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The attachment working models concept: Among other things, we build script-like representations of secure base experiences

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Abstract
Mental representations are of central importance in attachment theory. Most often conceptualized in terms of working models, ideas about mental representation have helped guide both attachment theory and research. At the same time, the working models concept has been criticized as overly extensible, explaining too much and therefore too little. Once unavoidable, such openness is increasingly unnecessary and a threat to the coherence of attachment theory. Cognitive and developmental understanding of mental representation has advanced markedly since Bowlby's day, allowing us to become increasingly specific about how attachment-related representations evolve, interact, and influence affect, cognition, and behavior. This makes it possible to be increasingly specific about mental representations of attachment and secure base experience. Focusing on script-like representations of secure base experience is a useful first step in this direction. Here we define the concept of a secure base script, outline a method for assessing a person's knowledge/access to a secure base script, and review evidence that script-like representations are an important component of the working models concept.

Keywords: *Attachment, script, working models*

Introduction

One of Freud's most daring hypotheses was the notion that early experience is an important influence on later development. In order to preserve this insight, John Bowlby reconceptualized the nature of the child's tie to its mother and replaced Freud's ideas about motivation and mental representation with concepts from cognitive psychology. Bowlby discarded Freud's image of a clingy dependent infant, focused on drive reduction, and replaced it with a view of infants as much more competent, inherently motivated to exploration and mastery, and skilled at using one or a few primary attachment figures as a secure base from which to explore. He also borrowed from cognitive psychology the notion that experience can be represented as a ''working model.'' Such models influence memory, expectations, and response availability in subsequent social interactions (e.g., Schank, 1982, 1999; Schank & Abelson, 1977).

In the late 1970s, the Ainsworth Strange Situation made it possible to conveniently assess infants' ability to use a primary caregiver as a secure base. This led to a great deal of

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research, most supporting Bowlby's ideas about the origins and organization of infant attachment. Of course, early secure base experience leaves only sensorimotor traces; true working models require formal mental representations. With no way to assess attachment working models in adulthood, the first 20 years of attachment research focused almost exclusively on infancy, and hypotheses about the importance of early experience for later relationships went untested.

This changed with the development of the Adult Attachment Interview (AAI; George, Kaplan, & Main, 1985; Main & Goldwyn, 1994), a true watershed event in attachment study. It offered a means of assessing individual differences in adults' conceptualizations of their early relationship with parents. The subject's narrative (often 20–30 single spaced pages) is scored on almost two dozen scales, reflecting availability of early memories, separation experiences, positive and negative attitudes toward the relationship, defensiveness, passivity of speech, etc. In addition, the scorer assigns a single rating reflecting the coherence (connectedness and believability) of the narrative. Subjects are also classified as secure, insecure-dismissing, insecure-preoccupied, or unresolved with respect to loss or abuse. These classifications are central to data analyses in most research with the AAI.

The AAI has been a major influence on attachment study, finally allowing us to test the hypothesis that infant attachment serves as a prototype for attachment working models in adulthood. This key hypothesis has been confirmed in several studies using the Strange Situation in infancy and follow-up 15–20 years later with the AAI (Waters, Merrick, Treboux, Crowell, & Albersheim, 2000). It has also facilitated research on adult attachment and its links to personality, marriage, and parenting (e.g., Grossmann, Grossmann, & Waters, 2005; Sroufe, Egeland, Carlson, & Collins, 2005).

Despite its profound influence on attachment study, the AAI presents a number of difficulties. On a practical level, the AAI is difficult and expensive to use. So much so that it is primarily mastered and used by well-funded researchers already committed to Bowlby-Ainsworth attachment theory. This limits the likelihood that key ideas will be put to strong empirical tests and also limits the impact and range of inputs to attachment theory from other domains of study. Of course, such practical difficulties have to be weighed against the richness of the information obtained. Each interview yields a trove of biographical and emotionally laden material. But the classification procedure distills this richness and texture down to a very coarse taxonomy. Moreover, the criteria for each classification are highly configural. Rather different factors can lead to the same classification. Also, given the richness and texture of the AAI narrative, group and subgroup differences are multi-dimensional and difficult to isolate and examine as distinct causal influences on affect, cognition, and behavior.

