

Designing a Long Life in a Time of Generations in Transition

Examining how Bhutan's cultural and intergenerational systems function as a form of mental health infrastructure and what is at risk as society modernises.

Elzbieta Jablonska¹

Introduction: Longevity as a Mental-Health Question

Longevity is typically framed in biological and medical terms – through diet, genetics, clinical interventions and technologies designed to extend lifespan. Yet growing evidence suggests that mental health, emotional regulation and social connection are equally decisive in shaping how long – and how well – people live (Holt-Lunstad et al., 2015; Waldinger & Schulz, 2023; World Health Organization [WHO], 2025).

Bhutan's current demographic reality – where nearly half of the population is under 25 while the proportion of older citizens steadily grows – makes the question of mental health and longevity inseparable from the broader process of generational transition shaping the nation. In Bhutan, this insight is not new, even if it has not always been expressed in scientific terms.

For generations, long life has been sustained less by medical systems than by everyday cultural patterns that support psychological wellbeing. Movement embedded in daily routines, close-knit communities, spiritual practices that cultivate emotional balance and strong intergenerational relationships, together created conditions supportive of both mental health and longevity.

These elements were rarely framed as “health interventions”, yet they shaped how Bhutanese people aged. Bhutan now stands at a pivotal moment. Rapid modernisation, urbanisation, digitalisation and changing

¹ Elzbieta Jablonska is a Master Certified Coach with nearly 30 years of international experience in clinical, post disaster and community context.

family structures are transforming how people live, relate and cope with stress.

Emerging mental-health concerns span all generations: Young people face rising anxiety, loneliness and identity pressure; working-age adults experience burnout and chronic stress; elders increasingly confront isolation and loss of purpose. These shifts raise an urgent question: What happens to longevity when the cultural systems that once protected mental health begin to erode?

This article argues that longevity in Bhutan should be understood as a mental-health ecosystem, a product of social design, cultural values and intergenerational connection, rather than biology alone.

When Bhutan's traditional "longevity assets" weaken, mental wellbeing across the life course comes under strain. Viewing longevity through this intergenerational lens also clarifies how ageing, wellbeing and Gross National Happiness intersect within a single developmental framework.

At a time when Bhutan is reflecting on what different generations want for the country's future, examining longevity as a mental-health question is both timely and necessary. Using global studies and findings to interpret what is happening in Bhutan, choices made today – in education, urban planning, community design and social policy – will shape not only how long Bhutanese people live, but how connected, resilient and meaningful those lives remain.

Bhutan's Traditional Longevity Ecosystem

Longevity in Bhutan has historically emerged from a web of everyday practices rather than explicit health strategies. Long life was not pursued as an individual goal; it arose from how society was organised, how people related to one another, and how meaning was cultivated across the lifespan.

This web integrated physical movement, social connection, spiritual grounding, environmental immersion, and intergenerational continuity into daily life – creating conditions that supported both mental and physical wellbeing.

A visible pillar of this system was movement embedded in routine. Walking to fields, temples, schools and neighbours' homes ensured regular, low-intensity activity across all ages. Crucially, this movement was not framed as "exercise" but as a natural rhythm of living, supporting emotional regulation and reducing stress.

Unlike sporadic high-intensity activity, habitual moderate movement is more sustainable across the life course and is consistently associated with better mental health and healthier ageing.

Community cohesion was equally central. Villages and urban neighbourhoods functioned as social safety nets where few were left entirely alone. Daily interactions – sharing doma, exchanging news, participating in rituals – created continuous social engagement. These interactions reduced loneliness, reinforced social identity, and provided informal emotional monitoring long before formal mental-health systems existed.

Public health research confirms that social cohesion and community integration are strongly associated with both mental and physical health outcomes (Kawachi & Berkman, 2001). In such environments, psychological distress was more likely to be noticed and helped through collective care.

Spiritual routines formed another stabilising pillar. Prayer, offerings, meditation and participation in religious festivals cultivated emotional balance, acceptance of impermanence and compassion, capacities closely linked to resilience. Because these practices were embedded in daily and seasonal rhythms, they supported coping over time rather than only in moments of crisis.

Connection to nature further strengthened psychological wellbeing. Bhutanese life unfolded in close relationship with mountains, forests, rivers and farmland. Regular exposure to natural environments provided grounding, reduced cognitive overload, and reinforced the sense of belonging to something larger than the self.

