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An empirical study on the eudaimonic wellbeing among college students in Sabah, Malaysia

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Abstract: The purpose of this study was to examine the eudaimonic wellbeing among college students in Sabah, Malaysia. A total of 46 students completed a questionnaire online and responses were automatically recorded on a spreadsheet. SPSS 26.0 was used to analyse data. Kruskal-Wallis H test revealed no significant differences in college students' perceptions of eudaimonic wellbeing by way of ethnicity and age, while the Mann-Whitney U test showed no significant differences in terms of gender. The group mean was 68.25, indicating that college students had below-average levels of eudaimonic wellbeing. Moreover, only 45.56 to 47.83 percent strongly agreed/agreed that they (1) found it easy to get really invested in the things that they did, (2) would find it worthwhile to do something difficult, (3) were clear about what their talents really were and (4) would get intensely involved in many of the things they did each day. Some recommendations on ways to enhance college students' eudaimonic wellbeing were made in light of the findings.

Keywords: college students, eudaimonic wellbeing, Kadazandusun, Malay, Murut, Sabah, Malaysia.

I. INTRODUCTION

Eudaimonic wellbeing represents the highest form of human virtue that is often regarded as the basis of a truly fulfilling and peaceful life. It emphasizes authentic fulfilment through a clear direction and purpose, besides the willingness to make drastic changes and invest in our personal growth (Draghici, 2023). While Aristotelian and Stoic advocates started the concept of eudaimonic wellbeing as the principal avenue to authentic fulfilment, modern psychologists have espoused its influential impact on physical, mental, and emotional health (Huta & Waterman, 2014; Waterman *et al.*, 2010). Highlighting the cruciality of a purposeful existence, it tends to augment longevity, reduce morbidity, and function as a buffer against potential illness (Ryff, 2017), besides promoting intrinsic motivation and change (Kennon, Corcoran & Prentice, 2018). Additionally, eudaimonic wellbeing also promotes self-discovery and personal growth to attain a truly satisfying life by prompting individuals to tolerate frustration in favour of long-term goals, thus fostering resilience and self-discipline for individuals to cope with turmoil and failure (Draghici, 2023).

Eudaimonic wellbeing involves the development of skills and virtues needed for optimal personal development in relation to six dimensions: (1) Self-acceptance or accepting oneself wholly with strengths and weaknesses, while seeking constant improvement, (2) authentic interpersonal relationships or investing in favourable relationships with people who resonate with one's needs, desires and life philosophy, (3) autonomy or a sense of self-determination to pursue one's own path in life, (4) environmental mastery or ability to effectively manage one's life and the surrounding world by using one's



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internal and external resources, (5) personal growth or propensity to explore one's untapped potential and apply it to pursue one's real purpose in life and (6) life purpose, including the sense of self-direction and persistence in attaining important goals (Ryff, 2014; Ryff & Singer,1996; Ryff *et al.*, 2015; Waterman *et al.*, 2010).

A. Significance and purpose of the study

Small (2015) postulated that eudaimonic wellbeing might assume a critical role in promoting moral responsibility and wisdom, thus offering a useful theoretical foundation for entrepreneurship. Further, Ryff (2018) contended that it might offer aspiring entrepreneurs a better guide to long-term goals as well as a more positive view on obstacles, barriers, and failure. As agents of socialization, tertiary institutions serve a pertinent role for promoting students' eudaimonic wellbeing, which is directly related to their achievement motivation, scholastic performance, and overall functioning on campus. There is an urgent need to develop a robust system to measure, evaluate and monitor student wellbeing; therefore, tertiary institutions need to implement quality measurement systems to identify the physical, mental, and psychosocial needs of students, the determinants of wellbeing and the development of targeted programming and intervention to improve student wellbeing (Wang, 2023). Although the mental health situation among Malaysian adolescents and youths has reached a worrying stage with an increasing prevalence of mental disorders, there is still a lack of empirical research in this area (Lee, Goh & Yeo, 2023). Therefore, this study would contribute to the body of knowledge on the personal, academic, and extraneous factors that might affect the eudaimonic wellbeing among tertiary students, besides providing suggestions for higher educational institutions to adopt a more holistic perspective on the development and enhancement of eudaimonic wellbeing.

