

ISAAC KABELENGA

ELDER ABUSE IN RURAL AND URBAN ZAMBIA

Interview-study with
community leaders



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Interview-study with community leaders

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Abstract

The main aim of this study was to describe and understand elder abuse using the views of the community leaders involved in addressing elder abuse in rural and urban Zambia. By using social constructionism as the philosophical underpinning of the study, and qualitative research with 31 informants, the results indicate that elder abuse in both rural and urban Zambia is a multifaceted social problem. This is because it does not only negatively affect the abused elder people but also affects the perpetrators of elder abuse, the local communities where abuse takes place and the whole Zambia. It is socially constructed in seven main forms namely spiritual abuse, political abuse, verbal abuse, physical abuse, material abuse, sexual abuse and neglect. Interestingly is that all these types of abuse are inseparable. This is because they usually take place simultaneously. Thus, from this study, it is clear that most of the abused elder people in the two communities of Zambia simultaneously suffer more than one type of abuse. The study has also constructed new knowledges on various aspects of elder abuse which include characteristics of abused elder people, characteristics of perpetrators of elder abuse, consequences of elder abuse and measures which are effective and ineffective in the fight against elder abuse. With regard to the characteristics of the abused elder people and perpetrators of abuse, the current study has shown that there is no single category of elder people or perpetrators that can be single out to be the victims or to be behind elder abuse. Rather, a mixture of elder people suffers abuse. In the same vein, there is a mixture of perpetrators of elder abuse. This is because what determine elder abuse are the types of relationships that exist between the particular elder person and other members of society. If the relationship is poor, any elder person regardless of the socio-economic status can be abused. Equally, if the relationship is poor, any person regardless of the socio-economic status can participate in elder abuse. In terms of the consequences, the study has established that elder abuse has intended and unintended consequences which transcend the abused elder person and the abuser. This is because the effects of elder abuse are also felt by the Zambian government and other actors involved in the social development of Zambia. Coming to the measures, the study has shown that both formal and informal measures can be used to address elder abuse. Depending on how they are used, both types can be effective and/or ineffective in the fight against elder abuse. Based on the present results, the study concludes that despite the differences in ways of living in rural and urban Zambia, elder abuse has manifested itself in similar ways. However, how the informants socially constructed various dynamics of elder abuse is different in a number ways from what is documented in many scientific literatures on elder abuse. Thus, the study concludes also that elder abuse can be understood well using the knowledge of the local people who understand their local environments

better. On the basis of the findings, the context-specific model for elder abuse has been generated. The study argues also that since social workers are among the main frontline workers in addressing elder abuse, the findings established in this study have implications for social work education, practice and research in both global north and global south. This is because the findings made suggest new ways of thinking about elder abuse.

Keywords: Elder abuse; Rural and Urban Zambia; Social Constructionism; Qualitative Research; Social Work

1 Introduction

1.1 Background

Elder abuse is a global problem. Although mistreatment of older people – referred to as elder abuse – was first described in British scientific journals in 1975 under the term granny battering (Phelan 2013), it is happening in every part of the world (UN 2002; INPEA 2009; Kirsten & Cheryl 2010; WHO 2013). As a social and political issue, though, it was the United States Congress that first seized on the problem, followed later by researchers and practitioners. During the 1980s scientific research and government actions were reported from Australia, Canada, China (Hong Kong SAR), Finland, Norway, Sweden and the United States, and in the following decade from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, India, Israel, Japan, South Africa, the United Kingdom and other European countries. (WHO 2002). This means that elder abuse has been recognized as a social issue/problem in both global north and global south. In international literature, a typology that has similarly gained ground in the study of elder abuse identifies five categories of elder abuse that older people suffer. These are physical abuse, sexual abuse, verbal abuse, material abuse and neglect (Wolf 2000; Iborra 2005; McAlpine 2008; Mupila 2008; Brozowski & Hall 2010; HelpAge International 2012; World Report on Ageing and Health 2015).

Having worked with elder people in Zambia since 2011, I realized that ageing issues in Zambia like many other African countries are under researched (African Policy Framework and Plan of Action on Ageing 2002; African Charter on Human and People's Rights 2005; Draft Zambia National Ageing Policy 2013). This is despite the fact that ageing is something that every human being expects to go through (Pritchard 1999; Westerhoff 2015). I also realized that with population ageing, one of the common problems associated with old age is elder abuse (UN 2013). Since elder abuse is a violation of older people's rights and given that social workers have the responsibility to fight injustice in any human society (IFSW and IASSW 1994), I got motivated to study the phenomenon of elder abuse. That was because I wanted to deepen understanding of the phenomenon of elder abuse so that I can contribute knowledge to the existing scientific knowledge on how to fight elder abuse. As a social worker, I also thought that this is one of the ways on how I could contribute knowledge on how to bring about a just society where no one is abused. This is one of the main goals of any social worker. (Black 2004).

Whilst it can be argued that there are no absolute truths when looking at social realities as every truth is relative (Fook 2002; Mullaly 2007; Gray and Webb 2013), the above conceptions of elder abuse have suffered several critics. The critics are raised

by people with experiential knowledge on elder abuse, and other researchers in other countries especially from the global south where ageing issues are relatively new, under researched and/or under documented in international literature. For example, critics argue that information on the definition of older person, elder abuse, typologies and prevalence of elder abuse is based mainly on studies undertaken in global north and as such do not really represent the global south (Cadmus & Theodora & Oladapo 2015, 712). Similarly, critics argue that elder abuse is socially and culturally constructed. This means that there cannot be uniform or universal ways of looking at elder abuse. This is because elder abuse has different meanings and interpretations in different societies and contexts. (Bavel et al. 2010; Manthorpe et al. 2011). Jordan.I. Kosberg and Juanita. L.Garcia (1995, 1) and Amanda Phelan (2013, 6) have also provided a social constructionist critic against the existing international literature on elder abuse and say this: “many studies on the types of elder abuse tend to homogenize results to portray a uniform position. This standardized approach often fails to articulate the variations of cultural and ethnic backgrounds of the population leading to a limited conceptualization of elder abuse.” In light of this gap, they conclude and recommend that current international proposition on elder abuse is limited and as such requires much additional research which should be country specific if adequate understandings of the phenomenon of elder abuse is to be enhanced and the phenomenon to be adequately addressed. Thus, the main aim of this study is to provide context specific knowledge on elder abuse and to deepen the existing awareness by offering views that reaches the multidimensionality and differences of the phenomenon of elder abuse in the developing country, Zambia.

Cases of elder abuse have been recorded in Zambia. Although there is no available statistics on the prevalence of elder abuse in Zambia due to lack of national surveys on the prevalence of elder abuse, Times of Zambia (2013) and Senior Citizens Association of Zambia (2013) have reported that elder abuse in Zambia is a daily problem affecting the whole Zambia. This note by Times of Zambia and Senior Citizens Association of Zambia (SCAZ) seems to agree with the research findings established by HelpAge International. Although not focusing on elder abuse in Zambia, HelpAge International (2011) undertook the study on the living conditions of the older people in urban Zambia. In this study 48 percent of the older people reported that they had suffered abuse. This is an indication that elder abuse exists in Zambia. Notwithstanding this, many gaps exist in the available literature on elder abuse in Zambia. To begin with, available literature on elder abuse in Zambia is too generalist in nature. For example, it is not clear about the type(s) of elder abuse that are commonly experienced; the circumstances under which specific types of abuse take place; the characteristics of older people who suffer specific types of abuse; the characteristics of the perpetrators of the specific types of abuse; the consequences of elder abuse on the abused older people, on the perpetrators, on the community where the abused older people and the perpetrators live and on the whole Zambian society as well the measures to use to address specific types of abuse. Although HelpAge international (2011) indicated that some of the older people interviewed reported having suffered abuse, the specific

types of abuse suffered are not mentioned at all. Given the fact that elder abuse is not a monolithic phenomenon (Kirsten and Cheryl 2010; Jackson 2014), it is difficult to know exactly the types of abuse that HelpAge International referred to. Similarly HelpAge International undertook its research on living conditions of the older people in urban Zambia. It did not carry out the same research in rural Zambia. However, given the differences in ways of living in urban and rural Zambia (Kamwengo 2004), it is not known whether the dynamics surrounding elder abuse in rural and urban Zambia are the same.

Given that elder abuse is context specific and should be understood within its own contexts (Bavel et al. 2010; Donovan & Regehr 2010; Manthorpe et al. 2011), it is also difficult to use international literature in trying to understand elder abuse in Zambia. For instance, international empirical literature which is mainly based on studies undertaken in global north do not provide any distinction between elder abuse in rural and urban Zambia with specific cultural values and norms that lead to elder abuse (Draft Zambia National Ageing Policy 2013). Perhaps one of the reasons for this gap in international literature is that there are no big differences in the way people live in rural and urban areas in the global north. In Zambia, like many other African countries, there are big differences in the way people in rural and urban areas live (Fuller 1972; African Policy Framework and Plan of Action on Ageing 2002; African Charter on Human and People's Rights 2005). For example, in rural Zambia there is a collective way of living and usually most of the people know each other on personal basis. On the other hand, in urban areas, people usually live in individualistic manner and usually most of them do not know each other very well on personal basis (Kamwengo 2004). On the basis of these disparities in living, it can be hypothesized that the cultural norms and values that explain elder abuse in rural and urban Zambia cannot be the same.

Since elder abuse is socially constructed and needs to be understood by using the knowledge of the local people who understand their local environments and its values, habits and their meanings (UN 2002; Bavel et al. 2010; UNECE 2013; Phelan 2013; Cadmus & Theodora & Oladapo 2015), it suggests that views on elder abuse from other countries whether it is from the global north or global south do not provide lenses that lead to adequate understanding of the phenomenon in Zambia. Despite these gaps, it can be argued that, evidence available so far shows that elder abuse exists in Zambia. However, the ontology and epistemological perspectives are lacking as no detailed qualitative information on elder abuse in Zambia is provided.

1.2 Study aim and objectives

Aim of the study

In light of the above gaps, my thinking was that since the social problem of elder abuse in Zambia cannot be well understood using the available literature, adequate understanding of elder abuse in Zambia required undertaking qualitative elder abuse studies in rural and urban communities of Zambia where incidences of elder abuse

have been recorded. The studies were supposed to be undertaken simultaneously and using the same research instruments. In that way, the divergences and convergences on the dynamics surrounding elder abuse in rural and urban Zambia could be well described, understood and generate policy and programmatic insights that policy makers and practitioners can use if elder abuse is to be adequately addressed. Similarly, I thought that such research approach would also be useful in deepening understanding on how the phenomenon of elder abuse was socially constructed in Zambia, and in turn contribute to scientific knowledge by filling-up the existing gaps in the local [Zambian] and international literatures on elder abuse.

Thus, the main aim of this study was to describe and understand elder abuse from the conceptions of community leaders involved in addressing elder abuse in Zambia with focus on one rural community and one urban community where incidences of elder abuse had been recorded. By taking this approach, my assumption was that by virtue of the community leaders participating in addressing elder abuse, they well understood the dynamics that surrounded elder abuse in their communities. Thus, by targeting them I hoped to collect reliable and dependable information on elder abuse worthy to bring about better description and understanding of the phenomenon of elder abuse in the two communities and to inform policy makers and practitioners on how to address the problem of elder abuse in rural and urban Zambia.

In this thesis, the word community is used to denote a group of people living together in one geographical area, and thus they understand their local environment better (Fuller 1972; Jaeger 1981; Osei-Hwedie & Mwansa & Mufune 1990; Kamwengo 2004; World Bank 2008). On the other hand, community leaders referred to include chief's representatives, village headmen, ward councilors, youths and women leaders, church (religious) leaders, the police, court judges, community crime prevention units (CCPUs), area community development workers, public health workers, elder people's representatives and social workers among others.

Specific objectives of the study

In order to be more focused, my study was guided by the following three specific objectives:

- 1) To explore the conceptions of community leaders involved in addressing elder abuse in Zambia about abuse of the elder people in their communities
- 2) To get the views of community leaders on what the Government of Zambia and other stakeholders should do to address the problem of elder abuse in their communities and Zambia in general.
- 3) To generate policy and programmatic ideas that policy makers and practitioners in Zambia can consider using when thinking about policies and programmes to use in addressing elder abuse in the two communities and the whole Zambia.

1.3 Research questions

Because of the differences in the way people live in rural and urban Zambia, I assumed that elder abuse in rural and urban communities differ. Thus, in an attempt to have a better description and understanding of elder abuse in the two communities, my study addressed the following research questions:

- 1) What are the conceptions of community leaders involved in addressing elder abuse in rural and urban Zambia about abuse of the elder people in their communities?
- 2) What are the views of community leaders involved in addressing elder abuse on what the Government of Zambia and other stakeholders should do to address the problem of elder abuse in their communities and Zambia in general?

The above questions enabled me to establish the convergences and divergences that surrounded elder abuse in the two communities of Zambia. In other words, the answers to the above questions created the platform for gaining some well-grounded insights about elder abuse in rural and urban Zambia. Because there is no single study in Zambia that has focused entirely on elder abuse in rural and urban Zambia (SCAZ 2012; 2013; Zambia Police 2014), it means that my study is the first one in Zambia to focus squarely on elder abuse. Since elder abuse is a global problem (UN 2002; INPEA 2009; WHO 2013), this study is relevant in that it has generated social work knowledge base on one social issue that affects the well-being of individuals, families, communities and nations. It has also extended the academic and non-academic literature on elder abuse. This is because it has helped in filling up the gaps that existed on elder abuse not only in rural and urban Zambia but also in international literature. Thus, various people and institutions from international to local levels can benefit from this study in diverse ways. These include enhancing the description and understanding of the phenomenon of elder abuse and [re] thinking/generating elder abuse theories, policies and programmatic measures on how to address elder abuse.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

The remaining part of this thesis is structured as follows: chapter two reviews the existing literature on elder abuse. This is divided into four sub-chapters. The first sub-chapter presents the definitions, forms, prevalence and consequences of elder abuse. The second sub-chapter provides theoretical explanations of elder abuse. The third sub-chapter brings out the measures proposed and used to address elder abuse. The last sub-chapter will review available literature on elder abuse in Zambia. Chapter three covers research process. It is divided into four sections namely social constructionism and qualitative approach as methodological commitments, data collection, data analysis and ethical considerations of the study. Chapters four and

five will provide findings of the study. The findings of the study are presented in two separate chapters because I had two research questions. Thus each chapter is organized according to each research question. To be more specific, chapter four responds to the first research question which focuses on conceptions of community leaders about elder abuse. Chapter five addresses the second research question which focuses on views of the community leaders on further actions against elder abuse. The last chapter (chapter six) is conclusions. The chapter covers two major issues: summary of the major findings of the study and discussion. The discussion part is divided into six sub-sections namely elder abuse as a global issue including local ways of knowing and doing; proposed model of elder abuse in Zambia; evaluation of the research; limitations of the research project; reflection on learning and personal developments through research; and ideas for further research.

2 Review of existing literature on elder abuse

As a way of enhancing my understanding of my research topic, I begin by reviewing literature on what is already written about elder abuse by different scholars across the world. In order to have a well organized presentation, the chapter is written in the following order: first, the concept of elder abuse will be defined using different sources of information. The rationale for this is to provide a richer and varied ways of thinking about elder abuse. The second part will focus on bringing out different types/forms of elder abuse. The intention of doing this is to show the multifaceted nature of elder abuse. Third, prevalence of elder abuse will be shown by bringing out statistics of cases of elder abuse from a few selected countries from both developed and less developed countries. This is meant to show how wide spread the problem of elder abuse is. This is followed by bringing out the effects/consequences of elder abuse. This shows the changes that abuse of elders bring about in society. The fourth part of the chapter will bring out the causes of elder abuse using both theoretical and empirical explanations of elder abuse and text from conceptual framework. This is aimed at providing a richer and varied ways of thinking about the possible explanations for elder abuse. The fifth part will bring out the proposed measures on how to address elder abuse. Finally, the last part will focus on Zambia and on bringing out the major gaps in the existing literature on elder abuse. The motivation for doing this is to give direction on where to focus my thesis as well as to show the value that my study will bring to the existing scientific literature on elder abuse.

2.1 Definitions, forms, prevalence and consequences of elder abuse

Definitions of elder abuse

The concept elder abuse is difficult to define. This is because elder abuse is a concept with broad meaning, including many forms and examples (Wolf 2000; Anetzberger 2012). This means that there is no uniform or universal way of looking at elder abuse. This is because it is influenced by complex values, norms, attitudes, history, relationships and interactions which are bounded to time and culture and which have different meanings and interpretations in different societies and contexts (Berger & Luckman 1991; Gergen 1998; Mullaly 2007; Donovan & Regehr 2010; Phelan 2013). This connotes further that elder abuse should be understood within its own context which is always subjective and differs from country to country. In other words, this means that there are multiple ways of looking at reality [elder abuse] (Fook 2002; Gray & Webb 2013; Phelan 2013). Paulina Ruf (2006) and Phelan (2013) advise that understandings of elder abuse should be generated within specific cultural contexts

and culture is never the same. Diversity exists even within broader regional cultures like European, African, Asian or the Latin American cultures. For instance, the British culture is not the same as the Finnish culture although Britain and Finland are both European countries. In the same vein, the South African culture and the Zambian culture are not the same despite both countries being African countries. (Mullaly 2007). Notwithstanding the above, the present ways to understand and classify elder abuse conceptualize elder abuse as follows:

In 2000, Wolf presented elder abuse as a fairly straight forward concept. She emphasized that in common usage; it is a term with broad meaning, including many forms and examples, always describing harm or loss to an older person (Wolf 2000, 1). Reflections on this definition suggest that when talking about elder abuse, one needs not to think about it as a simple concept. Rather one has to think about it as a phenomenon that is complex and not easy to understand. This is why the term elder abuse should be clearly unpacked if one is to understand it better and to suggest appropriate measures to address it. For example, it can be physical abuse, it can be financial abuse, it can be sexual abuse and so on which may be common in some settings and not in other settings and which can be analyzed and understood using different social constructions or perspectives. So if one says that there is so much abuse of the elders, this is not specific and can make it difficult for another person to understand or intervene. However, if someone says that there is a lot of financial abuse of the elders in this setting, appropriate interventions can be thought about and/or introduced.

