

## **The Structure of Temperament from Infancy through Adolescence**

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### **Introduction**

In this chapter, we discuss our recent findings concerning the structure of temperament throughout the opening decades of life. We have defined temperament as constitutionally based individual differences in reactivity and self-regulation, influenced over time by heredity and experience (Rothbart & Derryberry, 1981). By reactivity, we are referring to motor, emotional, and attentional responses to internal and external stimuli. Self-regulation refers to processes serving to modulate reactivity, including approach/withdrawal, inhibitory control and effortful control of attention.

The remarkable changes in behavior and motivation between infancy, childhood and adolescence create unique challenges for the study of temperament. Although temperament pertains to relatively stable dispositions, its elicitors and expressions often change during the course of development. For example, although infants and toddlers show fear to novel surroundings or a costumed adult, this reaction is rare in older children, who may fear evaluation or social rejection. Similarly, fear expression in toddlers takes a number of readily recognizable forms, including clinging to a caregiver and crying, whereas fear is more internalized in adolescents.

Temperament itself also develops over time. One example of this is the development of fearful wariness during the second half of the first year (Putnam, 1999; Rothbart, 1988; Schaeffer, Greenwood, & Parry, 1972). In early infancy, babies are able to distinguish between novel and familiar objects, but will approach both at about the same rate. By 8 months, however, infants become more hesitant in approaching novel or intense objects. Similarly, although individual differences in attentional control can be seen late in the first year through infants' duration of orienting to objects, the effortful control of impulses based on executive attention develops slowly through the toddler, preschool, and grade school years. In addition, neural areas thought to be integral to executive functions and effortful control, such as areas subserving working memory and divided attention, undergo extensive maturation during adolescence (Casey, Giedd, and Thomas, in press).

### **Questionnaire Development**

One approach to the study of developmental change and continuity in temperament involves the use of parent and self-reports of behavior. Although Kagan (1994) has argued that parent report is not appropriate for the study of temperament, there is evidence that parents can be reliable observers of their own children and that parent reports contain substantial objective validity (Rothbart & Bates, 1998; Rothbart & Mauro, 1990). In addition, both parent- and self-report questionnaire approaches hold several important advantages over observational methods. Parents view their children in a wide range of

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# Temperament Infancy Through Adolescence

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