

Title

Mother, Father, and I: A cross-cultural investigation of adolescents' intergenerational narratives and well-being

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Abstract

Cultural differences in autobiographical memories are linked to differences in self-understanding and well-being. This study investigated how vicarious memories of family events, expressed in intergenerational narratives, are also important for well-being. New Zealand adolescents (N=263) from three cultural groups (Chinese, Māori, and European; 12–21 years) told narratives about their mothers' and fathers' childhood. Narratives were coded for event valence, topic, thematic coherence, subjective perspective, relationships, and identity connections. Regardless of culture and age, adolescents' self-esteem was uniquely related to using subjective perspective terms in mothers' stories, and to telling thematically coherent fathers' stories, controlling for personality traits and personal narratives. However, the links to well-being were not always positive for New Zealand Māori and European adolescents, possibly due to the unique cultural-historical context in which these narratives were situated. Further research using both quantitative and qualitative methods could shed light on the delicate relationship between intergenerational narratives and adolescent development.

General Audience Summary

Autobiographical memories are vital for our sense of self and well-being, and culture shapes how we integrate these personal memories into our personal identity. Intergenerational narratives from one's family, such as the stories adolescents know and tell about their parents' childhoods, also contribute to identity development and well-being. Yet, to date, we know almost nothing about the ways in which intergenerational narratives contribute to personal identity and well-being across different cultures. In this study, we collected intergenerational narratives from three cultural groups of adolescents in New Zealand (Chinese, Māori, and European, aged 12 to 21 years) and investigated the unique contributions of intergenerational narratives to adolescent well-being (e.g., depression, self-esteem, and life satisfaction).

Adolescents' stories about their mothers and fathers as children were coded for emotional valence, topic, coherence, internal state content (thoughts and feelings), and connections drawn between adolescents and their parents. Across the whole sample, adolescents were more likely to recall positive or neutral, as opposed to negative, intergenerational stories. The most common topics were relationships, leisure, and accident/injury/illness, with few gender and cultural differences. Regardless of culture and age, adolescents' self-esteem was uniquely related to including internal state content in mothers' stories, and to telling coherent fathers' stories, above and beyond the role of adolescents' own personality traits and personal narratives. However, the links to well-being were not always positive for New Zealand Māori and European adolescents, possibly due to the unique cultural-historical context in which these stories were situated.

Overall, our findings suggest more similarities than differences in the way that adolescents across cultural groups recall intergenerational narratives to inform their identity and well-being.

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A critical function of autobiographical memory is to create an identity that continues across time and space (Fivush, 2011, 2019; Wang, 2013). We re-construct autobiographical memories into coherent and meaningful life narratives that define who we are (McAdams, 1985; McAdams & McLean, 2013). Importantly, identity is socially constructed within specific cultural settings and thus extends beyond the individual self (e.g., personality and self-concept) to include family history, ethnicity, and language (Oyserman & Markus, 2014). Narratives about parents' and grandparents' childhoods, referred to as intergenerational narratives — a form of vicarious family memory — are also linked to identity development and well-being (Merrill & Fivush, 2016). **Intergenerational narratives may play an especially powerful role** during adolescence when identity formation is the key developmental milestone (Erikson, 1968). However, to the best of our knowledge, no study has examined intergenerational narratives in relation to well-being across cultures, or relative contributions of personal narratives and other individual variables.

Intergenerational Narratives, Identity Development, and Culture

Personal and family reminiscing is ubiquitous (Wang, 2016). The ecological systems model of family narratives (Figure 1, Fivush & Merrill, 2016, p. 308) places autobiographical memory at the core of this ecological system, at all points interacting with shared family narratives, intergenerational narratives, and cultural history, to create an identity that is embedded within specific sociocultural contexts. Intergenerational narratives may play a particularly significant role in adolescent identity development in at least two ways (Fivush, Bohanek, & Zaman, 2010; Thomsen & Vedel, 2019; Zaman & Fivush, 2013).

First, stories provide models of how to understand people and experiences (Bruner, 1987; McAdams, 2019). Intergenerational narratives, more specifically, pass down both family and cultural history, values, and traditions, creating an interconnected web of stories that provide adolescents with particular ways of understanding the world that they internalize (Goodman, 1978; Wang, 2013). Second, intergenerational narratives are often told for specific functions in specific contexts (Merrill, Booker & Fivush, 2019). These narratives help adolescents understand their current experiences in light of parental experiences, and model to them specific life lessons for identity understanding and growth. The connections that adolescents draw between intergenerational narratives and their own personal narratives directly influence how adolescents construct their identity (Fivush, 2019; Wang, 2018).

