APPROACH AND AVOIDANCE GOALS IN NARRATIVE STORYTELLING AS A PREDICTOR OF LIFE SATISFACTION

by

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The present study sought to explore potential relationships between life satisfaction scores and positive/negative affect of goal-oriented speech. Goals were evaluated by coding personal striving language in narrative interviews and life satisfaction was evaluated using the PROMIS General Life Satisfaction scale. Participants (n = 62) were recruited from Eugene and Portland, Oregon and were asked to complete a pre-survey, a narrative interview, a two-hour fMRI scan, and a post survey. I hypothesized that life satisfaction and approach/avoidance goals in narrative storytelling are correlated. Using a general linear model analysis, we found that there was a significant positive correlation between approach goals (M = 0.72, SD = 0.17) and avoidance goals (M = 0.72, SD = 0.17), \( \eta^2_p = 0.09, F(60,1) = 6.13, p = 0.016, b_1 = 0.44, 95\% CI [0.08, 0.80] \). We found no significant relationship between life satisfaction (M = 40.48, SD = 9.07) and approach goals (M = 0.72, SD = 0.17), \( \eta^2_p = 0.01, F(60,1) = 0.32, p = 0.576, b_1 = 3.87, 95\% CI [-9.92, 17.66] \). We found no significant relationship between life satisfaction (M = 0.72, SD = 0.17) and avoidance goals (M = 0.28, SD = 0.17), \( \eta^2_p = 0.01, F(60,1) = 0.32, p = 0.576, b_1 = -3.87, 95\% CI [-17.66, 9.92] \). Limitations of the study include the small sample size, limited sample demographics, and the fact that the data for this study was not collected specifically for this purpose as it is an offshoot of a different, larger dissertation. Future studies might benefit from larger, more diverse samples and methods that are designed to answer this specific question.
Acknowledgements

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Table of Contents

Introduction and Literature Review 7
Methods 13
  Participants 13
  Materials 13
  Procedure 15
Results 18
Discussion 22
  Conclusions 22
  Limitations 23
  Future Directions 24
Appendix 26
  Appendix 1 26
  Appendix 2 27
Bibliography 29
List of Figures

Figure 1: Approach goals by avoidance goals scatterplot 19

Figure 2: Approach goals by life satisfaction scatterplot 20

Figure 3: Avoidance goals by life satisfaction scatterplot 21
List of Tables

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics 19
Introduction and Literature Review

Each person wants to live the best life they possibly can – they want to be happy. Are there certain steps individuals can take to make this more likely? Research in the area of life satisfaction and positive psychology has been steadily growing in recent years. Among this research, individuals have looked at the many aspects of life that might have an impact on their overall life satisfaction, such as the self-help movement, diet/exercise culture, and work satisfaction. My research attempts to join this conversation by adding yet another layer to life satisfaction prediction – goal-oriented language in narrative storytelling.

Narrative storytelling is the process by which individuals discuss aspects of their life in an uninterrupted, stream of consciousness style. As my research attempts to determine a potential correlation between life satisfaction scores and narrative storytelling, it is paramount to discuss the current research in the area of storytelling. Within storytelling research, many factors have been examined: disasters, communication among the elderly, academic achievement, personal relationships, and career change.

In a 2017 study by Beatrice Pecorini, it was shown that storytelling by elderly individuals to those of younger generations increased their well-being and well-aging. Well-aging can be defined as aging in a happy manner regardless of health status whereas well-being is the status of living and development of a person (Pecorini 2017). In this study, elderly individuals were asked to retell their life story in recorded digital interviews that lasted between two and five minutes. Researchers determined that this intergenerational sharing allowed for the elderly to feel “important, recognized, useful, [and] motivated to achieve, which strengthen[ed] his assertiveness and self-esteem, and therefore his well-being” (Pecorini 2017, p. 2-3). This is similar to the current study, as interviews were stream of consciousness style and lasted
approximately five minutes in length. In the limitations of this section, the author urges future studies to examine this effect on the younger generation— a portion of what my study is trying to do.