Since college students spend a significant portion of their waking hours attaining long-term goals and overcoming various hindrances and barriers on and off campus, it is essential to explore how eudaimonic wellbeing can contribute to their academic performance as well as interpersonal functioning. The findings of this study would yield a deeper insight into their overall psychological functioning so that pragmatic measures can be adopted to enhance their eudaimonic wellbeing which in turn enables them to meet their fullest potential as tertiary learners as well as aspiring working professionals. The purpose of this study was to examine the eudaimonic wellbeing of 46 college students in Sabah, Malaysia, with the following research questions:

- Were there any significant ethnic, gender, and age differences in college students' eudaimonic wellbeing?
- What was the overall group mean of college students' eudaimonic wellbeing?
- What were the percentages of agreement on the questionnaire items with regard to college students' eudaimonic wellbeing and their implications?

II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

To close the research gap on college students' eudaimonic wellbeing and provide a theoretical framework for the study, a literature review was conducted. Joshanloo and Ghaedi (2009) who investigated the relationship between basic value priorities and hedonia (affect balance and life satisfaction) and eudaimonia (psychological and social wellbeing) among 200 university students found that achievement and traditional values were significantly related to eudaimonic wellbeing. Moreover, power, universalism, self-direction, benevolence, and conformity were also significantly related to eudaimonic wellbeing. On the other hand, Extremera et al. (2011) who examined the impact of emotional intelligence (EI) on eudaimonic wellbeing among 349 university students found that it was significantly related to eudaimonic wellbeing. Moreover, it also provided an additional variance in prospective levels of eudaimonic wellbeing over and above personality traits. Findings provided preliminary evidence on the value of EI in the development and maintenance of eudaimonic wellbeing.

Joshanloo, Rastegar, and Bakhshi (2012) examined the relationship between the Big Five personality domains and social wellbeing among 236 university students. Findings showed an overlap between personality variables and social wellbeing, with male students scoring significantly higher than female students on social wellbeing. While conscientiousness was positively related to social contribution, openness was positively related to social coherence and social contribution. Lastly, the full model explained 28 percent of the variance shared between personality variables and social wellbeing. Further, Schwartz *et al.* (2013) who examined the relationship between acculturation and wellbeing among 2,774 college



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students found that individualistic values were significantly and positively related to psychological and eudaimonic wellbeing. Moreover, psychological and eudaimonic wellbeing were found to be inherent individualistic conceptions of happiness, and adherence to individualistic values seemed to be associated with these forms of wellbeing. Cultural attachments and country of origin also tended to promote psychological and eudaimonic wellbeing. Findings suggested that similar techniques can be implemented to foster wellbeing among male and female students as well as students from different cultural backgrounds and generations.

Ravert *et al.* (2013) examined the impact of sensation seeking on the wellbeing among 8,020 college-attending emerging adults. Findings showed that novelty and intensity sensation seeking were significantly and positively related to risk behaviour. Further, significant and positive relationships were also found between novelty sensation seeking and eudaimonic wellbeing and psychological wellbeing. On the other hand, significantly negative relationships were found between intensity sensation seeking and eudaimonic wellbeing and psychological wellbeing. Lastly, eudaimonic and psychological wellbeing were related to being female and being older, as well as low depressive symptoms. On the other hand, Kiaei and Reio (2014) who examined the relationship between eudaimonic wellbeing and goal-striving, goal-aspiration, and metacognition among 513 university students found that metacognition partially mediated the relationship between goal-striving and eudaimonic wellbeing. The relationship was also moderated by goal-aspiration, with high goal-aspiration indicating full mediation, and low goal-aspiration indicating partial mediation. Findings implied that metacognition as a teachable competence, and goal-aspiration as a trainable desire can play a powerful role in students' self-actualization and eudaimonic wellbeing.

Aghababaei and Błachnio (2015) investigated the relationship between eudaimonic and hedonic wellbeing and the Dark Triad traits (sub-clinical narcissism, psychopathy, and Machiavellianism) among 220 university students. Findings revealed a positive relationship between subjective wellbeing and sub-clinical narcissism; in other words, sub-clinical narcissism was related to overall psychological wellbeing that could lead to greater happiness and life satisfaction. Findings implied that this particular dark trait (narcissism) can actually help individuals lead a favourable, full-functioning life, and may even contribute to the wellbeing of others. Freire *et al.* (2018) examined the coping profiles among 1,402 university students in relation to eudaimonic wellbeing. The relationship between profiles and eudaimonic wellbeing was determined by using a multivariate analysis of covariance, with gender, age, and university degree as covariates. Findings revealed six student profiles based on their positive reappraisal, support seeking and planning strategies. Profiles that use the three strategies tended to experience greater eudaimonic wellbeing, and vice versa. Findings implied that students should combine different coping strategies to attain greater eudaimonic wellbeing.