Although there is extensive research on cultural- and age-related variations in autobiographical and family reminiscing (Fivush & Wang, 2005; Reese et al., 2014; Wang, 2004a), only one study to date has examined cross-cultural differences in intergenerational narratives. Reese, Fivush, Merrill, Wang, and McAnally (2017a) collected intergenerational narratives from adolescents who identified with three cultural groups in New Zealand (Chinese, Māori, and European). Because there is a strong emphasis on oral history in contemporary Māori communities (Reese, Hayne, & MacDonald, 2008) and the Confucian philosophy places a high value on respect for one's parents and ancestors (filial piety) for Chinese communities, intergenerational narratives may play a unique role in these communities (Wang, 2018). In line with these cultural values, New Zealand Chinese and Māori adolescents' intergenerational narratives included more connections to their own identity than those of New Zealand European adolescents. New Zealand Chinese adolescents also told more thematically coherent intergenerational narratives than did other participants in the study. **Across all three cultural groups, relative to younger adolescents, older adolescents**

incorporated more internal thoughts and feelings of the parental protagonist into their intergenerational narratives to convey the parents' perspectives.

Narratives and Well-Being

Narratives of significant personal events are linked to psychological well-being. For instance, Adler et al. (2016) found that adults who narrated highly coherent turning-point events and those who resolved negative life events reported lower depression and higher self-esteem and life satisfaction. Personal event narratives (especially positive self-event connections) are also positively linked to well-being for older adolescents (e.g., Banks & Salmon, 2013; McLean, Breen, & Fournier, 2010; Merrill, Waters, & Fivush, 2016; Mitchell, Reese, Salmon, & Jose, 2020). The link between personal narratives and well-being is moderated by culture, such that detailed narratives are associated with well-being among European Americans but with ill-being among Asians (Wang, Hou, Koh, Song, & Yang, 2018).

Given that intergenerational narratives are often told to model an older generation's personal growth, they may reduce the internal conflict adolescents experience when facing similar developmental tasks, and therefore contribute to well-being. There is emerging literature to support such a connection. For instance, the more children know about their family history in response to a questionnaire measure, the higher their self-esteem (Duke, Lazarus, & Fivush, 2008). Merrill, Srinivas, and Fivush (2017) found that emerging adults who narrated highly coherent intergenerational narratives about their parents' lives also scored higher on measures of autonomy, personal growth, purpose in life, and self-acceptance. Fivush and Zaman (2011) showed a positive link between the connections female adolescents draw between themselves and their mothers and emotional well-being. However, all these studies are based on mostly white, middle-class samples. Given the close

associations among culture, narratives, identity, and well-being, intergenerational narratives may manifest variably across cultures in relation to well-being.

The Current Study

The present study aims to delineate the unique contribution of intergenerational narratives to adolescent well-being from a cross-cultural perspective. It draws on personal and intergenerational narratives from Reese and colleagues' sample of New Zealand Māori, Chinese, and European adolescents (Reese et al., 2017a; Reese et al., 2017b). We reasoned that Māori and Chinese adolescents, **who grew up under the influences of multiple cultural systems**, would be more likely than New Zealand European adolescents to acquire a bi-cultural sense of self (Jose & Schurer, 2010). These different self-views may influence the extent to which New Zealand Māori and Chinese adolescents incorporate intergenerational narratives into their identity, with implications for well-being.

With the same sample of adolescents, we have previously found that personal narratives uniquely contributed to adolescent well-being across three cultural groups and that age and culture moderated these links (see Reese et al., 2017b; cf. McLean et al., 2010). The current paper extends the previous findings by examining the unique contribution of intergenerational narratives to adolescent well-being in these three cultural groups, while controlling for personality traits and personal narratives that were significantly related to well-being in Reese et al. (2017b). **We expected the link between intergenerational narratives and well-being to vary as a function of adolescents' culture, whereby stronger links could exist for those who are likely to acquire an interdependent self-construal (e.g., New Zealand Māori and Chinese adolescents). We did not have specific hypotheses as a function of age because intergenerational narratives have been linked to well-being across adolescence in prior research.**

Method

Participants

A total of 270 New Zealand adolescents (12 to 21 years of age) took part in a study investigating the development of narrative identity in adolescence. Adolescents self-identified as primarily Chinese (NZC; $n = 88$, 50 girls), Māori (NZM; $n = 91$, 45 girls), or European (NZE; $n = 90$, 47 girls); however, many also identified with another ethnicity (23% for Chinese, 50% for Māori, and 18% for European). **All NZC participants were either first- or second-generation migrants with parents born overseas.** Similar to previous studies with the same sample, adolescents were grouped into three age groups: younger adolescents (YA; 12-14 years, $n = 80$, 39 girls), mid-adolescents (MA; 15-17 years, $n = 92$, 52 girls), and older adolescents (OA; 18-21 years; $n = 97$, 51 girls). Participants were recruited from high schools and tertiary institutions in two cities and one town across New Zealand. Researchers offered for the interview to be conducted in English, Te Reo Māori, or Mandarin, but all adolescents chose to be interviewed in English.