Environmental psychology supports this: Contact with nature can reduce stress and strengthen psychological wellbeing (Bratman et al., 2019). Modern research, in other words, validates what Bhutanese culture long embodied.

Underlying – and connecting – these elements were strong intergenerational relationships. Elders transmitted values, coping strategies and life stories, while younger generations provided continuity, care and relevance. This exchange ensured that mental resilience, social norms and meaning-making practices were passed down organically. Intergenerational life was the connective tissue that allowed the longevity ecosystem to function as a coherent whole.

Together, these elements formed a system in which mental health was supported continuously across lifespan. Longevity was not accidental, nor the outcome of a single factor, but the cumulative expression of a culture that prioritised connection, balance and meaning – principles now echoed in Bhutan's Gross National Happiness framework.

Understanding this traditional ecosystem clarifies what is at stake as Bhutan modernises, and helps identify what must be consciously preserved, adapted and redesigned for the future.

Intergenerational Bonds as a Core Mental-Health Asset

Intergenerational relationships have long functioned as one of Bhutan's most significant – yet often unacknowledged – mental-health assets. Embedded in families, villages, monastic communities and neighbourhoods, these bonds provided emotional regulation, identity continuity and social meaning across the lifespan. Rather than supplementing wellbeing, they sustained the broader longevity ecosystem.

For younger generations, regular contact with elders offered grounding beyond practical advice. Elders transmitted stories of family, community, moral conduct and endurance, placing individual struggles within a wider narrative.

Such narrative continuity is a powerful protective factor: When young people see themselves as a part of an ongoing story, they navigate uncertainty and failure with greater resilience. Elders also modelled patience, restraint and compassion – skills central to emotional regulation.

For elders, these relationships were equally protective. Being consulted, listened to and relied upon reinforced purpose and social relevance,

mitigating loneliness and identity loss often associated with ageing. Intergenerational roles affirmed elders not as dependents but as contributors to collective wellbeing.

In this way, mental health was protected bidirectionally: Youth gained guidance and belonging, while elders-maintained dignity and meaning.

These reciprocal ties also regulated emotion across generations. Intergenerational solidarity theory emphasises how emotional closeness, shared values and functional exchange strengthen wellbeing over the life course (Silverstein & Bengtson, 1997). Intergenerational life thus operated not only as cultural continuity but as preventive mental-health infrastructure.

Moreover, multi-generational settings functioned as informal monitoring systems. Changes in mood or behaviour were more easily noticed, and distress could be addressed early through conversation, ritual, or shared support. Emotional difficulties were rarely endured in isolation; they were absorbed into communal life.

As migration, nuclear households and shifting norms reduce daily intergenerational contact, Bhutan risks losing a foundational layer of resilience. Youth may lack accessible mentors; elders may lose meaningful roles. Rising loneliness and anxiety, and diminished purpose across age groups suggest the consequences are already visible.

Recognising intergenerational bonds as a core mental-health asset reframes them from cultural nostalgia to public wellbeing strategy. Strengthening these ties is not simply about preserving tradition; it is about sustaining the relational foundations that support mental health and healthy ageing. Any forward-looking approach to longevity in Bhutan must, therefore, place intergenerational connection at its centre.

What is Changing: Modernisation and the Erosion of Protective Factors

Bhutan's traditional longevity ecosystem has not disappeared abruptly; it is being steadily reshaped by modernisation. Education, connectivity and

economic mobility have expanded opportunity, yet they have also altered the social conditions that once sustained mental health across generations.

Rural-urban migration is among the most consequential shifts. Young people increasingly leave villages for education and employment, while elders often remain behind. This spatial separation disrupts daily intergenerational contact that once occurred naturally. Elders may experience solitude and diminished social roles; youth lose accessible mentors and emotional anchors during formative years. The erosion of these ties removes a critical layer of psychological support for both groups.

The outward migration of young Bhutanese – often described as an existential challenge – does not only affect the labour force; it disrupts the psychological continuity between generations, weakening the transmission of resilience, identity and collective memory.

This shift from extended to nuclear households further fragments intergenerational life. Smaller family units reduce shared routines, storytelling, and informal emotional exchange. Caregiving and emotional labour become concentrated on fewer individuals, intensifying stress for working-age adults while limiting elders' integration in daily family life. The household – once a site of intergenerational regulation – becomes more compartmentalised.