More importantly, there is considerable distance between the AAI narrative and underlying attachment representations. The interview provides a sample of verbal behavior from which we make inferences about the "goodness" of underlying mental representations. But the content and organization of the underlying representations is not explicitly mapped. As a result, links to behavior remain correlational and the architecture of the underlying representations, mechanisms of acquisition and access, how they influence affect, cognition, and behavior, and the mechanisms underlying stability and change remain speculative. Simply put, the AAI works far better than we can currently explain. While it remains useful as a broadband measure of the coherence of attachment representations, it is important to begin examining specific modes of attachment representation, their links to AAI narratives, and their impact on affect, cognition, and behavior.

Mental models

Two key constructs, the secure base phenomenon and attachment working models, play pivotal roles in the logic of Bowlby's attachment theory. The theory is only as coherent as our understanding of these concepts and the relation between them. The secure base concept is relatively well defined and implemented in behaviorally specific measures. We also know a great deal about the caregiving antecedents of secure base behavior, stability, and change. The theoretical underpinnings of the working model concept are less examined and less settled. As Hinde (1988) has pointed out, the working models concept is used more often as a conceptual metaphor than in reference to specific cognitive structures.

The idea that early experience produced enduring mental representations was one of the key psychoanalytic insights that Bowlby sought to preserve by drawing on cognitive psychology. In search of an alternative formulation, Bowlby (1969/1982) drew upon Craik's (1943) notion of mental models. Although now famously influential, Craik's formulation was at best an informal sketch. And the first modern uses of his idea (e.g., Johnson-Laird, 1983) focused primarily on *ad hoc* models deployed in short-term memory to help in solving problems in formal logic, not at all the kind of representation needed to account for effects of early experience and not nearly the full range of representational modalities.

Early attachment history (and subsequent revisions and elaborations) inevitably leaves traces in multiple modes of representation, each with its own architecture, operating characteristics, and impact on later affect, cognition, and behavior. Current cognitive psychology provides a rich understanding of many different modes of mental representation. These range from non-verbal images (Pavio, 2006) and associations (Epstein, 1994; Kihlstrom, 1987), to verbally mediated meaning structures (e.g., Kintsch, 1974) and event representations (Nelson, 1986; Schank, 1982, 1999). Different modes of representation have different operating characteristics and implications for developmental analysis. Interpreting the working models concept in terms of specific cognitive architectures would be an important step toward theoretical coherence, developmental analysis, and more refined assessment.

The secure base script

Bretherton (e.g., 1987, 1990) was the first to point out the relevance of work by Schank (1982, 1999), Nelson (1986), and others on event schemas and scripts. These more enduring cognitive structures summarize commonalities (e.g., the main character(s), casual chain of events, and resolution or ending) across a class of events. For example, Schank & Abelson (1977) suggested that experience visiting various dining establishments results in a "restaurant script" (look at menu, order food, eat, pay, leave). Such cognitive structures generate expectations and help prepare and organize ongoing behavior (e.g., Sirigu, Zalla, & Pillon, 1995.) Scripts also have motivational significance, not because they have the power to impel behavior but because activating mental representations of goals and goal seeking behaviors lowers the threshold to behavior (e.g., Bargh, 1996). Importantly, scripts also play an important role in reconstruction and retrieval processes when we recall past experiences (e.g., Kuebli & Fivush, 1994).

The secure base concept is central to the logic of Bowlby's attachment theory (Waters & Cummings, 2000). Following Bretherton's suggestion, we have proposed that an individual's history of secure base support is represented in memory as a secure base script (e.g., Waters & Rodrigues-Doolabh, 2001). If secure base support has been consistent and

Table I. Key elements of the secure base script.

1. A child (or infant) and mother (or two adult attachment partners) are constructively occupied.
2. They are interrupted by an event or another actor. The infant (or one adult) is distressed.
3. There is a bid for help.
4. The bid for help is detected and help is offered.
5. The offer of help is accepted.
6. The help is effective in overcoming the difficulty.
7. The help also includes effective comforting and affect regulation.
8. The pair return to (or initiate new) constructive interaction.

coherent, the script should be complete, well consolidated, and readily accessible in relevant situations. If secure base support has been inconsistent, incomplete, or ineffective, the script should be less well configured and possibly less accessible.

Our definition of the secure base script is based on Bowlby-Ainsworth attachment theory and several generations of observational research on secure base behavior. According to Bowlby, a history of reliable and effective secure base support is eventually generalized as a expectation that your primary caregiver (indeed, secure base figures in general) will always be there for you, and that they will be wise enough and powerful enough to save you and restore balance to your ongoing activities. The key elements of the secure base script are outlined in Table I.

