own (Kochanska, Tjebkes, & Forman, 1998). Compliance quickly leads to toddlers' first conscience-like verbalizations, as when Caitlin said, "No, can't" as she reached out for a light socket (Kochanska, 1993).

Around 18 months, the capacity for self-control appears, and it improves steadily into early childhood. In one study, toddlers were given three tasks that required them to resist temptation. In the first, they were asked not to touch an interesting toy telephone that was within arm's reach. In the second, raisins were hidden under cups, and they were instructed to wait until the adult said it was all right to pick up a cup and eat a raisin. In the third, they were told not to open a gift until the adult had finished her work. On all three problems, the ability to wait increased steadily between 18 and 30 months (Vaughn, Kopp, & Krakow, 1984).

Early, large individual differences in self-control remain modestly stable into middle childhood and adolescence (Shoda, Mischel, & Peake, 1990). Children who are advanced in sustained attention and language development are more self-controlled, so girls usually are ahead of boys (Cournoyer, Solomon, & Trudel, 1998; Rothbart, 1989). Already, some toddlers use verbal techniques, such as singing and talking to themselves, to keep from engaging in a prohibited act. In addition, mothers who are sensitive and supportive have toddlers who show greater gains in self-control (Kochanska, Murray, & Harlan, 2000). Such parenting seems to encourage as well as model patient, nonimpulsive behavior.

As self-control improves, mothers increase the rules they require toddlers to follow, from safety and respect for property and people to family routines, manners, and simple chores (Gralinski & Kopp, 1993). Still, toddlers' control over their own actions depends on constant parental oversight and reminders. To get Caitlin to stop playing so that she and her parents could go on an errand, several prompts ("Remember, we're going to go in just a minute") and gentle insistence were usually necessary. The Caregiving Concerns table above summarizes ways to help toddlers develop compliance and self-control.

As the second year of life drew to a close, Carolyn, Monica, and Vanessa were delighted at their children's readiness to learn the rules of social life. As we will see in Chapter 8, advances in cognition and language, along with parental warmth and reasonable maturity demands, lead children to make tremendous strides in this area during early childhood.

### Ask Yourself

**REVIEW**

Why is insisting that infants comply with parental directives inappropriate? What competencies are necessary for the emergence of compliance and self-control?

**CONNECT**

What type of early parenting fosters the development of emotional self-regulation, attachment, and self-control? Why, in each instance, is it effective?