Digitalisation adds another layer of transformation. While technology expands access to information and networks, it reduces face-to-face interaction and increases cognitive overload, particularly among youth. Screen-based engagement competes with outdoor movement, communal activities and intergenerational time.

For elders, digital exclusion can deepen isolation and reinforce feelings of irrelevance. What was once relational becomes increasingly mediated. Modern education and work structures compound these pressures. Academic competition, employment precarity, and productivity driven cultures leave less time for community participation and shared ritual.

Working-age adults often navigate dual caregiving roles within shrinking support systems. Chronic stress becomes normalised, heightening vulnerability to mental-health challenges.

Collectively, these shifts weaken the everyday practices that once sustained Bhutan's mental-health longevity ecosystem — routine movement, frequent social interaction, spiritual grounding, and intergenerational exchange.

In their place emerges a more individualised and fragmented lifestyle, placing greater responsibility on individuals to manage stress and meaning without communal scaffolding.

Recognising these challenges is not the rejection of modernisation but a call to shape it more consciously. Without deliberate adaptation, Bhutan risks extending lifespan while diminishing quality of life through isolation, burnout and loss of purpose. Identifying how protective factors erode is therefore essential to redesigning systems that support mental health and healthy ageing in a changing society.

Emerging Mental-Health Concerns Across Generations

As Bhutan's traditional longevity ecosystem weakens, mental-health challenges are surfacing across the life course. Though these concerns differ by generation, they stem from the shared structural shift — the erosion of intergenerational connection, communal buffering, and shared meaning.

- ***Youth: Anxiety, Loneliness and Identity Pressure***

Young Bhutanese experience the most rapid transformation of daily life. Digital immersion, academic competition, and global comparison shape identity formation in unprecedented ways. Many reports heightened anxiety, loneliness and pressure to perform, often without the grounding once provided by elders, ritual life and continuous community presence — patterns widely observed in global youth mental health research in contexts of rapid social and digital transformation (WHO, 2022).

Reduced intergenerational contact limits access to informal mentorship and emotional modelling. Without regular exposure to elders' life perspectives and coping strategies, youth are more vulnerable to dysregulation and identity fragmentation. Declining time in nature and reduced daily movement further weaken historical stabilisers of emotional wellbeing.

- ***Working-Age Adults: Burnout and Role Strain***

For working-age adults, mental-health strain often manifests as burnout and chronic stress. Economic pressures and productivity-driven work cultures demand sustained performance, frequently at the expense of resting, family life and community engagement.

At the same time, many adults carry dual caregiving responsibilities – supporting children and ageing parents – within shrinking family networks. As communal buffers decline, stress becomes individualised. What was once shared across extended families is now absorbed privately, increasing risks of anxiety, depression and stress-related illness.

- ***Elders: Loneliness and Loss of Purpose***

Among elders, mental-health challenges often take the form of isolation and diminished purpose. Migration reduces social roles, and declining participation in everyday communal life weakens identity structures built on contribution and guidance. For many, ageing once meant increasing relevance; today it can mean marginalisation.

The World Health Organization (2025) identifies social isolation and loss of meaningful engagement as significant risk factors for depression and declining wellbeing in older adults. In Bhutan's changing landscape, these risks are becoming more visible.

- ***Interconnected Vulnerabilities Across the Life Course***

These generational patterns are not isolated phenomena but interconnected expressions of structural change. Youth anxiety, adult burnout and elder loneliness reflect the weakening of shared systems of support.

Longitudinal research demonstrates that sustained social disconnection significantly increase risks for depression and premature mortality (Holt-Lunstad et al., 2015; Waldinger & Schulz, 2023). Addressing emerging mental-health concerns, therefore, requires a life-course approach. Wellbeing at each stage depends on the strength of relationships, roles and environments across the whole community. Without restoring these connections, Bhutan's capacity to sustain both mental health and long, meaningful lives will remain under strain.

Longevity, Mental Health and GNH: An Integrated Lens

Bhutan's philosophy of Gross National Happiness (GNH) offers a uniquely coherent framework for understanding the relationship between longevity and mental health.

From its inception, GNH challenged narrow growth-based models of development by recognising wellbeing as multidimensional – shaped by psychological health, community vitality, cultural continuity, ecological balance and governance. Within this structure lies an implicit longevity model.

Viewed through an integrated lens, GNH supports not only lifespan but life quality across generations. Domains such as psychological wellbeing, community vitality, time use and cultural diversity align closely with Bhutan's traditional longevity assets.