Dunlop et al. (2022) looked at the narrative identities of college students in academic achievement in a longitudinal design. While this study looked at a younger generation of people, it focused only on one aspect of their life story by looking at academic successes and failures. In this study, college students were asked to either write about an academic success and an academic failure (condition one) or an academic failure and a redemptive success story (condition two). Researchers found that those in the second condition who discussed redemptive stories (those that start negative and become positive) had higher levels of life satisfaction throughout their time in college (Dunlop 2022). However, the authors also note that they have not determined what aspects of redemptive stories contribute to improvements in life satisfaction. The current study aims to refine this understanding of the aspects of storytelling that impact psychological well-being by examining whether a certain subset of stories correlates more with higher life satisfaction than others.

Where the previous two studies focused on the process of storytelling, my research attempts to find a correlation between life satisfaction and a specific aspect of narrative storytelling—goals. Goals have been defined as specific cognitive representations of aims, either desirable or undesirable, that a person uses to dictate behavior (Elliot & Thrash 2002). Traditionally, goals are specific to a given situation and are an essential aspect of self-regulation (Elliot & Thrash 2002, Elliot 2006). As goals provide the direction for the actions, they are an essential part of all motivation processes (Elliot 2006).
Many different types of goals exist, including achievement, performance, relationship, etc. However, a common distinction between goals are the following two broad categories – approach goals and avoidance goals which differ in valence. Approach goals are defined as behavior that is “instigated or directed by a positive/desirable event or possibility” (Elliot & Thrash 2002 p. 804) Avoidance goals are the opposite in that the behavior is “instigated or directed by a negative/undesirable event or possibility” (Elliot & Thrash 2002 p. 804). Elliot revised these definitions in his 2006 analysis “The Hierarchical Model of Approach-Avoidance Motivation” to state that approach goals can be defined by “the energization of behavior by, or the direction of behavior toward, positive stimuli (objects, events, possibilities).” Similarly, avoidance goals would be “the energization of behavior by, or the direction of behavior away from negative stimuli (objects, events, possibilities).” Here, goals are broken into two parts, energization and direction. The energization of a goal is essentially the idea of starting work or action, it is the motivation behind goals, the call to action. The direction is the way in which the action/behavior is directed or oriented at (Elliot 2006). If goals were a bow and arrow, energization is the pulling back of the string where direction is the target you are aiming at.

Research into motivation and goals has been documented since the ancient Greek philosopher Democritus (460-370 B.C.E.) wrote about the pursuit of pleasure and the avoidance of pain. Democritus and his students argued that these aims were the basis of all human action, which was echoed by 17th century philosopher Jeremy Betham when he stated “Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, pain and pleasure. It is for them alone to point out what we ought to do, as well as to determine what we shall do” (Betham, 1779/1879, p.1). In psychology specifically, these concepts were used in writings by William
James and Sigmund Freud. In modern psychological work, the determination has been made that motivation and cognition are intertwined (Elliot 2006).

Research on this topic suggests that humans evaluate everything they encounter on a positive/negative spectrum upon first interaction. After such a judgment is made, approach or avoidance behavior follows (Elliot 2006). In fact, it has been noted that these motivations and behaviors have been observed across species and time indicating that they play an important role in successful life (Elliot 2006). Likely these motivations in early animals and humans were due to biological needs of food, shelter, and reproduction. However, as time went on and evolution occurred humans adapted approach and avoidance to be used in social situations as well.

With this shift it is seen that approach and avoidance motivation can be either physical or psychological movement. An individual will determine if the stimulus is positive or negative and then move toward or away (respectively) from it either figuratively or literally (Elliot 2006). Additionally, the movement can be for something that is absent or that is currently present. Approach goals encompass moving toward something positive as well as keeping a current positive situation/stimulus where avoidance goals move away from negative stimuli as well as continuing to avoid present negative situations/stimuli (Elliot 2006).

In a 2002 study, researchers Elliot & Thrash found support for a two-factor structure of approach temperament and avoidance temperament. They were able to link the traits of extraversion, positive emotionality, and the Behavioral Activation System (BAS) (a part of the nervous system that facilitates behavior and produces positive effects) discussed by Gray in 1970 to approach motivations and temperament. Similarly, links were found between neuroticism, negative emotionality, and Behavioral Inhibition System (BIS) (the second aspect of the nervous
system that inhibits behavior and produces negative effects) to produce avoidance temperament (Elliot 2002).

