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# A Longitudinal Study on the Stability and Predictors of Flourishing among Emerging Adults

#### **Abstract**

Flourishing is a concept that combines hedonic and eudaimonic well-being. Flourishing is advantageous for both individuals themselves and the society in which they live. The present study analyses the stability, predictors and correlates of flourishing during the initial years of emerging adulthood, along with gender differences. The sample comprised 400 emerging adults (268 women) who completed a questionnaire at two time points: wave 1 (mean age= 20.31; SD= 2.04) and, three years later: wave 2 (mean age= 23.66; SD= 2.08). The results indicate that flourishing is stable during this time period and that emerging adult women flourish more than their male counterparts. This high level of stability notwithstanding, the results indicate that having a romantic partner and enjoying social support from parents, friends and one's partner foster flourishing and cause it to increase over the course of this period. The findings reveal how important it is for young people to feel supported, since although they are engaged in a search for autonomy and independence, they continue to need social support.

*Keywords*: flourishing, emerging adulthood, developmental task, social support, gender differences, longitudinal Study.

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The concept of well-being refers to people's subjective perceptions regarding the quality of their lives (Ryff & Singer, 2000). The scientific literature has traditionally made a conceptual distinction between hedonic and eudaimonic well-being (Ryan & Deci, 2001). Hedonic well-being encompasses subjective or emotional well-being, the components of which are happiness, satisfaction with life and the balance between positive and negative affect (Diener 1984). Psychological well-being and social well-being together comprise eudaimonic well-being and include a wide variety of components such as meaning, engagement, purpose in life, positive relations and personal growth (Keyes, 2002; Ryan et al., 2008; Ryff, 1989). The concept of flourishing combines both types of well-being and is understood as the search for an authentic life aimed at achieving the highest possible levels of both hedonic (i.e., feeling good) and eudaimonic well-being (i.e., functioning effectively) (Huppert & So, 2013; Keyes & Annas, 2009).

Many studies support the idea that a flourishing life is associated with a broad range of advantageous outcomes for individuals in terms of physical health, satisfaction with life, self-esteem, vitality, academic performance, productivity at work and psychosocial functioning (Huta & Ryan, 2010; Keyes, 2007; Keyes et al., 2012; Lamers et al., 2011; Peterson et al., 2005; Schotanus-Dijkstra et al., 2016; Vella-Brodrick et al., 2009). These findings have led to the conclusion that flourishing is not just beneficial to the individual concerned, but also contributes to the well-being of society in general (Keyes & Annas, 2009; Vanderweele et al., 2019), which is why understanding its evolution and identifying its predictors may help enhance individual flourishing and lead, ultimately, to greater social well-being.

Emerging adulthood, the life stage which occurs between the ages of 18 and 29 years (Arnett, 2000), is a transition period that is considered crucial in the determination of people's health and well-being pathways (Chen et al., 2019). Previous research has shown that emerging adults are particularly at risk of certain difficulties, including mental health problems, injury and alcohol and drug abuse (Gandhi et al., 2018; Merikangas et al., 2009; O'Connor et al., 2011; Tanner et al., 2007). These risks may challenge the flourishing of emerging adults (Nelson & Padilla-Walker, 2013) in different domains, principally educational attainment, the establishment of professional and personal trajectories, vitality, life satisfaction and physical health (Coffey et a., 2016; Tanner et al., 2007).

Emerging adulthood also involves a delay in the assumption of adult roles that enables young people to explore their own identity and the world around them from an adult perspective, but without the serious consequences that full adulthood entails, since they do not yet have any major responsibilities (Arnett, 2000, 2015). Consequently, despite the risks outlined above, emerging adulthood is generally a stage in which young people flourish (Padilla-Walker, & Nelson, 2017). The few longitudinal studies

that have been carried out previously with this population have shown that, among emerging adult university students (in their freshman, sophomore and final years), well-being tends to increase (Walker, 2009), or at least remain stable (Coffey et al., 2016). This last finding coincides with those reported by authors focusing on adulthood, who found that well-being remains stable during adulthood, including emerging adulthood (Diener & Suh, 1998; Lucas & Gohm, 2000; Pinquart, 2001). The present study aims to analyzed the flourishing of emerging adults, the changes that may occur during this stage and the predictors of these changes.