The multidimensional structure of GNH parallels established models of psychological wellbeing and social capital in public health research (Ura et al., 2012), reinforcing its relevance as a mental-health-oriented development framework.

Mental health is central to this relationship. Psychological wellbeing research identifies purpose in life and positive relationships as core determinants of resilience, biological regulation, and healthy ageing (Ryff, 1989, 2014). When individuals maintain meaningful roles, stable relationships and balanced daily rhythms, they are more likely to sustain adaptive health behaviours and effective stress responses.

Conversely, chronic stress, loneliness and loss of meaning increase risks of physical illness and premature ageing.

However, emerging generational vulnerabilities suggest that existing GNH indicators may not fully capture intergenerational disconnection and life-course mental strain. Youth anxiety, adult burnout and elder isolation signal pressure on the very domains GNH seeks to protect. Without explicit attention to how wellbeing is transmitted across generations, GNH risks measuring outcomes without addressing underlying processes.

Strengthening GNH therefore requires placing mental-health longevity and intergenerational connection at its centre. Elders must be recognised as contributors to community vitality; youth wellbeing must be understood as dependent on belonging and guidance; work-life balance must be treated as a determinant of long-term psychological resilience.

Reframing longevity within GNH as a social-design issue deepens Bhutan's leadership in wellbeing-oriented governance. It aligns with the original spirit of GNH: Development that sustains human flourishing across generations rather than maximising short-term gains. In this integrated model, longevity, mental health and happiness are not competing goals but mutually reinforcing outcomes of a well-designed society.

What Different Generations Want for Bhutan's Wellbeing Future

Responding to emerging mental-health concerns requires more than identifying vulnerabilities; it requires listening to generational aspirations. Youth, working-age adults and elders share a desire for dignity and wellbeing, yet articulate it through distinct priorities shaped by life stage and social change.

Designing a resilient future depends on aligning these aspirations within a shared framework of interdependence.

- ***Youth: Meaning and Belonging in a Changing World***

Young Bhutanese are growing up at the intersection of tradition and global modernity. While they embrace education, connectivity and opportunity, many seek lives anchored in identity and belonging – not solely economic success. They seek mentorship, emotional guidance, and a sense of direction in navigating academic pressure, digital environments and shifting social norms.

Youth do not reject tradition; they seek a living connection to it. They want elders as mentors rather than distant authority figures, and cultural values that coexist with innovation. For this generation, mental wellbeing depends on feeling grounded within a broader narrative of purpose, a dynamic consistent with research findings (Ryff, 1989; Silverstein & Bengtson, 1997).

- ***Working-Age Adults: Balance and Sustainability***

Working-age adults often frame their aspirations in terms of balance. They seek economic participation that does not undermine mental health, family life or community engagement.

The combined pressures of employment and caregiving create a strong desire for humane work structures and supportive social systems. For this generation, wellbeing is tied to predictability, social security, and time sovereignty – the capacity to invest time in family, elders and personal restoration without chronic strain.

They want a future where progress does not mean perpetual exhaustion and where caring for both younger and older generations is shared rather than individualised.

- ***Elders: Purpose and Recognition***

Elders consistently express the desire to remain contributors rather than dependents. For many, wellbeing is linked to recognition, respect and opportunities to transmit knowledge, values and life experience.

The erosion of intergenerational roles – due to migration and changing family structures – weakens identity and sense of purpose, increasing vulnerability to emotional withdrawal. They envisage a Bhutan where ageing is associated with wisdom and contribution, not marginalisation.

The transition between generations in Bhutan is therefore, not merely demographic; it is civilisational, requiring deliberate negotiation between inherited values and emerging aspirations in order to sustain a cohesive and mentally resilient society.

- ***A Converging Aspiration***

Despite generational differences, a shared aspiration emerges -- connection (Ryff, 1989). Youth seek guidance, adults seek balance, and elders seek purpose, but all depend on strong intergenerational bonds to achieve these goals.

Bhutan's wellbeing future therefore hinges on restoring the relational bridges that sustain mutual support. Translating generational aspirations

into education reform, workplace adaptation, community design and policy innovation is essential.

By aligning these hopes with intentional social design, Bhutan can build a future that honours its heritage while strengthening mental-health longevity across generations.