Procedure

Informed consent was obtained from adolescents and their parents (for adolescents younger than 16 years of age) before adolescents took part in the **study. Participants first completed a life story interview, during which they were first asked to tell their life story as chapters in a book, followed by prompts to recall several critical life events (e.g., a low point, a high point, and a turning point event; see Reese et al., 2014). Participants then took part in the intergenerational narrative interview to recall events that happened to their parents during the parents' childhood or adolescence (see Reese et al., 2017a).** The interviews took place either in a quiet room at a high school or at a university laboratory.

The prompt for the intergenerational narratives was adapted from Zaman and Fivush (2011):

Up to now we've been talking about your life, but now I'd like to hear a little bit about your parents' lives, in particular the stories that you might know about your mum and dad when they were kids. So these are not experiences that you remember, but stories that you might have been told. Can you tell me a story that you know about your mum (dad) when she (he) was a kid?

We counterbalanced the order of the mother and father stories within cultural group. Once adolescents exhausted their free-recall of the event, we asked further specific questions about the age of the parent and the reason they told the story, not included here (see Reese et al., 2017a).

Once the interviews were completed, adolescents filled out a battery of questionnaires regarding their well-being, personality traits, and ethnic identity. Aspects of adolescent well-being pertinent to the current paper are: depression, measured by the 30-item Reynolds Adolescent Depression Scale – 2nd ed. (Reynolds, 2002; Cronbach's alpha for NZC = .89, NZM = .90, NZE = .91); self-esteem, measured by the 10-item Rosenberg Self-Esteem Inventory (Rosenberg, 1965; Cronbach's alpha for NZC = .69, NZM = .73, NZE = .77); and satisfaction with life, measured by the five-item Satisfaction With Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larson, & Griffin, 1985; Cronbach's alpha for NZC = .79, NZM = .74, NZE = .77). Personality traits were measured with John and Srivastava's (1999) Big Five Inventory for extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, neuroticism and openness (Cronbach's alpha for NZC = .77; NZM = .70; NZE = .73).

Coding

All interviews were transcribed verbatim, and coding reliability was conducted on 20-25% of the sample. Each intergenerational narrative was coded for topic, valence, thematic coherence, subjective perspective, relationships, and identity connections (see Table 1).

Thematic coherence, subjective perspective, relationships, and identity connections capture narrative dimensions critical to identity development and have been shown to vary between independent and interdependent cultures (Reese et al., 2011; Reese et al., 2017a; Zaman & Fivush, 2011, 2013). Because turning point narratives are critical components of narrative identity (McAdams, 1985), we included causal coherence and negative expressivity of turning point narratives as the strongest control variables for personal narratives in relation to adolescent well-being (Reese et al., 2017a).

Insert Table 1 here.

Analysis Plan

Descriptive analyses were first conducted on narrative topic and valence. We then conducted regression analyses using Hayes' (2017) PROCESS module. Well-being measures were entered separately into each model as the dependent variable, and a single intergenerational narrative variable (e.g., thematic coherence of mother's story, thematic coherence of father's story) was entered as the independent variable. Adolescents' personality traits and personal narrative variables that were significantly linked to well-being in Reese et al. (2017b) were entered as control variables. Lastly, age group and cultural group were entered as moderators. Given that parents' gender moderates the link between intergenerational narratives and adolescent well-being (Merrill et al., 2017), we ran separate regressions for mothers' and fathers' stories. We did not include adolescent gender in the analysis because gender was not a significant moderator of the link between personal narratives and adolescent well-being in our previous investigation (Reese et al., 2017b), and because we did not have enough power to test four-way interactions among narrative, culture, age, and gender.

A full regression model included main effect of a narrative variable, eight two-way interactions (e.g., narrative by age, narrative by culture, and age by culture) and four three-way interactions (e.g., narrative by age by culture). Significant unconditional three-way interactions were followed up by simple slope analysis. If the models revealed significant two-way interactions but no significant three-way interactions, then the model was re-run with the relevant moderator (either age or culture), **each** followed up with simple slope analysis.