Individuals who have had consistent and coherent secure base support in infancy and childhood will have knowledge of this secure base script and ready access to it in all their secure base interactions. Furthermore, the script will be activated by secure base relevant events and goals (Bargh, 1996). Script-related responses will be readied whenever the script is accessed, the person will expect script-consistent behavior from attachment figures (Schank & Abelson, 1977), and they will mark events and experiences that violate script-based expectations (Schank, 1982, 1999). Once established, the secure base script will underpin generalized expectations about close relationships, even if a specific partner does not behave as expected. Most importantly, from the point of view of assessment, they will use the script to organize attachment related narratives and selectively retrieve script consistent events (Nelson, 1986). In contrast, individuals who have not experienced consistent secure base support will not organize and consolidate a secure base script along the lines outlined above. Instead they will have different or less consistent expectations in secure base interactions.

In brief, knowledge and access to the secure base script should make an important contribution to the smoothness of secure base interactions in childhood and beyond and should be accessible to empirical analysis in appropriate narrative production tasks. Given their impact on social perception, expectations, and memory, not to mention self-definition and goal structures (e.g., Carver & Schrier, 1990; Epstein, 1994; Horowitz, 1988; Lazarus, 1991), studying script-like representations of secure base experience should have far-ranging and fundamental implications for our understanding of attachment related cognitions, emotions, and behavior.

Assessing script knowledge and access

The prompt-word outline method

Script-like organization of familiar experiences is implicit knowledge. Neither children nor adults can reliably report how they have represented the temporal–causal structure of

repeated experiences. Nonetheless, such organization is quite apparent when they are asked to produce narrative passages. It is only necessary to obtain a self-produced narrative that has appropriate content, stays on topic, has sufficient content and elaboration to reveal the underlying script or schema structure, and is not unmanageably long. This is greatly facilitated by the use of prompt-word outlines.

The prompt-word outline method was initially developed by Harriet Waters for research on the development of prose production and recall skills (e.g., Waters, 1981; Waters & Hou, 1987). A prompt-word outline consists of a story title and 12–14 prompts word, printed in three columns on a single sheet of paper (approximately 18 point type; 3–4 words per column). Although the prompt words are selected to loosely suggest a prototypical story line, subjects are free to use the words in any way they like. The subject is given up to 2 minutes to review the words and formulate a story line. Then, beginning with the words in the left-most column, the person produces a story that includes each of the prompts word.

The first few words suggest a setting and some initial actors. The next few suggest key content and activities. And the last few words suggest some sort of story conclusion. The prompts word provide only a general framework for a passage. They are not trying to elicit a specific prototypical or "best" story. The same set of words can elicit any number of equally well-formed stories. Using prompt word sets ensures that most subjects will produce at least a basic passage. At the same time it provides practical boundaries on topic and passage length. In order to obtain spontaneous content and organization, the passages are always tape recorded rather than written. This is an important procedure because when writing we have time, indeed we are taught, to edit our thoughts to a greater extent than possible or necessary when speaking. It is also useful to minimize individual differences in writing skill and style.

In our work on attachment representations, we have constructed a wide range of prompt word sets that (to most people) imply secure base interactions. The first few prompt words indicate the actors (parent and child or two adults). Subsequent words point to some type of constructive interaction, an interruption, distress, and resolution included in the secure base script. Subjects who know and have good knowledge of and access to the secure base script produce stories organized around this script.

The research reported in this volume employed four secure base prompt word sets and two non-secure base (neutral) prompt word sets. Two of the secure base prompt word sets (*Baby's Morning*, *Doctor's Office*) involve mother–child interactions. Two (*Jane & Bob's Camping Trip, Sue's Accident*) involve adult–adult interactions.

The two additional prompt word sets (*Trip to the Park*, *Afternoon Shopping*) are based on familiar activities that do not ordinarily entail secure base interactions. These are included in order to provide discriminant validity vis a vis trait-like differences in story scriptedness and coherence. Typical passages are between 150 and 300 words.