Designing for Mental-Health Longevity: Policy and Community Opportunities

If longevity is an outcome of a mental-health ecosystem rather than a purely medical achievement, it must be intentionally designed into the structures of daily life. Policies, institutions, physical environments and social roles all shape how people connect, cope and age. Bhutan's task is not to replicate the past, but to adapt its cultural longevity assets to contemporary realities.

- ***Policy and Planning: Embedding Longevity into Everyday Environments***

Urban and rural planning significantly influence long-term mental health. Walkable neighbourhoods, accessible green spaces and shared gathering areas encourage routine movement and social interaction — two foundational resilience factors. Designing spaces that facilitate informal intergenerational contact can reduce elder isolation while strengthening youth's sense of belonging.

Housing policy is equally important. Incentives for multi-generational proximity or clustered community models can help preserve relational continuity even as family structures evolve.

At the national level, expanding GNH indicators to explicitly measure intergenerational connection and life-course mental wellbeing would align policy decisions with long-term psychological sustainability.

- ***Education and Workplaces: Protecting Wellbeing Across the Life Course***
Schools and workplaces are central determinants of mental-health longevity. Education systems can incorporate structured intergenerational mentorship, connecting youth with elders and community leaders to reinforce resilience and perspective.

Workplaces must recognise chronic stress as a longevity risk factor. Flexible arrangements, realistic workloads, and protected time for caregiving and community life reduce burnout among working-age adults. Policies that support caregiving responsibilities strengthen both individual wellbeing and intergenerational stability.

- ***Community Action: Restoring Meaning and Mutual Support***

Community institutions – lhakhangs, local associations and civic centres – can serve as hubs for intergenerational exchange and cultural continuity. Revitalising shared rituals, storytelling and collective activities reinforces belonging without requiring major financial investment.

Formalising meaningful roles for elders – as mentors, educators or wellbeing stewards – restores purpose while strengthening communal mental health. Youth-led initiatives that engage elders can simultaneously reduce loneliness at both ends of the age spectrum.

- ***From Intervention to Prevention***

A central shift is required — from reactive mental-health intervention to preventive social design. Strengthening everyday conditions that foster connection and resilience is more sustainable than responding to crises after they emerge.

Preventive approaches that reinforce social cohesion and supportive environments yield lasting mental-health benefits for the population (WHO, 2022).

To protect longevity as a mental-health outcome, Bhutan may prioritise:

1. Institutionalising intergenerational engagement across schools and communities by formalising mentorship programmes that connect youth with elders through schools, community centres and local governance structures; recognise elders as contributors to wellbeing rather than passive recipients of care.
2. Designing environments that promote daily movement and social interaction: Embed walkability, shared green spaces, and community gathering areas into urban and rural planning to encourage routine social contact and movement.

3. Integrating intergenerational wellbeing into GNH measurement frameworks: Expand existing GNH domains to explicitly measure intergenerational connection, social isolation, and life-course mental wellbeing.
4. Protecting time for family and community life through workplace reform: Encourage workplace and education reforms that reduce chronic stress and preserve time for caregiving, shared rituals and intergenerational interaction.
5. Strengthening low-cost, community-based preventive mental health strategies: Prioritise preventive strategies alongside formal mental-health services.

These priorities do not resist modernisation; they guide it. By embedding mental-health longevity into policy and community life, Bhutan can extend lifespan while preserving connection, dignity and resilience across generations.

Bhutan's Global Contribution: Longevity Beyond Biohacking

Global longevity discourse is increasingly shaped by technological and individualised approaches – biohacking, genetic intervention, specialised diets, and wearable optimisation tools such as fitness trackers, sleep-monitoring devices, and biometric smartwatches. While such strategies may extend lifespan for some, they largely neglect the social and psychological foundations of healthy ageing and remain inaccessible to much of the world.

Bhutan offers a different lens. Its experience suggests that longevity is less a product of individual enhancement than of social design, cultural continuity, and mental-health protection across the life course. The assets described in this article – movement embedded in routine, interdependence, spiritual grounding, nature exposure, and intergenerational bonds – require minimal technology yet generate substantial psychological resilience.

Bhutan's contribution lies not in claiming exceptional longevity outcomes, but in reframing longevity itself. Historically, long life in Bhutan has been a shared achievement, sustained by collective norms and relational stability rather than personal optimisation.