Results

Our focus was on the unique contribution of intergenerational narratives to adolescent well-being, above and beyond the influence of personal narratives and personality traits. We first report the characteristics of the intergenerational narratives, followed by a series of regression analyses to reveal how culture and age interact with intergenerational narratives to predict adolescent well-being.

Descriptive Statistics

As shown in Figure 2, the most common intergenerational narrative topics are relationships, leisure, and accident/injury/illness. We found some cultural differences in topics that participants told about their parents' childhood. NZM adolescents told significantly more transgression stories from their mothers' childhood than did NZE and NZC adolescents ($\chi^2 = 9.32, p < .05$). NZE adolescents told significantly more leisure stories from their fathers' childhood than did NZC and MZM adolescents ($\chi^2 = 17.35, p < .001$). A third of the intergenerational narratives had a negative emotional tone; however, there were no cultural differences in the distribution of negative stories.

Links between Personal and Intergenerational Narratives

As seen in Table 2, almost all variables coded from maternal and paternal intergenerational narratives were significantly inter-correlated. Likewise, adolescents' causal coherence in their personal turning points was positively correlated with their negative expressivity in those same narratives. Fewer correlations were present across personal and intergenerational narratives: Causal coherence and negative expressivity of personal turning points were significantly correlated with thematic coherence of mothers' stories, and negative expressivity of personal turning points was significantly correlated with subjective perspective in both mothers' and fathers' stories. All significant correlations, however, were in the weak to moderate range.

Intergenerational Narratives and Adolescent Well-Being

In total, we ran 30 regression models (predicting three measures of well-being from five narrative dimensions each for mothers' and fathers' stories); two models contained significant main effects of narrative and six models contained significant two-way or three-way interactions. For brevity, we report regression models which showed a significant main effect of narrative or significant unconditional three-way or two-way interactions. As shown in Table 3, for mothers' stories, we found a main effect of subjective perspective on self-esteem and, for fathers' stories, a main effect of thematic coherence on self-esteem. Regardless of age or culture, adolescents who included more subjective perspective terms in their mothers' stories and adolescents who narrated more thematically coherent fathers' stories reported higher levels of self-esteem, even after controlling for relevant personality traits and personal narrative characteristics.

Insert Table 3 here.

Table 3 also shows a significant age by narrative interaction for fathers' stories, $\beta = 1.60$, $t = 2.11$, $p < .05$, $CI = (.11, 3.09)$. Follow-up simple slope analysis showed a significant positive link between subjective perspective in fathers' stories and self-esteem for young adolescents, $\beta = .54$, $t = 1.98$, $p < .05$, 95% $CI = (.00, 1.08)$.

Table 4 shows regression models with significant non-conditional three-way interactions. Again, these significant interaction terms were further probed with simple slope analysis.

Insert Table 4 here.

When predicting depression from thematic coherence score of mothers' stories, there was a significant simple slope for Māori older adolescents, $\beta = 6.06$, $t = 2.56$, $p < .05$, $CI = (1.40, 10.72)$. Higher levels of thematic coherence for mothers' stories were uniquely associated with higher depressive symptoms for Māori older adolescents. Higher relationship scores in fathers' stories were linked to lower self-esteem for Māori older adolescents ($\beta = -1.69$, $t = 3.15$, $p < .05$, $CI = (-2.75, -.63)$) and more depressive symptoms for Māori mid-adolescents ($\beta = 3.40$, $t = 2.49$, $p < .05$, $CI = (.71, 6.09)$) and older adolescents ($\beta = 4.74$, $t = 3.02$, $p < .05$, $CI = (1.65, 7.83)$). Higher frequency of identity connections in mother story was linked to more depressive symptoms for Māori early-adolescents ($\beta = 5.83$, $t = 2.28$, $p < .05$, $CI = (.80, 10.85)$) and also for European mid-adolescents ($\beta = 5.60$, $t = 3.33$, $p < .05$, $CI = (2.29, 8.91)$).