Gender is a key variable that determines both our view of ourselves and how we relate to others. The results reported by studies analyzing the association between gender and flourishing con población adulta, incluida la adultez emergente, are inconclusive (Batz & Tay, 2018), with some finding that women flourish more than men (Shotanus-Dijkstra et al., 2016; Tong & Wang, 2017), others finding that men flourish significantly more than women (Keyes 2007; Keyes & Simoes, 2012) and others finding no gender differences in this sense (Li et al., 2013; Martín-Carbonell et al., 2021). These inconsistent results highlight the importance of continuing to accumulate evidence regarding the role of gender in flourishing.

As well as determining whether or not flourishing changes over the course of emerging adulthood and the possible role played by gender in this, it is also important to explore what other variables may explain flourishing among young people. For example, successes and difficulties accomplishing the developmental tasks (Havighurst, 1972) inherent to this stage may explain some of the differences observed in flourishing, as well as the changes that take place during this period. The developmental tasks of emerging adulthood coincide with what are often referred to as the "markers of adulthood". These are achievements which mark the entry of young people into the adult world. The most frequently considered markers are attaining financial independence, establishing a stable romantic relationship, moving out of the family home and becoming a parent (Baggio et al., 2017; Scharf et al., 2004; Schulenberg & Zarrett, 2006). Consistently with Havirghurst's theory (1972), we expect emerging adults who perceive themselves as adults and who feel they are fulfilling the roles that society expects of them to feel better able to cope with the demands of their environment and consequently, to have higher levels of flourishing.

Reliable evidence has been reported indicating that higher levels of positive development and well-being among emerging adults are associated with positive relationships with family and friends (O'Connor et al., 2011). Although social support plays a key role in individual well-being throughout the entire life cycle, it is particularly important to the flourishing of young people during emerging adulthood (Ciarrochi et al., 2017; Holliman et al., 2021; Lee & Goldstein, 2016; Taylor, 2011; Thomas et al., 2017). In this sense, it is important to highlight the fact that the

establishment of a stable romantic relationship is one of the developmental tasks of emerging adulthood. Indeed, social support from one's romantic partner has been linked to young people's health and well-being (Lee et al., 2018).

Although flourishing is viewed as the focal point for research in the field of positive psychology (Dodge et al., 2012; Huppert & So, 2013; Schotanus-Dijkstra et al., 2015), few studies have sought to analyze the prevalence of flourishing among the general non-clinical population with no particular problems (Schotanus-Dijkstra et al., 2016), and fewer still have focused on flourishing during emerging adulthood (Chen et al., 2019) from a longitudinal perspective. The aim of the present study is to provide data on flourishing and its precursors throughout emerging adulthood, in order to enable greater insight into the evolution of this variable across the period and determine how gender, the accomplishment of developmental tasks and social support are associated with it during the early and middle years of this stage.

The study has three specific aims. Firstly, to analyze the stability of flourishing during the early and middle years of emerging adulthood; secondly, to explore possible gender differences in flourishing; and thirdly, to determine the possible effect of social support and the accomplishment of the developmental tasks inherent to the stage on flourishing during the middle years of emerging adulthood, and to chart any changes in this sense since the early part of the period. In relation to the first aim, our hypothesis is that flourishing will remain stable between the two time points analyzed (Coffey et al., 2016; Diener et al., 2006). In terms of the second aim, and due to the disparity of research findings to date, we are unable to formulate a clear hypothesis. Finally, we expect social support and the accomplishment of the developmental tasks inherent to emerging adulthood to foster flourishing at both time points studied, and to predict a possible increase in its level.