Narratives produced using secure base prompt word sets are scored on a 7-point scale indicating the extent to which the passage is organized around the secure base script. This is easily recognized by scorers trained to recognize explicit or implied secure base structure[1,2]. The scale points range from "Extensive secure base script organization with substantial elaboration" to "No secure base script content is apparent; passage is primarily a list of events." The lowest score ("1") is reserved for passages in which the prompts word are used in a completely idiosyncratic way, with no secure base content (e.g., the passage takes the point of view of a bird watching from above or the story is entirely about how the mother manages to find her way to the doctor's office, both very improbable approaches to *Doctor's Office* prompt word set).

Scoring differs from that of the AAI in several respects. Most noticeably, passages can be scored almost as quickly as they can be read. Even difficult passages require only brief minutes rereading and parsing. Second, the scoring is based on structure rather than content. That is, attention is focused entirely on indications of secure base script use (see Table I). But the details of language use (e.g., passivity of speech, tense, errors), believability of the story (they are all pretend), state of mind inferences, and psychodynamic interpretations, or even frankly insensitive or conflicted sounding content, play no role in the scoring.

Table II presents a sample secure base prompt-word outline along with schematic stories constructed to illustrate the difference between secure base scripted and less scripted but nonetheless well organized narratives. Appendix A contains all of the prompt-word outlines used in this volume. Appendix B contains examples of full-length narratives with different degrees of secure base scriptedness.

Although both stories are of similar length and present positive interactions, only the first is organized around the secure base script. Note that the difference between the subjects is not motivation or intention to tell a secure base related passage. If the subject knows and has access to the secure base script, script related beliefs and expectations are activated and guide the task of organizing the prompts word into a passage. Subjects whose stories are clearly organized around a secure base script report that the prompts word clearly ''call out'' for this kind of story. Others simply do not see the secure base implication, even across several sets of secure base scripted prompts word.

The prompt-word outline procedure lends itself to a number of research designs and questions that are largely out of reach with other methods:

1. Constructing distinct but parallel prompt word sets allows multiple independent assessments. This allows us to increase reliability by aggregating scriptedness scores across several parallel prompt word sets. The availability of multiple prompt-word sets also makes it easy to ensure that results are not specific to a particular set of materials. It is also makes it possible to avoid contamination by using different test materials and in repeated measures and designs.
2. A recurring problem in AAI-type assessments is the inability to disentangle contributions and expectations of mother vs. father. This problem is easily resolved using

Table II. *Baby's Morning.*

mother	hug	teddy bear
baby	smile	lost
play	story	found
blanket	pretend	nap

Narrative with clear secure base script structure

A mother and baby were playing one morning. Mother would hide under a blanket and then jump out and the baby would smile and hug her and then do the same thing. Then they read a story. And then the baby wanted to play with his teddy bear but it was lost and he got upset. But Mother found it and said ''Here it is. He's ok.'' And the baby was happy and they played some more and then the baby took a nap.

Narrative lacking secure base script structure

A mother was watching her baby play with a blanket in his crib. He would smile and hug the blanket. After a while, the mother wanted to read him a story. She knew he was too little to understand but she liked sitting with him and his teddy bear and pretending to read to them. But today the teddy bear was lost. And by the time she found it, the baby was already taking a nap. So they didn't have a story today.

separate prompt-word sets that refer to me and my mother or me and my father. It is also easy to develop secure base prompt-word sets involving non-parental attachment figures such as teachers, mentors, or therapists.

3. As Bowlby pointed out, episodic and semantic memory representations of early experience can be quite different. The same individual can remember specific acts of insensitivity or even abuse and yet hold a generally positive representation of the same parent. Such distinctions cannot be disentangled in the AAI but are easily sorted out using relationship specific (first person; me and my child or me and my spouse) vs. generalized (third person; a mother and child or a husband and wife) prompt sets.
4. We can also construct prompt-word sets specific to parent–child vs. adult–adult relationships. This is helpful in research on the hypothesis that experience in parent–child relationships establishes a prototype that influences secure base relationships in adulthood.
5. The prompt word sets and the scriptedness scoring procedures are easily adapted for use in different family and cultural contexts.

Results

The notion that attachment representations include script-like representations of early secure base experience is only a hypothesis. In a series of recent studies, we have looked into (1) structure of such representations, and into links between (2) script knowledge and AAI coherence, (3) maternal script knowledge and infant Strange Situation classifications, (4) the presence of script-like secure base representations in a variety of cultures, and (5) mother–child interactions co-construction interactions that support script construction. We have also used the prompt-word outline method to examine the development and integration of attachment representations in adolescence and in mentoring relationships.