In supporting the conceptions of elder abuse provided by Rosalie. S. Wolf (2002), Brian K. Payne (2005, 2) argues that ‘the term elder abuse captures virtually any possible harm inflicted on an older person by society, care setting, or individual. One important thing can be deduced from Payne’s definition. That is, the definition captures an idea that elder abuse is not only caused by individual persons. Rather it can also be caused by care settings as institutions and also by the larger society. Perhaps this is the reason writers like Oliver Mupila (2008, 2) when talking about types of elder abuse argues that one needs to think that there is also domestic or institutional abuse of elders. Besides these types of elder abuse talked about by Mupila, I think that it is worthy to add two larger types of elder abuse which arise from Payne’s definition of elder abuse. These are community abuse and societal abuse of the elders (Phelan 2013; Cadmus & Theodora & Oladapo 2015). Thus, instead of just thinking that elder abuse takes place in many forms, it is also important to think that elder abuse has many perpetrators which range from individual persons to care institutions to communities to the larger society (Jackson 2014). This suggests further that when talking about elder abuse, it requires going into depth of the information provided. For example, it can be financial abuse, but the next question should be: is this financial abuse caused by individual person or is caused by the institution as a whole? In this way understanding can be clearer and specific interventions can be thought about.

WHO has also provided an ideal global definition of the elder abuse which may provide some common ground to discuss abuse in an international context. This also signifies that elder abuse is a global problem. This ‘buzz’ organization defines elder

abuse as: 'a single or repeated act or lack of appropriate action occurring within any relationship where there is an expectation of trust which causes harm or stress to an older person' (WHO 2012, 1). This ideal global definition suffers one major criticism. That is, WHO shows that elder abuse only takes place within the relationship of trust. This conception is contested. For example, critics like Bavel et al. (2010) argue that elder abuse can also occur outside relationship of trust. An example of this is elder abuse caused by strangers or violent actions by foreigners to an older person. Thus, WHO's conception of elder abuse excludes abuse of the older people done by strangers. This gives the interpretation that if an older person is abused by the stranger, the act should not be categorized as abuse. In supporting the above critic, Jill Manthorpe (2011) reports that there are many cases of elder abuse which involve strangers, and should be well documented and added to the scientific literature on elder abuse. Doing so would broaden WHO definition of elder abuse.

When I look at all the above definitions of elder abuse, I can see that the common denominator in all the definitions is 'harming the older person.' Similarly in all the above definitions, the meaning of an older person is not provided. Thus, it is difficult to know exactly the meaning of the word older person. This is because the word older person is socially constructed and means different things to people across the world (Kamwengo 2004). This implies further that new searches for the definitions of elder abuse should start. The definitions should be context specific. In my own thinking, the beginning point of the new searches should be as follows:

To begin with, if one is to have a better understanding of the term elder abuse there is need to first understand that elder abuse is a compound word. That is, it has two words which need to be unpacked separately. These words are 'elder' and 'abuse.' Let me first unpack the term elder. The term elder has different meanings to different people and in different settings. This is because it is socially and culturally constructed. (Bond & Coleman 1990). For example, in some settings, the term elder is used to denote an older person who is an influential member of the family, tribe or community. It may also mean the governing officers of a church, often having pastoral or teaching functions. (Fuller 1972; Jaeger 1981; Collins Dictionary 2002). One major issue which can be seen from this definition is that the term elder has really nothing to do with age of a person. Rather what is important is the influence or the ability of a particular person to lead others. This is what makes one to be considered elder. In other contexts, the term elder does denote relatively advanced age, but also carries the added component of respect for the person's contributions to society (Westerhoff et al. 2007).

In the above definition, two important things are worthy commenting on further. First, it means that the term elder carries the connotation of age. That is, the number of years that the person has lived on this earth. That is, those who have lived more years on this earth are considered elders. However, the challenge that this interpretation of the term elder raises is: what is the yardstick for making a distinction between who is an elder and who is not an elder? There is no consensus yet on this (WHO 2012, 1). This is the main reason different studies on elder abuse have used different ages in defining who an elder person is. For example, some use 60 years, others 65 and

others 66 and over years (Melchiorre & Lamura 2008; HelpAge International 2011). Second, the term elder carries the connotation of receiving respect from society. The respect comes from the contributions that the respective elder person has made to the development of his/her society. This contribution can also be in different forms such as economic contributions; political contributions; social and cultural contributions and academic contributions among others (Draft Zambia National Ageing Policy 2013; SCAZ 2013). Thus, it can be assumed that the more an elder person contributes to the development of his/her society, more respect they are likely to receive from society. Also by looking at all the above different forms in which a person can contribute to the development of his or her society, it can be assumed that larger portions of the elder people globally have contributed to the development of their society and as such they deserve to be respected. Perhaps it is this kind of conception of the term elder that in the traditional African culture elder people are always expected to be respected (African Policy Framework and Plan of Action on Ageing 2002; Nhongo 2006).

According to Encyclopedia Britannica (2011), definitions of old age are not consistent from the standpoints of biology, demography (conditions of mortality and morbidity), employment and retirement, sociology, social work and public health. However, old age, also called senescence, in human beings, has a dual definition: It is the last stage in the life processes of an individual, and it is an age group or generation comprising a segment of the oldest members of a population. Although there is no universally accepted age that is considered old among or within societies, for statistical and public administrative purposes, old age is frequently defined as 60 or 65 years of age or older.

Due to lack of agreement on the meaning of old age, Zdenko Zeman and Marija Geiger Zeman (2015) argue that old age is a social construct that should be analysed as a flexible and contextual category. Contextuality and variability (of the feeling) of age, articulately testified by those who experience it show that perceptions of old age and feeling of getting old decisively depend on a personal vision and interpretation of the experience, that need not be compatible with the actual chronological age. Old age as a phase of life is thus saturated with numerous taboos, fears, prejudices and stereotypes (Nikander 2009).

From the above definitions, a couple of deductions can be made. First, it is possible to say that people around the world have multiple and often contradictory views about old age (Nelson 2004). Second, it is evident that old age and aging are complex processes. That is, they are a matter of a life phase which, exactly like in any other life phase, shows the extreme importance of “a balance between gains and losses in different life domains, such as family, health, and personal development” (Westerhof 2015, 13). Third, from one lens the definitions imply also that in any approach toward the cultural representation of age and aging, the body figures as an important, even essential point of reference (Gilleard & Higgs 2015).

In this thesis, the term elder was not used to refer to leaders of the church or any social grouping of people. Rather from the conceptions of the informants who participated in this study, it was used to refer to any person who was relatively advanced

in age. These included those who were leaders in the church or in any social groupings of people provided they were relatively advanced in age. This will be shown later. Thus, I did not define the exact age of elder people in my study. Because of my constructionist view point, I wanted to leave free space for the informants to define elder people from their own conceptions. I did this because the study was undertaken in Zambia. As such, I felt that it was important for the study to reflect the local Zambian people's conceptions of an elder person. That was essential in coming up with the operational definition of elder abuse in my study. This thinking is justifiable by the fact that elder abuse is socially and culturally constructed, and as such as it should be understood within its own context (Bavel et al. 2010; Manthorpe et al. 2011; UN 2013; Phelan 2013). Having defined the term elder, I now come to the definition of abuse.

The term 'abuse' which is often combined with neglect carries also different meanings. For example, the term has been used to mean using wrongly or improperly. In some instances, it means to hurt or injure by maltreatment. It also means to assail with contemptuous, coarse or insulting words. It may also mean to deceive or trick. (Pritchard 1999; Collins Dictionary 2002). In England, No Secrets – Department of Health (2000, 9) says that 'abuse is a violation of an individual's human and civil rights by any other person or persons.' From these definitions, two important things are evident. First, it is clear that abuse takes place in many forms. Second, I can see that the common denominator of all these definitions is that abuse is a negative act that hurts or painfully disturb the life of someone else or society in general. Having defined abuse, I now turn to the operational definition of elder abuse which was used in this study.

By using the conceptions of 'elder' and 'abuse' provided above, it implied that comprehensive operational definition of elder abuse at the time of this study referred to any intentional act(s) that involved hurting or painfully disturbing the life of an elder person. Because elder abuse is socially constructed, I did not define the exact meaning of elder abuse in this study. This is because I wanted to leave it open so that the informants could define elder abuse from their own conceptions. The rationale for this is that the study was undertaken in Zambia with the community leaders. As such, it was important for the study to reflect the community leaders' understandings of the phenomenon of elder abuse in their local communities. Actual definitions of elder abuse that guided this study are shown in chapter five of this thesis.

Forms of elder abuse

In international literature, the typology that has gained ground classifies elder abuse into five main types or forms. These are verbal abuse, material abuse, neglect, physical abuse; and sexual abuse (Wolf 2000; World Report on Violence and Health 2002; Iborra 2005; Mupila 2008; McAlpine 2008; Donovan & Regehr 2010; HelpAge International 2012; WHO 2012; UN 2013; World Report on Ageing and Health 2015; Mysyuk 2015). Below are the full descriptions of what is involved in each of these types.

Verbal abuse: This refers to acts mainly in form of words, which may cause harm to an elder person. Examples here include provocations, verbal degradation, shouting,

swearing, frightening, blaming, ridiculing, constantly criticizing, offensive comments, insults, verbal aggression, emphasizing their uselessness, mocking or talking to an elder person like they were a baby, sarcastic and offensive comments. (Cohen et al. 2007; Bavel et al. 2010; Donovan & Regehr 2010).

Material abuse: This refers to acts which involve illegal or non-authorized use of an elder person's financial and/or other material resources which result into causing harm to an elder person. Examples of material abuse include taking over the person's finances, taking the flat from parents, misuse of an elder's funds, abstraction of money, misuse or concealing funds or assets of an elder person, use property or resources of a senior for someone else's benefit, the perpetrator takes elder's pension or fortune or any other kind property, eviction notices, over-interest by a third party in finance or wills, pressure generated to write the last will, unfavorable transfer of property to the family relatives, methods of salesmen/phone-sellers who force for sell/buy even if they know that elder people can't resist this force and manipulative methods. (Mupila 2008; Iborra 2009). This last example is under exposed in scientific knowledge. However, it is an important issue in elder abuse. This is because elder people are often 'tricked' into buying some product over the phone, whether this is an insurance deal or actual object. For example, the so-called 'telescams' are still allowed in many countries, as it is believed that the 'customer', in this case an older person, should be able to defend themselves against it. However, older people can have a set of specific vulnerabilities that prevent them from fully understanding what they are buying or how to get out of the deal they have made. (Bavel et al. 2010). In light of this, it is recommended that future studies should pay more attention to the topic of commercial abuse of the older people to understand in what way it affects older people and what can be done to protect those most vulnerable to it (Manthorpe et al. 2011).

Neglect: This refers to the refusal or failure to fulfill a care giving obligation. Literature differentiates between active and passive neglect. Passive neglect includes for example malnutrition or the development of decubitus occurs. Active neglect is described as refusal of cleaning, care, medication and food. (Wolf & Pillemer 1982; Wolf 2000; Mupila 2008; Phelan 2013). General examples of neglect could include refusing to attend to the needs of an elder person even if the resources are available; lack of communication or keeping in touch with the older person, and refusal to visit an elder person placed in a care unit (Iborra 2009).

Physical abuse: This refers to the acts that cause physical harm to the body of an elder person. Examples of this type of abuse include use of restraints for instance tie somebody to a bed by using ropes or chains or by other physical and medical means, slapping, beating, pushing, burning, throwing out of a house, not keeping the elder person safe from danger or injury, intentionally not removing danger and admissions for overdoses of prescribed medication among others (Se'ver 2007; Sheena et al. 2013; Mysyuk 2015).

Sexual abuse: This refers to acts which involves forcing sexual activity that may arouse the sexual feelings of an elder person without his/her own desires or for the perpetrator to gain sexual satisfaction (Iborra 2009; Brozowski & Hall 2010). Examples

here include touching the body of older person in a sexual oriented manner without permission of the older person, sexual intercourse with the older person, rape, sexual intimidation, sexual harassment, sex game, forcing gay or straight sexual relationships, showing pornographic material to the older person, and neighbor asking housebound elder woman for sexual favors in exchange for shopping, gardening, or collecting pension.

Besides the above types of elder abuse, some scholars also bring out psychological or emotional abuse as another type or form of elder abuse. This refers to actions inflicting mental pain, anguish or distress through verbal or nonverbal acts, including abusive language, manipulation, bullying, threats, humiliation or isolation (Pritchard 1999; Nhongo 2008; Cohen et al. 2010). Similarly other scientists like Mupila (2008) and Phelan (2013) talk about institutional abuse. This refers to elder abuse that takes place in institutions like older people's homes, hospitals and any other care institutions. However, critics argue that institutional abuse should not stand on its own as a specific form of elder abuse. This is because the common types of abuse caused by institutions fall in any of the above types/forms of abuse. For instance, institutions may perpetrate neglect and financial abuses of elder people. (Kamwengo 2004).

From the above descriptions, it can be seen that the term elder abuse is very broad and can be understood and analyzed using different perspectives. As such it should not be seen as a monolithic concept. In fact when I look at the above types of elder abuse and I also try to look around in the global society with regard to the life of the elder people, I think that categorizing elder abuse in the above five types excludes many forms of elder abuse which include social and structural abuses of elder people. For example, critics argue that the above information on the typologies of elder abuse is based on studies done in high income countries and as such do not really represent the whole world (Manthorpe et al. 2011; Cadmus et al. 2015). Kosberg and Garcia (1995) amplify this critic by saying that the definitions and types of elder abuse that are commonly presented in international literature have been heavily influenced by the work done in Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States. Some scientists like Phelan (2013) also argue that the types of abuse commonly reported in international literature leaves out other types of abuse such as structural (societal) abuse which is common in many countries. For instance, in Latin America, this type of abuse is socially constructed by the INPEA Latin America Experts as the lack of adequate health and social policies, bad practices and non-fulfillment of the existing legislation, presence of social, community and cultural norms which disqualify and give negative images of ageing, causing harm or distress to an older person, and expressed as discrimination, marginality and social exclusion.

Similarly, review of the literature both published and grey on elder abuse in some African and Asian countries brings out one more type of elder abuse which should be added to the above list, and this is social abuse. Social abuse has been defined as intentional coercion of an elder person in public places. It may also refer to collective abuse of an elder person by a group of people. Examples here include physical, verbal or financial/material abuse of an elder person or accusations of an elder person by a

group of individuals or by the whole community of being a witch or being responsible for the misfortunes in the whole community and forcing them to confess publicly that they are ones responsive for such misfortunes. Tanzania, Mozambique and Ghana are some of the African countries where collective abuse of elder people has been recorded. (Nhongo 2008; HelpAge International 2012). Social abuse has also been reported in Asian countries such as China, Hong Kong, India and Japan. In these countries social abuse has manifested itself through deliberate acts by children and daughters-in-law that prevent elder people from having access to their grand children. (Phelan 2013). From this type of abuse, it can be argued that elder people in different societies may experience different types of elder abuse. Thus to have better knowledge about the types of abuse experienced in different societies, country specific studies on elder abuse should be encouraged (Kosberg & Garcia 1995; Bavel et al. 2010; Manthorpe et al. 2011; Cadmus et al. 2015).

In light of the above all, the aim of this research is to analyse and conceptualize the forms of elder abuse in Zambian context.

Incidences and prevalence of elder abuse

Before I provide available statistical information on elder abuse, let me begin by defining the concepts incidence and prevalence. Incidence is the number of new cases within a certain timeframe, usually the past year. On the other hand, prevalence is the number of cases in existence at a certain time, no matter what the stage of development. (Thomas 2000; Phelan 2013). Accurate information on the incidences and prevalence of elder abuse is missing in the available international scientific literature. In part, this can be attributable to four reasons. First, elder abuse is a very broad concept which takes place in many forms, for which incidences/prevalence of certain types/forms of elder abuse have not been brought out. Second, different researchers use different ages in identifying the abused elder people. As a result there are always inclusion and exclusion errors in many studies. Third, it is due to lack of national surveys in many countries on the incidences/prevalence of elder abuse. Fourth, elder abuse is a difficult phenomenon to capture using surveys or questionnaires. This is because it takes place in many forms which differ from society to society. In some societies, it is also a taboo subject and people cannot come out in the open to talk about it or share information with the researchers. Thus, in some cultures, it is silent as it has an invisible nature. (O'Brien et al.1999; Cooper et al. 2008; Iborra 2009).

The above limitations have been noticed also by the WHO. For example, WHO (2013) has reported that elder abuse is underreported by as much as 80 percent. This finding agrees with the result established by Mupila. In the survey done by Mupila (2008) on elder abuse in Africa, he established that while one out of three child abuse cases is reported, only one out of 30 cases of elderly people abuse is reported in Africa. Some of the reasons for underreporting elder abuse include shame on the part of the abused older person to admit suffering from violence or acceptance of abuse if a close person is abusive; abandonment and loneliness of some older people; fear that if they report their situation might get worse after the disclosure as the abuser may

threaten further violence; distrust in the existing forms of assistance or due to lack of information on possible forms of assistance when abused (Beaulaurier et al. 2007; Se'ver 2007; Bavel et al. 2010). Notwithstanding this, statistics on the prevalence of elder abuse exist both at global and a handful national levels. So what I am doing here is just to bring out available statistics on the prevalence of elder abuse at global level and from selected parts of the world.