## Method

## Sample

The study involved the longitudinal monitoring of a group of young emerging adults. The sample comprised 400 emerging adults, 268 women (67%) and 132 men. During the first wave of data collection (W1), participants were aged between 18 and 28 years (M= 20.31 and SD=2.04). Three years later (W2), they were aged between 21 and 32 years (M= 23.66; SD= 2.08). In W1, INCLUIR NIVEL ESTUDIOS Y CON QUIEN VIVEN participants reported low (18.5 %), medium (69.7 %) and high (11.8 %) family income levels, while in W2, the percentages were as follows: low (22 %), medium (59.5 %) and high (18.5 %).

### **Procedure**

In W1, data were collected from 1502 students from the University of [removed for blind review] and the University of [removed for blind review]. Subjects were

recruited by considering the representative distribution of the different subject areas (MECD 2016): Arts and Humanities (8.5% in our sample, 9.5% Spanish university), Social Sciences and Legal Studies (32.2%), Engineering and Architecture (23.5%), Health Sciences (29.2%), and Sciences (6.7%). In the spring of 2015, specially trained members of the research team collected data in the university classroom setting en papel. Participants were informed of the purpose of the study and were assured of the anonymity and confidentiality of their answers. Participation was voluntary. Every student present in the classroom when fieldwork was underway agreed to participate and all were asked to voluntarily leave their contact details (e-mail or telephone number).

Of the 1502 students in the original sample, 902 left contact details (e-mail or telephone number). Three years later, we contacted them again to ask them to complete another online survey. Of those contacted, 34 asked to withdraw and 451 did not answer (telephone numbers not belonging to them or e-mails that were either undelivered or unanswered). A total of 417 completed questionnaires were received during the second wave of the study (W2), of which 17 were eliminated due to acquiescence, low response rates or duplicated responses, resulting in a final sample of 400 participants.

The research study complies with the Ethical Principles of the Helsinki Declaration. The study was approved by the Ethics Committee of [removed for blind review]".

## **Attrition Analysis**

In general, no major differences were observed between participants who remained in the study and those who did not. The data indicated that, among those remaining in the study in W2, there were more women than would be expected due to chance  $\chi^2 = 10.76$ ; p= .001, although the effect size was small (Cramer's V = .08). This group also contained a higher proportion than would be expected by chance of participants who had a romantic partner in W1 ( $\chi^2 = 6.87$ ; p= .009, Cramer's V= .068), again with a small effect size. Moreover, participants who remained in the study in W2 reported in W1 less perceived social support from friends t (601.99)= 2.58 p= .010, Cohen's d= .015 and family t (641.70)= 2.48, p= .013, Cohen's d= .015 than those who left, both with a negligible effect size.

No differences were observed between participants who remained in the study and those who did not in terms of income level ( $\chi^2$ = 4.62; p= .099); employment situation ( $\chi^2$ = .003; p= .960); living independently ( $\chi^2$ = 3.33; p= .068); flourishing level t (1.500)= .53; p= .597 and perceived social support from their romantic partner t (801)= .15; p= .881.

#### **Instruments**

## Sociodemographic variables

Information was collected regarding gender (male or female) and perceived level of family income. Perceived family income was measured using an *ad hoc* three-point scale ranging from 1 (low: perception of serious financial difficulties) to 3 (high, perception of having a high enough income to live comfortably).

## The markers of adulthood

To measure the markers of emerging adulthood, participants were asked whether they had or were looking for a job, whether they had a romantic partner and whether they had moved out of the family home. Responses were dichotomized into two levels for analysis. Employment: "0 Unemployed/Not looking for a job" and "1 Employed/Looking for a job"; Partner: "0 Single" and "1 Partner"; Having moved out of the family home: "0 Living with family or in a student residence and "1 Living independently". Participants were not asked about being parents since, although this is considered one of the developmental tasks of this stage in many cultures, in Spain most people start having children after the age of 30, well beyond the age range of our sample.

# Flourishing

We used the Spanish version (De la Fuente et al., 2017) of the *Flourishing Scale* (Diener et al., 2010). This scale comprises eight items (e.g., "I lead a purposeful and meaningful life") measured rated on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 7 (Strongly agree). Se calculó el sumatorio. Puntuaciones más altas implican mayor nivel de florecimiento. A total alpha of .81 was obtained in W1, and in W2 this value was .84.

