have risen, and rapid urbanization has increased children's exposure to environmental and technological complexity. The prevalence of malnutrition and nutritional deficiencies has also continuously declined over the past few decades (Popkin, Horton, Kim, Mahal, & Shuigao, 2001; Zhai et al., 2004), while education has improved substantially in China, with adult literacy rates at 94% in 2008 and net enrollment/ attendance in primary schools from 2005 to 2009 reported to be 100% (UNICEF, 2010).

Nutrition remains a large problem for populations in many economically developing countries and has probably impaired the rate of fluid intelligence gains while negatively impacting performance on certain subtests. Although the prevalence of malnutrition and nutrition deficiencies have decreased continuously (Popkin et al., 2001; Zhai et al., 2004), the prevalence of obesity has increased rapidly and poor growth rate remains common in rural areas (Chunming, 2000; UNICEF, 2010; Wang et al., 2009). This has led to the coexistence of highly prevalent undernutrition and over-nutrition in China, both of which can be effects of malnutrition (Tanumihardjo et al., 2007). Patterns include rapid shifts from a primarily plant- and grain-based diet towards an animal-based diet and decreased intake of protein, vitamins, and minerals (Zhai et al., 2009). Chinese children may be experiencing micronutrient deficiencies, such as essential fatty acids, calcium, and vitamin A (Chang et al., 1994; Chen, Wang, Yan, Yin, & Xu, 1992; Ge & Chang, 2001; Hu, Tong, Oldenburg, & Feng, 2001; UNICEF, n.d.). Failure to meet nutritional and energy requirements may

partially explain the less-than-expected gains in fluid intelligence over the present study period.

China's education and learning models may also contribute to the explanation of the present findings. One important feature of Chinese education is its strong emphasis on basic knowledge and skill acquisition, in contrast to Western early education where creativity and abstract thinking are highly valued (Cheng, 2004). Chinese teachers emphasize specific learning procedures that focus on creating uniformity and consistency via repetition (e.g., learning drills) and memorization. In generating lists of learning-related terms, U.S. college students focused on mental processes, inquiry, and thinking, while Chinese students viewed learning in terms of their ability to memorize, copy, and follow instructions (Li, 2003). Furthermore, the Chinese students were significantly less likely to challenge authority and question ideas and assumptions.

These cultural differences in learning may reflect the influence of historical Confucian–Socratic frameworks adopted by the East and West, respectively (Tweed & Lehman, 2002). An emphasis on social learning (e.g. copying or imitating what others do in similar situations) rather than individual learning (e.g. figuring out a solution by oneself, such as through trial-and-error) may have arisen in China because it was more efficient and advantageous in the relatively unchanging environment experienced by Asian populations when compared to Europeans (Chang et al., 2011). Differences in learning approaches are reflected in the way learning is perceived and practiced, even at a young age. Li (2004) found that Chinese preschool children emphasized the learner's qualities of persistence, diligence, and concentration, whereas U.S. preschoolers were more likely to emphasize mind/task attributes, such as strategy use and task attempting (Li, 2004). Furthermore, Geary, Bow-Thomas, Liu, and Siegler (1996) found that over a period of just 6 months, Chinese kindergarten and primary school student shifted their strategies in single-digit addition problems from finger counting and fact retrieval to only fact retrieval (Geary et al., 1996), which yielded faster response times than same-aged American children who relied more heavily on a combination of finger counting and retrieval strategies. It is thus likely that educational practices and methods have affected the results obtained from our samples. Although general improvements in education may contribute to the overall PIQ gains observed in China, the focus on skill acquisition and memorization, as well as the limited opportunities for creativity and abstract thinking, may not have allowed for fluid intelligence gains to increase more than crystallized intelligence gains in our study.

