

1 Abstract

2 Reporting a high level of meaning in one's life has been found to impact an individual's
3 wellbeing and mental health in a positive way. However, the majority of meaning-
4 orientated interventions have been developed to help individuals cope with adversity, while
5 limited interventions have focused on promoting, flourishing, and preventing mental
6 illnesses in the general population. This research aimed to develop and test an online
7 meaning in life intervention aimed at the general population. Based on a theoretical
8 framework of meaning in life and empirically validated approaches, a convenience sample
9 of Icelandic adults (N = 177) participated in a Randomised Control Trial (RCT) and were
10 assigned to one of two interventions or an active control group. The hypothesis stated that *a*
11 *Motivational Meaning Intervention* and *Cognitive Motivational Meaning Intervention*
12 would result in greater perceptions of self-reported *Meaning in Life, Subjective Wellbeing,*
13 *Psychological Wellbeing* and *Positive Affect* compared to a control condition. The results
14 showed that both interventions enhanced *positive affect* while *neither intervention*
15 *increased meaning in life, subjective wellbeing nor psychological wellbeing.* The
16 interventions appear to be inexpensive, easily administered, and effective in increasing
17 positive affect which is a major contributor to an individual's wellbeing. The study offers
18 meaningful conclusions and future avenues to enhance intervention studies to develop
19 essential elements of wellbeing and human functioning within general populations.

20 *Keywords:* Meaning in life, positive affect, intervention, goal-setting, life story review

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25 **A meaning in life intervention: Setting personal goals and reviewing life story increases**
26 **positive affect**

27 Meaning in life (MIL) is considered a key component of psychological wellbeing
28 (PWB; Ryff, 1989), a form of positive psychological functioning that includes living well,
29 responsibly and successfully. Studies have demonstrated that experiencing MIL is a major
30 contributor to people's wellbeing (Steger et al., 2009) both as a protective factor (Brassai et
31 al., 2011) and as a resource of adaptive coping (Thompson et al., 2003).

32 Martela and Steger (2016) defined MIL mainly by three facets: coherence, purpose
33 and significance while also noting other potential avenues warrant further explorations such
34 as an affective component (Reker & Wong, 1988, 2012), a behavioural component and
35 existential meaning (Wong, 2010). Coherence, often referred to as the cognitive component
36 of MIL, refers to comprehending and making sense of our experiences, ourselves and the
37 world around us (Heintzelman & King, 2014). Purpose, also considered the motivational
38 component, means having an aspiring direction and aim in life (George & Park, 2013).
39 Significance, which refers to the evaluative component of MIL, is perceiving that life is
40 valuable and worth living (Martela & Steger, 2016). Martela & Steger (2016) argue that the
41 three facets relate to different dimensions of human experience, and therefore future studies
42 would benefit from studying these facets separately. Experiencing a high level of MIL is
43 widely considered to be crucial to our wellbeing. Higher levels of MIL have been positively
44 associated with psychological wellbeing across the human lifespan from adolescence to
45 older adulthood (Steger et al., 2009; Zika & Chamberlain, 1992). High meaning in life is
46 also associated with higher life satisfaction (Steger & Kashdan, 2007), longevity (Hill &
47 Turiano, 2014), happiness (Steger et al., 2009), health (Steger et al., 2009) and positive
48 affect (PA), the experience of positive feelings in one's life (Diener et al., 1985; Hicks &
49 King, 2009; Watson et al., 1988). Poor MIL is related to addiction problems (Nicholson et

50 al., 1994), increased risk of suicide attempts over a lifetime (Kleiman & Beaver, 2013),
51 negative affect (Zika & Chamberlain, 1992) and mental health disorders such as anxiety
52 (Debats et al., 1993) and depression (Steger & Kashdan, 2009). While acknowledging the
53 limitations of correlational design which the majority of studies in the field of MIL use, the
54 cumulation of studies suggests that MIL may be a major contributor to our wellbeing.
55 Therefore, promoting interventions that focus on increasing MIL could potentially promote
56 flourishing and psychological wellbeing. Moreover, these interventions could help
57 individuals cope with and potentially prevent mental health challenges.

58 Despite the importance of MIL to an individual's wellbeing, studies on how to
59 promote MIL are limited (Shin & Steger, 2014). The majority of meaning-orientated
60 interventions have been developed to help individuals cope with difficulties by finding
61 meaning in their trauma and illnesses (Breitbart et al., 2010; Guerrero-Torrelles et al, 2017;
62 Henry et al., 2010; Rodin et al, 2018, Saeedi et al, 2019; Wong, 2010) or psychological
63 difficulties among the clinical population (Guo et al, 2013; Lan et al, 2018; Lee et al., 2006;
64 Wright et al., 2007). Although finding meaning in difficult experiences is important in order
65 to restore wellbeing (Park & Folkman, 1997), studies that test empirically validated ways to
66 increase MIL outside the clinical population are lacking (Shin & Steger, 2014). Wong
67 (2010) illustrated that comprehensive meaning-orientated interventions are applicable to
68 promote flourishing within the general population; however, only a few intervention studies
69 have focused solely on enhancing MIL to promote flourishing and prevent mental illnesses
70 within the general population (Costin & Vignoles, 2020; Howell, Passmore & Holder,
71 2016; Klein, 2017; Littman-Ovadia & Steger, 2010; Magee, 1998).