These temperaments produce a sensitivity to either positive/desirable (approach) or negative/undesirable (avoidance) stimuli which is followed by a behavioral predisposition toward such stimuli. Given the current literature on these topics, the goal of this study is to determine if these proclivities also relate to speech (rather than just behavior). If in fact there is a link between speech and approach/avoidance behaviors, I wanted to see if it is possible to use these evolutionary findings to predict life satisfaction, and potentially improve it.

My research aims to determine if individuals’ self-reported life satisfaction scores align with the topics discussed in stream of consciousness stories. If we are able to predict life satisfaction from the content of speech, it is possible for speech to inform life satisfaction scores. This would allow people to be more aware of theirs, and others’, life satisfaction and give them an avenue to improve it. Improving life satisfaction has been a key aspect of life for many centuries now, and if storytelling is able to improve it, we would have a new way to achieve our century’s old goal.

My study aims to answer multiple questions, all stemming from the possibility of a correlation between narrative storytelling and life satisfaction scores. My hypotheses are as follows: (1) I hypothesize that if an individual has higher life satisfaction scores they will discuss more approach goals in their narrative interviews, (2) I hypothesize that if an individual has lower life satisfaction scores they will discuss more avoidance goals in their narrative interviews, (3) I hypothesize that these effects will remain even when we look at subcategories of narratives split up by valence in that (a) Participants with higher life satisfaction scores will discuss more approach goals in both positive and negative narratives (rather than just with the one that best fits
the goal type - approach with positive and avoidance with negative) and (b) Participants with lower life satisfaction scores will discuss more avoidance goals in both positive and negative narratives (rather than just with the one that best fits the goal type - avoidance with negative and approach with positive).
Methods

Participants

This study collected data from sixty-two individuals grouped into thirty-one dyads ($N = 62$) aged 18-48 ($M = 22.8, SD = 0.673$). These individuals were recruited from Eugene and Portland, Oregon by individuals from the Computational Social Neuroscience (CSN) lab, housed in the university’s psychology department, who handed out flyers to people on campus. They were recruited for the main study of the CSN lab, looking for neural representations of the self. In order to achieve this goal, researchers compared listening to stories of the self with stories of known others, and due to this, individuals must be recruited in dyads. This fact is not pertinent to the current study, but rather to the overall self-other narrative study of the CSN lab. Participants within each dyad knew each other to some degree, whether that be friends, roommates, partners, etc. After completing all required parts of the study, approximately four hours over multiple days, participants were paid 60 dollars and got to take home a copy of their fMRI scan. Informed consent was collected from each individual prior to the initial Qualtrics survey, interviews, and fMRI scans.

Materials

Pertinent to this study, individuals completed a life satisfaction questionnaire during their pre-interview survey. Our lab used the PROMIS General Life Satisfaction scale which is comprised of ten statements. Some examples include 1. “In most ways, my life is close to perfect”, 2. “If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing”, 3. “I am satisfied with my life”, 4. “So far I have gotten the important things I want in life” and 5. “My life situation is excellent”. For each of these questions, the participant was asked to rate the level to which they
agree with the statement on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree), with 3 being neither agree nor disagree.

Narrative stories were collected through in-person, one-on-one interviews between the participant and a researcher from the CSN lab. These interviews were recorded and transcribed for behavioral coding. Transcription was done using Otter.ai software and recordings were processed through Adobe Audition. Interviews were broken into five sections each approximately five minutes in length, for a total interview time of twenty-five minutes.

Narrative stories were coded by research assistants (RA) in the CSN lab. Each narrative was examined for approach/avoidance strivings, intrapersonal/interpersonal strivings, and the type of goal - either current concerns, life tasks, personal projects, or personal strivings. The only aspects of each story that were coded were goals, meaning that inclusion criteria were determined in order to make it explicit for every RA to know what they were looking for.

Inclusion criteria were as follows: (1) the goal must be in present or future tense, (2) a goal can only have one subject and therefore some sentences must be split into multiple goals, and (3) the goal must contain goal-oriented language that “triggers” the goal. Examples of goal-oriented language include “want”, “don’t want”, “would” (and any variation thereof, for example “I’d”), and hope. The main example used to show non-goal language was “have to”. The decision was made that “have to” does not have a strong enough conviction and is more of an obligation or expectation rather than a desire. Each goal found in a story gets coded as either approach or avoidance and intrapersonal or interpersonal and as a current concern, life task, personal project, or personal striving. Coding guidelines for approach/avoidance and interpersonal/interpersonal strivings were adapted from the Personal Strivings code (McAdams 2013). Codes for each goal
type were adapted from their original code- (current concerns (Klinger 1977), life tasks (Cantor 1990), personal projects (B.R. Little 1989), and personal strivings (Emmons 1986)).