UN (2013); and HelpAge International (2014) estimate that of the total 868 000 000 older people [defined as people aged 60 years and above] globally, between 2 percent and 10 percent suffer abuse. In absolute numbers, this means that between 17, 360, 000 to 86, 868, 000 older people suffer abuse globally. However, the timeframe for this global statistics is not documented. Thus, it is difficult to know how accurate and reliable these figures are. Nevertheless, this global statistical information shows how widespread elder abuse is across the world. WHO (2002), Phelan (2013), and Mysyuk (2015) report that with most developing nations only recently becoming aware of the problem, information on the frequency of elder abuse has relied on five surveys conducted in the past decade in five developed countries which include Canada, UK and the USA. The results show a rate of abuse of 4–6 percent among older people if physical, psychological and financial abuses, and neglect are all included. The European Commission published a special Eurobarometer report in December 2007 on 'Health and Long Term Care in the European Union.' The report shows the views of citizens of the 27 Member States on several issues concerning health and care within their countries. A striking fact from this report was the figures on elder abuse. Almost half (47 percent) of European citizens believe that elder abuse is fairly to very widespread, and only 8 percent believe that elder abuse is very rare. The report continues to state that although Europe-wide elder abuse is believed to happen fairly often, perceptions on elder abuse differ between countries. This again underscores that elder abuse must be viewed in the light of the social and cultural backgrounds (Bavel et al. 2010, 151). This argument brings me to country specific elder abuse prevalence rates in a few selected countries where information is available.

In the USA, it is estimated that 7 to 10 percent of the US older adult population are abused. In absolute numbers, this is equivalent to 2.5 million older people. (Donovan & Regehr 2010; Anetzberger 2012; WHO 2012; Mysyuk 2015). In the UK, the 2004 survey done by King's College London among older people aged 66 years and above, and on only those living in private households, it was established that 2.6 percent had been abused or neglected by a family member, close friend or caregiver during the past year. In actual numbers, this represented 227, 000 older adults. When this was broadened to include incidences involving neighbors and acquaintances, the overall prevalence increased from 2.6 percent to 4 percent. That was approximately 342,400 older adults. In Italy, the study on national wide elder abuse by Merchiorre M. Gabriella and Giovanni Lamura (2008) targeted those aged 65 or older established that the prevalence of national elder abuse stood at around 10 percent. In Mozambique, of the 150 older headed households interviewed in 2009 in Maputo by HelpAge International, 25 percent reported that they had been abused in one way or the other. In India, a study

across 8 cities in 2010 by HelpAge International found that 35 percent of the older people had experienced some type of abuse. Additionally, in a survey that was done in urban Zambia in 2010 by HelpAge Africa Regional Office on living conditions of the older people, 48 percent of the respondents reported that they had been abused three to four times. (HelpAge International 2011).

From the above statistical information, a few deductions can be made. First, it implies that abuse of elder people is a problem that affects every corner of the world. As can be seen, examples of the incidences of elder abuse have been drawn from both the global north and global south. Thus, if there is anyone who thought that elder abuse was a problem only in developing countries, the above statistics dispel that thinking all entirely. Second, it is not known whether incidences of elder abuse are high in developed or developing countries and whether it is in rural or urban areas. When I look at the above statistics, higher percentages from developing countries should not be mistaken to represent that incidences of elder abuse are higher in developing countries. This is because the above studies from developing countries were just piece meal studies. In fact proper interpretation of all the above statistics is difficult. This is because the total numbers of older people in the above countries are not shown. Thus, it is also a gap that needs to be filled up in available literature.

Consequences of elder abuse

Elder abuse has serious consequences on the abused elder people, the family of the abused elder person and governments of states where abuse take place. World Report on Violence and Health (2002); Mupila (2008); Donovan & Regehr (2010) and UN (2013) have noted that elder abuse is a big problem around the world and it is such a serious problem that the personal losses associated with abuse are devastating. It is also a burden to the family of the abused elder person and the governments. For example, because of different health problems associated with elder abuse, it increases utilization of health services. Usually it is either the family of the abused elder person or the national governments that meet the financial costs for the health care given to the abused by the health care providers. Focusing on a few specific types of abuse, available literature has established the following to be the consequences of elder abuse:

Verbal abuse and neglect: empirical studies have shown that when the elder person is verbally abused and/or neglected, the elder person may stop eating. This result in dehydration, malnutrition, worsening of illnesses, and death. Isolation, loss of dignity and curtaining freedom of movement among the elder people have also been established as other effects. (Se'ver 2007; Mupila 2008; Bavel et al. 2010). For instance, studies by HelpAge International (2011) in Tanzania, Mozambique and Kenya established that when older people are verbally abused they begin to live in fear and are never at liberty to move alone for fear of being abused again.

Material abuse: regarding material abuse, the consequences that result include inability to pay bills which in turn may make the elder person fail to access other goods and services which can only be accessed in exchange with money or other material things. There is evidence, for example, from Spain, USA, UK, Italy, China, Kenya and

South Africa that those older people who live in rented houses, they even get evicted from the houses due to failure to pay rentals as a result of financial abuse. (Iborra 2009; Bavel et al. 2010; UN 2013; Phelan 2013; Sheena et al. 2013). World Report on Violence and Health (2002, 132) notes that many older people survive on limited incomes. Thus, the loss of even a small sum of money can have a significant impact. For instance, they may be isolated or develop psychological and heart problems. This implies that, material abuse of the elder people lowers the economic, social and psychological wellbeing of the older people.

Physical abuse: when the elder person is physically abused, research has established that the effects that arise include physical injuries such as bruises, fractures, dislocations, burns and loss of hair and death (Iborra 2009; Brozowski & Hall 2010; Donovan & Regehr 2010). HelpAge International (2011) has established that elder people who are abused physically are more likely to die faster than non abused elders. In the USA, for example, research has shown that elders who experienced abuse, even modest abuse, had a 300 % higher risk of death when compared to those who had not been abused. Not only this, it is also established that physical abuse has profound fiscal costs. In the USA again, research has shown that the direct medical costs associated with violent injuries to older adults are estimated to add over \$5.3 billion to the nation's annual health expenditures. (Dong et al. 2009, 1). World Report on Violence and Health (2002, 132) reports that 'for older people, the consequences of physical abuse can be especially serious. Older people are physically weaker and more vulnerable than younger adults, their bones are more brittle and convalescence takes longer. Even a relatively minor injury can cause serious and permanent damage.' This implies that the consequences of physical abuse are devastating on the abused elder people and on the institutions responsible for the welfare of the older people.

Sexual abuse: empirical studies have established that the effects that arise on the elder people due to sexual abuse include experiencing trauma of the genitals, breasts, mouth and anal area. (Iborra 2009; Bavel et al. 2010; Manthorpe et al. 2011). There is also evidence that this type of abuse may result in infecting elder people with sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV/AIDS, syphilis among others. (Cohen et al. 2007; Brozowski & Hall 2010; Donovan & Regehr 2010).

Regarding accusations of witchcraft, empirical evidence has shown that it results into so many negative effects. These include assaults, frequent visits of hospitals, death, stigmatisation, discrimination, exclusion, migration, and destitution. For example, in the United Republic of Tanzania, some 500 older women are murdered each year following accusations against them of practicing witchcraft. Because of this, large numbers of older women are driven from their homes and communities in fear of being accused of witchcraft, and end up becoming destitutes in urban areas. (Nhongo 2008; HelpAge International 2012).

From the above consequences, a number of deductions can be made. First, it implies that there are many pains that arise from elder abuse on the abused elder person. The whole wellbeing of the elder person gets disturbed when abuse strikes. Regardless of the type of abuse, it will certainly result in decreased quality of life for the older person

(Hudson 1991). Second, by using the human rights lens, the above consequences imply that elder abuse result into serious violation of many rights of the elder people (Dong et al. 2011). HelpAge International (2015) argues that despite being old, older people's rights do not change. For example, elder people still have the right to life, right to live in dignity, right to freedom of movement, the right to own property among other rights enshrined in the Bill of Rights. Unfortunately, whenever elder abuse takes place, all the above older people's rights are negatively affected. This implies that the consequences of elder abuse are broader. "*All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights*" is a popular motto in all human rights organizations and documents (United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948/1). However, from the aforementioned consequences, it is clear that the above motto is just a buzz word to a number of the older people in many societies in both global north and global south. This is because a number of older people are not free and equal in dignity and rights in their own societies/countries. This because they are abused.

Notwithstanding the above, there is one gap in the existing literature on the consequences of elder abuse. That is, there is very little or no information (to the best of my knowledge) that shows the consequences of elder abuse on the perpetrators of elder abuse. In light of this gap, it means that if the literature on the consequences of elder abuse is to be broadened, more fresh studies should be undertaken to deepen the understanding by providing context specific consequences of each type of abuse on the perpetrators.

In addition to the above gap, there is also no clear distinction between the intended and unintended consequences of elder abuse in the available literature. The curiosity about trying to know the intended and unintended consequences of elder abuse has been influenced by the meaning of the word 'consequence' as theorized in Marxist theory of violence. Marxist theorists argue that in capitalist societies violence is the force that drives society forward. Their argument is that whenever you see violence in society, it is an indication that there is something wrong going on in society and in order to have a just society that wrong thing (s) should be removed. (Thomas 1995; Gidden 2010). It is theorized that the removal of bad things from society takes society forward and the majority of societal members benefit (Osei-Hwedie & Mwansa & Mufune 1990). Globally, it is recognised that elder abuse is an indication that there is violence going on in the global society against the elder people (UN 2002; WHO 2015). This is why whenever people talk about conflict within the family, they look for example at prevalence of intimate partners violence (IPV) for which elder abuse is part of (Pillemer & Wolf 1986; World Report on Violence and Health 2002; Phelan 2013). Thus, Marxists theorize that, violence has intended and unintended effects/consequences. That is, it gives indicators to society that there is something wrong in that particular society. And when the wrong things are removed from society, the whole society progresses forward. (Thomas 1995).

When I connect the Marxist theorists' arguments to elder abuse, it implies that abuse of the elder people in global society is an indication that there is something wrong that is going on in society. In order to have a just society where elder people are not abused,

the wrong things that lead to elder abuse should be removed. For example, through the indicators provided by specific types of elder abuse, say physical or material abuses, it is possible that police posts can be opened in communities where incidences of elder abuse are common, measures to control substance abuse can be introduced, inequality in society can be addressed and better standards to guide elder care institutions among other interventions can be introduced. These in turn can help in bringing about a just society. These assumed measures cannot just benefit the abused elder people but can also benefit the whole society where the abused elder people live. This may also form the unintended effects of elder abuse. Since these are just assumptions, it means that more fresh studies on the intended and unintended effects/consequences of elder abuse should be undertaken. This is the only way my hypotheses will be accepted or rejected.

At this point it is imperative to ask one critical question. The question is: why is it that some older people are abused while others are not abused even if they all live in the same society? I attempt to answer this question below by looking at the available explanations of elder abuse.

2.2 Theoretical explanations of elder abuse

Elder abuse is a complex phenomenon. As such even the explanations for its causes are also complex. (Bavel et al. 2010; Donovan & Regehr 2010; Manthorpe et al. 2011). However, the causes of elder abuse are usually explained theoretically and empirically (Pillemer & Wolf 1986; Hudson 1986; Phelan 2013). Nevertheless the two should not really be seen as inseparable. This is because theory and practice always shape each other. (Parton 2000, 1). There are many theories that have emerged in trying to explain elder abuse. These include situational theory, ecological theory, psychopathology of the abuser theory, social learning and intergenerational abuse theory, symbolic interaction theory, exchange theory, unfreedoms theory, domestic violence theory, Marxist theory, postmodernism theory and the Unfreedoms theory (World Report on Violence and Health 2002; Khosla 2002; Cohen et al. 2007; Ray & Bernard & Phillips 2009; Teaster 2013). According to Phelan (2013), elder abuse theories generally emanate from three disciplinary schools of thought: psychological theories, social psychological theories and sociological theories. This shows the complexity involved in explaining elder abuse. This is because there is no single theory that adequately explains all the dynamics that surround elder abuse. However, all the theories can be classified into micro to macro levels theories. For instance, situational and psychopathology of the abuser theories are micro level theories. This means that these theories explain elder abuse by focusing on two individuals namely the abused and the perpetrator. In other words, these categories of theories reduce a complex phenomenon of elder abuse to simple factors, which could attribute cause to the perpetrator and/or the abused person who may be subsequently perceived as mad, bad or sad. (Callaghan 1988; Sinclair 2005). Ecological theory falls under micro, meso and macro level theories. This is because it explains elder abuse by looking at

all the above three levels simultaneously (Lawton & Nahemow 1973; Bronfenbrenner 1996; Phelan 2013; Teaster 2013; Keating & Gierveld & Pas 2015). Marxist and Unfreedoms theories are examples of macro level theories. These theories attribute elder abuse to injustices that exist at macro structural levels and how these influence abuse at micro level. (Osei-Hwedie et al. 1990; Thomas 1995; Khosla 2004; Mullaly 2007). In this thesis, I will focus on three theories namely situational, ecological and Marxist theories. Since I have already talked about Marxist theory, I will concentrate on situational and ecological theories. I have decided to focus on few theories in order for me to go in depth in trying to think about the possible explanations of elder abuse.

Situational theory: This is one of the earliest theories developed to explain elder abuse (Pillemer & Wolf 1986, 198). The basic premise of this theory is that as stress associated with certain situational and structural factors for the abuser increases, the likelihood increases of abusive acts directed at a vulnerable individual who is seen to be an elder person. The situational factors that lead to elder abuse include the following: first, elder people's related factors. These include physical and emotional dependency of some elder people on care givers, poor health, impaired mental status, and a difficult personality among the abused elder people. Second, structural factors: these include factors like economic strains and social isolation among the abused elder people. Third, care-giver related factors: these include factors such as life crisis, "burn out" or exhaustion with care giving, substance abuse, problems and previous socialization experiences with violence. (Pritchard 2009; Sheena et al. 2013; Phelan 2013).

From the above theory, a few deductions can be made. To begin with, all the possible causes brought out in situational theory are relevant in explaining elder abuse. A number of them have been proved correct by previous empirical research on elder abuse. For instance, many studies undertaken especially in elder care institutions have established that high levels of stress and burdens associated with elder care is one of the main causes of elder abuse in elder care institutions (Iborra 2009; Anetzberger 2012; WHO 2012). Empirical evidences have also shown that since for some older people, old age is characterized by memory loss, cognitive impairment, difficulty communicating and changes in mood (Kamwengo 2004; Boyle 2010; Alzheimer's Society 2012; World Alzheimer Report 2013), their behavioral impacts on caregivers are likely to be very stressful. Consequently, stress can make some caregivers to lose their temper and end up mistreating older people in one way or the other.

The above analyses also seem to be in line with the history of elder abuse. For instance, in the popular mythology and ancient folklore, there are tales which describe particular practices, such as the abandonment of the old people in the woods for being non-productive and, therefore, a burden on the family (Reinharz 1986; Carp 2000; Phelan 2013).

Notwithstanding the above positive aspects of situational theory in thinking about possible causes of elder abuse, the theory has been criticized on a number of grounds. To begin with, it has shown the picture that the perpetrators of elder abuse are caregivers in elder care institutions. It has also given the impression that perpetrators of elder abuse are those who abuse substance and those who have experienced violence in their

lives. Besides this, it has also provided the thinking that elder abuse is only suffered by those elder people who are frail and who depend on caregivers for their survival. All these tenets are not entirely true. (McCluskey & Hooper 2000). Of course, this is to be expected because there are no universal truths but only relative truths and only at that particular time. (Fook 2002; Mullaly 2009; Gray & Webb 2013). The situation that is obtaining on the ground is that elder abuse takes place at all levels of society. For instance, it takes place at individual level, institutional level, community level and larger society level with multiple abusers. (World Report on Violence and Health 2002; Iborra 2009; HelpAge International 2012; Jackson 2014; Guedes et al. 2015). In the same vein, elder people who are energetic, independent and who fend for themselves also suffer abuse. For example, Pillemer's and Nhongo's studies have indicated that abused elders may actually be less dependent on care givers (Pillemer 1985; Nhongo 2008). This means that fresh theories and studies to explain the risk factors behind abuse of older people are still needed.

Because of the above limitations, I argue that situational theory has highlighted the potential risk factors that can be used to explain abuse of older people but with a number of limitations. It is particularly inadequate in explaining the causes of elder abuse among the more energetic and independent older people. The above limitations bring in another theory which has addressed some of the aforementioned limitations. This is the ecological theory.

The ecological theory: was first introduced in the 1970s to explain child abuse and subsequently to youth violence. More recently, researchers have used it to understand intimate partner violence (IPV) and abuse of the elder people. (Lawton & Nahemow 1973; Crouter 1978; Greenfield 2011). This theory argues that there is no single factor that explains elder abuse. Rather, elder abuse is the result of the complex interplay of individual, relationship, social, cultural and environmental factors. That is, the theory explores the relationship between individual and contextual factors and considers elder abuse as the product of multiple levels of influence on behavior. (Bronfenbrenner & Morris 2006; Phelan 2013). It explains elder abuse from four levels. These are individual, relationship, community and societal levels. Here, I will focus on three levels namely individual, community and society. This is because relationship in a broader sense cuts across these three levels. Thus, it will be covered as I look at these three levels. Below are the explanations of elder abuse according to each of these three levels.

The first level of this theory seeks to identify the biological and personal factors that an individual brings to his or her behavior. The factors that are considered to be behind elder abuse at this level include impulsivity, low educational attainment, substance abuse and prior history of aggression. (Lawton & Nahemow 1973; Teaster 2013). This means that individual behaviours can affect elder abuse. For example, studies by Lachs, S. Mark & Karl Pillemer (1995) have established that whenever either the abuser or the elder person excessively uses a drug like alcohol or cocaine, the ego gets disturbed. This may lead to poor relationships with other members of society and if not corrected can fuel elder abuse (WHO 2002). Similarly, research has shown that people with low levels of education can easily violate human rights or can easily have

their rights violated compared to highly educated people. This is because they have very little knowledge about human rights and/ or ways of protecting their rights if tempered with. (UNICEF 2000; Hall & Midgley 2004).

Although the above conceptions are relevant in explaining elder abuse, one criticism has been raised against ecological theory. For instance, critics provided by African scholars argue that from the picture that the ecological theory has provided with regard to low educational attainment, it is very easy for one to assume and conclude that elder abuse is more prevalent in rural than urban areas. This is because it is in rural areas of many African countries where educational attainments among many local people tend to be low. (Kamwengo 2004; Mupila 2008). However, there seems to be a contradiction even within the ecological theory itself. The ecological theory at community level has noted that elder abuse tends to be high in societies where the social 'glue' is weak (Lawton & Nahemow 1973; World Report on Violence and Health 2002; Bronfenbrenner & Morris 2006; Greenfield 2012). In a nutshell this refers mainly to urban areas. This is because in rural areas of Africa social 'glue' tends to be stronger than in urban areas despite the majority of the people in rural areas having low educational attainments. (Osei-Hwedie et al. 1990; World Rural Development Report 2008). Thus, it is not clear whether it is in rural or urban areas where incidences of elder abuse are common and also the factors that explain elder abuse in rural and urban communities. One way this gap in existing literature can be addressed is by undertaking comparative elder abuse studies that focus on rural and urban areas simultaneously.

The third level of the ecological theory examines the community contexts in which elder abuse take place. That is, it seeks to identify the characteristics of the settings that are associated with being victims or perpetrators of violence. It is theorized at this level that communities characterized by a high level of residential mobility, highly diverse population with little social 'glue' that binds communities together and high population density are all examples of risk factors for elder abuse. The theory argues further that communities characterized by problems such as drug trafficking, high levels of unemployment, high levels of poverty, widespread social isolation, or where they are few institutional supports are likely to experience greater levels of violence. (Lawton & Nahemow 1973; Bronfenbrenner & Morris 2006; Greenfield 2012).

From the above level, it means that the nature of the communities or neighborhoods where some of the elder people live is one of main risk factors for elder abuse. For example, if there are few institutional supports in the particular community such as absence of the police and the courts of law, it can create fertile grounds for violence. This is because absence of these institutions can encourage lawlessness in society and some people can find it easier to violate the rights of other people without fear. (Nhongo 2008; HelpAge International 2011; Jackson et al. 2012).

The fourth and final level of the ecological theory examines the larger societal factors that influence elder abuse. At this level, the societal factors that are associated with elder abuse include cultural norms that support violence as an acceptable way to resolve conflict; norms that give priority to parental rights over child welfare; norms that entrench male dominance over women and children, and norms that support

political conflict. Other societal factors include the policies that maintain high levels of inequalities between groups in society, and absence of or inadequate national and international measures to address factors that lead to abuse of older people. (Lawton & Nahemow 1973; Phelan 2013; Teaster 2013).

From the above level, what can be seen is that the nature of the larger society where elder people live can make them vulnerable to abuse. In a very broad sense, this suggests that the causes for the abuses that some older people are experiencing today are to be put on the local, national and international leaders. This is because the leaders have not put in place measures to reform local, national and global societies by removing the factors that are detrimental to the welfare of the older people. For instance, when I think about inequality which ecological theory has brought out, whether it is inequality in terms of access to public health care, public financial support, formal care homes, public transport; laws, older people's policies and other services, these have huge public policy implications, and can only be addressed with the interventions of local, national and international leaders (Gordon 2002; Lewis & Kanji 2009). Anthonney Hall and James Midgley (2004) have observed that it is failure by our national and international leaders to address inequality in the global society that has made some segments of society to be left out in accessing the public wealth. This in turn pushes some of those segments of society left out like the youths into poverty. This poverty in turn forces them to begin to engage into anti-social vices like substance abuse as a way of coping with the environment in which they live. This in turn may make them to begin to act impulsively leading them to engage in violence. The weaknesses in the larger societal level as risk factors for elder abuse have also been supported by other assessors. For example, WHO (2002, 39) argues that the mistreatments of some older people in the global society should be blamed on globalization. This has been done by assessing how globalization with regard to the free market trade and how this has provided a fertile ground for violence in society. WHO argues that, the removal of market constraints has increased incentives for profit. As a result, globalization has led, for example, to much freer access to alcohol, drugs and firearms.

In light of the aforementioned contents of ecological theory, the following can be said: to begin with, it is clear that the causes of elder abuse are as a result of the weaknesses associated with our global society. These weaknesses exist at three levels of society namely micro level, mezzo level and macro level. All these levels are interdependent. Nevertheless, the main level is the macro level. This is because it is this level which is vested with the full powers to reform society by addressing factors that inhibit human welfare. (Thomas 1995; HelpAge International 2011). It implies therefore that the abuse of the elders explained at micro levels such as due to substance abuse by individuals among others and causes of elder abuse at mezzo level such as inadequacies by elder care institutions to meet all the required standards essential for adequate caring of elder people among others are a reflection of the weaknesses at macro level (Black 2004; Mullaly 2007). Thus, serious commitments at macro level to address elder abuse can result into serious commitments at micro and mezzo levels as well to address elder abuse.

In addition to the above all explanations, other scholars attribute elder abuse to the changes that have taken place in many societies. They argue that demographic changes are taking place in all the countries alongside increasing mobility and changing family structures. Industrialization is eroding long-standing patterns of interdependence between the generations of a family, often resulting in material and emotional hardship for the elderly. These changes create fertile grounds for the abuse of the older people. (Cliquet 1998; Grundy 1999;Nhongo 2008; Phelan 2013; WHO 2015). The family and community networks in many developing countries that had formerly provided support to the older generation have been weakened, and often destroyed, by rapid social and economic changes. For example, the AIDS pandemic is significantly affecting the lives of older people. In the year 2001 alone, two million people in Africa died as a result of HIV/AIDS - ten times the death toll of all the continent's conflicts combined, the vast majority of them in the prime of their lives as workers and parents (Nana 2005; Bigombe & Khadiagala 2010). As a result, in many parts of Africa, for instance, children are being orphaned in large numbers as their parents die from the disease. This has serious negative consequences on the older people. For example, older people who had anticipated support from their children in old age are finding themselves to be the main caregivers and without a family to help them at all. Unfortunately enough, these social breakdowns are happening amidst no formal income support from the national governments (Grundy 1999; World Report on Violence and Health 2002; Kamwengo 2004; Cliquet 2008; Nhongo 2008; HelpAge International 2015).

Nhongo (2001; 2008); Soneja (2001); and WHO (2015) have noted that reports from different studies across the world have showed that new family layouts and changes in family roles were the major reasons for the perceived increased prevalence of elder abuse in many communities. For example, in almost all the focus group discussions (FGDs) that the above researchers did on ageing in Africa, changes in the family structure were identified as the main reasons for increased vulnerability and therefore mistreatment and abuse the elderly faced in the African society. Likewise, in the same studies, the increased number of females in the workforce was said to be responsible for the decrease in available primary caregivers for the elderly. In some instances, the behavior of the elderly was identified as the trigger for abuse. Particularly among the female group discussions, many were of the opinion that intrusion into the affairs of the children made them targets of verbal abuse. This notion, however, is alien to the traditional African culture which encourages the elderly to watch out for wrongdoing in the community and point out defects in training of children in the community. The studies established that increased focus on the nuclear family had nullified this role among the elderly, and in many instances, they were shunned for trying to intervene in the affairs of their children, which was considered to be emotional abuse by the elderly persons. Similar findings have been reported in Brazil (Machado 2001).

To summarize the section of the possible explanations of elder abuse, I argue that all the theories and previous studies reviewed have provided useful insights in thinking about the possible causes of elder abuse. However, it is also clear that several gaps exist in all the theories and studies looked at. Thus, I will creatively use theoretical

and conceptual tools in order to reach context-specific understanding of elder abuse in Zambia. Due to the gaps that exist in the literature, it means that fresh studies on the explanations for elder abuse are needed. This is essential in filling up the gaps in the existing literature. In my thinking since elder abuse is socially and culturally constructed and can only be understood within its own context (Bavel et al. 2010; Manthorpe et al. 2011; Phelan 2013), adequate understanding of the possible explanations for elder abuse can be done by looking in depth at the causes of each type of abuse. This is because the dynamics surrounding each type of abuse may be different from any other types of abuse. (Anetzberger 2012). Again, in my own thinking, this implies further that to at least settle the dust that surround the causes of elder abuse, we need perhaps region specific theories/studies on elder abuse (World Report on Violence and Health 2002; Mullaly 2009; Bavel etc. 2010). Thus, if studies are done within each region on the types and causes of elder abuse among other aspects of elder abuse, it is possible to establish the divergences and convergences on the causes of each type of elder abuse in that particular region.

Conceptual framework

Conceptual framework provides a set of tools that can be applied in specific contexts when analysing a particular phenomenon under investigation. For instance, analysis of social problems such as violence, discrimination, and poverty among others. That is, it is all about analysis and goes beyond the common sense. This is because it specifies a directional logic which helps provide a starting point for analysis. (Vegas 2007). In this thesis, I used two conceptual frameworks, namely the ecological theory and the Marxist's theory of violence. That was meant to enable me think about different aspects of elder abuse in different ways. That is, aspects of elder abuse that could not be thought about using one conceptual framework were thought about using another conceptual framework. Thus, the use of two conceptual frameworks simultaneously allowed the conceptual frameworks to complement each other by building on the strengths and weaknesses of the other. This approach is particularly useful when thinking about social constructs like elder abuse which can only be understood using different perspectives (Berger & Luckmann 1999; World Report on Violence and Health 2002; Fook 2004; Mullaly 2007; Gray & Webb 2013; Teaster 2013).

Ecological theory emphasizes that elder abuse can be understood and prevented by digging deeper into the four levels of analysis namely individual, relationship, community and societal levels. That is, in order to understand and prevent elder abuse, the analysts should go deeper into understanding the dynamism of the individuals involved into the confrontations, the diverse nature of relationships that bring about abuse, and the broader nature of communities and larger societies in which elder abuse takes place. Thus, the theory provides a multi-level, nested systems approach to understanding and prevention of the problem. That is, it highlights the importance of "levels" or layers of thinking when looking at any problem. In doing this, it attaches responsibility/responsivity to micro through macro systems. (Lawton & Nahemow 1973; Bronfenbrenner & Morris 2006; Teaster 2013; Keating & Gierveld & Pas 2015).

However, these levels are seen not as separable but rather as nested together. This is because elder abuse is seen to be the result of the complex interplay of individual, relationship, social, cultural and environmental factors (Phelan 2013). Understanding how these factors are related to elder abuse is one of the important steps in social work approach to the prevention of elder abuse (Pritchard 2009; Ray & Bernard & Phillips 2009; Gray & Webb 2013). Thus, the use of ecological theory/model helped me to think about and understand the multifaceted nature of elder abuse in the two communities and how they were connected to the whole Zambian society.

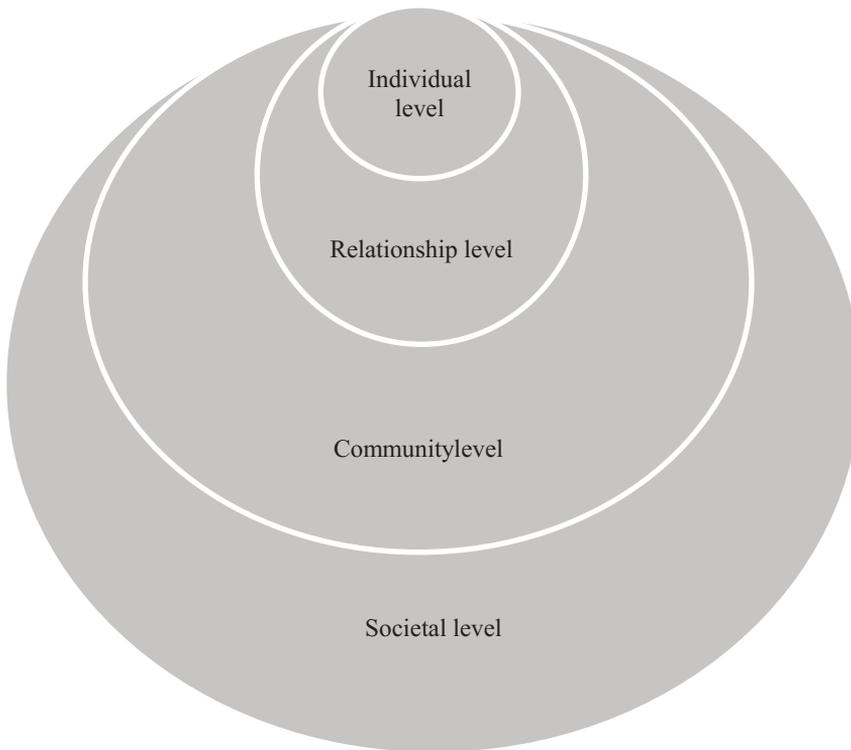


Figure 1 Ecological theory/model (Lawton & Nahemow 1973; Teaster 2013).

Marxist's theory of violence was also used as the conceptual framework. Marxist theory argues that violence (elder abuse) in society is an indication that something is 'wrong' in that particular society and in order to have a just society, the wrong thing (s) should be removed. Thus, violence in Marxist theory is seen in a positive way. This is because Marxists see violence as an indicator which shows that there is something wrong in that particular society which is fueling violence and for that society to progress the wrong thing (s) should be removed from that society. Perceived from this lens, Marxists see violence as a factor that drives society forward. (Thomas 1995; Giddens 2010). Although different views have been given about the relevance of Marxist theory in

explaining violence (elder abuse) in contemporary world with some critics such as Osei-Hwedie, Mwansa and Katembula (1990) arguing that it does not fit well in explaining violence in modern societies since its original focus was on macro capitalist societies and looked at violence which took place at that time in capitalist societies between the bourgeoisie (exploiters) and the proletariat (the exploited) due to exploitative nature and economic inequalities which existed between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the theory is still relevant in understanding violence in many societies of today. However, this does not mean that the people in this era should support violence. Rather, what can be learnt from Marxist theory in this era is that whenever violence emerges in society whether it is at interpersonal level, family level, community level, national level or international level, it reveals that there is something wrong that has brought about that violence and should be taken seriously so that the wrong thing is addressed. (Mandela 2002). This is because theory is an abstract idea and can be adapted to many societies where violence takes place due to various injustices that characterise those societies (ibid).

In light of the above, the use of the Marxist theory as the conceptual framework was meant to understand the 'wrong things' in the two communities and the whole Zambian society that fueled elder abuse and how those 'wrong things' could be removed for the sake of bringing about social justice in the two communities and 'a just Zambian society' as a whole where older people are not abused. It was also meant to try to explore the unintended consequences of elder abuse which have never been talked about in the existing literature. This is because in Marxist terms, violence has intended and unintended consequences. For example, removing inequality and exploitation of man by man from [capitalist] society could be classified as an intended consequence of violence by those perpetrating violence. On the other hand, arrests of the perpetrators of violence and scaring away of foreign investors from investing in societies where violence takes place could be classified as some of the unintended consequences of violence by those who not support violence as a tool for bringing about positive change in society. This means that Marxist theory can help the analyst to think 'outside' the box when trying to understand social realities. For instance, unintended consequences of social realities are not usually known or planned for by the parties involved in a particular event, but can only be known by digging deeper into the aftermaths of those events. (Thomas 1995; Mahajan 2004). Thus, the use of the theory in this study helped me to go deeper into exploring the unintended consequences of elder abuse on the perpetrators, on the abused elder people, on relationships between the abused and the abusers and the relationships of the perpetrators with their communities and the Government of Zambia, as well as the broader consequences on the two communities and on the whole Zambian society. Summary of the conceptions of the Marxist theory can be seen in figure 2.

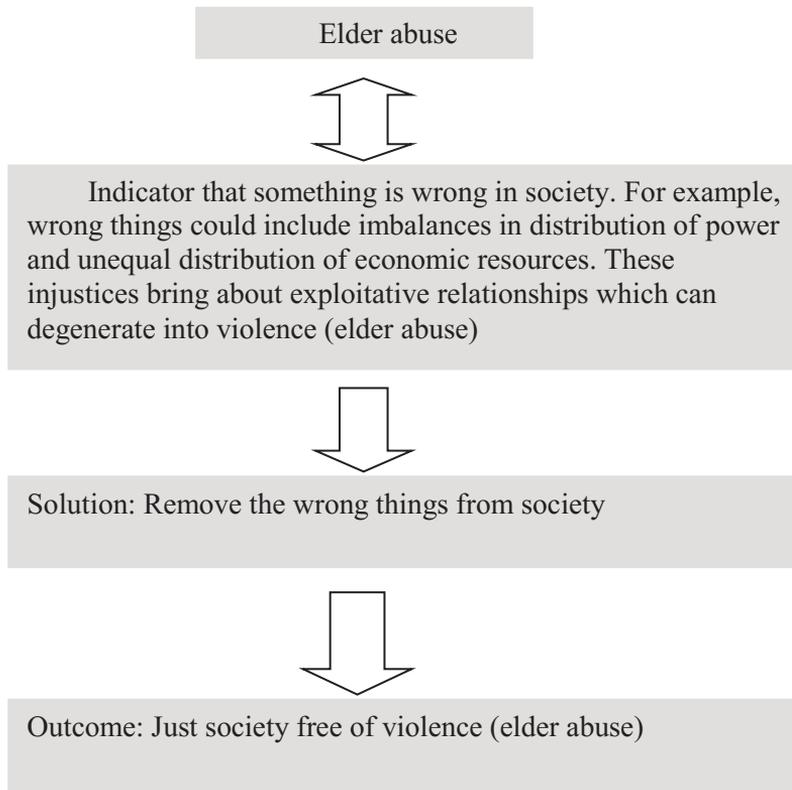


Figure 2 Marxist theory of violence against older people (Thomas 1995; Giddens 2010).

The tenets of figure 1 and figure 2 are all in line with the main aim of my study. Thus, they were relevant theories to be used as theoretical frameworks in answering the research questions which this study intended to answer. Being a social work study, the use of the frameworks made me to think about the data using social work perspectives. This is because the frameworks are in line with social work core principles and mission on how to promote social justice at all levels of human society (IFSW & IASSW 1994; Fook 2002; Mullaly 2007; Gray & Webb 2013).

Analytical concepts

In addition to the above theoretical frameworks, three concepts are used to interpret the data. These are power, relationship and ageism. These concepts operate between ecological and Marxist theories of violence. They also bridge the two theories. To be more specific, the concepts of power, relationships and ageism are embedded in ecological theory. On the other hand, the concepts of power and relationships also fit well with Marxist theory. This is because when thinking about ways of promoting social justice in society, Marxists advocate for the need to have equal distribution of societal’s resources. This is seen by the Marxists to have the power to harmonize relationships at all levels of society which is one of the preconditions for bringing

about a just society where no man can exploit the other (Mahajan 2003; Black 2004). This means that the concepts are inseparable from ecological and Marxist theories. Thus, the concepts form the theoretical frameworks used in interpreting the data. The concepts are chosen after critical reflections upon the data. That is, the issues that the informants constructed about abuse of elder people in their communities and the whole Zambia seem to revolve around the above three scientific concepts commonly used in social work theory and practice when trying to understand the phenomenon of violence and thinking about ways of addressing and prevention of violence as well as ways of promotion of social justice at all levels of human society (Spector & Kitsuse 1987; IFSW & IASSW 1994; Mandela 2002; Black 2014; Jory & Yodanis 2015). In social sciences theories, there are no universally agreed upon definitions of the above concepts. This is because concepts are socially constructed and are constantly in state of flux (Berger & Luckmann 1991; Mullaly 2007). Notwithstanding this, in this thesis the concepts of power, relationship and ageism are used to mean the following:

Power is the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his/her own will on another actor (Weber 1957). This definition permitted Weber to conclude that all conceivable combinations of circumstances may put one actor [who has more power] in a position to impose his/her will in a given situation on another actor [who has less power]. In Foucauldian sense, power is considered as productive and overlapping in all social relations (Foucault 1980; Mahajan 2003; Mikkonen & Laitinen & Hill 2016). There are different types of power that seem to be relevant in interpreting data collected from the two communities of Zambia. These include coercive power, legitimate power, information/knowledge power, referential power, and expert power (Osei-Hwedie & Mwansa & Mufune 1990; Lauby 2014). Within these broad categories of power, institutional power such as family power, village power, community power, church power, political power, economic power, group power and state power are also evident in influencing various aspects of elder abuse. When connected to the above theoretical frameworks, it is evident that power exists at all levels of society. Depending on how it is used, it can ignite or prevent abuse (Thomas 1995). This is why power issues are critical in social work theory and practice when thinking about ways on how to bring about social justice in society (Rawl 1972; 1999; Mullaly 2007; Gray & Webb 2013). Thus, the perspective that the concept of power brings to the analysis of the data is that power can bring about a just or unjust society. If used properly, it can bring about a just society, and if used improperly it can bring about unjust society.

Relationship is used to denote a wide array of interpersonal interactions between the abused elder people and the abusers as well as the local, national and international environments in which elder people live. The relationships that seem relevant in interpreting the data include local community relationships, family relationships, economic relationships, political relationships, professional relationships, vertical relationships, overt and subtle relationships among others. (Sax 1993; Antonucci 2001; Segen 2006; Nikupeteri & Laitinen 2015). Like power, relationships exist at all levels of society. Thus, the concept of relationship should be seen to be inseparable from

the above theoretical frameworks. This is because it exists at all the levels theorized by the above frameworks (Lawton & Nahemow 1973; Thomas 1995; World Report on Violence and Health 2002; Mahajan 2003; Giddens 2010). The perspective that the concept of relationship brings to analysis of the data is that depending on the types and nature of relationships that exist at different levels of society, justice or injustice can be recorded. That is, if good relationships exist among all society members, social justice can be enhanced. If good relationships do not exist among societal members, injustice characterizes that particular society. This is why when trying to promote social justice in human society, social workers focus on promoting good relationships at all levels of society (Rawl 1972; 1999; Mullaly 2007; Dominelli 2010; Gray & Webb 2013; Mikkonen 2016).

Ageism is used to denote negative attitudes which erode the images of elder people in a particular society on the basis of old age and consequently leading to elder abuse (Saxs 1993; WHO 2002; Black 2014). Of interest is that ageism can exist at all levels of society (Nhongo 2009; HelpAge International 2011). With regard to ageing and society, ageism is one of the common problems faced by older people globally (Bond & Coleman 1990; UN 2009; World Report on Ageing and Health 2015). The lense that the concept of ageism has brought to the analysis and interpretation of the data is that depending on the attitudes attached to the older people, they can suffer injustice or they can live in harmony with other members of society. If the attitudes towards the older people are negative, they can suffer abuse. If the attitudes are positive, it prevents elder abuses. This is because elder people will live in harmony with other members of society. (Atchley 1991; Kamwengo 2004). This is why in their mission of bringing about a just society, one of the responsibilities for social workers is to address ageism at all levels of society (Black 2004; Nhongo 2009). These ways of thinking are in line with what is theorized in ecological and Marxists theories of violence (Lawton & Nahemow 1973; Giddens 2010; Teaster 2013).

On overall, it is clear that all the three concepts used to interpret data are part and parcel of the two theoretical frameworks used in this study. Thus, they complemented each other when interpreting the data. Combinations of the theoretical frameworks and the analytical concepts in interpreting the data made the study findings analytical and gain the scientific flavor befitting qualitative data. (Creswell 2007; Saks & Allsop 2007; Nikupeteri & Laitinen 2015).

2.3 Measures proposed and used to address elder abuse

Global and regional level proposed measures

The WHO in consultation with various partners involved in the fight against elder abuse which include health care providers, police, educators, social workers, government officials, employers in private and NGOs, religious and traditional leaders, lay groups and prominent figures in the community, such as traditional healers propose three broad measures which are considered cardinal in the fight

against elder abuse. These are measures are: 1) universal interventions approaches aimed at groups or the general population without regard to individual risk. Examples include violence prevention curricula delivered to all students in a school or children of a particular age and community-wide media campaigns; 2) selected interventions approaches aimed at those considered at heightened risk for violence. For example, interventions targeted at the older people, elder care givers or the youths; and 3) indicated interventions approaches aimed at those who have already demonstrated violent behavior. For example, treatment for perpetrators of domestic or community violence. (WHO 2002).

Addressing the larger cultural, social, and economic factors that contribute to violence and taking steps to change them are other measures proposed. These include closing the gap between the rich and poor and to ensure equitable access to goods, services and opportunities (Mandela 2002; Nhongo 2009). WHO (2002) further suggests that in various parts of the world, cultural specificity and tradition are sometimes given as justifications for particular social practices that perpetuate violence. This implies from the WHO perspective that in order to address elder abuse, cultural norms must be dealt with sensitively and respectfully in all prevention efforts. Sensitively because people often have passionate attachment to their traditions. Respectfully because culture is often a source of protection against violence. WHO also recommends that experience has shown that it is important to conduct early and ongoing consultations with religious and traditional leaders, lay groups and prominent figures in the community, such as traditional healers, when designing and implementing programmes aimed at addressing elder abuse. This is because elder abuse is rooted in the local cultures and the local people are the ones who know the local cultures behind particular types of elder abuse. As such, they can better suggest ways and means on how to deal with the local cultures (Agrawal 2010; Donovan & Regehr 2010; Africanus 2012; Phelan 2013; UN 2013; Hassan 2014).

International networking on the prevention of elder abuse is another measure. A notable example of this measure includes the formulation of the International Network for the Prevention of Elder Abuse (INPEA) which was formed in 1997, with representation from all the six continents. INPEA has since become an NGO in UN Consultative Status. (World Report on Violence and Health 2002). INPEA's aims are to: increase public awareness; promote education and training; campaign on behalf of abused and neglected older people; and promote research into the causes, consequences, treatment and prevention of elder abuse. During INPEA's early stage of development, workshops have been the main medium of training, and have been conducted at professional meetings in Australia, Brazil, Canada, Cuba, the United Kingdom and the United States. A quarterly newsletter and a web site have been set up. (UNFPA & HelpAge International & INPEA 2012).

In western countries, scientific measures to address elder abuse started as far back as the 1970s. That was after elder abuse was first published in British scientific journals in 1975 under the term granny battering by Baker and Burston. This does not mean that elder abuse did not occur prior to 1975. It existed before. For instance, historians of

ageing studies tell us that in the ancient past there were practices such as abandonment of old people in the woods for being non-productive. That was because such older people were seen as burden to the family. (Reinharz 1986; Carp 2000; Phelan 2013, 4). However, actual public attention to addressing elder abuse is very much associated with the above publication by Baker and Burston (WHO 2002; Bavel et al. 2010; Donovan & Regehr 2010; Mysyuk 2015). Since then, several national and local level measures on how to address elder abuse have been suggested and/or put in place. These include the following among others:

Legal action: Elder abuse is legally forbidden. This is because it is a violation of human rights. (WHO 2002). Thus, the main primary prevention measure used in many countries is the use of the law. Cases of abuse are usually covered either by criminal law, or by laws dealing with civil rights, property rights, family violence or mental health. For instance, the Atlantic provinces of Canada, Israel, and a number of states in the United States have legislation for the mandatory reporting of abuse of the elderly. In the United States, 43 states require professionals and others working with older people to report possible cases of elder abuse to a state designated agency, should they have reason to believe that abuse, neglect or exploitation has taken place. The first of these states passed its legislation in 1976. The Canadian province of Newfoundland passed its adult protection law in 1970s, with the last of the four Atlantic provinces, Prince Edward Island, following in 1988. Israel's law dates from 1989. As with child abuse reporting laws, all these laws on elder abuse were introduced to prevent evidence of abuse from going unnoticed. Mandatory reporting was considered a valuable tool, particularly in situations where victims were unable to report and professionals were reluctant to refer cases. In Sweden, legislation gives municipalities the responsibility to prevent violence and, in the case of violence in close relationships, to investigate the cases and provide support to all involved. (Bavel et al. 2010). These imply a much stronger commitment to eradicating the problem. However, even where such laws exist, empirical evidence shows that cases of elder abuse have only rarely been prosecuted. Three reasons for this have been established. First, older people are usually reluctant or unable to press charges against family members who abuse them. Second, older people are often regarded as being unreliable witnesses, and third because of the inherently hidden nature of elder abuse. (McDonald 1993; Jogerst et al. 2003; Reeves & Wysong 2010; Manthorpe et al. 2011; UNECE 2013).

In the assessment of what makes older people to take their elder abuse cases to courts of law, Jonathan Herring (2012) established that good experiences have been had with programmes that aim to take into account the special needs of older persons in interacting with the legal system. For example, court access should be barrier-free for people with reduced mobility, long waiting times should be avoided, and people should not have to stand in line. Elder litigants may be allowed to appear first on a given calendar day to reduce their waiting time. Court can be held in mid-morning to allow them to get to court and be alert and fully concentrated. Appearance by telephone may be allowed for litigants with physical limitations. Court rooms should be equipped to cater for people with reduced vision or hearing. It may be helpful, to

reproduce legal forms in large typeface. Trained court staff may be assigned to assist elders and guide them through the process in a way that is sensitive to their needs. Following this approach, “elder courts” have been developed in Hillsborough and Palm Beach Counties of Florida in the USA. They employ case managers to explain the court system to the victims, describe what will happen to perpetrators, arrange for transportation to court, help in submitting requests for victim compensation or assist in making special arrangements such as videotaping of testimony. (Nerenberg 2008; Malks 2010). Vertical prosecution has been strongly recommended. This is the process where one attorney handles the same case from beginning to end. This minimizes the number of times the elderly victim has to recount the details of the abuse. (Herring 2012).

Despite the above, there is no empirical evidence so far to show that the use of the law is a reliable and effective measure in the prevention of elder abuse. This is because there are no studies that have rigorously evaluated the effectiveness of law in the prevention of elder abuse. (World Report on Violence and Health 2002; Donovan & Regehr 2010; UNECE 2013). Thus, this is another gap in scientific knowledge which should be filled up.

Screening of the social services employees: Lisa Nerenberg (2008), Bavel et al. (2010) and Manthorpe et al. (2012) have proposed the screening of the social services employees as another strategy for prevention of elder abuse. Their views are that in order to prevent elder abuse, employers in social service agencies should also be obliged to carefully screen their employees. For instance, by checking their criminal records. In the United Kingdom, the government maintains a list detailing people considered unsuitable to work in the social sector, and employers have to consult that list before hiring. Some states in the United States have established registries of abusers, including family members and paid caregivers, which can be accessed by potential employers. Whilst this measure seems to be promising in the fight against elder abuse, it has two main limitations. First, it has left out other perpetrators of elder abuse working outside the social services industry. Second, it is less likely to be used in many developing countries with poor record system and where many cases of elder abuse go unreported to relevant authorities. (WHO 2002; Mupila 2009). This also means that measures to address elder abuse should be context specific. This is because the available resources in that context should inform measures to be used in addressing elder abuse. (Kamwengo 2004; Bavel et al. 2010; Donovan & Regehr 2010).

Individual level preventive measures: some scholars like Bavel et al. (2010), Manthorpe et al. (2011) and Phelan (2013) are also of the view that in order to prevent elder abuse, individual [elder] persons should be encouraged to take individual preventive elder abuse measures before actual abuse takes place. They argue that there are a number of individual vulnerabilities that may predispose older persons to different forms of abuse. For example, being violent, living alone, abuse of substance, suffering from Alzheimer diseases and not planning on how to protect their wealth among other risk factors (Ray & Bernard & Phillips 2009). In light of these and other risk factors for elder abuse, it is suggested that it may be useful to disseminate guidance to older people and

their families on ways they can protect themselves. For example, older people should be encouraged to plan in advance and make arrangements as long as they are still able to do so. They should be informed about ways to keep their financial matters in hand. For instance, by using direct debit from their bank account to pay bills, or using online banking or telephone services. If a third party has to be involved in certain elements of financial management, good care should be taken to choose a trustworthy person. Older people or their families should ask for receipts from cash machines and check them against the monthly bank statements. Medical staff, carers and other people who work with older persons should be sensitized to warning signs of abuse. The signs could include the sudden appearance of would-be friends, rogue traders or unusual interest in a person's financial affairs by a relative who otherwise should have no interest in the older person's finances. (Nerenberg 2008; Reeves & Wysong 2010; Manthorpe et al. 2011; UNECE 2013).

One of the main limitations of the above measure is that it can only be used if the respective elder person is in their 'normal' mental state. If they are living with dementia, for example, even if they took individual preventive measures before they suffered dementia, abuse can take place. This is because of the sudden mental changes such as being forgetful and so forth that dementia brings about (Ageways 2012; HelpAge International 2012; World Alzheimer Report 2013).

The above all are some of the main measures that are being used and/or advocated for in western countries. However, the main gap in all the above measures is that to date, few of the measures have been evaluated to ascertain their effectiveness in addressing elder abuse. Thus, it is not possible to say which measures have had the most success in the prevention of what type of abuse. (Ploeg & Hutchinson 1999; World Report on Violence and Health 2002; Bavel et al. 2010; Donovan & Regehr 2010; UNECE 2013). Ploeg & Hutchinson (1999) argue that efforts to assess the effectiveness of the above measures have been hindered by a lack of common definitions of an older person and/or elder abuse, a variety of theoretical explanations, a low level of interest on the part of the scientific community and a lack of funding for rigorous studies to be conducted. Based on these findings, the authors have concluded that there is insufficient evidence to favor any specific intervention and they recommend that this gap in scientific knowledge should be addressed. This can be done by assessing all the measures used in each society in the fight against elder abuse and then establish the measures which are more effective in addressing specific types of abuse (Anetzberger 2012). Having looked at western countries, I now turn to developing countries and in particular Africa.

Some African countries have put in place measures specifically to address elder abuse and other problems commonly associated with old age (African Policy Framework and Plan of Action on Ageing 2002; Phiri 2004; Mapoma 2013). This is because elder abuse is seen as a violation of older people's rights (Kamwengo 2004; African Charter on Human and People's Rights 2005). The continent has seen the creation of a handful organisations and efforts aimed at addressing common problems in old age for which elder abuse is part of since the mid 80's. Catalysing that situation was

the United Nations Plan of Action on Ageing, developed at the first Assembly of Ageing in Vienna, Austria in 1982. For instance, in 1982, over 15 countries from sub-Saharan Africa converged in Kenya to discuss ageing issues, the first time that such a meeting was taking place. HelpAge Kenya, an organisation championing issues of ageing in Kenya was established that same year. In 1986, a national workshop aimed at addressing various issues facing older people was held at the School of Social Work in Zimbabwe and the first ever plan of action on ageing in that country was developed. HelpAge Zimbabwe, a national organisation for older persons was established in 1988. HelpAge Ghana followed in 1989 and the Sudanese Support in Care of Older Persons followed a few months after. This trend heralded a situation where older people's organizations sprang up in various African countries. In addressing elder abuse, many of the older people's organizations focus on three broad measures. These are advocacy, direct programmes and income support. (Nhongo 2008, 20). Below are the details of what is involved in each of these measures:

Advocacy: with respect to advocacy, many older people's organisations have supported awareness programmes across the continent for a number of years. The UN Day of older people, 1st October, was celebrated in Zimbabwe for the first time in 1992 after the proclamation of the day by the UN in 1991. This has become an important event in the calendar of partner organizations throughout Africa. The day is marked by activities that include walks, marches, media events and presentations by key government and UN personalities. The UN International Year of Older Persons, 1999, marked a watershed in respect of putting issues of older people [elder abuse] on the African map. It is the year that the AU agreed to collaborate with the older people's organizations in addressing ageing issues and saw a few efforts and actions towards discussing and taking some action on elder abuse. Internationally, the world body fighting the abuse of older people, INPEA in collaboration with WHO, started making inroads into the African continent in 1999 and has continued to write about the issues relating to the abuse of older people. (Nhongo 2008; HelpAge International 2011; Cadmus & Akinyemi & Oladapo 2015). In South Africa, the participants in the focus group study on elder abuse stressed the importance of the media in raising public awareness. Their suggestion was that awareness of the problem of elder abuse should also be promoted through community workshops with government involvement and involvement of local associations. That was seen as essential in providing basic education on elder abuse and had the potential to prevent elder abuse as various actors at local and national levels would become aware of the problem and put in place measures to address the problem. (Keikelame & Ferreira 2000; Kamwengo 2003).

Direct programmes: the direct programmes used to address elder abuse are regional programmes that address the rights of older women and men in Africa. The programmes were initiated by the HelpAge International Africa Regional Development Centre in 2000 after consultations with partner organizations across the continent. The aim of these programme are to increase understanding of the nature of the violations of the rights of older men and women in Africa and to develop appropriate interventions. For example, work seeking to understand and address widowhood and inheritance issues

in Tanzania; promoting the rights of older people through community education in Zimbabwe, Lesotho and Ghana; promoting older people's access to justice through paralegal training and services in South Africa and Ghana; establishment of a legal challenge fund to enable partner organisations to challenge the barriers that inhibit older people's access to their rights in Kenya, South Africa, Sudan and Swaziland; training and awareness creation on ageing and the rights of older people among rights based organisations by holding regional workshops in West, Southern and Eastern Africa; research and documentation of rights violations of older people in Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Ghana and Sudan; lobbying and advocacy programme in Ghana; and creation of ageing issues among the media. (Nhongo 2008).

Income security: Martin Kamwengo (2004), HelpAge International (2011) and WHO (2015) also suggest that there is need to invest more in income security of the older people if elder abuse is to be addressed in Africa. This is because the causes of elder abuse in Africa are also attributable to poverty among the older people. Their argument is that empirical evidences have shown that older people with income tend to be less abused compared with those with no income. For example, older people with income tend to be less neglected by family members and the community. This is because they are able to contribute positively to the welfare of the family and as such they are seen as valuable to the family and the whole community (Cliggett 1997; Carp 2000; Keikelame & Ferreira 2000; Bigombe & Khadiagala 2010). It is also proposed that there is need to develop long term care systems for the older people, recognising that informal, unsupported care by family members and friends alone is unsustainable (HelpAge International 2014; WHO 2015).

Notwithstanding the above, the main gap which exists in the above measures is similar to those existing in western countries. That is, the above measures have not been evaluated to ascertain their effectiveness in addressing specific types of elder abuse. In light of this, the World Report on Violence and Health (2002) and UN (2013) recommend that many studies on elder abuse should be undertaken in African countries in order to arrive at local measures which are promising in addressing specific types of elder abuse. The use of the local leaders like chiefs, traditional healers and religious leaders are seen as pivotal in trying to establish the measures that are effective in addressing specific types of elder abuse. This is because the local leaders are on the ground and they better understand the various dynamics that surround specific types of abuse in their communities. As such, there is need to value the local knowledge in addressing specific types of elder abuse.

Having talked about elder abuse in other countries, let me now provide a bit more detailed information on elder abuse in Zambia on the basis of the available literature.

2.4 Literature review on elder abuse in Zambia

Before I present the available literature on elder abuse in Zambia, let me provide some basic information about Zambia. This is meant to give context to the readers of this thesis. It also has a direct bearing on understanding some of the social constructions of elder abuse provided by the informants who participated in the study.

The Republic of Zambia is a landlocked country in Southern Africa neighbouring the Democratic Republic of the Congo to the north, Tanzania to the north-east, Malawi to the east, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Namibia to the south, and Angola to the west. The capital city is Lusaka, in the south-central part of Zambia. Below is the geographical location of Zambia.



Figure 3 Map of Zambia (Infoplease Atlas 2016)

According to Zambia's Central Statistics Office (2016) Zambia has a total population of 14,638,505 with growth rate of 2,88 %, birth rate of 2.88/1000, and life expectancy of 51 years. Of this population, older people [that is, those aged 60 years and above] comprise 4 %. In absolute numbers, this is about 585,540 older people. However, this figure is disputed by the senior citizens of Zambia who argue that the number of senior citizens in Zambia is underestimated. This is because the actual number is likely to be around 700,000 or more (SCAZ 2013). The national literacy rate is estimated to stand at 61,4 % with the majority of the people falling in the illiteracy

category being the older people. This is mainly attributed to colonialism. That is, most of the older people were born during colonialism from Britain. Zambia was a British colony from 1700s up to 1964. Unfortunately, the colonial masters denied the local people formal education. As a result, many older people had no opportunity to go to school. (Kamwengo 2004; Zambia National Assembly Committee on Education 2009). The official language of Zambia is English which is used to conduct official business and is the medium of instruction in schools. Since illiteracy level is high among the older people, the majority of them cannot communicate in English. For example, Draft Zambia National Ageing Policy (2013) reports that illiteracy levels stand at 58 % among older men and 91 % among older women in Zambia. This brings about exclusion of the older people from national and international information on various issues affecting individual and national development. Illiteracy among older women is also associated with the Zambian traditional beliefs about boy child and girl child which characterized the Zambian society from colonial era up to the early 1980s. During this period, many Zambians believed that even if the girl child was not sent to school, she would be married and the husband would be able to look after her. As a result, many girl children who are now older women did not receive formal education. (Zambia National Gender Policy 2000). From this information, it means that some of the problems faced by the older people in Zambia can be understood well by digging deeper into the history of Zambia which revolves around internal and external factors (Noyoo 2000; Kamwengo 2004).

On 24 October 1964, Zambia became independent of the United Kingdom and Prime Minister Kenneth Kaunda became the president. Kaunda's socialist United National Independence Party (UNIP) maintained power from 1964 until 1991. From 1972 to 1991, Zambia was a one-party state with the UNIP as the only legal political party. Handful political parties existed. However, they were always suppressed by the Kaunda government. Thus, there was no political competition. One of the main justifications for having one party state was that Kaunda wanted to unite the nation which was divided and underdeveloped by the British Colonial masters (Rodney 1982; Phiri 2004). That was because he realized that multipartism had the potential to divide the nation on ethnic grounds. Because of denying Zambians political freedom, Kaunda was criticized as being a dictator. This resulted into re-introduction of multipartism in 1990 which made Kaunda and his UNIP to loose power to Frederick Chiluba of the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) in 1991. Since 1991 to date there is plural politics in Zambia. For example, at the time of data collection for this study in 2014, nineteen (19) political parties actively participated in presidential, parliamentary and local government elections. Nethertheless, because of having so many political parties, Zambian politics are generally characterized by stiff competition among political contenders, tribalism and violence. This has resulted into dividing the Zambian people on political and tribal lines which in turn is weakening the social fabrics of the Zambian society. For instance, physical violence is common among the people belonging to different political parties. (Phiri 2004; Rakner 2004; Mubiana 2015).

In addition, prior to the establishment of modern Zambia, the natives lived in independent tribes, each with their own ways of life. One of the results of the colonial era was the growth of urbanisation. Different ethnic groups started living together in towns and cities, influencing each other as well as adopting a lot of the European culture such as nuclear family at the expense of the extended family. Notwithstanding this, the original Zambian cultures have to some extent survived in the rural Zambia. In the urban Zambia there is cultural dilution with a mixture of so many cultures both local and foreign, and it is difficult to know the true Zambian culture. (Holmes 1998; Livingstone Tourism Association 2007).

Zambia is officially a Christian nation according to the 1996 constitution. However, a wide variety of religious traditions exist which include Islam, Hinduism, Bahai and other faiths. About three-fourths of the population is Protestants while about 20 % follow Roman Catholicism. Thus, the Zambian constitution allows Zambians and non-Zambians to have freedom of religion provided it is not injurious to the Zambian society. (Sakala 2001; Phiri 2004; Constitution of Zambia 2016).

Although Zambia was declared in 2010 by the World Bank to be one of the world's fastest economically reformed countries, the general standard of living for more than half of the Zambian people is low. For example, of the total 14 million people, 58 % are living in extreme poverty with rural poverty rates standing at about 78 % and urban rates at about 53 %. Unemployment and underemployment in both rural and urban areas are serious problems forcing over 75 % of Zambians to go into informal sector where there is no social security (International Labour Organization 2008; Zambia MDGs Progress Report 2013). The older people are among the Zambian population hardest hit by Zambia's poor macroeconomic performance. This is because they have few copying economic survival strategies. This forces the majority of them both in rural and urban Zambia to go into subsistence farming. The Zambia National Census Report (2010) and Draft Zambia National Ageing Policy (2013) have reported that in rural parts of Zambia where the majority of older persons live, poverty is more pronounced as 80 % of households headed by older persons fall below the poverty line. Many of these problems are anchored in the deterioration in economic and social conditions witnessed after many years of Zambia's main export - copper price declined at the international market and overall economic stagnation that started in the mid-1970s due to International Monetary Fund and World Bank's Structural Adjustment Programmes (Chigunta & Chisanga & Masiye 1998; Government of Zambia 2005). The above information exposes the socio-economic issues that affect the well-being of the Zambian people. Thus the information is important in understanding the social construction of various social issues that affect the Zambian society which include elder abuse.

Scientific literature on elder abuse in Zambia is scarce. This is evident in non availability of scientific articles on elder abuse in Zambia. (Draft Zambia National Ageing Policy 2013). Notwithstanding this gap, elder abuse is a common problem (Mupila 2008). Although there is no available statistics on the prevalence of elder abuse due to lack of national surveys on the prevalence of elder abuse, Times of Zambia (2013)

and SCAZ (2013) have reported that elder abuse is a daily problem affecting the whole nation. This note seems to agree with the research findings established by HelpAge International. Although not focusing on elder abuse, HelpAge International (2011) undertook the study on the living conditions of the elder people in urban Zambia. In this study, 48 % of the older people reported that they had suffered abuse. Mupila (2008, 1) also describes abuse of the elderly people as a widespread phenomenon affecting thousands of vulnerable older people. He notes that elder abuse is far less likely to be reported than child abuse, which has gained greater public awareness. For example, he reports that “while one out of three child abuse cases is reported, only one out of 30 cases of elderly people abuse is reported.” He reports further that there is growing evidence from a number of communities that elderly people abuse and violence is a major, though hidden problem. Being largely hidden, this abuse is difficult for the professional community to address it effectively. He concludes and recommends that only with the support of the public can the Zambian society ensure that such cases are brought to light and appropriate action taken. However, he does not give any reasons for these underreport of elder abuse cases.

Notwithstanding the above, many gaps exist in the available literature on elder abuse in Zambia. To begin with, available literature on elder abuse is too generalist in nature. For example, HelpAge international (2011) indicated that 48 % of their respondents reported having suffered abuse. However, the specific types of abuse suffered and the conditions under which those abuses take place are not mentioned. It should always be noted that elder abuse is not a monolithic phenomenon. Rather, it is a multifaceted phenomenon which takes place in many forms. (Wolf 2000; Bavel et al. 2010; Phelan 2013). Thus, it is always important to learn to unpack the phenomenon of elder abuse and study extensively and intensively each type of abuse if understanding is to be enhanced and relevant policy and programmatic measures to address it are to be suggested (Anetzberger 2012). Similarly, HelpAge International undertook their research on living conditions of the older people in urban Zambia. It did not carry out the same research in rural Zambia. However, given the differences in ways of living in urban and rural Zambia, it is not known whether the dynamics surrounding elder abuse in rural and urban Zambia are the same. For example, in rural Zambia there is a collective way of living and usually most of the people know each other on personal basis. On the other hand, in urban areas, people usually live in individualistic manner and usually most of them do not know each other very well. (Fuller 1972; Kamwengo 2004; Phiri 2004; Mapoma 2013). Despite this, elder abuse is a daily phenomenon in both rural and urban Zambia (SCAZ 2013; ZANIS 2013).

SCAZ (2013) also notes that what is known so far about elder abuse in Zambia is provided by the media. However, as widely known the media does not provide detailed, comprehensive and analytical information about a particular phenomenon except to inform the public that a particular problem exists in society. Draft Zambia National Ageing Policy (2013, 7) notes that ‘there has been inadequate information about the situation of older persons and issues of ageing seem to be relatively new in Zambia. The absence of comprehensive information and attention to issues of ageing

has resulted in inadequate resources being allocated to activities related to ageing. In addition, there has been lack of a clear definition of “Older Person” in most government policies. The Social Welfare Policy for instance define Older Persons as those aged 60 and above, while the Cost Sharing and Health Exemption Policy, under Ministry of Health, defines Older Persons as those above 65 years. The absence of a standardized definition of Older Persons in the country means that where data exists, it is often not comparable, inadequate and un-harmonized.’

Notwithstanding the above gaps, evidence available so far shows that elder abuse exists in Zambia. However, no detailed scientific information is available on the types of abuse experienced, the circumstances under which specific types of abuse take place, the types of older people who suffer particular types of abuse, who the perpetrators are, the consequences of specific types of abuse on the abused older people, consequences on the perpetrators, consequences on the communities where the abused older people and the abusers/perpetrators live and consequences on Zambia as a nation, and the specific policy and programmatic measures that should be put in place to address specific types of elder abuse. The use of international literature especially from the global north in understanding elder abuse in Zambia also has some limitations. For instance, international empirical literature which is mainly based on research undertaken in developed countries and by western researchers do not provide any distinction between elder abuse in rural and urban areas (Cadmus & Theodora & Oladapo 2015). Perhaps one of the reasons for this gap is that there are no big differences in the way people live in rural and urban areas in developed countries. In Zambia, like many other African countries, there are big differences in the way people in rural and urban areas live (Fuller 1972; Carp 2000; African Policy Framework and Plan of Action on Ageing 2002; Bigombe & Khadiagala 2010). For instance, in rural Zambia, there is a collective way of living and usually most of the people know each other on personal basis. On the other hand, in urban areas, people usually live in individualistic manner and usually most of them do not know each other very well on personal basis. (Kamwengo 2004; Phiri 2004; Draft Zambia National Ageing Policy 2013; Mapoma 2013). Thus, my assumption is that the dynamics surrounding elder abuse in rural and urban areas cannot be the same. This is because of the differences in living styles.

Contributors to the international and Zambian literature have also brought out some information on elder abuse in abstract manner which may make intervention difficult. For example, all the above international and Zambian sources of information have brought out poverty as one of the main causes of elder abuse. This is too abstract in relation to informing or planning intervention on elder abuse. One very important thing to always remember is that poverty is a very broad term. For instance, there is monetary poverty, absolute poverty, relative poverty; capability poverty, participatory poverty and knowledge poverty among other types of poverty. Each of these types of poverty can be addressed in different ways. (Conyers 1986; Sen 1999; World Bank Report 2000; Gordon 2002; Walker et al. 2010). For instance, how participatory can be addressed may be different from how monetary poverty can be addressed. This is because these types of poverty are not one and the same. (Nussbaum 1997; Gough

1999; Hall & Midgley 2004). Thus, it is not clear in the literature about the specific types of poverty that precipitate specific forms of elder abuse. This gap should be addressed in scientific knowledge.

In addition, information on the consequences of elder abuse is biased. Since elder abuse always involves at least two parties – the abuser (perpetrator) and the abused (Iborra 2009), it means that the consequences of elder abuse are felt by both parties. Unfortunately, available literature in Zambia and in international literature largely talks about the negative effects of elder abuse on the abused elders and briefly on the family of the abused elder person and governments (see Pritchard 1999; Wolf 2000; World Report on Violence and Health 2002; HelpAge International 2011; Phelan 2013; SCAZ 2013; Times of Zambia 2013; World Report on Ageing and Health 2015). Information on the consequences of elder abuse on the perpetrators [to the best of my knowledge] is less visible in all the literatures reviewed.

Furthermore, available literature also lacks information on the measures that are effective in addressing specific forms of elder abuse. This is attributable to lack of evaluative studies on the effectiveness of the various measures used in addressing different types of elder abuse in different countries. (Ploeg & Hutchinson 1999; World Report on Violence and Health 2002; UN 2013; HelpAge International 2015).

In light of the above gaps, my thinking was that since the social problem of elder abuse in Zambia cannot be understood using the available literature, adequate understanding of elder abuse required undertaking elder abuse studies in rural and urban communities of Zambia where incidences of elder abuse have been recorded. The studies were supposed to be undertaken simultaneously and using the same research instruments. In that way, the divergences and convergences on the dynamics surrounding elder abuse in rural and urban areas can be well understood and policy makers and practitioners can be well informed on what needs to be done if specific types of elder abuse are to be addressed. Thus, the main aim of this study is to describe and understand elder abuse from the conceptions of community leaders involved in addressing elder abuse issues in Zambia with focus on one rural community and one urban community where incidences of elder abuse have been recorded. In this study, I chose community leaders involved in addressing elder abuse in the two communities because of the followings:

First, the majority of elder people in Zambia live in communities either on their own or with extended family members. Whenever there are cases of violence against them, community leaders intervene. For instance, by addressing the problems that led to violence against that particular elder person. (Fuller 1972; Jaeger 1981; Fry 1990; Kamwengo 2004; Phiri 2004; Mapoma 2013). Because this was a community-based study, I assumed that community leaders that dealt with elder abuse understood better their communities and the dynamics that surrounded abuse of elder people. That would help me to describe and understand how elder abuse is socially constructed in their communities. Second, by targeting community leaders, I intended to establish the wider knowledge about elder abuse not only in the two communities where this study took place but through out Zambia. In Zambia, community leaders represent either

the whole community or a particular group of people in that particular community. For instance, the paramount chief represents the whole chiefdom, leaders for the older people represent all the senior citizens, community youth leaders represent the youths, and so forth. Thus, they are assumed to understand well the major social problems in their communities. (Fuller 1972; Osei-Hwedie & Mwansa & Mfunne 1990; Kamwengo 2004). Because of this, they are able to bring out valuable knowledge about the dynamics surrounding certain problems in their local communities (WHO 2002; Draft Zambia National Ageing Policy 2013). Third, in Zambia, voices of the community leaders are usually respected and listened to by policy makers and other actors involved in the social development of Zambia. This is because they are considered to be fountains of knowledge about problems in their communities. In other words, the assumption was, the choice of community leaders as informants could offer one way of gaining insight into the complex phenomenon of elder abuse. That was because I assumed that, as leaders, they had experiences of elder abuse and perceptions about it, but, at the same time, they were people with power and resources, which always affect the way they perceive the world. (WHO 2002). Similarly, I assumed that, community leaders were probably better equipped to understand and interpret the structures and dynamics that surround elder abuse in the communities they represent than ordinary community members. This is why they are considered by the Government of Zambia and other development partners in Zambia to be reliable partners in addressing problems faced by their local communities and the whole nation. (Zambia National Gender Policy 2002; Constitution of Zambia 2016). Because one of the specific objectives of this study is to generate knowledge that policy makers and practitioners can use when thinking about ways on how to address elder abuse in the two communities and the whole Zambia, I assumed that targeting community leaders would enable me to generate knowledge that would influence policy makers and other social development actors on how to address specific types of elder abuse in the two communities and Zambia as a whole. This because their voices are usually listened to and sometimes implemented by other actors involved in the development of Zambia. (Ibid).

It should also be noted that although there is no single study in Zambia that has focused entirely on elder abuse in Zambia (SCAZ 2012; 2013; Zambia Police 2015), handful studies on ageing in Zambia have been done before. These include the studies by Martin.M. Kamwengo (2001; 2004); Annie.N. Phiri (2004); HelpAge International (2011) and Christopher Chabila Mapoma (2013). These researchers undertook the following studies:

The late Kamwengo (2001; 2004) who was an educationalist talked about ageing in Zambia and covered the following: African perspectives and contexts of ageing; Ageing and gender; Ageing and sexuality; Ageing and retirement; Social security; Public pension funds; Ageing and human rights; Ageing and relationships; and Ageing and death. The purpose of his studies were to provide the comprehensive account of the evolution of ageing in Zambia, and explore issues and challenges faced by the older people and discussed some of the critical conceptual and theoretical concerns on ageing. In these studies, the problem of elder abuse was recognized as one of the main

challenges faced by the older people in Zambia. However, no detailed information on elder abuse has been provided.

Phiri (2004) who is a nurse by profession, did a study entitled 'Phenomenological study of ageing amongst the older persons in Zambia.' The objectives of the study were to describe (1) the lived experiences of the older persons of Zambia and, (2) the meaning they attached to ageing or being old within the Zambian context. The main findings of this study showed that the meaning of being old or ageing in Zambia did not depend on the health, socio-economic and psychological living experiences of the older person. Instead, it depended largely on the inner values of the older persons such as spiritual, emotional and cultural beliefs. Thus, the study looked at ageing in general and not on elder abuse.

Another study on ageing in Zambia has been undertaken by HelpAge International. HelpAge International is an international NGO with its headquarters in the UK which helps older people claim their rights, challenge discrimination and overcome poverty, so that they can lead dignified, secure, active and healthy lives. It operates in over 65 countries globally. (Global AgeWatch Index 2015). Although not focusing on elder abuse in Zambia, HelpAge International (2011) undertook the study on the living conditions of the elder people in urban Zambia. In this study, 48 % of the older people reported that they had suffered abuse. One of the main limitations of this study is that it has not given any detailed information for example on the specific types of abuse suffered, characteristics of the older people who suffer what types of elder abuse, the circumstances under which elder abuse takes and so forth. It was also an urban study which excluded rural Zambia. Thus, the study was just an eye opener that elder abuse existed in Zambia and cannot well inform policy and programmes on the various dynamics that surround elder abuse in Zambia.

Mapoma (2013) who is a demographer did a study entitled 'Population Ageing in Zambia: Magnitude, Challenges and Determinants'. The study investigated the magnitude, challenges and determinants of population ageing. Specifically, the study investigated past and future trends of population ageing; challenges older people faced, determinants of active ageing and the existence and adequacy of policies for older people. The study demonstrated that Zambia's population, like the rest of Africa was also ageing. Despite this, older people were faced with several challenges occurring at individual or micro level as well as those determined by the socio-economic and demographic environment or macro level. The most prominent of them all was low self-esteem. Factors which directly contributed to low self-esteem included health problems, functional limitations, lack of care and support both by family and institutions, including government; constrained living arrangements and lack of opportunities for both work and income generating activities. The study also showed that income accessibility (Economic Determinant), functional limitations (Health Determinants), low self esteem and loneliness (Personal/Behavioural Determinants), low family and peer interactions (Social Determinants) and HIV/AIDS determined active ageing. With regard to policies, the study demonstrated that although the draft policy [Zambia National Ageing Policy] on ageing was currently in place, it fell short of

addressing many aspects and challenges of ageing. Thus, Mapoma's study was a generic demographic study on population ageing and did not provide any specific information on elder abuse. However, it indirectly recognized elder abuse to be one of the challenges faced by old people. That was evident when he talked about lack of care for the older people at family and national levels as one of the challenges faced by some older people.

From the above previous studies, it implies that my study is the first study in Zambia to focus specifically on elder abuse. Interesting enough is that it is also the first social work study on elder abuse. Since social workers are among the forefront workers in addressing the problem of elder abuse (Pritchard 1999; World Report on Violence and Health 2002; Ray & Bernard & Phillips 2009; Phelan 2013; Kabelenga 2015), the study has significant implications in understanding how elder abuse is socially constructed by the informants in Zambia, in generating policy and programmatic insights on how to address specific types of abuse in the two communities and the whole Zambia and in contributing to global scientific knowledge and to ongoing non-academic global debates on elder abuse using social work lenses. Thus, various people and institutions from local levels (that is, Zambian societies from micro to macro levels) through to international level can benefit from this study in diverse ways. This may include enhancing understanding of the phenomenon of elder abuse and [re] thinking/generating policies, theories and programmes on how to address elder abuse in the two communities and the whole Zambia among other benefits.

3 Research process

This chapter presents the methodology that I used in the study. It is organized as follows: the first part provides social constructionism and qualitative approach as methodological commitments. The second section focuses on data collection. This is followed by data analysis. The last part provides ethical considerations of the study. Before details on each of these sections are provided, let me refresh the chapter by providing the aim of this study. The main aim of this study was to describe and understand elder abuse from the conceptions of community leaders involved in addressing elder abuse in Zambia with focus on one rural community and one urban community where incidences of elder abuse had been recorded. To achieve this aim, the following research process guided me:

3.1 Social constructionism and qualitative approach as methodological commitments

In this study I used social constructionism and qualitative approach as methodological commitments of the study. This is because of the following: to begin with, the phenomenon of elder abuse that I studied is a social construct meaning different things to different people (World Report on Violence and Health 2002; WHO 2008; UN 2013; Phelan 2013). Thus, for me to understand how the phenomenon of elder abuse was socially constructed in the two communities in Zambia, it required employing the methodological commitments that recognize that reality [in this case elder abuse] is a social construct understood and experienced in multiple ways and can only be understood using the knowledge of the people who have either experienced, observed or confronted it. This is one of the beliefs in social constructionism and qualitative research (Saks & Allsop 2007; Teddlie & Tashakkori 2009; Clark & Creswell 2009). Elsie Bergen (2015, 1) argues that a social constructionism and qualitative orientation is devoid of the notions pertaining to “truth,” objectivity, and value neutrality; embracing instead the idea that “truth” is elusive while objectivity and value neutrality simply weaken our ability to look at and think about things from a multiplicity of perspectives that ultimately enriches our understanding and moves us toward new positive outcomes. Margaret. R. Roller and Paul. J. Lavrakas (2015) argue that social constructionism and qualitative research is a natural marriage. The two are inseparable because they share the same beliefs about reality such as absence of “absolute truth”; subjectivity; importance of context; importance of meaning; participant-researcher relationship; and flexibility of the research design. Herbert J. Rubin & Irene Rubin (2005) advise that interpretative constructionist perspective is

interested in how people view an object or event and the meaning that they attribute to it. This perspective expects people to see somewhat different things, examine them through distinct lenses, and come to different conclusions. In this sense, multiple or even conflicting versions of the same event or object can be true at the same time. Constructionist and qualitative researchers try to elicit interviewees' views of their worlds, works, and the event that they have experienced or observed or confronted. (Eidukevičiūtė 2015). Thus, by using these methodological commitments, I hoped to understand the multiple ways in which different aspects of elder abuse were perceived and conceived from the different perspectives of the informants. I thought that this was the only way my study would bring about better description and understanding of elder abuse in the two communities.

In scientific literature on elder abuse, it is recommended that in order to understand the different dimensions of elder abuse, there is need to generate knowledge which is rooted in the local cultural norms, value systems and social customs where specific types of elder abuse take place (World Report on Violence and Health 2002; UN 2013; Phelan 2013; World Report on Ageing and Health 2015). Thus, 'better knowledge' about elder abuse is a top priority worldwide. By better knowledge, it refers to knowledge that is well grounded into the specific cultural contexts where specific types of elder abuse take place (World Report on Violence and Health 2002, 141). In 1990 the Council of Europe convened a broad-ranging conference on the subject that looked at definitions, statistics, laws and policies, prevention and treatment, as well as the available sources of information on elder abuse. A global working group on elder abuse was set up to deal with all these subjects. One of the recommendations made by the working group was that the precise role of different cultures in elder abuse should be researched and better explained if better knowledge on elder abuse is to be generated. That was because elder abuse was embedded in the cultural norms and value systems of the settings where it occurred. This was seen particularly relevant in developing countries where there is inadequate research on elder abuse. Following this global recommendation, social constructionism and qualitative approach were relevant to this study due to its emphasis on the importance of generating knowledge from within specific cultural contexts where the particular event takes place (Berger and Luckmann 1991; Guba & Lincoln 1994; Mason 2002; Yin 2003; Kothari 2004; Creswell 2007). That is, I assumed that by using social constructionism and qualitative research as cornerstones of my study, it would enable me to understand the cultural norms, values, beliefs, customs and attitudes that lay behind abuse of elder people in the two communities where my study took place and that would be a contribution to the generation of better knowledge recommended in international literature.

In addition, World Report on Violence and Health (2002), UN (2013), Phelan (2013) and World Report on Ageing and Health (2015) advise that better understanding of elder abuse also require understanding of the changes that have taken place in that society, how those changes fuel abuse of the older people and how they can be changed. Because in my study I also sought to understand elder abuse by exploring the changes that had taken place in the two communities and Zambia in

general, it was important to use social constructionism and qualitative approach as methodological commitments of my study. This is because social constructionism and qualitative research emphasize the importance of understanding the changes that have taken place in society using the knowledge of the local people who better know the history of their societies and the changes that have taken place (Denzin & Lincoln 2003; Pope et al. 2014; Roller & Lavrakas 2015). Jennipher Mason (2002) and Julija Eidukevičiūtė (2015) suggest implementing social constructionism and qualitative perspectives when there is concern about the ways in which social explanations and arguments can be constructed lays on depth, nuance, complexity and roundedness in data. This is because social constructionism and qualitative research explain social processes, social change, social organization and social meaning that require deep understanding of the phenomenon under study in the informants' own accounts from what they have observed, confronted or experienced. (Roller & Lavrakas 2015). Thus, these methodological commitments also guided me in data collection, data analysis and presentations of the research findings. For instance, I assumed that the selection of the informants like chiefs, village headmen and elder people's representatives would specifically help me to understand the changes that had taken place in their communities and how that explained elder abuse. I anticipated that because they lived in those communities and Zambia in general for many years, they would share with me experiential knowledge on how their communities and Zambian society in general used to be in the past and in the present state, and then try to link those changes to abuse of the elder people. Ultimately the assumption was that, this would help generate knowledge that could permit further multiple ways of thinking on how the two communities and Zambia in general could be reconstructed if elder abuse is to be addressed. That was meant to achieve the second objective of my study which aimed at getting the views of the informants on what should be done to address elder abuse in their communities and Zambia in general.

Not only the above, I also assumed that by using social constructionism and qualitative approach, I would generate new concepts about elder abuse which would also contribute to better understanding of the phenomenon of elder abuse in the Zambian context. My assumption was, that would only be possible if I had closer interactions with the informants who confronted the phenomenon of elder abuse on daily basis in their local communities. This is because social constructionism and qualitative approach as observed by Phiri (2004, 79) believe that 'data are in the person, as it is the person who gives meaning to the experiences of the day-to-day world and that data can only be known by talking and spending enough time with that person.' Natalie D. Pope (2014) advises that one of the distinguishing features of social constructionism and qualitative inquiry is that it allows for the generation of new insights about the particular issue under investigation. This comes about because the researcher studies the respective phenomenon in depth with the local people who have confronted that phenomenon. Thus, the researcher does not go to the people who have confronted or observed the phenomenon with the already predetermined answers to the phenomenon. Rather, the researcher goes to the people who have confronted the phenomenon open

minded. This is because he/she wants to learn from the people who have confronted the phenomenon. Social constructionism and qualitative researchers also believe that looking at and thinking about social realities from a multiplicity of perspectives brings about a new, expanded way of talking and thinking about concepts. This is what brings about extension of scientific knowledge (Bergen 2015). These tenets are in line with one of the significances of my study which aimed at broadening thinking about elder abuse in international literature. Additionally, because of the aforesaid beliefs in social constructionism and qualitative approach, I also anticipated generating new policy and programmatic insights on how to address different types of elder abuse using the conceptions of the informants. I thought that this would help me achieve my third research objective which focused on generating policy and programmatic knowledge that policy makers and practitioners in Zambia can try to use when thinking about ways on how to address elder abuse in the two communities and the whole Zambia. Thus, because of these methodological commitments, I am hopeful that this study has adequately answered all the research objectives and added new knowledge to the existing scientific knowledge and many people and institutions in Zambia and at international level can benefit from it. Having provided the methodological commitments of this study, I now come to data collection.

3.2 Data collection

The specific issues covered in this section include descriptions of study sites; interviewees; and interviews with community leaders.

3.2.1 Rural and Urban community as study sites

Two communities – one rural and one urban were purposively selected for this study. It should be noted that for the sake of protecting the identity of the informants, the actual names of the communities where the study was undertaken will not be mentioned. This is meant to protect the identity of the interviewees (TENK 2012). The study sites are merely called as rural and urban community. I chose the communities due to the following reasons:

To begin with, both communities had recorded cases of elder abuse. However, actual statistics on incidences and prevalences of elder abuse recorded were not available at the time of this study. That was because of lack of community and national surveys on elder abuse in Zambia. (SCAZ 2013; Zambia Police 2014). Thus, my choice to go to the two communities was meant to enable me have the better description and understanding of the dynamics that surrounded elder abuse in two communities, which was the main aim of the study. That is, it allowed me to get first hand information from the local environments where incidences of elder abuse had been encountered. For example, because I conducted my study in communities where elder abuse had been recorded, all the informants had gotten involved in addressing specific types of elder abuse. John W.

Creswell (2007) have recommended that in selecting study units, the researcher must select either 'marginal social units', that is, those which have experienced conflicting situations; or 'great social units' that is, those which can represent the larger population. Robert. K. Yin (2003) has also re-echoed the above pieces of advice. He advises that in selecting the study sites, most importantly, they must be social units that have experienced the phenomenon being studied. The reasoning behind this is that targeting social units that have encountered or experienced the phenomenon under investigation results in rich descriptions of a phenomenon as it appears on the ground. Phiri (2004, 74) says that studying social units that have or where the particular phenomenon has been observed, encountered or experienced is "going back to the basics, to everyday world, where people are living, through various circumstances, and in actual situations". Thus, by undertaking the study in the two communities, I collected rich, detailed and well grounded information in the local cultures of the two communities on the various dynamics of different types of elder abuse. This resulted in bringing about better description and understanding of elder abuse in the two communities.