Discussion

Intergenerational narratives are a critical and culturally variable form of vicarious family memory that provides a foundation for personal memory and identity. We found that topics for intergenerational narratives were highly consistent across New Zealand Māori, Chinese, and European adolescents. Regardless of age and culture, subjective perspective in mothers'

stories and thematic coherence of fathers' stories were both positively related to adolescents' self-esteem. Subjective perspective in fathers' stories was also positively linked to young adolescents' self-esteem. **However, the links between intergenerational narratives and adolescent well-being were not always positive. In particular,** for Māori older adolescents, higher levels of thematic coherence of mothers' stories were related to higher levels of depression, while identity connections in mothers' stories were linked to higher levels of depression for Māori early adolescents and European mid-adolescents. For Māori mid- and older adolescents, explicit mention of and critical reflection on social relationships in fathers' stories were related to lower levels of self-esteem and higher levels of depression. These links were observed independent of relevant personality traits and personal narrative variables **that were significantly associated with adolescent well-being for all three cultures (Reese et al., 2017b).** Therefore, our main findings support the hypothesis that intergenerational narratives contribute uniquely to adolescent well-being, and that age and culture moderate these associations.

Adolescents across all three cultural groups reported a wide range of topics when describing their parents' childhood. The top three prominent topics for both mothers' and fathers' stories were relationships, leisure, and accident/injury. These correspond to the telling and social functions of intergenerational narratives outlined in Merrill, Booker, & Fivush (2019), similar to the social function of autobiographical memory (Bluck, Alea, Habermas, & Rubin, 2005). **Our findings thus highlight the similarity in the structure and function of personal and intergenerational narratives, yet the distinctive nature of each.**

Intergenerational narratives are a powerful tool in shaping adolescent identity as these narratives are often told for specific reasons and help the adolescent develop new perspectives on their own personal experiences (Merrill et al., 2019). Similar to previous research on personal narratives (Bohanek & Fivush, 2010) and on intergenerational narratives

(Fivush & Zaman, 2011), adolescents in our sample reported higher levels of self-esteem if they included more subjective perspective terms in their mothers' stories or told their fathers' stories with higher levels of thematic coherence. By describing and analyzing emotions and cognitions, adolescents are recreating their mothers' childhood events without personally experiencing them. Through this process, adolescents may be internalizing the values and meaning of their mothers' lives as part of their own identity (Merrill & Fivush, 2016).

Thematic coherence of personal narratives is one aspect of narrative structure that is linked to well-being, especially for Māori adolescents (e.g., Reese et al., 2017b). The current analyses on the same sample underscore this point by extending to intergenerational narratives, even after controlling for personality traits and personal narratives. Therefore, our findings support the notion that intergenerational narratives uniquely contribute to well-being (cf. Duke et al., 2008; Merrill et al., 2011). Furthermore, despite well-established cross-cultural differences in self-construal and in narrative structure and content (Kitayama, Karasawa, Curhan, Ryff, & Markus, 2010; Reese et al., 2017a; Wang, 2004b), we found prominent cross-cultural similarities in the way that intergenerational narratives were associated with adolescent well-being.

In contrast, the unexpected findings that Māori adolescents who mentioned relationships in fathers' stories and higher levels of thematic coherence **and identity connections** in mothers' stories reported lower self-esteem and higher depression needs to be placed within the larger sociopolitical context in New Zealand history. Māori parents whose stories were reflected on in this study were part of a generation impacted by major economic reform in the 1980s (Families Commission, 2010). Of particular note is the closure of the Whakatu in 1986 and Tomoana freezing works in 1994; both are in the same region from which most of the Māori participants hailed. They were the communities' largest single employer with successive generations of whānau (family) employed since 1912 (Keefe et al., 2002). With

these closures, Māori communities faced disruptions in their social relationships with their own people and land, which may have further implications on family dynamics and individual well-being. Some European families may also have been affected by the economic downturn in the 1980s. Placing the current findings in this sociopolitical context underscores the role that intergenerational narratives play in reproducing cultural values across the generations, and point to the need for further analysis of how cultural memory is transmitted through family storytelling. For this data set, qualitative narrative analysis could identify themes of well-being for the parents and the adolescents from a Māori world view.

We found no significant links between intergenerational narratives and life satisfaction regardless of cultural and age group. This is in contrast to previous findings with the same sample and other samples that narratives about personal turning-point events were linked to life satisfaction (Mitchell et al., 2020; Reese et al., 2017b). It could be the case that intergenerational narratives are more closely related to how adolescents perceive their inner self rather than life satisfaction in general, such that narrating or understanding one's parents' childhood may give rise to a better understanding of where one comes from, therefore impacting on self-perception.

Limitations, Strengths, and Future Directions

Our sample of minority adolescents could be highly acculturated with the dominant New Zealand European values, given that they were either born in or moved to New Zealand at a young age, and that all adolescents chose to be interviewed in English. In future research, it will be crucial to conduct similar research with adolescents from different countries and cultural groups, such as Chinese adolescents growing up in China, to confirm the critical role that intergenerational narratives play in shaping adolescent well-being. Grandparents play a pivotal role in Māori culture such that they provide guidance and instil resilience in the younger generation, in some cases to a greater extent than do parents (Metge, 1995). Future

research could explore whether intergenerational narratives about grandparents' childhood are even more relevant (and positive) for Māori adolescent well-being (Myftari, 2015).

Conclusions

This study is the first to show that intergenerational narratives about mothers' and fathers' childhood experiences uniquely contribute to adolescent well-being across cultures. However, the link between intergenerational narratives and well-being is not always positive, particularly for Māori adolescents from an ethnic minority culture who are still experiencing the long-lasting impact of colonization. Further qualitative research may add to our understanding of the delicate relationship between intergenerational narratives and adolescent development, especially for minority youths, and the ways in which culturally saturated personal stories and family stories are formed and transformed across the generations.

Author Contributions

Dr Yan Chen conceived the study (in collaboration with other authors), recruited participants, collected data, conducted and supervised coding, conducted the primary analyses, and drafted this manuscript. Dr Ella Cullen conceived the study (in collaboration with other authors), recruited participants, collected data, and contributed to this manuscript. Professor Robyn Fivush conceived the study (in collaboration with other authors), provided expert guidance on coding and background literature, and contributed to this manuscript. Professor Qi Wang conceived the study (in collaboration with other authors), provided expert guidance on coding and background literature, and contributed to this manuscript. Professor Elaine Reese secured funding, conceived the study (in collaboration with other authors), supervised the recruitment of participants, designed the coding schemes, assisted in data analyses, and contributed to this manuscript.

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Conflict of interest

The authors declare that they have no conflicts of interest.

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Table 1

Definitions and Inter-rater Reliability of Narrative Coding for Intergenerational Stories

Narrative variable	Definition	Reliability
Narrative topic	Narrative topics were coded based on eight broad categories (i.e., relationships, accident/injury/illness, psychological harm, transgression, achievement, leisure, personal development, and immigration). These categories are not mutually exclusive and each narrative could be coded for multiple topics.	Percentages of absolute agreement ranged from 88% to 99%
Narrative valence	Each narrative was coded as positive, neutral, or negative based on a holistic assessment of the narrative topic and overall emotional tone.	κ (mother) = .88 κ (father) = .72
Thematic coherence (NaCCs, Reese et al., 2011)	This coding scheme captures local thematic coherence and assesses the extent to which a central theme is established, evaluated and resolved. Only the free-recall part of narratives were coded on a 4-point scale.	ICC = .80
Subjective perspective	Thoughts and feelings of characters mentioned in the intergenerational stories, such as affect (e.g., sad, happy, excited) and cognition (e.g., thought, realized, considered). A subjective perspective score was calculated by summing all affect and cognition terms within each narrative.	κ (affect) = .81 κ (cognition) = .84
Relationships (adapted from McAdams' et al., 1996)	This coding scheme captures the extent to which relationships were mentioned and explained with reference to the central character (mother or father). Both free-recall and prompted parts of the narratives were coded on a 4-point scale.	ICC = .81

Identity connections	This coding captures instances in which adolescents made direct connections between themselves and their parents, including lesson learned, physical attributes, circumstances, identities, and behaviours.	$\kappa = .75$
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Note. ICC = Intraclass correlation, κ = Cohen's Kappa.

Table 2.

Correlation Coefficients among Personal and Intergenerational Narratives

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Thematic coherence (mother)	-									
2. Thematic coherence (father)	.35**	-								
3. Subjective perspective (mother)	.38**	.27**	-							
4. Subjective perspective (father)	.20**	.29**	.33**	-						
5. Relationships (mother)	.33**	.10	.32**	.23**	-					
6. Relationships (father)	.12	.21**	.19**	.22**	.13*	-				
7. Identity connections (mother)	.31**	.26**	.23**	.13	.01	.06	-			
8. Identity connections (father)	.15*	.30**	.12	.06	-.02	-.11	.15*	-		
9. Causal coherence (adolescent turning point)	.19**	.06	.01	.06	-.01	.03	.06	.09	-	
10. Negative expressivity (adolescent turning point)	.10	.17**	.19**	.14*	-.05	.02	.15*	.20**	.25**	-

Note: ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$.