Given the highly competitive nature of China's educational system and the cultural emphasis on academic achievement, anxiety induced by high levels of pressure in Chinese students may also be relevant (Leung, Yeung, & Wong, 2010). Anxiety has a documented, negative effect on Weschler performance subtests (Hopko, Crittendon, Grant, & Wilson, 2005) but not verbal subtests (Boor & Schill, 1968; Callens & Meltzer, 1969; Mishra, 1982; Schultz, Hoyer, & Kaye, 1980), and visuo-spatial tasks appear especially vulnerable to anxiety and decreased attention (Avila, 1995; Fox, Russo, Bowles, & Dutton, 2001; Purcell, Maruff, Kyrios, & Pantelis, 1998). Furthermore, anxiety disorders and state anxiety have been associated with decreased performance in specific subtests such as Block-design (Buckelew & Hannay, 1986; Moritz et al., 2005; Simeon & Ferguson, 1987) and Similarities (Wetherell,

Reynolds, Gatz, & Pedersen, 2002). Hopko et al. (2005) found that test anxiety in U.S. college students not only had a significant negative impact on PIQ, but it predominately affected Block-design and Picture arrangement subtests (the latter of which was unmeasured in the present study). The authors suggest that these subtests' demand for complex visual–motor analysis and synthesis may be the key issue, as these may be influenced more substantially by anxiety-related responding (Barlow, 2004; Eysenck & Calvo, 1992).

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Table 1

Mean scaled scores of 1984 and 2006 samples.

Test	1984		2006		d	t
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
Information	9.86	3.16	10.64	2.76	0.26	6.97***
Vocabulary	9.88	2.98	10.51	2.65	0.22	5.92***
Math	10.20	3.08	11.01	2.70	0.28	7.41***
Similarities	10.12	3.02	9.79	3.00	-0.11	-2.88**
Comprehension	10.01	3.15	10.78	2.95	0.25	6.66***
Animal-house	9.96	3.04	11.52	2.93	0.52	13.75***
Picture-completion	9.98	3.05	9.97	3.30	-0.003	-0.08*
Maze	10.03	3.12	11.80	3.33	0.55	14.32***
Geometric design	9.89	3.08	10.54	2.62	0.23	6.04***
Block-design	10.25	3.33	8.91	2.97	-0.43	-11.24***
Verbal scaled scores	49.97	11.33	52.72	10.53	0.25	6.64***
Performance scaled scores	50.13	10.63	52.74	9.99	0.25	6.67***
Full scaled scores	100.08	19.44	105.46	17.78	0.29	7.63***

d=the difference between the 2 means divided by the average sd.

t=the value of t as a test of the significance between the two means.

p<0.001.

**
p<0.01.

*
p<0.05.

Table 2

Comparing VIQ and PIQ and FIQ with that of norms.

	1984		2006		d	t
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
Verbal IQ	99.85	14.32	104.12	14.85	0.29	7.66***
Perform IQ	100.40	14.67	104.48	14.93	0.28	7.22***
Full scale IQ	99.99	14.07	104.52	14.35	0.32	8.35***

d=the difference between the 2 means divided by the average sd.

t=the value of t as a test of the significance between the two means.

p<0.001.

Table 3

IQ of boys and girls in 1984 and 2006 samples.

	1984		2006	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Verbal IQ	101	99	105	103
Performance IQ	101	99	105	103
Full scale IQ	101	99	106	103

Table 4

The correlations matrices of subtests in 2006 samples.