# Social Support

We used the *Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support* (Zimet et al., 1988). This scale comprises three 4-item subscales, rated on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 7 (Strongly agree). Se calcularon las puntuaciones medias, el rango de las puntuaciones va de 4 a 28. Assesses social support from friends, ( $\alpha$  = .90 in W1 and  $\alpha$  =.90 in W2), e.g., "My friends really try to help me"; social support from family ( $\alpha$  =.89 in W1 and  $\alpha$  =.92 in W2), e.g., "I can count on my family when things go wrong"; and social support from a "special person". Our research team replaced the "special person" subscale with one measuring social support from a romantic partner ( $\alpha$  = .92 in W1 and  $\alpha$  =.90 in W2), e.g., "I can talk about my problems with my partner".

## **Data Analysis**

The IBM SPSS Statistics 22 program was used for the data analysis. First, we calculated the means and standard deviations (continuous variables), and the frequencies and percentages (categorical variables), of all the variables included in the study. Next, we analyzed the absolute and relative stability of the flourishing variable. To calculate the absolute stability, we first determined whether changes had occurred in participants' mean flourishing level across the two time periods analyzed (Absolute Stability) (Caspi & Roberts, 1999; Jones & Peskin, 2010), using the repeated measures Student's t test. To determine to what extent participants had maintained their relative flourishing position, or whether important fluctuations existed in the occupation of different positions within the sample itself, we calculated the correlations between the two measurement times (Relative Stability) (Alder & Scher, 1994). To analyze whether coping with the developmental tasks inherent to emerging adulthood was associated with flourishing, we conducted means comparisons (Student's t tests for independent groups) between the variables markers of adulthood and flourishing in W2. To determine the relationship between flourishing and social support from family, friends and romantic partner, we then correlated these variables in W2.

Finally, to explore the role played by different explanatory variables in flourishing in W2, we calculated different regression equation models. In the first model, we included developmental tasks at the same measurement time as flourishing; in the second one, in order to establish causal relations, we added the social support variables in W1. In model 3, we analyzed the predictive role of these variables at the same measurement time; and in model 4, we used an autoregressive model in which flourishing in W1 was included as a predictor of flourishing in W2. This method allows us to conclude that the variables which form part of the autoregressive model not only are the cause of flourishing in W2, but also help explain the changes which occurred in this variable between the two time points measured.

## **Results**

The repeated measures means comparison performed to assess absolute stability revealed that flourishing remained stable throughout the period studied, with no significant differences being observed three years after the first wave of data collection (M = 46.54, SD = 5.69 in W1 and M = 46.13, SD = 6.34 in W2 (t = 1.40; p = .162). The relative stability of flourishing was also high throughout the study period, as shown by the large Pearson correlation coefficient (Cohen, 1988) between W1 and W2 (r = .53; p < .001).

The data also revealed that women (M= 47.09/46.67 in W1 and W2, respectively) scored higher for flourishing than men (M= 45.42/45.02) in both W1 (t = 2.62, p= .009) and W2 (t = -2.46; p= .014). Furthermore, those with a low income level scored lower for flourishing than those with a medium or high one (Table 1).

**Table 1**Descriptive analyses of the study variables in W1 and W2 and ANOVAs of flourishing levels in W2 by study variables in W2

Variable				
_	Percentage	Percentage	Flourishing W2	F or t
	W1	W2	Mean (SD)	$(\eta^2)$
			Max-Min	
Income level				4.30**
Low	18.5%	22%	44.42 (7.40)	(.021)
			22-56	
Medium	69.7%	59.5%	46.50 (5.78)	
			27-56	
High	11.8%	18.5%	46.96 (6.45)	
			20-56	
Employment				-2.44*
Unemployed/ Not	59%	18%	44.14 (7.97)	(.022)
looking for a job			20-56	
Employed/ Looking for a	40.8%	82%	46.56 (5.85)	
job			24-56	
Partner				-3.88***
Single	42.7%	38.1%	44.58 (6.74)	(.039)
			24-56	
Partner	57.3%	61.9%	47.14 (5.82)	
			20-56	
Living independently				-2.51**
				(.012)
Parents/Shared house or	98.7%	84.3%	45.83 (6.50)	,
student residence			20-56	
Alone/with partner	1.3%	15.8%	47.70 (5.19)	
			29-56	