72 Several studies have assessed the effectiveness of an intervention on MIL. Within the
73 general population, studies demonstrated that prosocial behaviour (Klein, 2017), strength

74 endorsement (Littman-Ovadia & Steger, 2010), photography intervention (Steger et al,
75 2014; 2013) and induced positive affect (King et al., 2006) increased MIL. Among the
76 clinical population, psychotherapy, mindfulness- and narrative program (Manco & Hamby,
77 2021), psychological meaning-centred therapy and logotherapy (Vos & Vitali, 2018)
78 enhanced MIL.

79 Shin & Steger (2014) proposed that an ideal MIL intervention could be composed of
80 exercises that target both the cognitive and the motivational components of MIL, however,
81 a recent study by Costin & Vignoles (2020) showed that the evaluative component,
82 significance, defined as a sense of mattering, was a significant precursor of experiencing
83 MIL where purpose and coherence did not. Although Costin & Vignoles suggested that
84 research should attend more to a sense of mattering, studies have also argued that as a result
85 of targeting the cognitive and motivational components, individuals obtain greater
86 coherence and purpose which strengthens the evaluative component of MIL. Significance is
87 perceived when individuals pursue worthwhile goals and have a sense of comprehension in
88 their lives (George & Park, 2013; Martela & Steger, 2016; Reker & Wong, 1988, 2012).

89 The aim of this study was to focus on intervention on MIL cognitive- and motivational
90 components. Regarding the intervention to target the cognitive component of the MIL, the
91 literature argues that fostering life narratives (McAdams, 1993) assists individuals in
92 gaining greater self-knowledge and personal meaning in life. Similar techniques which aim
93 to facilitate deeper self-understanding and personal meaning can be seen elsewhere such as
94 in narrative therapy (White, 2007), guided autobiography (Birren & Birren, 1996) and
95 guided reminiscence (Wong & Watt, 1999). One way of developing a life narrative is
96 through the construction of life stories (McAdams et al., 2006). A life story in this context,
97 and for the purpose of this study, is an articulated narrative of one's self that integrates and

98 reconstructs previous experiences into future or present life contexts (McAdams, 1993).
99 Articulating one's life story increases coherence as they shape how oneself, other
100 individuals, events, and actions can be experienced as meaningful (Stelter, 2009). By
101 construing a life story individuals obtain knowledge of who they are and how they became
102 that person (Bruner, 1990). Furthermore, they construe how events and other persons have
103 influenced their identity and learning in life (Erikson, 1968). Life story coherence has
104 shown to be statistically positively related to psychological wellbeing (Baerger &
105 McAdams, 1999). To target the cognitive component based on the MIL framework, the
106 present study asked individuals to write their life stories where they reflect on prior
107 experiences and events in their lives (McAdams, 2008). In relation to the intervention for
108 the motivational component of MIL, it has been suggested by various authors that people
109 may cultivate a sense of purpose by discerning, setting and engaging in personal,
110 meaningful goals (Emmons, 1999; Sheldon et al., 2002; Ryff & Singer, 1998). Goals are
111 considered to serve as an important element of purpose since they orient individuals towards
112 a meaningful path (Reker & Wong 1988). The role of goals in promoting wellbeing has been
113 well demonstrated (Brunstein, 1993; McKnight & Kashdan, 2009). Having personal goals
114 gives order and structure to people's lives (Emmons, 1986) and contributes to self-discovery
115 and psychological need satisfaction (Sheldon & Elliot, 1999; Sheldon & Kasser, 1998).
116 Meaningful goals enhance psychological wellbeing, positive affect, self-efficacy and life
117 satisfaction as well as undermine the effects of frustration, disappointment and anxiety
118 (Brunstein, 1993; Emmons & Diener, 1986; Emmons, 1986; Morisano et al., 2010). Having
119 goals will not necessarily contribute to a sense of purpose except for self-concordant goals
120 which are goals that are integrated into one's interest and authentic self (Sheldon & Elliot,
121 1999). Consequently, to target the motivational component, participants set personal goals
122 and reflected on them in a structured manner and considered their motives behind them

123 (Morisano et al., 2010; Sheldon et al., 2002). Participants were encouraged to think about
124 goals that connect to sources which people derive meaning from in their lives such as social
125 life, leisure activity, family life, school, career and health (Wong, 2012).