Test	Information	Vocabulary	Math	Similarity	Comprehension	Animal house	Picture completion	Mazes	Geometric design	Block design	Verbal scaled scores	Performance scaled scores	Full scaled scores
Information	r ₁	1	0.54 ***	0.48 ***	0.35 ***	0.56 ***	0.43 ***	0.29 ***	0.25 ***	0.22 ***			
	r ₂	1	0.51 ***	0.46 ***	0.46 ***	0.50 ***	0.43 ***	0.24 ***	0.19 ***	0.23 ***	0.78 ***	0.42 ***	0.70 ***
Vocabulary	r ₁	0.54	1	0.34 ***	0.42 ***	0.57 ***	0.41 ***	0.21 ***	0.17 ***	0.22 ***			
	r ₂	0.51 ***	1	0.031 ***	0.52 ***	0.55 ***	0.39 ***	0.19 ***	0.11 ***	0.23 ***	0.77 ***	0.34 ***	0.65 ***
Math	r ₁	0.48 ***	0.34 ***	1	0.30 ***	0.37 ***	0.42 ***	0.38 ***	0.37 ***	0.27 ***			
	r ₂	0.46 ***	0.31 ***	1	0.36 ***	0.34 ***	0.39 ***	0.33 ***	0.29 ***	0.30 ***	0.650 ***	0.48 ***	0.65 ***
Similarities	r ₁	0.35 ***	0.42 ***	0.30 ***	1	0.37 ***	0.29 ***	0.18 ***	0.16 ***	0.13 ***			
	r ₂	0.46 ***	0.52 ***	0.36 ***	1	0.48 ***	0.39 ***	0.19 ***	0.13 ***	0.20 ***	0.77 ***	0.31 ***	0.63 ***
Comprehension	r ₁	0.56 ***	0.57 ***	0.37 ***	1	1	0.39 ***	0.21 ***	0.16 ***	0.20 ***			
	r ₂	0.50 ***	0.55 ***	0.34 ***	1	0.24 ***	0.37 ***	0.18 ***	0.11 ***	0.22 ***	0.77 ***	0.35 ***	0.65 ***
Animal house	r ₁	0.38 ***	0.25 ***	0.38 ***	0.11 ***	1	0.30 ***	0.34 ***	0.30 ***	0.22 ***			
	r ₂	0.26 ***	0.20 ***	0.25 ***	0.24 ***	1	0.19 ***	0.26 ***	0.23 ***	0.23 ***	0.27 ***	0.57 ***	0.48 ***
Picture completion	r ₁	0.43 ***	0.41 ***	0.42 ***	0.29 ***	0.30 ***	1	0.41 ***	0.33 ***	0.25 ***			
	r ₂	0.43 ***	0.39 ***	0.39 ***	0.37 ***	0.19 ***	1	0.39 ***	0.28 ***	0.26 ***	0.53 ***	0.67 ***	0.69 ***
Maze	r ₁	0.29 ***	0.21 ***	0.38 ***	0.21 ***	0.34 ***	0.41 ***	1	0.42 ***	0.37 ***			
	r ₂	0.24 ***	0.19 ***	0.33 ***	0.18 ***	0.26 ***	0.39 ***	1	0.38 ***	0.35 ***	0.30 ***	0.74 ***	0.59 ***
Geometric design	r ₁	0.25 ***	0.17 ***	0.37 ***	0.16 ***	0.30 ***	0.33 ***	0.42 ***	1	0.30 ***			
	r ₂	0.19 ***	0.11 ***	0.29 ***	0.11 ***	0.23 ***	0.28 ***	0.38 ***	1	0.34 ***	0.22 ***	0.65 ***	0.49 ***
Bloc design	r ₁	0.22 ***	0.22 ***	0.27 ***	0.13 ***	0.22 ***	0.25 ***	0.37 ***	0.30 ***	1			
	r ₂	0.23 ***	0.23 ***	0.30 ***	0.20 ***	0.23 ***	0.26 ***	0.35 ***	0.34 ***	1	0.31 ***	0.66 ***	0.55 ***
Verbal scaled scores	r ₂	0.78 ***	0.77 ***	0.65 ***	0.77 ***	0.27 ***	0.53 ***	0.30 ***	0.22 ***	1	0.50 ***	0.87 ***	0.87 ***
Performance scaled scores	r ₂	0.42 ***	0.34 ***	0.48 ***	0.35 ***	0.57 ***	0.67 ***	0.74 ***	0.65 ***	0.66 ***	1	0.86 ***	0.86 ***
	r ₂	0.70 ***	0.65 ***	0.65 ***	0.65 ***	0.48 ***	0.69 ***	0.59 ***	0.49 ***	0.55 ***	0.87 ***	1	1

r₁]=the correlation coefficient of raw scores of subtests.

p<0.001.
r²=the correlation coefficient of scaled scores of subtests.

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Table 5

The correlations matrices of VIQ, PIQ and FIQ in 2006 samples.

	VIQ	PIQ	FIQ
VIQ	1	0.50 ^{***}	0.87 ^{***}
PIQ	0.50 ^{***}	1	0.86 ^{***}
FIQ	0.87 ^{***}	0.86 ^{***}	1

p<0.001.