Braaten, Huta, and Tyrany (2019) examined the hedonic and eudaimonic motives toward university studies among 405 university students. Findings showed that both eudaimonic and hedonic enjoyment motives were significantly and positively related to wellbeing, whereas hedonic comfort motives did not. Moreover, eudaimonic motives were also significantly related to school satisfaction, elevation, meaning, self-connectedness, and interest in school. Findings implied that educators should distinguish between eudaimonic, hedonic enjoyment, and hedonic comfort motives in the academic context to augment the general wellbeing of university students.

Freire *et al.* (2019) examined the effect of eudaimonic wellbeing on adaptive strategies for coping with academic stress among 1,402 university students, using self-efficacy as a mediator and moderator. Findings showed that eudaimonic wellbeing had a significant and positive impact on self-efficacy, while self-efficacy in turn had a significant and positive effect on the use of adaptive coping strategies. In other words, although eudaimonic wellbeing had a significant and positive direct effect on the use of adaptive coping strategies, it also had a significant and positive indirect effect on the use of adaptive coping strategies through self-efficacy. The total effect of eudaimonic wellbeing on the use of adaptive coping strategies was statistically significant and positive, implying that both eudaimonic wellbeing and self-efficacy are valuable personal attributes that can directly favour the use of adaptive coping strategies among university students.

Kryza-Lacombe, Tanzini, and O'Neill (2019) investigated the relationships between hedonic and eudaimonic motives for action and student outcomes. Findings showed that eudaimonic motives for action were significantly and positively associated with GPA. Students with high levels of hedonic and eudaimonic wellbeing tended to have higher GPAs. Moreover, eudaimonic wellbeing was also significantly and negatively associated with depression and stress, and students



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with high eudaimonia tended to experience the lowest levels of both outcomes. Findings implied that eudaimonic motives are important for attaining desirable college outcomes, and can be augmented through specific interventions.

Zeng and Chen (2020) examined the relationship between hedonic and eudaimonic motives wellbeing, with self-control as a mediator among 2,882 college students. Findings indicated that eudaimonic motives were related to more positive affect, higher life satisfaction, and better eudaimonic wellbeing. In contrast, hedonic motives, while positively related to life satisfaction, were also linked to negative affect and decreased eudaimonic wellbeing. Additionally, self-control significantly mediated the relationships between hedonic and eudaimonic motives and wellbeing. Eudaimonic motives were positively related to self-control, which in turn, was positively related to positive affect, greater life satisfaction, and eudaimonic wellbeing.

Pritchard *et al.* (2020) examined the impact of nature connectedness on nature eudaimonic wellbeing (individuals' subjective sense of their relationship with the natural world) among 4,758 respondents, hypothesizing that those who were more connected to nature would display higher levels of hedonic wellbeing. Findings showed that personal growth tended to have a moderate effect size, which was significantly larger than the effect sizes for autonomy, self-acceptance, purpose in life/meaning, positive interpersonal relationships, and environmental mastery. Findings implied that individuals who are more in sync with nature tend to experience higher eudaimonic wellbeing, particularly in terms of personal growth.

Cobo-Rendón *et al.* (2020) examined the effect of perceived social support on the hedonic and eudaimonic wellbeing of 205 university students transitioning from the first to the second academic year. Findings showed that perceived social support tended to remain the same over time. Moreover, statistically significant differences were found in hedonic wellbeing scores with more than 50 percent of students demonstrating positive affections. Students with high affections tended to demonstrate a greater perception of general social support than those with affections. Findings implied the importance of perceived social support in enhancing university students' eudaimonic wellbeing which in turn accentuates their mental health.