Table 3

Regression Models with Significant Main Effect of Narrative and Significant Narrative by Age Interactions to Predict Self-Esteem

Narrative type	Independent Variable	β	t	p	CI
Mothers' stories	Subjective perspective	.62	2.34	.02	.10 – 1.14
<i>Model: F(21, 231) = 6.83, R² = .38, p = .0000</i>					
Fathers' stories	Thematic coherence of father's story	1.60	2.11	.04	.11 – 3.09
<i>Model: F(21, 227) = 6.37, R² = .37, p = .0000</i>					
	Subjective perspective by age interaction	-1.06	-2.31	.04	-1.96 – -.16
<i>Model: F(21, 227) = 6.47, R² = .37, p = .000</i>					

Note: 1. All regression models controlled for turning point causal coherence score, conscientiousness, neuroticism, and openness.

Table 4.

Regression Models with Significant Unconditional Three-Way Interactions

Predictor	Well-being variable	Model summary			Significant non-conditional three-way interaction		
		<i>R</i> ²	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>R</i> ² Change	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>
Thematic coherence score of mother's story	Self-esteem	.39	6.90	<.001	.03	2.58	<.05
	Depression [†]	.55	14.25	<.001	.02	3.14	<.05
Relationships in father's story	Self-esteem [†]	.41	7.45	<.001	.04	3.91	<.05
	Depression [†]	.58	16.03	<.001	.02	3.35	<.05
Identity connections in mother's story	Depression [†]	.56	14.44	<.001	.02	2.46	<.05

Note: 1. † = with significant simple slope analysis.

2. Regression models predicting self-esteem controlled for turning point causal coherence score, conscientiousness, neuroticism, and openness.
3. Regression models predicting depression controlled for turning point total negative expressivity score, conscientiousness, and neuroticism.

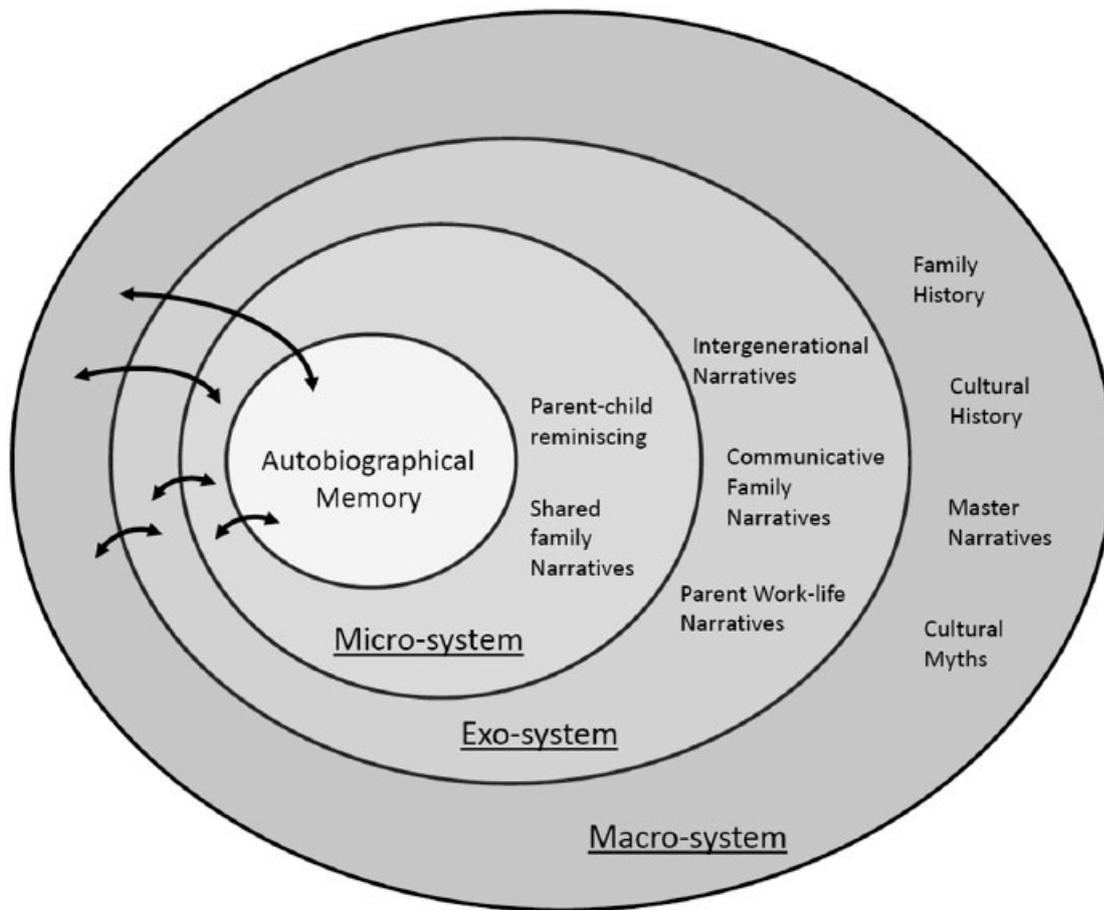


Figure 1. Ecological systems model showing different levels of influences on family narratives (Fivush & Merrill, 2016, p. 308)

