

Making Sense of the Meaning Literature: An Integrative Review of Meaning Making and Its Effects on Adjustment to Stressful Life Events

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Interest in meaning and meaning making in the context of stressful life events continues to grow, but research is hampered by conceptual and methodological limitations. Drawing on current theories, the author first presents an integrated model of meaning making. This model distinguishes between the constructs of global and situational meaning and between “meaning-making efforts” and “meaning made,” and it elaborates subconstructs within these constructs. Using this model, the author reviews the empirical research regarding meaning in the context of adjustment to stressful events, outlining what has been established to date and evaluating the strengths and weaknesses of current empirical work. Results suggest that theory on meaning and meaning making has developed space, but empirical research has failed to keep up with these developments, creating a significant gap between the rich but abstract theories and empirical tests of them. Given current empirical findings, some aspects of the meaning-making model appear to be well supported but others are not, and the quality of meaning-making efforts and meanings made may be at least as important as their quantity. This article concludes with specific suggestions for future research.

Keywords: meaning making, stress, trauma, cognitive processing, worldviews

In recent years, interest in meaning has proliferated in many areas of psychology, including positive psychology (e.g., Steger, in press), cultural psychology (e.g., Mendoza-Denton & Hansen, 2007), emotions (e.g., King, Hicks, Krull, & Del Gaiso, 2006), health psychology (e.g., White, 2004), and clinical psychology (e.g., Hayes, Laurenceau, Feldman, Strauss, & Cardaciotto, 2007). Yet pinning down the definition of meaning is difficult (Klinger, 1998). Baumeister (1991) proposed a reasonable definition of meaning as a “mental representation of possible relationships among things, events, and relationships. Thus, meaning connects things” (p. 15). Although difficult to define, the notion of meaning as central to human life is a popular one. Meaning appears particularly important in confronting highly stressful life experiences, and much recent research has focused on meaning making (i.e., the restoration of meaning in the context of highly stressful situations). This article draws on current theories of meaning making to develop an integrated model, and then this model is used to evaluate the extent to which empirical findings regarding meaning in adjusting to stressful events support its various propositions. Suggestions for future research conclude the article.

Theoretical Perspectives on Meaning Making

Myriad perspectives can be brought to bear on this issue, some center on disruptions in life narratives and themes occasioned by stressful encounters (e.g., Crossley, 2000; Gilbert, 2002) or on reorganization of autobiographical memory in their aftermath (Black &

Habermas, 2001). Others emphasize reconfigurations of underlying cognitive structures (e.g., personal construct theory; Walker & Winter, 2007) or contemporary cognitive science (e.g., Barsalou, 2008). Taking any theoretical perspective on meaning making illuminates certain aspects but also necessarily entails obscuring others.

One useful model for organizing the literature concerning adaptation to life stressors, adopted for the present review,¹ is drawn from the work of a number of influential theorists (e.g., Bonanno & Kaltman, 1999; Davis, Wortman, Lehman, & Silver, 2000; Janoff-Bulman, 1992; Joseph & Linley, 2005; Lepore & Helgeson, 1998; Neimeyer, 2001; Taylor, 1983; Thompson & Janigian, 1988). Although differing in some particulars, these perspectives converge on a set of essential tenets for which there is a surprisingly high degree of consensus (Lepore, Silver, Wortman, & Wayment, 1996).² These tenets include the following: (a) People possess orienting systems, referred to here as global meaning, that provide them with cognitive frameworks with which to interpret their experiences and with motivation; (b) When encountering

¹ Because meaning in the context of highly stressful events is a broad topic, taking some theoretical perspective is necessary for sorting through of the vast swatches of ideas and data. Any model presents some limitations, and no model is currently predominant. The model underlying this article was developed from multiple prominent sources (see Figure 1) and should be subjected to empirical test alongside other alternatives, such as those noted here.

² It is important to note that these theorists differed in some aspects regarding specific elements of their theoretical viewpoints. For example, of the theorists whose work most strongly shaped the present meaning-making model, most were quite explicit about the “shattering” or discrepancy idea (e.g., Epstein, 1991; Janoff-Bulman, 1992; Joseph & Linley, 2005; Silver et al., 1983). Others described threats to self or beliefs or implied that threats to existential beliefs were driving the need to make meaning and often implicitly referred to violations of worldviews, but they did not make this notion the keystone of their theory (e.g., Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Lepore, 2001).

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Making Sense In Life And Literature

**Lucy Ella Fay, Anne Thaxter
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