Approach goals are goals that are moving toward something, and it is typically a positive thing that an individual wants. On the other hand, avoidance goals are those that an individual is trying to move away from and are typically negative (Elliot 2002). In addition to this, a goal is either primarily referencing the teller of the story (intrapersonal goals) or they are referencing other people (interpersonal goals). The final section of coding deals with the type of goal that is being discussed. A current concern is a goal that is talked about in the present tense and is what the storyteller is actively doing to reach a goal. For example, finishing writing this book or planning a summer vacation in Maine. Life tasks are very similar; however, they are more abstract and take place over longer ranges of time (succeeding academically and making friends are both examples). Goals that are similar to both current concerns and life tasks are personal strivings. These are goals that are broad and are not restricted to a certain period or life transition, but that the person is also making steps to achieve (e.g., Trying to appear attractive to the opposite sex or trying to be a better listener). Slightly different than those already described are personal project goals. These are larger goals that a person wants to achieve but they require smaller goals and steps in order to achieve them (e.g., Finding a part-time job, or for first years, graduating college).

See Appendix 1 for examples of this behavioral coding manual as well as example codes from the stranger condition.

Procedure

The first step in data collection was a pre-interview online survey participants completed. This survey included questions on a variety of demographic (gender, sex, race, and ethnicity),
self (personality, empathy, self-esteem, self-efficacy, social anxiety, life satisfaction, and depression), and other (closeness and strength of relationship with partner) topics. In total, the survey included 248 questions, 145 of those were related to the self while the remaining 103 questions were related to the partner they participated with. The current study focuses on only the life satisfaction portion of this questionnaire. A time to come to the CSN lab to complete the interview was then scheduled.

Interviews took place on the University of Oregon’s campus. Participants had their temperature taken, looked over symptoms of COVID-19 and denied having any, and completed a contact tracing form following CDC guidelines. An informed consent form was then signed.

The interview was broken into five sections, each lasting around five minutes, for a total interview time of around forty-five minutes (including all consent forms and questions from participants). The narrative interview consisted of answering five broad questions in a stream of consciousness style: peak experience, positive future, nadir experience, negative future, and personal ideology. Interviewers asked an open-ended question about the section to give the participants a place to start (for example: “please describe in detail a peak experience, or something like it, that you have experienced some time in your past. Tell me exactly what happened, who was involved, what you did, what you were thinking and feeling, what impact this experience had upon you, and what this experience says about who you were or who you are”) and refrained from commenting unless needed. Prompting was given by interviewers only if participants stopped talking before the five minutes were done. Anything spoken by the interviewer was removed from the final audio file and the five sections were broken into their own files to allow for easier transcription checking.
Audio files were imported into the online transcript creation system Otter.ai. After all transcriptions were checked for accuracy by at least four researchers, behavior coding on the stories began as described above.

Following the interview, participants signed a future studies consent form, were paid, and scheduled their fMRI. The fMRI portion of the procedure pertains only to the broader purpose of the CSN lab (a graduate dissertation) and is not important for the purposes of the current study.

For the purposes of this analysis, only positive and negative future stories were coded. The other narratives collected, positive and negative past and personal ideology, were all edited and transcribed (though not coded) and could be used for future analysis.
Results

The descriptive statistics (means, standard deviation, minimums, and maximums) for all goal measures can all be found in Table 1. Using a general linear model analysis, we found that there was a significant positive correlation between approach goals \((M = 0.72, SD = 0.17)\) and avoidance goals \((M = 0.28, SD = 0.17)\), \(\eta^2_p=0.09, F_{(60,1)} = 6.13, p = 0.016, b_1=0.44 \text{ 95%CI}[0.08,0.80]\). This relationship is depicted in Figure 1.

After establishing a significant relationship between the two goal types we are able to move on to determining if there is a relationship between goal type and life satisfaction. First, we summed the raw frequency scores for approach and avoidance goals to create a new variable of total goals. Doing this allows for a percentage variable to be created by dividing a participants approach goals by their total goals spoken. In doing so the participant, in effect, becomes their own control, taking out the variability in the model that comes from certain people talking more than others in general.