Note. \* $p \le .05$ ; \*\* $p \le .01$ ; \*\*\* $p \le .001$ 

In relation to developmental tasks, as shown in Table 1, those who were accomplishing the tasks inherent to emerging adulthood (i.e., those who had or were looking for a job, those who had a stable romantic partner, and those who had moved out of the family home) had higher levels of flourishing, although all associations had a small effect size.

Table 2 shows the bivariate correlations between flourishing (FS) and perceived social support from friends, family and partner. Practically all the correlations were significant, revealing a relationship between perceived social support and flourishing in both W1 and W2, with a medium or large effect size. In W1, the sources of support most closely associated with flourishing were family and friends. In W2, social support from friends correlated very closely with flourishing, even more closely than social support from family. At both time points, the weakest correlation was found with support from one's romantic partner, although the strength of the association increased from W1 to W2.

 Table 2

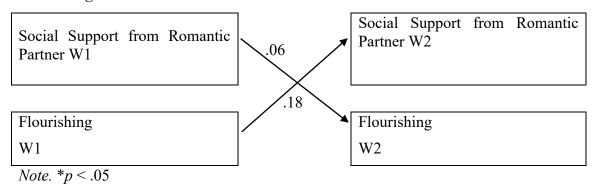
 Descriptive analyses and Pearson correlations between Flourishing and Social Support

Variable	Mean (SD)	Flourishing W1	Flourishing W2
	Max-Min	Rxy	Rxy
Social support W1			
Friends W1	5.90 (1.31) 7-1	.35**	.31**
Family W1	6.02 (1.29) 7-1	.36**	.31**
Partner W1	6.50 (.95) 7-1.25	.28**	.06
Social support T2			
Friends W2	5.98 (1.08) 7-1	.29**	.49**
Family W2	5.82 (1.30) 7-1	.32**	.43**
Partner W2	6.46 (.77) 7-2.75	.18*	.31**

Note. \* $p \le .01$ ; \*\* $p \le .001$ 

A more detailed analysis revealed no causality in the correlations between flourishing and social support from family and friends. In other words, the correlation between social support from family in W1 and flourishing in W2 (r= .31) was similar to the correlation between flourishing in W1 and social support from family in W2 (r= .32), with similar results being found also for social support from friends. Nevertheless, the correlations observed in relation to social support from one's partner did suggest causality (see Figure 1), with flourishing in W1 seeming to predict having a romantic partner in W2, whereas having a romantic partner in W1 did not predict flourishing in W2.

**Figure 1**Cross-Lagged Panel Correlation between Social Support from Romantic Partner and Flourishing



To respond to our third aim and determine the influence of social support and the accomplishment of developmental tasks on flourishing in W2 from a longitudinal perspective, we performed four hierarchical regression analyses (Table 3). The aim of the first model was to determine the influence of the accomplishment of developmental tasks on flourishing. To this end, in addition to developmental tasks, we also included the variables gender and income level in the model, in order to control for their effects, since they had been observed to be associated with flourishing. All variables were converted to dichotomous dummies (0-1). In addition to the influence of gender and income level, which was maintained in the model, the results indicated that in W2, those who had or were looking for a job and had those who had a romantic partner flourished more (R2= .082). Living independently was not found to influence flourishing.