One of the key advantages of the prompt-word outline method is that it allows us to address questions about the structure and organization of attachment representations. One of the first issues we addressed concerned the generality versus specificity of secure base representations. Is there a single broadly generalized secure base script, or are parent–child and adult–adult-type relationships represented differently? Waters & Rodrigues-Doolabh (2001) addressed this in a community sample of adults by looking at the correlations among script knowledge scores from mother–child prompt word sets and adult–adult prompt word sets, and non-secure base materials. Neither mother–child nor adult–adult scores were significantly correlated with the scriptedness of non-secure base passages (see footnote 2), indicating that the prompt-word outline method is not simply assessing a general cognitive ability or narrative production skill.

Scores from mother–child prompt word sets were highly correlated ($r = .80 - .90$), as were scores from adult–adult prompt word sets. In addition, correlations $> .50$ indicated that a common secure base script is relevant to both types of relationship. This is an important result consistent with the notion that infant–mother and adult–adult relationships are similar in kind.

In further research on the relevance of script-like attachment representations to current attachment theory, Waters & Rodrigues-Doolabh, (2001) looked at links between secure base script knowledge and AAI coherence. The results indicate that, in a community adult sample, script knowledge highly correlated with AAI coherence ($r = .50 - .60$). Moreover, the correlations were comparable with mother–child and adult–adult prompt word sets.

In addition to demonstrating the relevance of script knowledge to current attachment theory, this is very useful information about the secure base relevance of the AAI. Indeed, correlations with secure base script knowledge seems a useful and easily implemented check on the comprehension and secure base relevance of AAI interviews across age and in different samples and cultures.

Two measures can be substantially correlated and yet share few, if any, of the same correlates. With this in mind, Tini, Corcoran, Rodrigues-Doolabh, & Waters (2003) examined links between maternal secure base script knowledge and infant Strange Situation classifications. Scores from several mother–child and adult–adult passages were averaged to yield a single reliable estimate of maternal script knowledge. When these were dichotomized, script scores ≥ 4 (at least some evidence of secure base scriptedness) versus < 4 (no evidence of secure base script use), concordance with secure–insecure Strange Situation classification was comparable to that summarized in van IJzendoorn's meta-analysis of AAI–Strange Situation concordance (van IJzendoorn, 1995). Demonstrating that script knowledge and AAI coherence are not only correlated but share important correlates provides important evidence of the relevance of secure base script knowledge to current attachment theory and research. It also strengthens the claim that script-like representations of the secure base phenomenon are an important component of what are generically referred to as attachment representations or working models.

We cannot take for granted that adults in other cultures organize or represent their close relationship along the same lines as adults in Western cultures. Working with the New York Attachment Consortium, Rodrigues-Doolabh, Wais, Zevallos, and Rodrigues (2001) and Rodrigues-Doolabh, Zevallos, Turan, & Green (2003) asked adult women from a wide range of cultures to produce stories from secure base prompt-word outlines. The cultures included Switzerland, Zimbabwe, Turkey, United Arab Emirites, and Peru. Prompt word sets were adapted in several cases to be appropriate to the respective cultures (e.g., camping is not a usual male–female activity for young adults in the UAE, this prompt word set was replaced with "The Lost Purse").

Results indicated that within each of these cultures, script knowledge scores were comparable to those in US samples mentioned above. In addition, the correlations among and between scores based on mother–child and adult–adult prompt word sets were similar to those in US samples. Although a wider range of cultures should be sampled, these results suggest that script-like representation of secure base experiences is not unique to adults living in middle-class, Western, industrial societies. As attachment theory predicts, secure base use and support are important themes across a wide range of cultures.

Finally, it is important to recognize that organized mental representations are not simply the passive residue of experience. Active construction and elaboration are also important. Accordingly, Guttmann-Steinmetz, Elliott, Steiner, & Waters (2003) have examined links between maternal secure base script knowledge and co-construction of secure base themes during story telling. Mothers were asked to help their preschool children tell stories suggested by a series of picture prompts. Separate sets of picture prompts suggested affectively positive and negative story themes. Mothers were tested in advance on the AAI and on secure base script knowledge. The interactions were video recorded and transcribed and scored for sensitivity to signals, cooperation versus interference with the child's efforts, affect regulation, creating a supportive co-construction context, and supporting content elaboration.

Results indicated that both the AAI and script knowledge were significantly related to the mothers' effectively helping the children construct a story from the picture prompts, elaborate on the picture prompt content, and relate the stories to their own experience.