Using a general linear model analysis, and the new variables created, we found no significant relationship between life satisfaction \((M = 40.48, SD = 9.07)\) and approach goals \((M = 0.72, SD = 0.17)\), \(\eta^2_p=0.01, F_{(60,1)} = 0.32, p = 0.576, b_1=3.87, \text{ 95%CI}[-9.92, 17.66]\). See Figure 2 for a scatterplot of this data. Similarly, using a general linear model analysis we found no significant relationship between life satisfaction \((M = 40.48, SD = 9.07)\) and avoidance goals \((M = 0.28, SD = 0.17)\), \(\eta^2_p=0.01, F_{(60,1)} = 0.32, p = 0.576, b_1=-3.87, \text{ 95%CI}[-17.66, 9.92]\). See Figure 3 for a scatterplot of this data.
Table 1

This table shows descriptive statistics run.

**Descriptives**

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<td>0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximum</td>
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<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1

Scatterplot depicting positive correlation between approach and avoidance goals.
Figure 2

Scatterplot depicting no correlation between life satisfaction and approach goals.
Figure 3

Scatterplot depicting no correlation between life satisfaction and avoidance goals.
Discussion

Conclusions

The goal of this study was to determine if there was a correlation between approach and avoidance goals in narrative storytelling and life satisfaction. I hypothesized that there would be a positive correlation between the variables in that those with higher self-reported life satisfaction scores would use more approach goals and those with lower self-reported life satisfaction scores would use more avoidance goals.

A linear correlation showed support for the idea that approach and avoidance goals are positively correlated with one another. This correlation is important as it demonstrates a connection between our goal types, but in the end only provides support for the idea that individuals who use more goal-oriented language do so for both approach and avoidance goals – in essence those who talk a lot, talk a lot. It is possible that what we found is further support for the research done by Elliot on temperaments, people may have certain tendencies towards using goal-oriented language as a whole, without regard to their life satisfaction.

Substantively, we found that neither goal type is correlated with life satisfaction reports. This presents two possibilities, the first of which is that there is no relationship to be found - goal oriented speech has nothing in common with life satisfaction.

While we can’t draw conclusive interpretations from this study, it is possible that different aspects of narratives support life satisfaction outside of goals, such as accomplishments (either past or present). If an individual discusses their past and present accomplishments, it might show their current satisfaction with life in the form of contentment and appreciation.

However, there is also the second possibility that these variables are correlated in some way that the current study and analysis were unable to detect. The methods and procedure for
this project were created in order to answer the research question of neural representations of the self. As such the dyadic nature, survey measures, interview topics, and fMRI were all established to achieve this goal. It is possible that this procedure is not conducive to answering the research question attempted in the current study.

Additionally, perhaps the fact that the interviews were done between strangers changed the ways in which participants spoke. If this plays a role, maybe having two friends talk to each other and share their narratives would give more promising results as they are more comfortable with their friend than a stranger. Other considerations with this design would allow past shared experiences and trust to play a part.

This type of storytelling with friends would also, hopefully, account for the approval seeking behavior that everyone engages in with strangers. We project what we want others to think we feel rather than talking about how we actually feel. If this disconnect could be avoided and the “true” goals were spoken it is still possible that these variables could be correlated.

Limitations

One large restriction on this study exists in the sample size due to the cost associated with running fMRI scans. It is possible that a larger sample size could have been reached without this added restriction. Similarly, there was exclusion criteria in place for all parts of the study due to the fMRI and dyadic aspects such as no permanent retainers, no left handedness, and coordination with a close friend. While it is possible that those excluded were random, a larger sample without these restrictions may have different characteristics that would lend themselves to be a better representation of the general population.

Due to time restraints the only stories that were included in analysis were positive and negative future narratives. There is the potential that analysis would have benefited from
analyzing the other categories of narratives collected (positive and negative past, as well personal ideologies).

It is also important to call attention to the multiple ways in which the COVID-19 global pandemic impacted each person. This event may have shifted the way in which people talk with others and the degree to which they are vulnerable and truthful about painful and positive experiences in their lives. Additionally, they may have had shifted goals for the future due to the pandemic that would not have existed before. These potential shifts in beliefs and speech patterns may have impacted how subjects answered the interview questions as well as our ability to find a correlation between speech and life satisfaction.