Table 3
Lineal regression analysis on Flourishing W

Predictors	β	$R^2$
Model 1		.082
Gender	.10*	
Income level W2	.16**	
Having a job W2	.11*	
Being in a romantic relationship W2	.17**	
Living independently W2	.06	
Model 2		.073
Gender	.07	
Income level W2	.07	
Having a job W2	.02	
Being in a romantic relationship W2	.14*	
Support from friends W1	.14*	
Support from family W1	.20**	
Support from partner W1	04	
Model 3		.333
Gender	04	
Income level W2	.02	
Having a job W2	.10	
Being in a romantic relationship W2	.34***	
Support from friends W2	.26***	
Support from family W2	.19**	
Support from partner W2		
Model 4. Autoregressive		.474
Flourishing W1	.40***	
Gender	04	
Income level W2	.003	
Having a job W2	.05	
Being in a romantic relationship W2	.01	
Support from friends W2	.26***	
Support from family W2	.20***	
Support from partner W2	.14**	

Note:  $*p \le .05$ ;  $**p \le .01$ ;  $***p \le .001$ 

Consequently, this variable was not maintained in the rest of the models.

The second model aimed to determine whether, once the role of the demographic variables and developmental tasks were controlled for, perceived social support at the beginning of emerging adulthood (W1) explained flourishing three years later (W2). The results revealed that of the demographic variables and developmental tasks studied, only having a romantic relationship had any explanatory power. Social support from one's romantic partner in W1 was not associated with flourishing in W2, although perceived social support from friends and family was found to have explanatory power. Since social support from family and friends was assessed three years before flourishing, the data suggest causality, with these two types of social support at the start of emerging adulthood being associated with flourishing several years later.

The third model aimed to determine whether perceived social support and the accomplishment of developmental tasks in W2 influenced flourishing at that same time point. We therefore included gender, income level and those developmental tasks found to be significant in the model. In this case, none of the demographic variables or developmental tasks were found to explain flourishing, although social support from one's friends, family and partner were. The explanatory power of the model was 33.3%.

Finally, in the fourth model, in addition to maintaining the variables included in the third one, we also included flourishing in W1. Using an autoregressive model, our aim was to determine whether the accomplishment of developmental tasks or perceived social support in W2 contributed not only to flourishing levels at the same time point, but also to the change in flourishing observed between W1 and W2. The results indicated that social support from one's friends, family and partner in W2 not only predicted flourishing in W2, but also the change in flourishing observed between W1 and W2. The explanatory power of the model was very high: 47.4%.

## **Discussion**

The present study had three aims: to analyze the stability of flourishing during the early and middle years of emerging adulthood; to explore possible gender differences in flourishing; and to determine the possible effect of social support and the accomplishment of the developmental tasks inherent to the stage on flourishing during the middle years of emerging adulthood, as well as to chart any changes in this sense since the early part of the period.

In broad terms, our results indicate that flourishing remains stable throughout emerging adulthood; that women flourish more than men; that those who are accomplishing the developmental tasks inherent to emerging adulthood (i.e., have a stable romantic partner, have or are looking for a job and/or have moved out of the family home) flourish more than those who are not; and that social support predicts flourishing and helps explain the change observed in flourishing levels between W1 and W2. We will now explore these results in more detail.

It is striking that flourishing was found to be very stable in both absolute and relative terms. In other words, the majority of the emerging adults in our study reported similar levels of flourishing at both time points measured, which were separated by an interval of approximately three years (absolute stability). Moreover, participants' relative positions for flourishing in relation to the rest of the sample group also mostly remained constant, indicating that those who occupied higher positions in terms of flourishing at the start of emerging adulthood were mainly still in those positions three years later, and vice versa for those with lower scores. This stability has traditionally been observed also in the study of subjective well-being (Diener et al., 1999), since people's circumstances in life tend to change fairly slowly (Diner et al., 2018). However, emerging adulthood is, by definition, a period of instability and change (Arnett, 2000, Sánchez-Queija et al., 2020), which, to a certain extent, contradicts the results found in our study. One possible explanation for the stability found in flourishing across this time period may lie in the concept of a hedonic adaptation setpoint (Diener et al., 2006). According to this theory, people react briefly to both positive and negative events, but in a very short space of time return to their default level of well-being (known as their set-point), which is explained by several different mechanisms, one being the genetic component of flourishing, which facilitates its heritability. In this sense, Tellegen et al. (1988) found that identical twins brought up separately had much more similar levels of well-being than fraternal twins also brought up separately. Another argument in favor of a well-being set-point is based on the fact that some personality traits (such as extroversion and neuroticism), which correlate strongly with psychological well-being variables, are relatively stable over time (Diener & Lucas, 1999).