Zhang et al. (2023) investigated the relationship between mindfulness and physical activity to determine a possible mediating role of eudaimonic wellbeing in the relationship among 738 college students. Findings revealed a significant relationship between mindfulness and enhanced eudaimonic wellbeing, which in turn contributed to increased physical activity. A significant indirect influence of eudaimonic wellbeing on the relationship between mindfulness and physical activity was also found. Findings implied that eudaimonic wellbeing may mediate the relationship between mindfulness and physical activity; therefore, college administrators should integrate mindfulness into their health promotion activities to enhance students' wellbeing and healthful living.

Leow, Leow, and Ean (2023) examined the relationship between basic psychological needs and eudaimonic wellbeing among 173 university students. Findings indicated that students' wellbeing was significantly predicted by autonomy, competence, and relatedness. Moreover, basic psychological needs also significantly predicted university students' wellbeing. Findings implied that students who feel a sense of autonomy, school connectedness, and scholastic competence will thrive in a tertiary environment that promotes eudaimonic wellbeing. Taukari, Kini, and Thakkar (2023) examined the relationship between flow experiences and eudaimonic wellbeing among college students. Flow constitutes the optimal outcomes experienced by individuals who stretch their mind or body to its limits to accomplish difficult goals, which in turn, give them a clear understanding of how they intend to proceed. A significant and positive relationship was found between eudaimonic wellbeing and flow, with the latter explaining 17 percent of the variance in eudaimonic wellbeing.

III. METHODOLOGY

A. Sample

The sample consisted of 46 students recruited from a university college in Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia. According to Parnell (2023), the rule of thumb for sample size specifies that a minimum of 30 data points for each group are needed for continuous data. The sample size of the current study might appear small, but 46 respondents should provide enough information to make a statistically sound conclusion about the college population in Kota Kinabalu, Sabah. By having a total of 46 data points, the authors could generate meaningful insights into their research objectives with a certain degree of confidence in their findings. Moreover, the central limit theorem states that a sample size of $n \ge 30$ is sufficiently large to yield valid and reliable data for a basic descriptive study. Lastly, the sample came from diverse ethnic communities in



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Sabah, namely, Kadazandusun, Malay, and Murut, and were fluent in both the Malay Language and English. They were enrolled in an early childhood education course in which the medium of instruction is English. Demographic information of the sample is shown in Table I.

Characteristic Category **Frequency** Percentage (%) 18-20 35 Age 75.09 21-23 6 13.04 5 24-26 10.87 Gender 13 Male 28.26 Female 33 71.74 Ethnicity Kadazandusun 24 52.17 11 23.91 Malay

7

4

15.22

8.70

Murut

Other

TABLE I: Demographic characteristics of respondents (n = 46)

B. Instrument

The Questionnaire for Eudaimonic Wellbeing (Waterman *et al.*, 2010) was administered to collect data. It consists of 21 Likert-scale items, ranging from strongly agree = 5 to strongly disagree = 1. Worded in the positive direction, the items assess self-discovery, perceived development of one's best potentials, a sense of purpose and meaning in life, intense involvement in activities, investment of significant effort, and enjoyment of activities. Waterman et al. (2010) administered it to two large, ethnically diverse samples of college students drawn across the United States; six hypotheses relating its scores to identity formation, personality traits, and psychological functioning were tested. Findings indicated that the questionnaire has high internal consistency and results of independent CFAs reflected that its items pattern onto a common factor. Lastly, support for all the hypotheses provides evidence for its validity as a suitable instrument for assessing eudaimonic wellbeing among college students. The full score of the questionnaire is 105 (high = 95-105, Average = 84-94, low = less than 83).

C. Data collection and analysis

A total of 46 college students were invited to complete the online questionnaire via WhatsApp; they were told that its completion was their indication of consent to voluntarily participate in the study. All respondents were assured of their anonymity, while their identity would be kept strictly confidential. Data that were collected were automatically transferred onto a spreadsheet and subsequently analysed using SPSS 26.0. First, Kruskal-Wallis H was conducted to determine if there were any significant differences in the students' basic need satisfaction in relation to ethnicity and age, while Mann-Whitney U was used to determine if there were any significant differences in terms of gender. Lastly, descriptive statistics were used to present the percentages of agreement on each item.

IV. FINDINGS

A. Non-parametric results

Kruskal-Wallis H test revealed no significant differences in college students' perceptions of eudaimonic wellbeing by way of ethnicity and age, while Mann-Whitney U test showed no significant differences in terms of gender (see Table II).