All the data collected for this study was done in a post-pandemic world, where researchers were beginning to return to in person practices after restrictions were lessened. This may have played a role in the ways in which the data was collected as individuals were getting back into working with other people in person.

**Future Directions**

Future studies would benefit from a larger, more diverse sample size in conducting a study similar to the present one. The sample size for this type of analysis could have been improved and without the added measures and procedure (such as the fMRI and additional questionnaires) a larger sample size is extremely possible to obtain.

Additionally, future studies might want to rework the procedures themselves. This could be in the form of adjusting the survey measures to only include questions about the self or only life satisfaction measures. What is important to keep constant in future studies is the naturalistic content of the stimuli - interview questions. By having the participants speak about events in their own lives, we were able to stimulate real-world conversation and speech patterns. As the
world is not perfectly controlled and devoid of emotion, this type of interview structure allows for more easily generalizable results should they be significant with different sample sizes or procedures.

Additional research could focus on other aspects of speech and stories - such as the past and personal ideology subcategories that were collected but not analyzed. Perhaps there are different conclusions to be drawn based on what type of speech is being analyzed.

The ultimate goal of this research was to help determine a way in which individuals in their everyday lives could inspire a happier, more satisfied existence. In doing so, there was potential to inform therapeutic practices and improve our society’s need to better ourselves through mantras or positively affected speech. There is still a chance for this work to be done and future studies should attempt to recreate this correlation in an attempt to rule out the possibility that statistically significant results were not found due to the sample size or procedure.
Appendix

Appendix 1

The codes for the Stranger Narrative positive past taken from the coding workshop provided to all coders.

- Positive Past
  - Approach
    - “I still chase that feeling”
  - Avoidance
  - Intrapersonal
    - “I still chase that feeling”
  - Interpersonal
  - Current Concerns
  - Life Tasks
  - Personal Projects
  - Personal Strivings
    - “I still chase that feeling”
  - Here is what my spreadsheet looks like for positive past

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</table>
Appendix 2

The codes for the stranger narrative Positive Future taken from the coding workshop provided to all coders.

Positive Future

- Approach
  - "I want to live for something. And for someone or someone’s right."
  - "I want a family"
  - "I want to foster my kids lives"
  - "I want a marriage, that’s kind, respectful"
  - "I want to dedicate myself to others, in whatever I do."
  - "I want to have enough free time in my job to be able to spend time with my kids."
  - "I want to have strong friendships"
  - "I want to meet people of every variety, everywhere"
  - "I want to travel"
  - "I want to know as much as there is to know about the things I care about"
  - "I want to see some of it"
  - "I’d like to experience what life has to offer, experience as much as I can just give me all of it"

- Avoidance
  - "I want my life to be more or less frictionless"

- Intrapersonal
  - "I want to live for something. And for someone or someone’s right."
  - "I want to travel"
  - "I want to know as much as there is to know about the things I care about"
  - "I want to see some of it"
  - "I’d like to experience what life has to offer, experience as much as I can just give me all of it"
  - "I want my life to be more or less frictionless"

- Interpersonal
  - "I want a family"
  - "I want to foster my kids lives"
  - "I want a marriage, that’s kind, respectful"
  - "I want to dedicate myself to others, in whatever I do."
  - "I want to have enough free time in my job to be able to spend time with my kids."
  - "I want to have strong friendships"
  - "I want to meet people of every variety, everywhere"

- Current Concerns
  - N/A
Life Tasks
- "I want to live for something. And for someone or someone’s right."
- "I want a family"
- "I want to foster my kids’ lives"
- "I want a marriage, that’s kind, respectful"
- "I want to dedicate myself to others, in whatever I do."
- "I want to have enough free time in my job to be able to spend time with my kids."
- "I want to have strong friendships"
- "I want to meet people of every variety, everywhere"
- "I want to travel"
- "I want to know as much as there is to know about the things I care about"
- "I want to see some of it"
- "I’d like to experience what life has to offer, experience as much as I can just give me all of it"
- "I want my life to be more or less frictionless"

Personal Projects
- N/A

Personal Strivings
- N/A

Example of my spreadsheet for positive future

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Bibliography


Bibliography: Other works used to understand the academic conversation:


