

# Flourishing in older adults: Some promising findings and a new mixed methods study

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**Abstract:** As the British population ages, along with those of other advanced economic societies, there will be a greater need for health and social care for this group. Successive British governments have to some extent failed to tackle this demographic issue. All health and social care professions will have to devote more of their staffing resources to working with older adults and social work is no exception. A recent research study (Carson et al., 2020), looked at how British people in the North and the South of England ( $n = 1608$ ), were functioning in the week of the first COVID-19 lockdown in England. While originally planned as a study of happiness, it was obvious that participants were very worried about the growing threat of the COVID-19 pandemic. In this paper we compare the findings from a group of Older participants (aged 60 to 87,  $n = 104$ ), with a Younger cohort (aged 17 to 30,  $n = 673$ ), on a range of measures. Older participants were seen to have significantly higher levels of Flourishing on three subscales from the PERMA Profiler. They had higher levels of Meaning and Personal Accomplishments, and lower levels of Negative Emotions. They were also found to have lower levels of Loneliness and less psychological distress. Age may have been an advantage going into the COVID-19 lockdown. We report on these findings and outline a new study of Older adults which aims to compare a large British and a Taiwanese sample. Do people in Britain have higher levels of Flourishing and less psychological distress than their Taiwanese counterparts? We also intend to look at the concept of anti-mattering. Do Older people in the UK feel they are listened to more and that their views matter to others more than do their Taiwanese equivalents?

**Keywords:** older adults; COVID-19; United Kingdom; Taiwan

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**Date of acceptance:** 12th December 2025

**Date of first online publication:** 17th February 2026

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## Introduction

*Flourishing* is a concept in positive psychology that refers to an optimal state of wellbeing which is characterised by a sense of purpose, engagement, and satisfaction in life (Keyes, 2002). It is contrasted with *languishing*, which denotes a state of stagnation and emptiness, where individuals may not experience fulfilment or positive emotions but yet may not necessarily meet the criteria for a formal diagnosis of mental illness (Keyes, 2002). In the context of older adults, flourishing is particularly relevant as it offers a more holistic view of ageing, emphasising the potential for positive psychological development even in the later stages of life. Flourishing, therefore, is not just about feeling good but about living a meaningful or purposeful life. This becomes crucial as people often face life changes while they are ageing, such as physical health issues, loss of loved ones, retirement, and social changes.

Flourishing is of significant importance not only for enhancing the quality of life of older adults but also for promoting mental health. As older adults navigate the complexities of ageing, flourishing can help buffer against challenges by fostering resilience and improving coping mechanisms (Abramson and Braverman Schmidt, 2024). Flourishing is not merely the absence of illness or negative emotions, it involves a complex combination of factors including positive relationships, personal growth, meaning, and life satisfaction (Ryff and Singer, 2008). Some studies have shown that higher wellbeing or higher levels of flourishing are linked with higher

life satisfaction, lower depression, better cognitive function, and more stable physical health outcomes in later life (Wister et al., 2016).

The importance of flourishing extends beyond mental health. It has been linked to greater life expectancy and improved physical health. Steptoe and colleagues (2015) indicate that people who flourish (especially those in the ageing population) tend to engage in more health promoting behaviours and have a lower risk of chronic conditions. Ryff (2014) also pointed out the same effect, which is that older people are more likely to maintain social connections, experience a sense of purpose, and engage in healthier behaviours if they are flourishing. Experiencing declining physical health, loss of loved ones, or lifestyle changes in later life are inevitable, but despite these challenges, there are still many older adults experiencing enhanced resilience, greater life satisfaction, and an improved sense of meaning (Carstensen et al., 2011). These findings also show that it is important to keep promoting and helping people to foster their sense of flourishing in the later stages of life.

## **The role of age in psychological wellbeing**

Age related changes can have a profound impact on psychological wellbeing, but not all older adults experience the same trajectory in terms of mental health. A growing body of research suggests that wellbeing follows a U-shaped trajectory across the lifespan, with older adults reporting higher levels of life satisfaction (Stone et al., 2010). The well-known socioemotional selectivity theory (Carstensen, 1992) suggests that as people age, they tend to shift their focus toward social engagements, meaningful experiences, and prioritising emotionally fulfilling relationships, hence leading them to enhanced wellbeing. It is evident that older people experience greater emotional stability than younger individuals. According to a more recent empirical study by Charles and Carstensen (2010), they found that older adults show lower levels of negative affect and better emotional regulation compared to younger people. They believed this is partly attributed to the development of cognitive strategies that allow older people to reframe negative experiences in a positive light.

Another contributing factor to wellbeing in older adults is their ability to maintain a sense of meaning and purpose. Older adults who focus on meaningful life goals and relationships are more likely to flourish compared to those who do not have priorities. Recent literature indicates that engaging in activities that provide a sense of purpose, including volunteering, caregiving, or creative pursuits, improve wellbeing and increase flourishing in later life (McAdams and Guo, 2015). What is more, meaning in life has been shown to buffer against the negative effects of physical health decline and social isolation, further reinforcing the importance of psychological resilience in ageing populations (Jeste et al., 2013).

Despite these positive aspects, ageing can also be associated with negative psychological outcomes. Challenges such as social isolation, chronic stress, and

reduced life satisfaction can contribute to languishing. Although it is not a mental illness as such, languishing can negatively impact overall health, increasing the risk of depression and cognitive decline (Wissing et al., 2021). Therefore, identifying early signs of languishing in older adults and implementing interventions are crucial for promoting flourishing and psychological wellbeing.

## **Effect of COVID-19 on older adults**

The COVID-19 pandemic has had a profound impact on all citizens, especially older adults, particularly in terms of the effects on their mental health or wellbeing. Vahia et al. (2020) pointed out there was a small decline in mental health among older adults during the early stage of the pandemic, however, the evidence showed a trend toward recovery over time. The study also showed that older adults may have been more resilient to anxiety, depression, and stress-related mental health disorders than a younger population during the early stage of the pandemic. They concluded that resilience may be attributed to adaptive coping mechanisms and life experiences that have equipped older people to handle stress effectively.

A systematic review by Schaefer et al. (2023) examined the pandemic's mental health impact on people who were 60 years old or more. They found a small increase in mental distress from pre- to peri pandemic in older adults. Interestingly, while anxiety symptoms decreased during the pandemic, overall positive mental health indicators such as wellbeing and quality of life, initially declined but later showed signs of recovery. Like Vahias' (2020), they also suggested that older people may have developed resilience over time, adapting to the unprecedented circumstances.

Herron and his colleagues (2025) conducted a longitudinal qualitative case study during the COVID-19 pandemic. The results suggested that older people living in rural areas can adapt and flourish to adverse events like COVID as they tend to navigate what resources they need, such as using technology devices to help them feel less lonely and less isolated. Even though the report highlighted higher levels of flourishing among rural older adults, participants did not agree with statements related to social and community engagement, as well as finding meaning in life. This study concluded that access to spaces, technologies, activities, and receiving any form of support not only enhances physical health but also promotes wellbeing, social connections and importantly enhances resilience.

Loneliness and social isolation emerged as significant factors contributing to mental health challenges during lockdown. A project funded by the National Institute for Health Research (NIHR) Maudsley Biomedical Research Centre (BRC), highlighted that increased loneliness during lockdowns was associated with heightened depressive symptoms in adults aged 50 and over (Creese et al., 2021). This research also emphasised the importance of social connections, noting that decreased physical activity and feelings of isolation were associated with poorer

mental health outcomes. Krendl and Perry (2021) also reported similar results among older people living in the US. Additionally, a longitudinal cohort study reported that older adults who had probable COVID-19 infections were twice as likely to develop mental health issues, such as depression and anxiety, and to have a poorer quality of life and greater loneliness compared to those who were without the infection. These adverse effects persisted for up to six months post-infection, underscoring the virus' prolonged impact on mental well-being (Iob et al., 2022).

The fear of contracting the virus and the higher mortality rates among older populations contributed to increased anxiety and stress. Especially during the early stages of the COVID-19 crisis, older people faced mental health struggles due to factors like social isolation, loneliness, and health worries. These concerns were compounded by disruptions to daily routines and reduced access to healthcare services, thus further impacting mental wellbeing (Kullgren et al., 2023; Gerlach et al., 2024).

Despite these challenges, many older adults demonstrated remarkable resilience, with factors such as strong social networks, engagement in physical activities, and adaptive strategies, playing crucial roles in mitigating the negative effects caused by the pandemic. Some recent literature pointed out that older people have relatively stable mental health (Joseph, 2022; Van Tilburg et al., 2021). For instance, a study in Spain (González-Sanguino et al., 2020) found that older adults had lower levels of depression, anxiety, and post-traumatic stress compared with young adults. Another study indicated that over a three-month period in 2020, older adults reported lower levels of depression, anxiety, trauma-related stress, suicidal thoughts, and substance use to cope with pandemic-related stress, compared to other age groups (Czeisler, 2020; Czeisler et al., 2021). These study findings show that older adults experienced fewer mental health concerns, may have developed better resilience, and effectively adapted to the unexpected circumstances of the pandemic.

## **Aim of the present study**

The COVID-19 pandemic was one of the most challenging times in recent human history, particularly for older adults who faced increased risks of health decline, social isolation, and psychological distress. While some evidence suggests that older people may have shown better resilience and adaptive coping strategies, others indicate heightened vulnerability. This study aims to investigate flourishing and psychological distress in older adults just prior to the start of lockdown on March 18th, 2020, just two days before the United Kingdom went into lockdown. All the participants were surveyed on a single day via the Prolific website, where participants are paid for completing surveys. We compare their experiences to those of younger people to determine whether they fared better or worse.

## Methods

### Study design and data source

This paper used the dataset obtained from Carson et al. (2020). The original online survey was delivered and collected from the Prolific website. The dataset included responses from 1608 participants aged 17 to 87 years old. The original study used an opportunity sampling technique, and the criteria were set to recruit people living in the North and South of England. It was an online cross sectional questionnaire design. The study was intended to measure happiness levels between people living in the North and the South of the country (Carson et al., 2021). However, it was apparent from responses to the survey that participants were very worried about the rapidly escalating crisis with the COVID-19 pandemic. While this effectively ruined the original aim of the study, serendipitously it was probably the only study to assess mental health and related constructs just prior to lockdown. The currently study will use this dataset and look at flourishing in older adults. Ethical approval for the study was provided by the University of Bolton Ethics Committee.

### Participants

The total sample consisted of 1608 participants, with 1605 cases deemed valid after excluding three individuals due to missing data. The total sample comprised 36.4% ( $n = 584$ ) identifying as male, 63.1% ( $n = 1012$ ) identifying as female, and 0.6% ( $n = 9$ ) identifying as 'prefer not to say'. These participants were all surveyed on a single day as noted above.

Table 1  
Participants by gender

Gender	Participants	
	<i>n</i>	%
Male	584	36.4
Female	1012	63.1
Prefer not to say	9	0.6

### Measurements

#### *Perma Profiler*

This 23-item self-rating scale was used in the survey to measure people's levels of flourishing. This scale measures one's general wellbeing based on the five elements

of flourishing from Seligman's (2011) PERMA theory, which are positive emotions (P), engagement (E), relationship (R), meaning (M), and accomplishment (A). The scale also measures negative emotions and self-assessed physical health, also having a single item on loneliness as well as one item on overall happiness. The scale was created by Margaret Kern and her colleagues (Kern et al., 2015; Butler et al., 2016) and has also been used by independent researchers (Ascenso et al., 2018; Ryan et al., 2019). It is probably the 'gold standard' measure of assessing flourishing. Higher scores denote greater levels of flourishing.

### ***University of California Los Angeles (UCLA) Brief Loneliness Scale***

This three-item scale by Hughes and his colleagues (2004) was used to assess how often an individual feels isolated or lonely. The scale comprises three dimensions includes relational connectedness (How often do you feel you lack companionship?), social connectedness (How often do you feel left out?), and self-perceived isolation (How often do you feel isolated from others?). Higher scores denote higher levels of loneliness.

### ***CORE-10***

The Clinical Outcomes in Routine Evaluation (CORE-10) developed by Barkham et al. (2013) was used to measure psychological distress. The short form was derived from the original 34-item CORE-OM. It is a measure of psychological distress.

### ***Office of National Statistics (ONS4)***

The Office of National Statistics 4 questions (ONS4) was created by the UK Office for National Statistics (2018a, 2018b) to measure one's well-being through a set of four concise questions. The questions include:

1. Overall, how satisfied are you with your life nowadays?
2. Overall, to what extent do you feel the things you do in your life are worthwhile?
3. Overall, how happy did you feel yesterday? and
4. Overall, how anxious did you feel yesterday?

These items are rated on a 0 to 10 scale.

## **Results**

Data were analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (IBM SPSS, version 27). Non-parametric statistics were used to analyse the data because the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test, skewness, kurtosis, and normal Q-Q plots showed that the main dependent variables including total score on CORE-10, total score on Flourishing, total score on UCLA, and total score on the ONS questions were not normally distributed.

The Mann-Whitney U test was used to explore differences in the dependent variables between the youngest and the oldest age groups. This meant conducting 16 statistical comparisons. A Bonferonni adjustment was made,  $.05 \div 16 = .00312$ . Hence only significance levels lower than this will be reported.

## Demographic Information

Participants were recoded by age into three age groups: 17 to 30 years (Group1), 31 to 59 years (Group 2), and 60 to 87 years (Group 3). The analyses here will focus only on Groups 1 (n = 673) and Group 3 (n = 104)

Table 2  
Participants by age

Age	Participants	
	n	%
17-30	673	41.9
31-59	828	51.6
60-87	104	6.5

## Group 1 vs Group 3

A Mann-Whitney U test was used to compare the two age groups, youngest and oldest, on the study dependent variables. For ease of presentation, only the oldest and the youngest groups are compared on the study dependent variables.

Table 3  
Comparison of flourishing between younger and older participants on the PERMA Profiler

Measure	Younger 17-30 N = 673	Older 60-87 N = 104	z score p value	Effect size
PERMA Meaning	17.71 (6.73)	20.18 (6.14)	z=-3.624 p = .001	.13
PERMA Accomplishments	18.58 (5.50)	20.90 (4.54)	z=-4.116 p = .001	.15
PERMA Negative Emotions	15.59 (11.58)	11.58 (5.83)	z=-6.278 p = .001	.23

There are several scores obtained with the PERMA Profiler. Older participants had significantly higher scores on PERMA Meaning and PERMA Accomplishments and significantly lower scores on PERMA Negative Emotions. The three emotions that fall under ‘Negative Emotions’ on the PERMA Profiler are Anxiety, Sadness and Anger. Younger participants scored significantly higher on all three, with the biggest difference 6.13 versus 4.40 being on anxiety. Younger people were significantly more anxious than older participants. The total Flourishing score was 99.67 for Younger participants and 107.96 for Older people ( $p = .004$ ).

The two groups were then compared on the four Office of National Statistics Wellbeing questions, on psychological distress and on loneliness.

Table 4

A comparison between younger and older participants on the four Office of National Statistics questions the CORE-10 and on loneliness.

Measure	Younger 17-30 N = 673	Older 60-87 N = 104	z score p value	Effect size
UCLA Loneliness	5.82 (1.77)	4.64 (1.76)	$z=-6.276$ $p= .001$	.22
PERMA Lonely	4.76 (2.64)	2.88 (2.88)	$z=-6.498$ $p = .001$	.23
CORE-10	14.08 (7.61)	9.06 (6.68)	$z=-6.663$ $p = .001$	.24
ONS Life Satisfaction	5.98 (2.29)	6.81 (2.14)	$z=3.865$ $p = .001$	.14
ONS Happy	5.43 (2.45)	6.31 (2.52)	$z=-3.711$ $p = .001$	.13
ONS Anxiety	5.54 (2.84)	4.15 (3.17)	$z=-4.156$ $p = .001$	.15
ONS Life Worthwhile	6.30 (2.47)	7.03 (2.49)	$z=-3.390$ $p = .001$	.12

The above Table shows that at the start of the COVID-19 pandemic, younger people felt significantly lonelier than older people. Older people scored significantly higher on the four Office of National Statistics Wellbeing Questions. They were ‘happier yesterday’ and less ‘anxious yesterday.’ They also had significantly higher ‘Life Satisfaction’ and felt they had more ‘Worthwhile Lives.’

## **Discussion**

### **Study findings**

This study aimed to compare flourishing and additional variables in Older adults versus a Younger group of participants using data from a study completed just before the first COVID lockdown in the UK. The statistical analyses demonstrated that there was a significant difference on three of the nine PERMA Profiler comparisons between the Older age group (60 and above) and the Younger age group (17-30). Older participants scored significantly higher on PERMA Meaning and Accomplishments. They also experienced significantly lower levels of Negative Emotions. While they scored significantly higher on Total Flourishing score, this did not meet the rigid criterion of lower than  $p = .003$ . The ONS items look at Life Satisfaction and having a Worthwhile Life, and again the Older participants scored significantly higher on both these items. It was a similar picture with respect to psychological distress, where Younger participants scored an average of 14.08 versus 9.06 for the Older group. Again, Loneliness scores were lower for the Older group. This may be because older adults often have better resilience, and this enables them to manage stress and adversity more effectively than younger people. Their resilience may be attributed to their greater experiences of life (Vahias et al., 2020).

### **Limitations**

Quantitative studies are very good at discovering differences between groups but are not so helpful in working out why those differences exist in the first place. It would need further qualitative studies to ascertain why these differences exist. Secondly, to enhance the validity of the findings, future studies should include a large and more diverse sample. Previous research by Chen et al. (2023) examined the relationships between flourishing, religious faith, and psychological distress in Taiwanese and British populations but lacked cultural homogeneity and diversity, as the sample had a higher proportion of Taiwanese participants than British ones. Similarly, the current study only used secondary data that was collected in England, limiting its generalisability. A transnational sample incorporating participants from both Eastern and Western cultures would allow for a more comprehensive analysis. Therefore, future research should aim for a more balanced and diverse sample to explore in greater depth the factors contributing to flourishing and ageing across different cultural contexts.

## **Research protocol for a new mixed methods study**

### **Background and rationale**

The topic of ageing has grown in popularity in recent decades. A report from the United Nations (2022), noted that the global population of individuals aged 65 and above stood at 771 million, representing close to 10% of the total population of the world. In addition, the proportion of those aged 60 and above is projected to rise from 1 billion in 2020 to 1.4 billion by 2030, and by 2050, it is expected to double to 2.1 billion. There is an increasing need for more comprehensive research into the mental health and overall well-being of older adults, which leads us to the foundation of this research protocol.

As the global population ages, understanding the factors that contribute to flourishing and helping to practice and cultivate flourishing in older adults has become increasingly important. As mentioned in the literature section, high levels of flourishing are associated with numerous positive outcomes in older adults, and conversely, languishing can lead to increased vulnerability to physical and mental health problems. The concept of promoting flourishing is particularly relevant to the successful ageing process, as older people navigate various life transitions and challenges associated with later life stages. Successful ageing involves absence of illness or disability as well as the presence of positive psychological functioning and social engagement. A study by Smith et al. (2019), found that older adults participating in social activities boosted life satisfaction and overall wellbeing.

The positive influences of flourishing have been well researched, however, the relationship between flourishing, languishing, and ageing has not been widely studied, particularly across different cultures and genders. Diener and Suh (2000) suggest that cultural and gender differences play a significant role in shaping individuals' beliefs, values, norms, and behaviours, in turn, influencing their experiences of ageing and wellbeing. One reason for conducting cross-sectional research is that older people in two different countries represent different contexts. This will allow us to examine how older adults in a collectivist culture (Taiwan) and an individualistic culture (UK) differ or share similarities in terms of flourishing and ageing. Older adults in both Western and Eastern cultures may also experience that they do not matter to others, referred to as anti-mattering (Flett et al., 2022). The extent and nature of the experience of anti-mattering may differ due to cultural values, family structures, and societal attitudes toward ageing. In Western societies, the emphasis on independence can contribute to greater social isolation, whereas Eastern cultures, despite the effects of modernisation, tend to keep stronger intergenerational connections that may help reduce these feelings. Thus, examining how older adults flourish and navigate in different cultures may provide valuable insights into the prevalence of anti-mattering, revealing both cultural differences and potential commonalities.

## **Aim**

The main aim of this proposed research is to focus on developing an in-depth understanding of the connection between flourishing, languishing, and successful ageing among older adults in the UK and Taiwan. The objective of this proposed research is to conduct a transnational quantitative survey and qualitative interviews to better understand flourishing and ageing in older people

## **Proposed methodology**

The proposed research will begin with a systematic literature review to explore the concepts of flourishing and languishing among older adults, aiming to identify factors that contribute to their wellbeing and the existing research gap. The review will examine various theoretical frameworks and empirical findings to establish a solid foundation for the study. To ensure comprehensive coverage of existing research, academic databases such as ProQuest, PubMed, PsycINFO, and more will be used. Through a systematic literature review, the research will map out the key determinants of flourishing in later life and understand how these concepts relate to successful ageing.