This was most evident with the negative picture prompt sets. These interactions are examples of the ways in which maternal attachment representations contribute to cross generation consistency in attachment security. Although correlation with AAI coherence are useful and important, it is easier to see and investigate the mechanisms underlying co-construction interactions when the mothers' competence is described more specifically in terms of script knowledge. This is not to say that script knowledge is the only important mechanism. A wide range of cognitive, defensive, and experience specific factors are likely to contribute as well to such interactions. These are easier to appreciate when the effects of script knowledge can be measured and controlled.

Conclusion

The working models concept has played an important role in attachment theory and research and it will continue to do so. Having moved productively to the level of representation, it is now useful for theory and research to move to the level of greater specificity in assessing attachment representations. The secure base script concept and the prompt-word outline method are promising steps in this direction. The articles in this special issue demonstrate that the procedures we have developed work well in a variety of laboratories and are flexible enough to address a variety of new research questions.

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Notes

1 As scripts represent connected temporal–causal sequences, they are learned more or less as wholes, not piecemeal element by element. Thus, it is not necessary that each of the elements in Table I be explicitly mentioned in the passage. Explicit or implied use of several secure base elements is sufficient evidence to score the person as familiar with the secure base script. As in the Strange Situation, AAI, or typical attachment behavior scoring, one looks for converging indications rather than drawing strong inferences from isolated details.

2 Non-secure base passages are scored on a 1–7 scale indicating the extent to which the passage is organized around the non-secure base script used to generate the prompt-word outline. For example, a passage organized around the *Afternoon Shopping* script would refer to (or imply) traveling to the shopping area with a friend, looking at various items on sale, making some purchases, becoming tired, snacking, and returning home.

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Appendix A

Prompt-word outlines (attachment script assessment) and sample narratives.

A. *Baby's Morning* (mother – child attachment story)

mother	hug	teddy bear
baby	smile	lost
play	story	found
blanket	pretend	nap

B. *Doctor's Office* (mother – child attachment story)

Tommy	hurry	mother
bike	doctor	toy
hurt	cry	stop
mother	shot	hold

C. *Jane and Bob's Camping Trip* (adult – adult attachment story)

Jane	tent	campfire
Bob	wind	shadow
bags	collapse	sounds
hurry	upset	hug

D. *Sue's Accident* (adult – adult attachment story)

Sue	wait	home
road	Mike	dinner
accident	tears	bed
hospital	doctor	hug

E. *Trip to the Park* (neutral story, child)

Susie	swings	tired
bike	sandbox	bench
park	game	comics
friend	run	coke

F. *Afternoon Shopping* (neutral story, adult)

Emily	browse	hungry
car	buy	food
mall	money	talk
friend	gift	home

Appendix B

Sample attachment narratives.

1. *Baby's Morning* (secure base script)
Every morning, Mother went in to see baby as she lay in the crib. She was such a good baby. She would play and she would gurgle and she would play with her little mobile up above her head. And every morning that mother went in to baby; she found that baby kicked the blanket. So Mother would pick the baby up and she would give her a big, big hug and a nice

smile and lots of little kisses all over her face. Then they would go downstairs and they would have breakfast. Baby didn't like oatmeal too much. So Mother would make up a story and pretend that there was little teddy bear that would come to visit. And the teddy bear would come and baby would eat her oatmeal. But one day, they lost her little teddy bear. Mom had always made the story about the teddy bear, because baby loved her little teddy bear and would call her "teddy, teddy." And teddy bear was lost. Mother and baby looked all over for the bear, but they couldn't find it. They had looked high; they had looked low. So Mother brought baby up to bed, up to her little crib and there underneath the crib they found the teddy. Now baby was able to go to sleep. And every time baby went to sleep with the teddy she had a wonderful sound little nap.

2. *Baby's Morning* (no secure base script, matter of fact presentation of events)
It's six o'clock in the morning and the baby's morning begins. A loud cry from the crib awakens mother to a smiling happy baby, that wants to be fed, changed, and played with. Mom picks up the baby, tucked in the blanket, with a hug and a smile and takes care of the baby's needs. After an early breakfast, mom puts the baby in a playpen, while she begins her day. After she gets herself together, her and baby play a pretend game with the teddy bear. The teddy bear is good company for the baby because the baby is just learning to talk and the teddy bear is a good listener. The teddy bear is also a good teething ring, since the baby is beginning to teethe. After a little more play and another quick snack, the baby is put down for a nap.