TABLE II: Kruskal-Wallis H and Mann-Whitney U results

Variable	Non-parametric test	<i>p</i> -value	
Age	Kruskal-Wallis H test	0.210	
Gender	Mann-Whitney U test	0.754	
Ethnicity	Kruskal-Wallis H test	0.790	

B. Group mean and percentages of agreement

The group mean of college students' eudaimonic wellbeing was 68.25, indicating that they had below-average levels of eudaimonic wellbeing. Additionally, percentages of strongly agree/agree responses for each item were collapsed to gain



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an overall impression of the level of college students' eudaimonic wellbeing. Only a low 45.56 to 47.83 percent strongly agreed/agreed that they (1) found it easy to get really invested in the things that they did, (2) would find it worthwhile to do something difficult, (3) were clear about what their talents really were and (4) would get intensely involved in many of the things they did each day. Only 60.87 to 67.4 percent strongly agreed/agreed that they (1) felt fulfilled by the activities that they engaged in, (2) felt really alive when engaging in activities that involved their best potential, (3) felt it was important to know if their actions matched the purposes, (4) could understand why some people worked so hard on things, (5) would continue doing things that they found rewarding, (6) knew better what would be good for them to do than other people, (7) felt it was more important that they really enjoyed what they did and (8) did not expect things to come easily to them in life (see Table III).

TABLE III: Percentages of agreement on eudaimonic wellbeing

Items	1	2	3	4	5
I find I get intensely involved in many of the things I do	0.000/	C 520/	47.020/	24.700/	10.970/
each day	0.00%	6.52%	47.83%	34.78%	10.87%
I believe I have discovered who I really am	0.00%	6.52%	39.13%	41.30%	13.04%
I don't think it would be ideal if things came easily to me in my life	0.00%	0.00%	34.78%	54.35%	10.87%
My life is centred around a set of core beliefs that gives meaning to my life		0.00%	45.65%	39.13%	15.22%
It is more important that I really enjoy what I do than that other people are impressed by it	0.00%	0.00%	34.78%	47.83%	17.39%
I believe I know what my best potentials are and I try to develop them whenever possible	0.00%	0.00%	28.26%	50.00%	21.74%
Other people don't usually know better what would be good for me to do than I know myself	0.00%	2.17%	32.61%	45.65%	19.57%
I feel best when I'm doing something worth investing a great of effort in	0.00%	0.00%	26.09%	41.30%	32.61%
I can say that I have found my purpose in life	0.00%	4.35%	28.26%	47.83%	19.57%
If I find what I was doing was rewarding for me, I would continue doing it	0.00%	0.00%	15.22%	58.70%	26.09%
I have already figured out what to do with my life	0.00%	4.35%	23.91%	56.52%	15.22%
I can understand why some people want to work so hard on the things that they do	0.00%	0.00%	17.39%	50.00%	32.61%
I believe it is important to know how what I'm doing fits with purposes worth pursuing	0.00%	0.00%	32.61%	41.30%	26.09%
I usually know what I should do because some actions just feel right to me	0.00%	0.00%	26.09%	47.83%	26.09%
When I engage in activities that involve my best potentials, I have this sense of really being alive.	0.00%	0.00%	36.96%	47.83%	15.22%
I am clear about what my talents really are	0.00%	4.35%	50.00%	34.78%	10.87%
I find a lot of the things I do are personally expressive for me	0.00%	0.00%	39.13%	50.00%	10.87%
It is important to me that I feel fulfilled by the activities that I engage in	0.00%	0.00%	39.13%	50.00%	10.87%
Even if something is really difficult, it is still worth doing	0.00%	0.00%	34.78%	45.65%	19.57%
I find it easy to get really invested in the things that I do	0.00%	0.00%	52.17%	32.61%	15.22%
I believe I know what I was meant to do in life.	0.00%	4.35%	36.96%	41.30%	17.39%

 $Strong\ agree=5, Agree=4,\ Uncertain=3,\ Disagree=2,\ Strongly\ disagree=1$



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V. DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

College students in the current study tended to exhibit below-average levels of eudaimonic wellbeing, and this finding was supported by recent research. For instance, Shahira *et al.* (2018) who examined the psychological wellbeing among 443 university students found that 42.2, 73.7, and 34.8 percent experienced depression, anxiety, and stress, respectively. Findings implied that psychological distress not only has an adverse impact on students' physical, mental, and academic wellbeing, but many of the afflicted are also reluctant to procure any help or treatment due to fear of stigma and discrimination. Further, Barbayannis *et al.* (2022) who examined whether academic stress levels affected the mental health among 843 college students found a significant correlation between academic stress and poor mental wellbeing. Findings implied that certain groups of college students tend to be more affected by stress than others, and therefore, require additional resources and support.