After the literature review, data collection will be conducted in four phases involving both qualitative and quantitative approaches. The first phase will conduct case studies with older adults aged 65 and above who are regarded as 'highly flourishing' by themselves or others. This phase aims to provide an in-depth exploration of the life experiences, perspectives, and contributing factors that enable these participants to maintain a strong sense of wellbeing. A semi-structured interview approach will be followed to obtain insights from participants' personal opinions on their life experiences, meaning in life, health and relationships and other factors that help them flourish. This phase of study seeks to include a minimum of 12 adults from each of Taiwan and the UK to capture cross-cultural differences and similarities in their perceptions of flourishing. These case studies will provide insights to incorporate later in the research.

In the second phase we intend conduct in-depth interviews with older adults aged 65 and above, specifically focusing on people who lost their adult children or close family members, widows, and widowers from both the UK and Taiwan. The purpose of this phase is to extract rich insights from participants' opinions not only their life experiences but experiences of grief after bereavement: for example, how they coped with their physical and mental health after losing their husband, wife, partner, son, daughter, or close family member.; how religious faith or spirituality may or may not have helped them live without their loved one; and their opinions on facing death in the later stages of life. A total of 20 interviews will be carried out, including six female and four male participants from Taiwan and the UK. The

reason for recruiting more female than males is that women are more likely to get involved in research, and have a longer life expectancy. Previous studies have also confirmed the gender imbalance issue in both qualitative and quantitative research (Thelwall et al., 2019; Otufowora et al., 2021).

The third phase of the research will involve a cross-sectional quantitative survey distributed to older adults aged 65 and above. The purpose of this phase is to measure and compare levels of flourishing and successful ageing in two contrasting national groups. The survey will be conducted and administered online, and we intend to survey around 500 participants from each of the British and the Taiwanese populations to give the study a transnational dimension. The survey will incorporate several validated scales. The PERMA Profiler created by Butler and Kern (2016) will be used to assess one's overall wellbeing based on Seligman's (2011) PERMA theory. To measure successful ageing, the study will utilise the Successful Ageing Scale developed by Reker (2009), 14-items with a 7-point-self-rated scale that measure one's healthy lifestyle choices, adaptive coping, and engagement with life. The third scale is the Anti-Mattering Scale (Flett et al., 2022), a five-item inventory designed to measure the extent to which individuals feel they do not matter to others. To measure resilience, the study will employ the CD-RISC-10 scale, a briefer version which comprises 10 items from the original Connor-Davidson Resilience Scale created by Campbell-Sills and Stein (2007). Lastly, the CORE-10 (Barkham et al., 2013) will be used to measure one's psychological distress. This instrument is a short form derived from the original-34-item CORE-OM. In addition to these scales, demographic questions covering aspects such as age, gender, marital status, income status, religion, and education level will be included to facilitate subgroup analyses.

The final phase of the research will focus on co-developing a senior flourishing program in collaboration with members of the University of the Third Age (U3A). This phase will take insights gained from the previous three stages of data collection and use them to develop a practical intervention program aimed at promoting flourishing in later life. The program will be designed to support older adults in cultivating flourishing, this would be like the Hummingbird Program for young people (Platt et al., 2020, 2024).

## Conclusions

All developed economic nations are witnessing a growth in their older adult population. What are the factors that are going to help people flourish in their later years? Research suggests that older adulthood is not just a period of decline. In fact, there is evidence that older people have higher levels of life satisfaction. We presented data from the North South Happiness Survey, which was conducted just two days before the UK went into COVID-19 lockdown. Results showed that the Older adult

sample had significantly higher levels of Meaning, Personal Accomplishments, and lower levels of Negative Emotions, than the Younger sample. Furthermore, they reported lower levels of loneliness, less mental distress, greater life satisfaction and having a more worthwhile life. We went onto describe a more comprehensive program of research which is going to use both qualitative and quantitative methods to examine flourishing between a Taiwanese and UK sample. We are hopeful that this research will lead us to develop an intervention to help boost flourishing in older adulthood. As two of the four authors of this paper are already older adults, they have a vested interest in discovering the secrets of flourishing in later life.

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