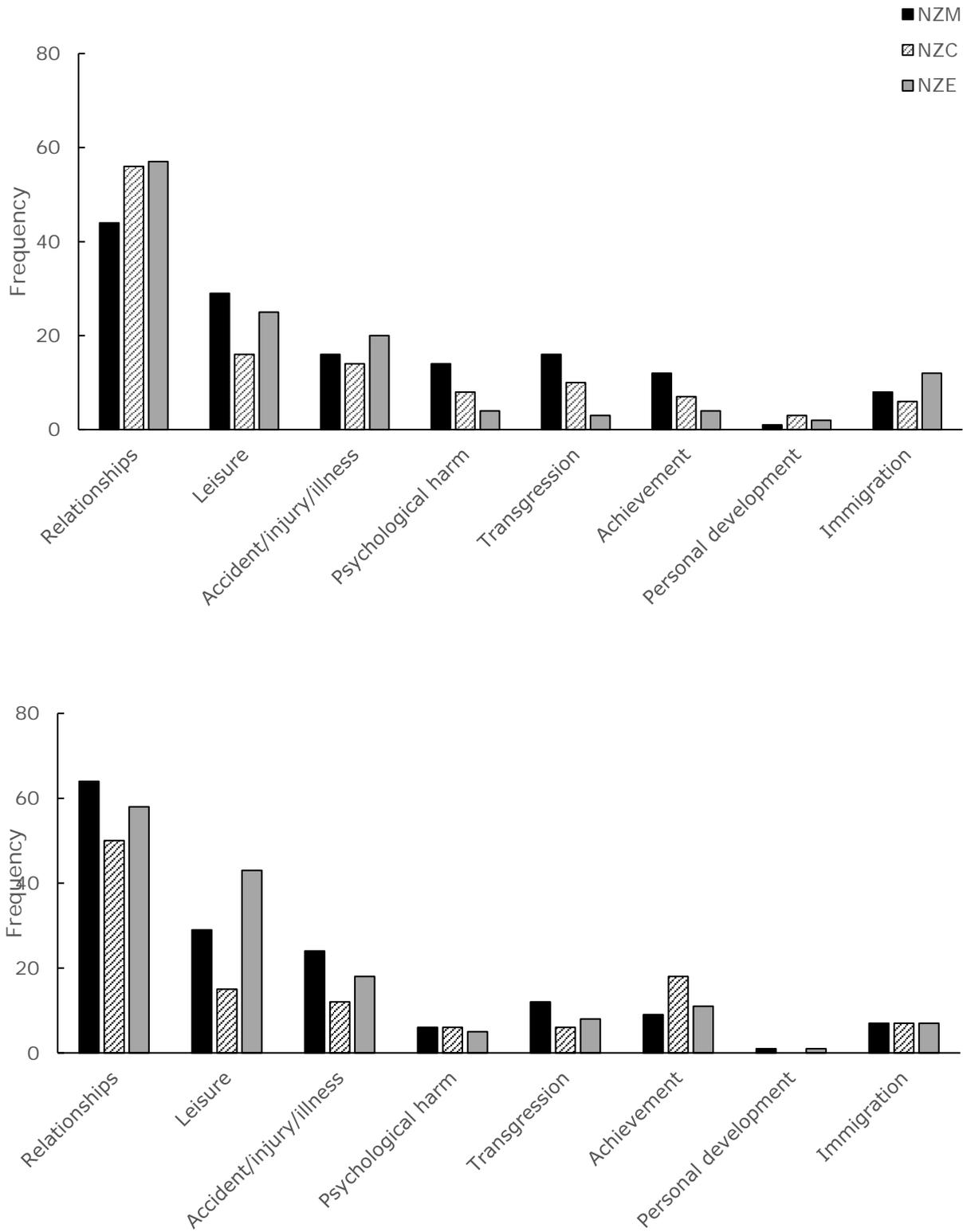


Figure 2. Narrative topics of mothers' (top panel) and fathers' (bottom panel) stories *as a function of culture*.