3. *Baby's Morning* (no secure base script, atypical content, mom is nervous, teddy not found in time for nap)
A new mother woke up one of the first mornings she was alone with her baby to play. She took out the pink blanket, spread it on the floor, gave her new born baby a big hug, a smile and put her on the blanket. The mother was very nervous as this was the first time she was alone with her new baby. She sat on the blanket and played with her and started to tell her a pretend story of the three little bears. It was the only story she knew. As she was telling the story, she took out one of her new baby's teddy bears to play with it, to make her story seem more real, but the door bell rang and she got up to answer the door and when she came back, the teddy bear was lost. Now her new baby had fallen asleep and taken a nap. The mother panicked because she couldn't find the new teddy bear. She looked everywhere, under the couch, behind the door and in the couch. Then she found it, under her new born baby while she was taking a nap.

4. *Doctor's Office* (secure base script)
It was bright and sunny day. Tommy decided to go outside to ride his bicycle. He put on his helmet, he got on his bike and started to ride up and down the block. His mother told him to be careful not to ride too fast so he doesn't get hurt. Tommy was riding up and down the block for a while without any problem and then he decided to be a little more adventurous and wound up hitting a curb and falling over. Tommy realized he was very hurt and started to cry. When his mother heard him crying she hurried out the door and picked him up. She realized that he had been hurt pretty bad and she should take him to the doctor. In the car on the way to the doctor Tommy asked his mother if he needed to get a shot. And Tommy's mother said, "Well, it would depend on how hurt you are." So on the way to the doctor they stopped at a store and bought Tommy a toy, just in case he needed a shot so he wouldn't cry. When they got to doctor's office, the doctor decided that Tommy would need a shot, so his mother held him very close and told Tommy not to worry, that the shot would

only hurt for a minute and as soon as it was over they would stop for ice cream on the way home.

5. *Jane and Bob's Camping Trip* (secure base script)
Jane and Bob were all excited cause for their first year anniversary they were going on a camping trip to the Adirondacks. And Jane and Bob had woken up early and decided they were gonna pack up the car and head up to the north country. Jane, unfortunately, had quite a few bags to pack in the car. And Bob kept saying hurry up because traffic was starting to build on the roadway. When they got to the campsite, they set up the tent, and they went for a long walk in the woods to enjoy the out of doors. When they came back, they made a campfire, and sat near the campfire. And there were many sounds that were going on at the campfire, in the hillside; sounds like coyotes, and wolves, all sorts of things. And Jane was very upset, because there were shadows that were playing on the side of the tent. But that's okay because Bob said, ''There's nothing out there to be afraid of.'' They decided they were gonna go to bed. So they go to bed. And a big storm had come in to the area, and they didn't realize that a big storm was coming. And the wind started to howl like those coyotes and those wolves, and the tent started flapping around. It flapped so hard that it collapsed right on top of Jane and Bob. And Jane was so upset that their anniversary trip was ruined. But Bob looked at her, gave her a big hug and said, ''Don't worry honey, this will be an anniversary to remember.''

6. *Sue's Accident* (secure base script)
Sue was racing home from work with groceries in the car because she was ready to make dinner. She wanted to have a special dinner for Mike because he had just gotten a big promotion at work. Well the weather had turned ugly, and it started to rain. While Sue was driving on the road she had an accident. Luckily it wasn't serious, but just to be on the safe side the policeman said that, ''I would recommend you going to the hospital to just check out those bruises.'' So Sue went to the hospital. She got checked out by the doctor. She waited in the waiting room for Mike to get there. When Mike arrived, Sue had tears in her eyes because she was very shaken by the accident. The doctor said ''There's nothing to be worried about. Everything will be okay. Sue will just need to have some rest and relaxation for the next few day.'' So Mike went over to his wife, gave her a really big hug, and said, ''Why don't we go home honey?'' And on the way home, Sue remembered that all the food for dinner was in her car that was towed away to the repair shop. Seeing as they had nothing in the house to eat, they both made a big bag of popcorn, and they had a can of Kool Aid that was left over in the refrigerator. Afterwards they went to bed and Sue said, ''I'm so sorry. I planned this really big dinner for you.'' And Mike just gave her a really big hug, and said, ''The best kind of gift I have is you, home safe with me.''