126 The purpose of the current study was to investigate whether it is possible to develop an
127 effective empirically validated MIL intervention. To address the research question, the
128 study will assess whether a Cognitive Motivational Meaning Intervention (CMMI) which
129 combines the interventions of the cognitive and the motivational component of MIL will
130 result in greater MIL, PWB, PA and Subjective wellbeing (SWB) defined as cognitive
131 judgement of happiness, compared to a control group. As it has been indicated necessary
132 for future MIL studies to investigate whether dissimilar components of MIL will influence
133 different psychological outcomes (Martela & Steger, 2016), the study will also assess
134 whether the CMMI will increase all variables more than a Motivational Meaning
135 Intervention (MMI) which solely consist of the intervention of the motivational component
136 of MIL. Based on the MIL framework and prior studies (Baerger & McAdams, 1999;
137 Brunstein, 1993; Martela & Steger, 2016; McKnight & Kashdan, 2009; King et al., 2006) it
138 is hypothesized that the interventions will enhance MIL, PWB, SWB and PA compared to a
139 control condition. The secondary hypothesis of the study is that the CMMI will enhance all
140 variables to a greater extent than MMI.

141 **Method**

142 **Participants**

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144 A convenience sample of participants was recruited through the researcher's personal
145 Instagram and Facebook platforms which are known for psychology, wellbeing and health.
146 Individuals were encouraged to participate with information regarding the research through
147 Facebook posts and Instagram stories along with an anonymous link to an online survey system
148 (Qualtrics). To increase awareness of the study, the researcher asked friends, family members

149 and his social media followers to share the posts. A poll was created in Instagram stories that
150 asked whether individuals were interested in participating in the research. All individuals who
151 were interested were sent a message which contained a detailed description of the study. The
152 sample population were Icelandic individuals within the age range of eighteen to thirty-five.
153 Participation was completely voluntary, and no type of reward was offered.

154 All participants who completed the study answered the questionnaires and fulfilled the
155 criteria of the interventions were included in the sample. Of the 185 participants, eight were
156 excluded from the study due to missing data. Those participants went through the whole study
157 without answering any questionnaires nor writing anything in the intervention section.
158 Participants who failed to complete several questions or participate in the interventions to a full
159 extent were included in the sample.

160 Of the 177 participants who were included, 44 (24.9%) identified as male and 133
161 (75.1%) as female. The mean age was 24.28 years (SD=4.94). Participants were randomly
162 assigned to one of three conditions: A Cognitive Motivational Meaning intervention (n=42), a
163 Motivational Meaning intervention (n=65) and a control condition (n=70). All participants read
164 an information letter and gave informed consent before participation.

165 **Materials**

166 Questionnaires were distributed using Qualtrics, an online survey system.
167 Demographic data were obtained with self-reported answers about participants' age and
168 gender followed by questionnaires about meaning in life, psychological wellbeing, subjective
169 wellbeing, positive affect and negative affect. All versions of the questions and
170 questionnaires which were utilized in the study were considered to be the optimal means to
171 achieve the purpose of the study among the Icelandic population. It was emphasized by the
172 researcher and the supervisors to use translated scales which have demonstrated good
173 psychometric properties in Iceland. All of the scales and the chosen items except the

174 Flourishing Scale (Diener et al., 2010) have been frequently used in Icelandic studies
175 (Embætti Landlæknis, 2017).

176 *Meaning in Life* was measured with three items from the Meaning in Life
177 Questionnaire (MLQ; Steger, Frazier, Oishi, & Kaler, 2006). The items measure the
178 presence of MIL with questions such as “*My life has a clear sense of purpose*”. Items were
179 rated on a four-point Likert scale from 1 (*absolutely untrue*) to 4 (*absolutely true*). The total
180 score could range from 3 to 12 and a higher total score reflected a higher presence of MIL.
181 The questionnaire was translated into Icelandic by Embætti landlæknis (2017) and has been
182 used to assess the mental health of the Icelandic population since 2007. MLQ has shown
183 robust psychometric properties (Steger et al., 2006) and the Cronbach’s alpha in the present
184 study indicated good internal consistency pre ($\alpha = .839$) and post interventions ($\alpha = .870$).

185 *Psychological wellbeing* was assessed by the Flourishing Scale (FS; Diener et al.,
186 2010) translated into Icelandic by the researcher of the study with the assistance of a
187 professional translator, Þórhildur Lárusdóttir. FS is a brief 8-item instrument with
188 statements such as “*I am engaged and interested in my daily activities*” which provide a
189 single psychological wellbeing score. Items were measured with a 7-point Likert scale from
190 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*). A higher combined score indicated greater
191 psychological wellbeing. The FS has demonstrated good psychometric properties (Diener et
192 al., 2010) and in this study, Cronbach’s alpha showed good internal consistency ($\alpha = .861$)
193 prior to and excellent ($\alpha = .922$) post assigned conditions.

194 *Subjective wellbeing* was evaluated with a single item that asks: “*On the whole, how*
195 *happy do you consider yourself to be?*”. The question was scored on a 10-point Likert scale
196 from 1 (*very unhappy*) to 10 (*very happy*) and a higher score reflected greater subjective
197 wellbeing. This single item has been used to assess subjective wellbeing among Icelanders
198 since 2007 (Embætti Landlæknis, 2017). Studies have demonstrated that measuring SWB

199 with a single item is valid and reliable in surveys and cross-cultural comparisons (Abdel-
200 Khalek, 2006) and perform very similar when compared to multiple item measurements on
201 the same construct (Cheung & Lucas, 2014). Single item SWB measure has shown good
202 concurrent and convergent validity (Abdel-Khalek, 2006).

203 *Positive and Negative Affect* was measured with the Positive and Negative affect
204 Schedule (PANAS; Watson et al., 1988) which was translated into Icelandic by Ragna B.
205 Garðarsdóttir. PANAS measures mood with two 10-item scales which include adjectives
206 that describe various feelings and emotions. One scale measures Positive Affect (PA) with
207 items such as *Enthusiastic, Determined* and *Proud* while the other scale assesses Negative
208 Affect (NA) with items like *Hostile, Scared* and *Upset*. A 5-point Likert scale from 1 (*Very*
209 *Slightly or Not at all*) to 10 (*Extremely*) was used to evaluate how participants felt at the
210 present moment. PA and NA total scores are combined respectively and a higher summary
211 score reflected higher PA or NA. PANAS has demonstrated robust psychometric properties
212 (Watson et al., 1988) and the Cronbach's alpha in this study indicated good internal
213 consistency for NA ($\alpha = .899$) and PA ($\alpha = .827$) prior to the interventions and excellent for
214 NA ($\alpha = .936$) and good for PA ($\alpha = .860$) post interventions.

215 **Procedure**

216 This study used a 3x2 mixed factorial design to compare scores between three
217 conditions before and after interventions. The independent variable was a between-subject
218 variable that contained three conditions: Cognitive Motivational Meaning Intervention
219 (CMMI), Motivational Meaning Intervention (MMI) and an active control condition. The
220 within dependent variables were MIL, PWB, SWB and PA scores pre and post interventions.

221 Participation was briefly described in a Facebook post and through Instagram stories.
222 Participants were informed that to engage in the study they had to be eighteen to thirty-five
223 years old, have an access to a computer and devote thirty to sixty minutes in a quiet setting

224 with minimal interruption. A link to the study was presented in the information. All study
225 components were completed through an online Qualtrics survey system.

226 Participants were presented with an information letter after clicking the link which
227 contained necessary information such as confidentiality, procedure and deceived purpose of
228 the study. Participants could not be informed of the true purpose of the study as it could have
229 affected the results. They were told that they would answer four questionnaires, then engage
230 in a few writing exercises and subsequently answer four questionnaires. Before answering
231 questions about demographics (age and gender) participants gave informed consent by
232 clicking on the buttons below four statements only if they agreed with them. Three times
233 throughout the study, participants were encouraged to stop if they experienced overwhelming
234 emotions and thoughts while writing and to do something which they enjoyed such as going
235 for a walk, meeting a friend or listening to music. If they felt in need of support they were
236 encouraged to call a friend/family member or reach out to relevant help associations in
237 Iceland.

238 The first task was to answer a series of questionnaires described in detail in the
239 material section above. Participants were then randomly assigned to three conditions: CMMI,
240 MMI or an active control condition. Participants in the intervention conditions were informed
241 that (a) what they wrote was completely confidential; (b) that they should write in as much
242 detail as possible regardless of spelling mistakes or grammatical errors and (c) they should
243 include their deepest thoughts and emotions in their writing.

244 **Cognitive Motivational Meaning Intervention.** In the CMMI participants were first
245 instructed to write their life story, an adapted version of the life story review (McAdams,
246 2008). They were asked to imagine that they were writing their life story for an individual
247 that would like to know more about them and the things that had occurred in their lives. They
248 were informed that their story did not have to include their whole life only the most important

249 parts and that what they wrote was completely up to them. To encourage their writing, they
250 were invited to reflect on key events (positive moments, adversity or a turning point) which
251 had influenced their lives. In addition, they were presented with a series of questions that they
252 could rely on to support their writing such as what are the most influential memories in your
253 life and why, what is an event or a person that has most influenced you in life, what role is
254 the most important in your life, what moment in life are you most proud of and what is the
255 most important thing in your life and why.

256 **Motivational Meaning Intervention.** In the second part of the CMMI participants
257 engaged in the MMI which was adapted from the goal-setting program (Morisano et al.,
258 2010). The intervention facilitated participants to identify personal goals and develop detailed
259 strategies to achieve them. Through the following steps they were instructed to (a) develop a
260 vision for the future by imagining and writing about their ideal future for fifteen minutes; (b)
261 distinguish their ideal future into four goals and identify when they would like to achieve
262 them; (c) and evaluate the motives and develop strategies to achieve each goal. They were
263 informed that their ideal future and goals could relate to social life (family and friends),
264 professional life (work/school) or personal life (leisure and health). In each step, participants
265 were supported by a series of questions that encouraged self-reflection and self-concordant
266 goal setting. The key difference between the experimental conditions was that CMMI
267 included both interventions while the MMI only consisted of the MMI intervention.

268 **Control condition.** An active control group was utilized as a baseline for the
269 experimental conditions of the study. The control group participated in two tasks. The
270 purpose of these tasks was to match the writing aspects of the CMMI and MMI. The first
271 task was to imagine and write about the last twenty-four hours in their lives for fifteen
272 minutes. The second task was to reflect on the two aforementioned activities in greater
273 detail for ten minutes. All participants were instructed to write constantly regardless of

274 spelling mistakes or grammatical errors. They were asked to write in a detailed, serious and
275 objective manner with minimal emotional expression.

276 All participants answered the same questionnaires subsequent to engaging in the
277 writing assignments. Finally, they were presented with a debrief letter containing detailed
278 information about the true purpose of the study. All participants were appreciated for their
279 participation.

280 The data from the Qualtrics survey was converted into IBM SPSS software version
281 24. Numeric values were used to represent the missing data, items were coded into the
282 aforementioned variables of the study, assumptions were assessed and relevant statistical
283 tests were administrated in SPSS.

284 **Data analysis**

285 All analysis of the study was conducted in SPSS. Scale reliability was evaluated with
286 Cronbach's alpha coefficients. To assess the main hypothesis of the study, five separate
287 statistical tests of two-way mixed-design ANOVA were used to compare MIL, PWB, SWB,
288 PA and NA scores between the conditions at baseline and postintervention.

289 The assumption of normality was violated for all conditions in a vast majority of
290 measures, assessed visually with boxplots and Q-Q plots, skewness, kurtosis and calculated
291 z-scores and with Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests. Nevertheless, the test was utilized as ANOVA
292 is considered robust to data that is not normally distributed (Field, 2013). The assumption of
293 homogeneity of variances and covariances was met for all analyses.

294 Seven significant outliers were found by looking at studentized residuals (SRE) that
295 were greater than ± 3 . They did not affect the results assessed by conducting a two-way
296 ANOVA with and without outliers (Field, 2013). When assessing MIL two outliers with an
297 SRE value of -3.52 were removed to meet the assumption of homogeneity of variances. Data
298 transformation did not correct non-normality.

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Results

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Baseline measures

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Measures pre intervention were conducted to assess whether conditions differed at baseline. No significant difference was found in gender $\chi(2) = 1.13, p = .57.$ and age ($F(2,153) = 1.29, p = .28$ when comparing participants in the CMMI condition ($n = 42$), MMI condition ($n = 65$) and Control condition ($n = 70$). There were no significant baseline differences between CMMI, MMI and the control condition in PWB ($F(2,174) = .27, p = .76$, SWB ($F(2,174) = .23, p = .80$, MIL ($F(2,174) = .23 p = .48$, PA ($F(2,174) = .73, p = .48$ and NA ($F(2,174) = .26, p = .78$ (see table 1 for means and standard deviations of each condition).

Table 1

Dependent Variable Measures at Baseline

	CMMI		MMI		Control		p
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	
Psychological wellbeing	47.26	5.84	46.63	6.88	47.37	5.49	.76
Subjective wellbeing	7.57	1.29	7.46	1.36	7.60	1.46	.23
Meaning in life	9.38	1.79	9.02	2.43	9.43	1.96	.48
Positive affect	32.93	5.29	32.94	6.24	32.89	6.12	.73
Negative affect	17.86	6.24	18.09	7.05	17.30	6.35	.78

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MIL, PWB, SWB and NA

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There was a non-significant interaction between the intervention and time on MIL $F(2, 167) = 1.46, p = .24, r = .09$, PWB $F(2, 174) = .28, p = .76, r = .07$, SWB $F(2, 174) = .88, p = .42$,

321 $r = .07$ and NA $F(2,172) = .048, p = .95, r = .02$ (see table 2 for means and standard
322 deviations of the dependent variables postintervention). There was a significant main effect of
323 time on MIL $F(2,167) = 45.09, p < .001, r = .63$, SWB $F(2,174) = 42.49, p < .001, r = .36$ and
324 NA $F(2,172) = 56.19, p < .001, r = .5$

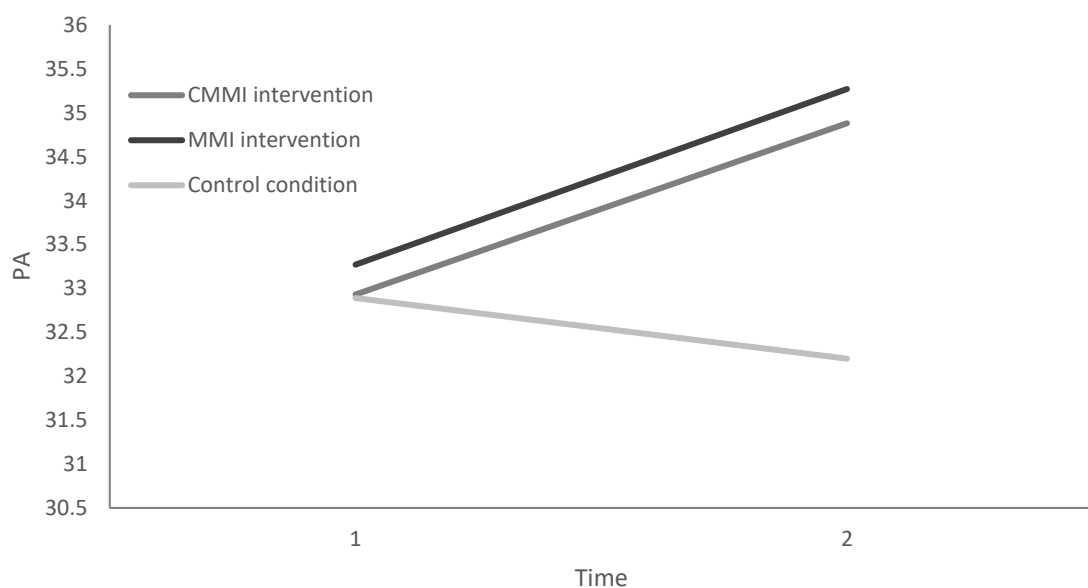
325 PA

326 There was a significant interaction between interventions and time on PA $F(2, 172) =$
327 $9.21, p < .001, r = .23$. To break down the interaction, two separate between subject ANOVA
328 was used to assess the difference in PA between conditions at baseline and postintervention.
329 There was a significant difference in PA between the conditions post intervention, $F(2,172) =$
330 $3.34, p = .038, \omega = .16$. (see figure 1 for comparison of PA changes between the condition
331 from baseline to postintervention). PA was significantly greater in the CMMI condition and
332 MMI condition compared to the control condition (see table 2). PA was not significantly
333 higher in the CMMI condition compared to the MMI condition.

334 Figure 1

335 *Condition Differences in PA from Baseline to Postintervention*

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338 Post-hoc analysis

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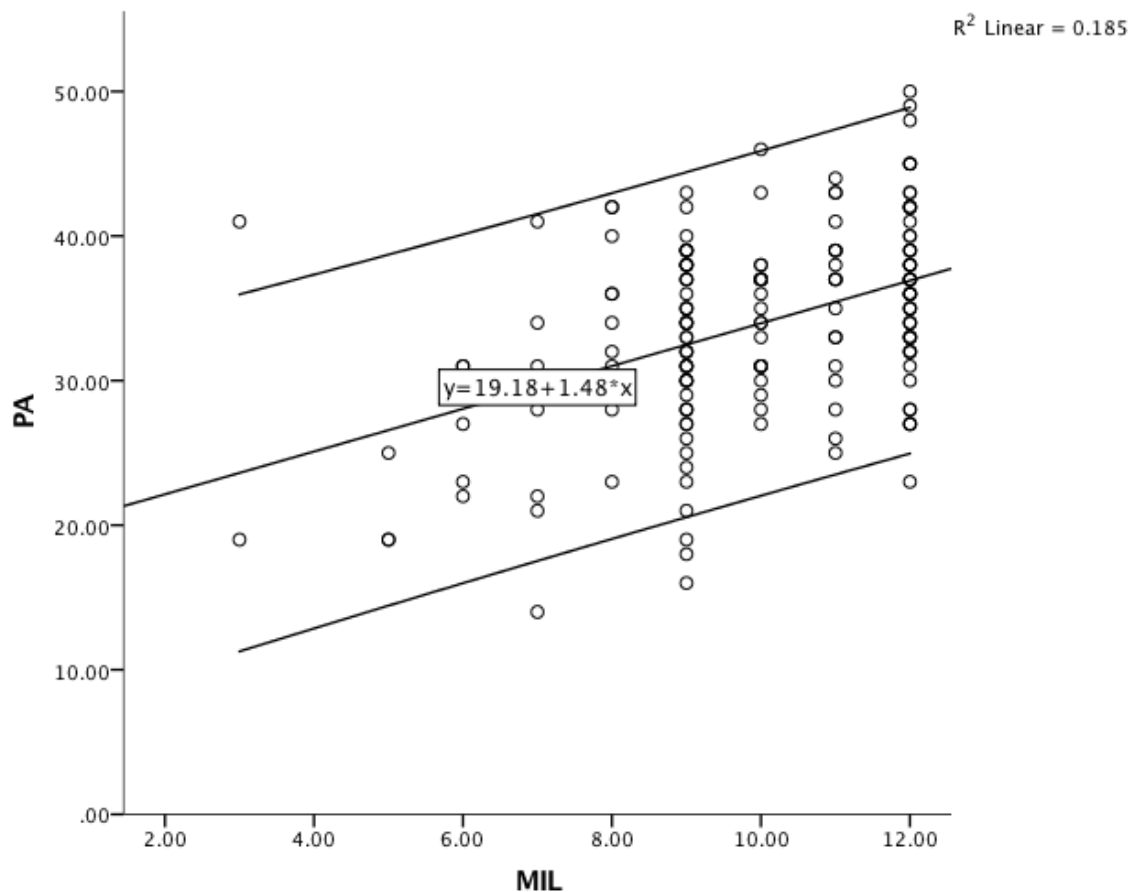
340 One post-hoc analysis was executed as there is a robust relationship between PA and
341 MIL (King et al., 2006). A simple linear regression was conducted to assess whether MIL
342 was predicted by PA. A visual inspection of linearity in a scatterplot indicated a linear
343 relationship between the two variables. There was normality of residuals and
344 homoscedasticity. One outlier was found with a MIL score of 3. This participant was
345 included in the analysis as he did not significantly affect the results. PA significantly
346 predicted MIL $F(1,173) = 39.24, p < 0.001$ and accounted for 18.5% of the explained
347 variability in MIL with adjusted $R^2 = 18\%$ (see figure 2). The regression equation was:
348 predicted MIL = $5.64 + (.13 \times PA)$. A higher PA score of one leads to a .13 increase in the
349 experience of MIL.

350 **Figure 2**

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352 *The Relationship Between PA and MIL*

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Discussion

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The purpose of the study was to investigate whether it is possible to develop a brief empirically validated MIL intervention and assess whether it would increase MIL, PWB, SWB and PA. The results demonstrated that participants who engaged in goal-setting and a life story review did not experience significantly greater MIL, PWB and SWB compared to a control group. However, participants in both of the intervention conditions experienced higher PA postintervention than the active control group.

The most relevant finding of the present study was that the interventions did not increase reported MIL while they significantly increase PA compared to the control condition. These findings suggest that a brief intervention which includes setting personal goals and reviewing a life story does not appear to facilitate the experience of MIL within the

367 present sample. In one way, the findings do not support the main hypothesis of the study and
368 suggest that a brief intervention which promotes MIL components is not effective in
369 enhancing MIL. As far as the authors are aware, no randomized control trial study has
370 assessed MIL with interventions that target the MIL components directly. The findings of the
371 present study diverge from previous suggestions that a life story review assists individuals to
372 increase personal meaning in life (Baerger & McAdams, 1999; Birren & Birren, 1996;
373 McAdams, 1993; White, 2007; Wong & Watt, 1999) and studies that show that narrative
374 programs (Manco & Hamby, 2021) and meaning-centred therapies (Vos & Vitali, 2018)
375 enhance MIL. Furthermore, the findings from this study contradict previous findings
376 suggesting that setting goals enhances PWB, and SWB and provide a sense of purpose
377 (Brunstein, 1993; Emmons, 1986; Emmons, 1999).

378 On the other hand, the results of the study partially support the main hypotheses as
379 they demonstrate that reviewing life stories and setting personal goals enhances PA compared
380 to a control condition. Carver and Schier (1990, 1998) suggest that negative and positive
381 moods provide people with feedback about their progress towards goals. Self-rated important
382 goals have shown to be as strongly related to PA as actually attaining them (Emmons &
383 Diener, 1986). From this point of view, setting and reflecting on personal goals may have
384 provided participants with the information that they are making a satisfactory process
385 towards goals that they value and consequently experience increased PA.

386 One potential reason for why the interventions increased PA, yet not the other
387 outcome measures of the study, could be that PA was measured as a state while the MIL,
388 PWB and SWB were measured as a trait. Trait scales scores pre and post an arousing or
389 relaxing intervention tend to be less malleable while state scales scores are more sensitive to
390 an external stimulus such as interventions if they are relevant to the state which is being
391 measured (Zuckerman, 1983). Furthermore, variability in mood has been shown to be much

392 greater than variability in global SWB judgements (Eid & Diener, 2004). Thus, it may be
393 unrealistic to report a significant change in MIL PWB, and SWB scores in thirty to eighty
394 minutes with brief interventions. The result from this study indicate that the interventions are
395 successful in influencing short-term state wellbeing. Whether the interventions affect long-
396 term trait and state wellbeing remains an unanswered question for future studies as one of the
397 limitations of the present study is it did not assess the long-term effects of the interventions.
398 To the best of the authors' knowledge, no similar MIL interventions have been conducted
399 longitudinally. Therefore, the results might also suggest that MIL is not meant to be
400 facilitated quickly and requires time to develop, which could partially explain why the longer
401 programmes such as psychotherapy, mindfulness- and narrative programs (Manco & Hamby,
402 2021), logotherapy and psychological meaning-centred therapies (Vos & Vitali, 2018) better
403 facilitate MIL. Thus, potential avenue for future studies to span the content of the
404 interventions over a greater period of time and potentially add more focused and in-depth
405 exercises to the interventions which would allow longer contemplation among participants.

406 The present study answers the research question partly, however, not completely. It
407 could be argued that the interventions of this study do not provide ample support to indicate
408 that it is possible to develop an empirically validated MIL intervention since they do not
409 influence MIL directly. A potential explanation for why the interventions do not directly
410 impact MIL could be that life seems to be pretty meaningful in general. Heintzelman & King
411 (2014) derived data from numerous studies based on representative samples which suggested
412 that MIL is relatively high in general. The self-reported MIL mean of the present study was
413 9.27 which is relatively high as the highest achievable score on the scale was 12. One
414 potential reason for the high reported MIL may be that MIL is a desired condition and thus
415 possibly influenced by desirability biases (Paulhus & Reid, 1991). Also, individuals often

416 adopt an overly positive view of themselves and their lives (Alicke & Sedikides, 2009). Thus,
417 participants may have responded in a manner that did not reflect their true reality.

418 On the other hand, the interventions were successful in enhancing PA which has
419 shown to have a robust relationship with MIL (King et al., 2006). The post-hoc analysis of
420 the current study demonstrated that PA statistically predicted MIL with a medium effect size
421 (Cohen, 1988). Although it is unknown what part the interventions contributed to the
422 relationship, PA and MIL appear to be related. Enhanced PA has shown to increase MIL
423 elsewhere (King et al., 2006) and studies have demonstrated that mood is often used as
424 information when assessing whether life is meaningful (King et al., 2006; Schwarz & Clore,
425 1983). PA could therefore play a critical role in the evaluative component of MIL (Martela &
426 Steger, 2016). Consequently, it could be argued that the interventions might work as a
427 precursor for MIL and that the study provides promising information about the possibility to
428 develop an empirically validated MIL intervention.

429 Since there was no difference between the CMMI and the MMI conditions in all
430 measures of the study, the role of writing one's life story is more ambiguous than the goal-
431 setting. Previous research has shown that writing about life goals significantly enhances
432 wellbeing and is less upsetting than writing about trauma (King, 2001). Writing about trauma
433 has shown to have good long-term advantages to wellbeing and health (Pennebaker, 1997),
434 however, recollecting upsetting experiences may produce distress in the short term. In
435 addition, how and to what extent people make sense of their experience is a strong predictor
436 of PWB (Alea, 2018). Interpreting a difficult event as having a positive outcome is related to
437 greater PWB while construing experiences that have gone from good to bad predicts low
438 levels of wellbeing (McAdams et al., 2001). Language coherence is also related to improved
439 health and PWB when writing about past experiences (Baerger & McAdams, 1999). Thus,
440 whether participants wrote about positive or difficult experiences, found a redemptive

441 element or not in their life stories and to what extent they comprehended their experiences
442 may have influenced their answers post-intervention. The result of the present study suggests
443 that writing about one's life story has no further benefit than solely engaging in goal setting,
444 at least in the present population. The secondary hypothesis was therefore not supported.

445 **Limitations**

446 The limitations of the present study should be considered. The first limitation
447 concerns the generalizability of the results. Participants were self-selected through a link on
448 the researcher's social media platforms. Only people who saw the link participated in the
449 research and people who were interested were more likely to participate in the study.
450 Participants were also especially prone to be motivated towards self-improvement as the
451 social media platforms of the researcher are known for psychology, wellbeing and health.
452 Therefore, they potentially expected to benefit and experience a change in their wellbeing as
453 a result of participating in the research.

454 Further limitations lie in the potential biases of self-reporting as the analysis was
455 entirely based on self-reports. No questionnaire is truly a phenomenon in itself (Schwartz,
456 1999). There was an imbalance of gender distribution as 75.1% (133) of participants were
457 female. Also, since it was an online study, participants were unable to ask directly if anything
458 in the research was unclear.

459 Additionally, the current study lacked content analysis. This is relevant because
460 Pennebaker (1997) discovered that individuals who use positive emotional words extensively,
461 a moderate number of negative emotional words and demonstrated coherence in their writing,
462 obtained the most benefits when writing about past experiences. Furthermore, Baerger and
463 McAdams (1999) showed that life story coherence demonstrated a significant relationship to
464 PWB (Baerger & McAdams, 1999). Although the authors' had access to the written content
465 of the interventions, duration of participation and consequently whether the interventions

466 went as intended to some extent, the current study lacked content analysis of the written
467 interventions. Therefore, it is unknown how much coherence and emotional wording were in
468 participants writing and to what extent they interpreted their experiences. Also, it is unclear
469 whether participants' goals were self-concordant which has been underlined as a necessary
470 element in providing a sense of purpose (Sheldon & Elliot, 1999). Therefore, it is important
471 for future studies to include a language content analysis to assess whether greater language
472 coherence, emotional wording and self-concordance goal setting are related to increased
473 experience of MIL, SWB and PWB and PA.

474 Lastly, the interventions emphasized solely the motivational- and cognitive
475 components of MIL and left out the evaluative component. The focus of the study was based
476 on Martela & Steger (2016) suggestion that future studies would benefit to research the facets
477 of meaning separately. However, as the study by Costin & Vignoles showed that the
478 evaluative component, *a sense of mattering*, was a greater precursor of MIL than purpose and
479 significance, therefore, future studies could also aim to include an intervention that addresses
480 the evaluative component. Particularly, the area of self-transcendence could be worth
481 exploring in relation to MIL. As sense of mattering refers to the belief that one's actions
482 make a difference in the world and Wong et al (2021) proposed that sense of self-
483 transcendence promotes that belief.

484 **Conclusion**

485 A brief and easily administered online meaning in life intervention which includes
486 personal goal setting and a life story review enhanced positive affect among the Icelandic
487 adults in the current sample. Although the interventions did not increase MIL, it is hoped that
488 future studies will assess the effectiveness of the interventions on MIL and other wellbeing
489 measures based on the aforementioned suggestions. This low-cost intervention could be
490 utilized to help adults within the general population to experience positive emotions which

491 can start an upward spiral towards increased wellbeing (Fredrickson, 1998). The study offers
492 a meaningful conclusion and future avenues to enhance intervention studies to develop
493 essential elements of wellbeing and human functioning within general populations.

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