Mental health is not siloed from social structure; it is embedded in roles, rituals and environments that reinforce meaning and belonging. As societies worldwide confront rising loneliness, burnout and demographic ageing, Bhutan's model offers transferable insights. Protecting mental health across generations – by maintaining connection, purpose and social integration – emerges as a scalable strategy for healthy ageing. These principles focus on relational design rather than technological access.

By articulating longevity as a social and cultural outcome, Bhutan contributes to global debates on sustainable wellbeing. At a moment when technological solutions dominate imagination, Bhutan's approach reminds us that some of the most powerful longevity strategies are embedded in how societies choose to live together.

Longevity, in this framing, is not a race to extend life at any cost. It is a collective commitment to sustaining dignity, resilience and meaning throughout the human lifespan.

Conclusion: Preserving Life by Preserving Connection

Bhutan's experience demonstrates that longevity is not simply the extension of years through medical or technological means, but the cumulative outcome of how societies organise daily life, sustain relationships, and cultivate meaning across generations.

When mental health is supported through people's connection, purpose, and balance, longevity follows. When these foundations weaken, longer lifespans risk being accompanied by isolation, stress, and diminished quality of life.

This article has argued that Bhutan's traditional longevity ecosystem – grounded in routine movement, community cohesion, spiritual practice, nature connection, and intergenerational bonds – has functioned as a form of preventive mental-health infrastructure across the life course.

Its erosion under modernisation is not simply cultural change; it is an emerging mental-health concern with long-term implications for healthy ageing.

Preserving longevity, therefore, calls for deliberate social design that restores intergenerational exchange, protects time for relationships, and adapts cultural assets to contemporary realities. Education systems, workplaces, urban planning, and community institutions all shape the emotional environments in which people age – and in which national identity is renewed.

At this moment of generational transition, Bhutan can integrate mental-health longevity explicitly into its vision of Gross National Happiness – strengthening domestic resilience while reaffirming its global contribution to wellbeing-oriented development. In a society where nearly half of the population is under 25 and the proportion of elders steadily rises, the future of Bhutan depends not on choosing between generations, but on strengthening the bridges between them.

Designing a long life is ultimately not about adding years at any cost. It is about sustaining the relationships that give those years meaning, depth and dignity. If Bhutan chooses to protect connection as carefully as it protects progress, longevity will remain not only a demographic outcome, but a shared expression of human flourishing.

References

- Bratman, G. N., Anderson, C. B., Berman, M. G., Cochran, B., De Vries, S., Flanders, J., Folke, C., Frumkin, H., Gross, J. J., Hartig, T., Kahn, P. H., Jr., Kuo, M., Lawler, J. J., Levin, P. S., Lindahl, T., Meyer-Lindenberg, A., Mitchell, R., Ouyang, Z., Roe, J., & Daily, G. C. (2019). Nature and mental health: An ecosystem service perspective. *Science Advances*, 5(7), eaax0903. <https://doi.org/10.1126/sciadv.aax0903>
- Holt-Lunstad, J., Smith, T. B., Baker, M., Harris, T., & Stephenson, D. (2015). Loneliness and social isolation as risk factors for mortality: A meta-analytic review. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 10(2), 227–237. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691614568352>
- Kawachi, I., & Berkman, L. F. (2001). Social ties and mental health. *Journal of Urban Health*, 78(3), 458–467. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jurban/78.3.458>

- Ryff, C. D. (1989). Happiness is everything, or is it? Explorations on the meaning of psychological wellbeing. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 57(6), 1069–1081. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.57.6.1069>
- Ryff, C. D. (2014). Psychological wellbeing revisited: Advances in the science and practice of eudaimonia. *Psychotherapy and Psychosomatics*, 83(1), 10–28. <https://doi.org/10.1159/000353263>
- Silverstein, M., & Bengtson, V. L. (1997). Intergenerational solidarity and the structure of adult child–parent relationships in American families. *American Journal of Sociology*, 103(2), 429–460. <https://doi.org/10.1086/231213>
- Ura, K., Alkire, S., Zangmo, T., & Wangdi, K. (2012). *A short guide to Gross National Happiness Index*. Centre for Bhutan Studies.
- Waldinger, R. J., & Schulz, M. S. (2023). *The good life? Lessons from the world's longest scientific study of happiness*. Simon & Schuster.
- World Health Organization (2025). *Mental health of older adults*. <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/mental-health-of-older-adults>
- World Health Organization (2022). *World mental health report: Transforming mental health for all*. <https://www.who.int/publications/i/item/9789240049338>