Beyond the idea of a hedonic adaptation set-point, another argument that justifies the stability observed in flourishing levels in our study is linked to the stability of the Spanish context during this period. Whereas in many English-speaking countries emerging adults often move to another city to attend university, in Spain, young people tend to remain in the family home until well into their twenties (according to INJUVE 2020, this group accounts for 64% of all young people aged between 18 and 34 years, with the mean age for moving out of the family home being 29.5 years) and, as far as possible, stay close to their families even after they move out. In this sense, the Spanish context is very stable for young people, at least in terms of their living situation.

The finding that women report higher levels of flourishing than men during the initial years of emerging adulthood is consistent with that observed in previous research (Ando, 2014, Schotanus-Dijkstra et al., 2016; Tong & Wang, 2017). Aunque pueda parecer contradictorio con la abundante literature que indica que las mujeres tienen más depression y ansiedad que los hombres (incluir cita), no lo son, ya que como indicó Antonowsky (referncia) florecimiento y sintomatología no son dos polos de una misma dimension, sino dimensiones opuestas. Por otro lado, in their analysis of happiness,

Plagnol and Easterlin (2008) conclude that this difference is developmental in nature, arguing that young women tend to have higher levels of well-being because they are more likely than young men to accomplish their aspirations in terms of romantic relationships and financial resources. In their study, these authors found that young women were more likely than young men to be in a stable romantic relationship, have a house and car and be able to travel. This trend is reversed later on in the life cycle, with men having more access to resources and higher levels of happiness. After analyzing three large international samples, Arrosa and Gandelman concluded that there is a kind of "female optimism" (Arrosa & Gandelman, 2016, p.733) that prompts women to assess their living conditions more positively, even when they are objectively worse than men's.

Our results also indicate that lower income levels are associated with lower levels of flourishing. A lower income may have a negative effect on flourishing because it prevents emerging adults with fewer resources from continuing their studies and forces them to find a job earlier than they may wish to (Sironi et al., 2015). Having a lower level of financial solvency in the family may therefore result in young people failing to complete their studies or training because they simply cannot afford to be unemployed for so long. Moreover, financial difficulties may prevent young people from moving out of the family home into their own dwelling prior to starting a family (Furstenberg, 2008). In contrast, young people from more affluent families can remain in education for longer periods and are more likely to complete their education before seeking stable employment. Their parents are also more likely to provide them with financial aid when they decide to move out of the family home (Scabini et al., 2007).

To our mind, one finding that is of particular interest is the role played by the accomplishment of developmental tasks in the attainment of higher levels of flourishing. Even though these variables were not those with the greatest explanatory power, having or looking for a job, having a stable romantic partner and living independently (although this variable was not found to have predictive power in the regression models) were all associated with higher flourishing levels. This is not surprising since, right from the beginning, "a developmental task" has been defined as "a task which arises at or about a certain period in the life of the individual, successful achievement of which leads to his happiness and to success with later tasks, while failure leads to unhappiness in the individual, disapproval by society, and difficulty with later tasks" (Havighurst, 1956, p. 215). Nevertheless, although previous research has analyzed the factors that foster or hamper the accomplishment of developmental tasks during this developmental stage (Gotham et al., 2003; Scharf et al., 2004; Seiffge-Krenke, 2009), to the best of our knowledge, this is the first study to demonstrate that achieving the developmental tasks inherent to emerging adulthood is directly associated with well-being, in this case assessed through flourishing.

One of the principal contributions made by this study is the confirmation, with longitudinal data, of the role played by social support in predicting flourishing and changes in this variable between the early and middle years of emerging adulthood. Indeed, the regression equation revealed that social support from family and friends at the start of emerging adulthood predicts flourishing levels three years later, and that concurrent social support levels explain the changes observed in flourishing between W1 and W2. This is particularly important if we take into consideration the fact that, as stated earlier, flourishing is a very stable variable that undergoes few changes. In other words, social support is important enough to explain the little change observed.