Kumaran *et al.* (2022) who examined the mental health among 384 university students found that university students tended to encounter mental health issues due to high levels of depression, anxiety, and stress, particularly due to a drastic change in the instructional delivery during the pandemic. Maung *et al.* (2023) who examined the mental health among 161 university students found that the prevalence and associated factors of depression, anxiety, and stress were 34.8, 42.2, and 33.5 percent, respectively. Anxiety was significantly related to living area, residence, academic year, and parental income, while clinical depression was significantly related to age and parental income. Lastly, a recent Malaysian national health and morbidity survey revealed that the prevalence of mental health problems is highest among those aged 16 to 19 years, with 18.3 percent afflicted by clinical depression and 10 percent by suicidal thoughts. Among the causal factors were unemployment, financial difficulties family and relationship problems, which in turn, are compounded by poor coping skills and insufficient social support. Lastly, common barriers to treatment included poor understanding of mental health problems, fear of social stigma or embarrassment, lack of social support, and difficulty accessing professional services (The Malaysian Reserve, 2023).

Special interventions can be implemented to enhance college students' eudaimonic wellbeing. According to Bojanowska *et al.* (2022), individuals can increase wellbeing by acting on their values rather than merely endorsing them. The researchers developed a novel intervention ("Acting on Values" or AoV) to motivate 268 individuals to initiate values-related behaviour over four weeks. Results indicated that individuals who completed the AoV achieved higher satisfaction with life, positive affect, and eudaimonic wellbeing, while experiencing lower negative affect than the control group. Findings suggested that the AoV is effective in increasing hedonic and eudaimonic wellbeing, thus contributing to the repertoire of wellbeing facilitation methods.

On the other hand, Draghici (2023) has suggested five efficacious ways that college students can successfully cultivate eudaimonic wellbeing in their academic and personal lives. First, they should develop a mindful attitude toward themselves and the world. To activate their dreams, passions, and purpose, they need to start by paying more attention to themselves by putting aside the painful past and uncertain future while remaining anchored in the present moment. Being mindful enables them to be in control of their actions and decisions, besides being present in every activity that they perform and paying attention to environmental changes. Second, they should accept their entire self; to overcome obstacles and make positive changes, they should capitalise on their inner resources rather than trying to conceal their flaws and weaknesses. By accepting themselves as a flawed but unique human being, they will cease to pretend they are someone else and start focusing on who they truly are. Third, college students should live a purpose-driven life to have a better chance at achieving lasting wellbeing. Instead of shifting from one goal to another, without a clear direction or a bigger plan, they should aim high and build their life (academic, social, personal) around a single ideal that governs their every action and decision.

Fourth, college students need to discover what their life purpose is by getting to know themselves first; then they can start establishing a lifelong purpose that will guide them toward self-fulfilment and joy. Further, they should invest in skill mastery since wellbeing also relies on material goals, such as a decent job, hobbies, or savings. Skill mastery requires them to know what they excel in, capitalise on their gifts and talents, and strive to acquire new abilities. It does not have to be formal since all they need is the willingness to study and practise enough to sharpen their skills and adopt new ones. Lastly, college students should cultivate positive interpersonal relationships in order to exchange ideas, share goals, offer emotional support, and help one another grow. It is almost impossible for them to survive and thrive on their own in this



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digital age when their physical, emotional, and mental wellbeing largely depends on how well they interact with others. It is, therefore, crucial for them to find people who can encourage them to express themselves freely while offering them support in times of trouble and hardship (Draghici, 2023).

In summary, this study was an initial step in examining the eudaimonic wellbeing among college students in Sabah, Malaysia. Future research can examine the construct in relation to students' adaptive behaviour, academic motivation, resilience, and other psychosocial variables that may influence their eudaimonic wellbeing. To improve the generalizability of findings, future research can adopt larger, random samples drawn from different locations in relation to various demographic variables.

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