Many previous studies have associated perceived social support from family and friends with health outcomes, quality of life and even an increase in life expectancy during adulthood (Helgeson, 2003; Helsen et al., 2000; Martinez-Hernandez et al., 2016; Uchino, 2006). As Taylor (2011) states, social support generates well-being through physiological, neuroendocrine and immunological mechanisms. In this sense, social support triggers an increase in oxytocin, which is directly related to feelings of well-being. Social support also reduces stress, thereby avoiding the associated negative immunological and physiological consequences (Lee & Goldstein, 2016; Lee et al., 2018).

The role of social support from one's romantic partner is slightly more controversial. The correlation or cross product analysis indicated that it is not so much that social support from one's romantic partner predicts flourishing, but rather that people who flourish are more likely to perceive social support from their partner three years later. Indeed, social support from one's partner in W1 did not form part of the explanatory model of flourishing in W2, although having a romantic partner at that time did. When concurrent variables were included, the results revealed that, as with social support from family and friends, the flourishing levels in W2 of those who felt supported by their romantic partners at that moment had increased in comparison with W1. Although further research is required in this sense, it is plausible to hypothesize that these data may be explained in developmental terms. As stated earlier, emerging adulthood is a period of change and instability (Arnett, 2000, 2015). In the original theory, these changes refer to changes in romantic partner (as well as others such as changes in residence or job). Emerging adulthood is therefore a period in which young people must balance their plans for their future professional and romantic lives, with couples often breaking up due to the incompatibility of these interests (Shulman & Connolly, 2013). Since this balance is achieved gradually over the course of emerging adulthood, romantic partners are more likely to be important elements in young people's lives at the age of 23.5 years (the mean age of participants in our study in W2), and may even have become attachment figures. It is therefore in W2 that partners become figures whose social support is more clearly associated with flourishing. This hypothesis needs to be confirmed in future studies.

## Limitations

Despite its strengths, the study also has some limitations that should be taken into consideration. Firstly, the sample was comprised exclusively of university students. It is therefore unclear to what extent the results can be generalized to non university-going emerging adults. Although the number of young people attending university has increased significantly over recent years (Arnett 2015), many emerging adults are not students; these young people are underrepresented in research into emerging adulthood (Arnett 2000). Future research should therefore take this into account and make a concerted effort to recruit non-university participants. Finally, our sample group contained a high percentage of women, which should also be taken into consideration when drawing conclusions.

#### **Conclusions**

The results of the present study expand our knowledge of flourishing among emerging adults in several different ways. Firstly, they indicate that flourishing remains stable across the early and middle years of emerging adulthood, despite the fact that this stage is considered to be one of changes, shifts and difficulties for young people. Our results also reveal a gender gap in flourishing, with women having higher levels than men. During the transition to adulthood, flourishing is associated with the successful accomplishment of the developmental tasks inherent to this stage, particularly those of becoming financially independent and finding a stable romantic partner. Finally, our results demonstrate that young people's development during emerging adulthood is inextricably linked to their relationships with their friends, family and partner, which influence their pathways and opportunities in life (Aquilino, 2006). Young people flourish more if they perceive social support from their friends, family and/or partner. As in previous developmental stages, social support from family and friends is important for flourishing in the early years of emerging adulthood also. However, it is only later than support from one's partner begins to have the same degree of influence.

The present study provides data on flourishing during emerging adulthood from a longitudinal perspective, an outlook that enables us to explore human development from a much more complex time-related viewpoint than the snapshot image provided by cross-cutting research. Moreover, the study focuses on emerging adulthood, a stage that has emerged only recently (Arnett, 2000) and which is still largely unexplored. During this stage, it is important to support young people as they transition towards full adulthood, helping them integrate successfully into this new world so that they can make a meaningful contribution to building a better and healthier society. Our results contribute to this aim insofar as they show that, despite being a stage characterized by autonomy and independence, in order to flourish, young people continue to need support from their closest social networks.

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