Second, both communities were easily accessible by road when I was in Zambia. For example, in the urban community, there are so many private minibuses and taxis. This made it easier for me to reach out to research informants in places which were not within walkable distance. Similarly, the rural community was easily reachable using private transport and by footing when collecting data. This criterion for selecting the study sites was in line with the scientific recommendations for selecting study sites in qualitative research. Yin (2003) and Creswell (2007) have advised that besides having recorded, confronted or experienced the phenomenon under investigation, study units should be accessible. This is because, if the researcher has difficulties in accessing the study sites and the participants, then it becomes difficult to accomplish the research project as the primary data which is needed in answering the research questions cannot be collected. Thus, because I selected study sites which were easily accessible, it was relatively easier to collect the information that I needed.

Third, I was able to speak well the local languages commonly used in the two communities. This made it easier for me to communicate adequately with all the informants in the study sites and other community members. In qualitative research, the ability of the researcher to adequately communicate verbally with the participants is very important. This is because it is the main leeway to collecting data from the informants. Mike Saks and Judith Allsop (2007) advise that communication should be adequate if the researcher is to collect in-depth information about a particular phenomenon under investigation. For example, the researcher needs to probe and probe and probe by asking as many questions as possible on the basis of the responses that are coming out from the interview. In addition, communication is also cardinal to accessibility of the study units and to establishing good rapport with the participants. Thus, because I was able to adequately speak the local languages in the two communities, it was easier for me to conduct in-depth interviews without any difficulties. In that way, in-depth and comprehensive information on the dynamics that surrounded elder abuse

in the two communities was collected. Below I provide detailed descriptions of each of the communities.

Rural Community

The rural Community is located more than 800 kilometres by road from Zambia's capital city Lusaka. In terms of socio-economic development and livelihoods, the community is among the least developed communities in Zambia. For example, it does not have a police post and local court of justice. Economically, with the exception of a few government workers who are in formal employment like teachers, health workers and community development workers, all the community members are in informal employment such as subsistence farming and petty trading which involves the sale of traditional drinks, small livestock and groceries. (Zambia National Census Report 2010). In terms of national social security, it is mainly the government workers who have guaranteed social security. The majority of the local people including the elder people do not have any access to national social security except free primary health care. Because of this, almost all the local people rely on informal social protection mechanisms such as those provided by the extended family members, friends and the church. NGOs are also absent in this community. Long distances to social services, unemployment, illiteracy, poverty, disease, mortality and morbidity are among other common characteristics of this community. Though statistics on each of these social problems were not available at the time of this study, prevalence of the above problems were described by the local people to be high. Kinship and clans also exist. However, the main community leaders include the chief, village headmen, ward councillors, leaders of political parties, area development committee members, church leaders, youth leaders, and women's leaders. These are in charge of managing the affairs of the community on daily basis which include resolving community problems. (Rural Community Description Report 2014).

The local people reported further that although the government had some offices in the community such as through primary schools, health centres and Department of Social Welfare, the presence of the Zambian government and other formal institutions was not adequate when it came to service provision. That was because they were very few social services in the community. The attributes of the community are quite similar to the remote communities of the Lapland Region in Finland. Most remote villages in the Lapland Region lag behind in terms of service availability and other socio-economic developments. In part, this is because the Finnish government and other development actors like the NGOs and the private sector do not allocate adequate resources towards development of the region. This has resulted into so many social problems such as migration of the younger people to urban cities in Southern Finland which lead to leaving elder people alone; weakening family ties between older generation and younger generation; isolation and abuse of the elder people; and unemployment among others (Kangas & Palme 2005). Arja Kilpeläinen and Marjaana Seppänen (2014) report that the living conditions in Lapland's villages can be quite harsh. The geographical distances are vast, the climate can be demanding and public transport is hard to reach.

Many services have transferred to population centres recently, which has made daily life even more laborious. Thus, the rural community where I undertook the study is quite similar to the remote villages of the Lapland region. Having described the rural community, I now turn to the description of the urban community.

Urban Community

The urban community is located in one of the major cities in Zambia. Like many urban communities globally, it is characterised by the following: First it has high population. According to Zambia National Census Report (2010), the community has a population of over 6000 people with an on going urbanisation. It also is characterised by money economy. That is, survival of every resident in this community is highly dependent on having personal income, which is always used when accessing goods and services. As such almost every resident is involved in some economic activities whether legal or illegal. However, a few fortunate community members with special needs such as the chronically ill, disabled, babies and young children without parents among others may be taken care off by the Government of Zambia, NGOs, the church and other well wishers. Usually this type of care is residual. Meaning that it is just for a short period of time, and when these people are able to economically fend for themselves, the social protection given to them ceases. In part, inadequate social protection associated with the community members are attributable to the weak extended family systems. This is because most of the community members are immigrants from rural areas. They usually leave the majority of the extended family members in country sides and migrate to urban areas in search of paid employment, and better goods and services in an attempt to run away from rural poverty and other rural hardships. (Chigunta & Chisanga & Masiye 1998; Zambia Central Statistics Office 2014).

In addition, there are also a mixture of all sorts of cultures in the community. In other words, it is an heterogenous community like Espoo, Vantaa, Kauniainen and surrounding commuter communities in Helsinki area of Finland where all ethnic and racial groupings have their own cultures (Terhi 2009; *ibid*). Usually there is cultural dillution and some community members may easily do away with their culture and adopt popular cultures in an attempt to fit into the community. There is also some high degree of independence. However, the main social glue that tend to bind community members together are economic activities. That is, many community members interact on the basis of establishing and creating business and employment connections. It is also characterised by high degree of mobility. For example, community members on daily basis shift from one residential area to another and new members come in without any knowledge of community leaders or other community members. As such community members do not really know each other very well. (Osei-Hwedie & Mwansa & Mufune 1990).

Coming to the local leadership, the main community leader in this community is the ward councillor. The ward councilor is the democratically elected civic leader by the community members themselves and from amongst the community members

themselves. His/her role(s) is to represent the whole community in all affairs of the community at district council level (Zambia Ministry of Local Government and Housing 2013). However, contrary to the nature of the ward councillor in rural community who knows literally everyone and everything taking place in the community, the ward councillor in the urban community does not know everyone in the community, though he/she is usually aware of the main activities or events that take place in the community. In part, this is because of the nature of urban communities which allow different people to move in and out of the community without any knowledge of community leaders (Osei-Hwedie & Mwansa & Mufune 1990). In the same vein, in this community there are no chiefs or village headmen. This is because it does not belong to a single clan or ethnic grouping. Thus, diversity in terms of the people living in this community, cultural beliefs and values and life styles is another major distinguishing characteristic of this community. Other renowned community leaders include religious leaders, area development committee members, leaders of political parties, leaders of youth and women groups, and heads of government departments and leaders of Civil Society Organizations (Zambia Health and Demographic Survey 2014).

Economically, the majority of the residents are either in formal or informal employment or both, with the majority of the [elder] people concentrated in informal employment and mainly in commercial and subsistence farming; doing businesses both in large and small scale as well as begging on the streets (Zambia National Census Report 2010). With regard to national social security, again like the case of the rural community, it is mainly the government workers who have guaranteed social security. The majority of the local people do not have any access to national social protection except free primary health care in the case of children under five years and elder people aged 65 years of age and above. Additionally, most of the local people who have no access to formal social protection also have inadequate access to informal social protection mechanisms such as those provided by extended family members. This is because the extended family is weak in urban communities of Zambia. A handful who are fortunate may, however, receive social protection from the Government of Zambia, NGOs, well wishers and the church (ILO 2008; Kabelenga 2012; Zambia MDGs Progress Report 2013). In addition, it is characterised by many other social problems. These include unemployment, income poverty, crime, destitution, prostitution, substance abuse, pressure on available goods and services, high costs of living, poor sanitation, and pollution among others (Chigunta & Chisanga & Masiye 1998; Zambia Health and Demographic Survey 2014). From this information, it is clear that despite the community being found in the city, it has many social problems. The problems are similar to the ones found in the rural community.

3.2.2 Interviewees

The interviewees for this study were community leaders who had participated in addressing elder abuse. As used in this thesis, the term 'community leaders' also called 'local leaders' refers to influential members of the two communities of Zambia.

These are the people who have institutional powers to influence the affairs of their communities on daily basis. They included traditional leaders such as the chiefs, village headmen, village court judges, community crime prevention units, leaders of various social groupings such as leaders for the churches, youth groups, women's groups, elderly people, development committees, political parties, senior government workers such as ward councillors, head teachers, doctors, nurses, social workers, conventional court judges, community development workers and leaders of civil society organizations. Because of the powers which they had, they always intervened in social problems that affected their communities as well as problems faced by individual community members such as elder abuse. At the time of this study, the powers which community leaders had in both rural and urban communities of Zambia were either hereditary or could be acquired when one is voted into position of authority or could be acquired from the organization that one worked in. For example, the chiefs and headmen had hereditary powers. This, means that once one ascends to position of a chief or village man, they automatically acquire power. This is because their powers are embedded in their traditional positions and can influence their chiefdoms and villages respectively. The ward councillors, community crime prevention units (CCPUs), church leaders, area development committee members, representatives of the elderly people, women's and youth's representatives acquire power after being voted into positions of power through an election either by their peers, by the whole neighbourhood or the whole community. The police, conventional court judges, head teachers, medical personnel, social workers and civil society organizations acquire power from the organizations that they work in. Village court judges are appointed by the chief and usually after consultations with the village headmen. Thus, their traditional powers come from the chief. This is because in everything that they do, they represent the chief and as such, they are sometimes called 'the chief's representatives'. (Jaeger 1982; Kamwengo 2004; Rural Community Description Report 2014; Urban Community Description Report 2014). The above leaders are the ones who shared with me their views about elder abuse in their communities and the whole Zambia.

In terms of hierarchy, in the rural community, the chief is the main leader, followed by ward councillor and village headmen. For the other leaders no one is superior to the other. In the urban community, the senior community leader is the ward councillor followed by area development committee members. The rest of the community leaders are more or less at the same level. The ward councillor is a community political leader who represents the whole community at district council level. District council is similar to what is called municipality in Finland (Kangas and Palme 2005). Thus, the position of the ward councillor like the positions of the chief, village headmen, community development workers and the police is approved by the Constitution of Zambia (Kamwengo 2004; Constitution of Zambia 2016). The ward councillor is elected from among the community members by the community members themselves during local government, parliamentary or presidential elections and has the term of office for 5 years. Important to note also is that in both communities, local leadership exists at different levels of the local communities and is drawn from different institutions. For

example, in terms of the organizations that the community leaders worked in, some worked for the Government of Zambia as civil servants. These included the police, some social workers, head teachers, ward councillors, some community development workers, nurses, medical doctors and hospitals chaplains (pastors). Others worked for the local communities as community volunteers. These included the village court judges, CCPUs, area development committee members, some representatives of the elder people and women's groupings. Others worked for the church. These included church pastors and church elders. Some of the informants worked in civil society organizations (CSOs). These included some elder people's and church representatives. From these descriptions, it means that the community leaders who participated in this study were drawn from different segments of the two communities' population. This brought about better descriptions and understandings of the phenomenon of elder abuse in the two communities. This is because the approach allowed triangulation of the data from different categories of the community leaders in the two communities. In that way the common grounds and divergences on different aspects of elder abuse were established among all the informants.

The first contact community leaders (representatives of the elderly people, the police and community development workers) advised that for me to successfully undertake my fieldwork, I needed the support of the local leaders of the communities where I planned to collect the data from. That was because my study had ethical implications on the whole community. For example, my study involved going into details of the community norms, values and beliefs that fuelled elder abuse and some community leaders would not be comfortable to disclose that information to me without approval of the leadership of their local community. From the experiences of the first contact community leaders, one way of mobilizing support from the community leaders was to first meet the senior community leaders in each community so that they could be aware of my presence in their community and to seek approval of my study. They advised further that if I did not do that, the senior community leaders had the powers to instruct their subjects not to participate in my study.

In line with the above pieces of advice, when I arrived in each community, I first met the senior community leaders. In the rural community, with the assistance of the area community development officer whom I met at the station and helped me to look for accommodation, I first met the chief and then the ward councillor. In the urban community, with the support of one representative of the elderly people who was closer to the ward councillor, I also met the ward councillor before starting my data collection. As per advice of the first contact community leaders, when I arrived in the rural community, I asked the area community development officer who met me at the station and other local people about the procedures for meeting the chief. I decided to do that because I wanted to respect the local values, beliefs and other traditions. My fear was, if I came into conflict with local traditions by not respecting the local values, norms, beliefs and customs which informally spelt the dos and don'ts in the local community, the chief and other community leaders might not allow me to collect data in their community (Jaeger 1982). Thus, as per pieces of advice [provided below]

which the local people shared with me, I had to go to the palace of the chief. The palace was within the walkable distance from the village where I resided during fieldwork. Before I went to the palace, the area community development officer helped me make an appointment with the chief using one of the chief's family members. Fortunately enough, the chief was around and accepted to meet me at his palace. Following the traditionals given to me by the local people, when I met the chief at his palace, I first knelt down with both knees, put the money (50 Euro) on the floor near where the chief was sitting and then greeted him. That signified respect for the chief and the leadership of the whole community. After that, the chief picked the money and then asked me to explain what had brought me to his palace. I introduced myself and then went into the details of my study. I even gave him the copies of the research introductory letters which I had from the University of Lapland and University of Zambia. I did the same thing to the ward councillors in both the rural and urban community. Fortunately enough, all the three leaders approved my study and promised to participate in my study as informants as well as to give me any further support that I needed. That was because they felt that my study focused on a serious social problem which affected not only their communities but the whole Zambia and needed to be brought to the attention of the Government of Zambia and other stakeholders so that it could be addressed. To ease and sustain communication, we even exchanged mobile phone numbers.

Before deciding on the potential participants, I first contacted representatives of the elderly people, the police and community development workers who interacted before with the abused elderly people. The use of the media (News Papers) helped me in identifying these three categories of community leaders to be my first contact persons. For example, in some cases of elder abuse reported in the *Zambian News Papers* which I read before embarking on this study, representatives of elderly people, community development workers and the police were reported to have intervened in those cases (Times of Zambia 2013; ZANIS 2013). Due to this information, I thought that these three categories of leaders would link me to other community leaders who participated in addressing elder abuse in their communities and the whole Zambia. Thus, with the help of the representatives of the elderly people, the police and community development workers in both rural and urban community, we came up with the list of community leaders and organisations that were considered to have reliable information about elder abuse. In the rural community, the community leaders who were considered to have reliable information on matters related to elder abuse included the chiefs, village headmen, ward councillors, village courts judges, conventional courts judges, head teachers, church leaders, women's representatives, youth leaders, area development committee members, and community crime prevention units. These were recommended to me on the ground that they presided on several cases of elder abuse. In both rural and urban communities, the police were recommended for the study because they arrested and prosecuted several perpetrators of elder abuse and rescued abused elder people from the perpetrators of elder abuse. Doctors and nurses were included in the study because they hospitalized and gave medical care and counselling to elderly people who suffered severe physical abuses. Social workers

were identified because they offered financial support, food, shelter, counselling and referral services to the abused elder people as well as removed the abused elder people from the abusers. Representatives of the elderly people, ward councillors, community development workers, members of the opposition political parties and civil society organizations were selected because whenever cases of elder abuse were noticed in the particular community, they reported the cases to law enforcement agencies and provided social services such as legal aid, shelter, food, clothing and referral services to the abused elder people. They also campaigned against elder abuse. Church leaders and hospital chaplains (pastors) intervened in cases of elder abuse by offering spiritual and moral support to the abused elder people and in some instances to the perpetrators of elder abuse. For example, they preached forgiveness and reconciliation as well as encouraged everyone living in Zambia to live in socially acceptable Zambian ways and lives that pleased God. The recommended community leaders and organizations were then contacted by both the first contact community leaders and the researcher either by calling them using the mobile phone or by visiting them in person, and explaining the purpose of the study.

When I contacted each potential informant, I followed the scientific guidelines provided by Creswell (2007) on how to access study participants. Creswell has advised that the researcher needs first to give details about themselves so that the potential participants are well informed about the person who has approached them for information. Thus, before going into details as to why I called or visited them, I told each potential participant that I was a Zambian citizen working at the University of Zambia as lecturer in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences in the Department of Social Development Studies, and that I was a doctoral (PhD) candidate at the University of Lapland in Finland. Thus, as a partial fulfillment of my PhD studies, I was conducting my research in Zambia on elder abuse and that with the help of the representatives of the elderly people in their community, the police and community development workers, we identified them as reliable community leaders to share with me information about elder abuse in their communities and the whole Zambia. In addition, with those I visited either at their work places, homes or villages, I even showed them the research introductory letters which I got from the University of Lapland and University of Zambia. See Appendix.3 of the introductory letters used during fieldwork. Only those who were willing to participate in the study were included on the final list of the informants. Thus, no informant was forced or tricked to participate in the study. Other motivations for targeting community leaders are given in section 2.4.

A total of thirty one (31) informants participated in the study. Of the 31 informants, 19 were drawn from the rural community and 12 were from the urban community. Selection of the study participants was done purposively and conveniently. Purposive selection is the type of selection where the research participants are selected on the basis that by virtue of them having confronted or experienced the particular phenomenon, they are in a better position to share information with the researcher about the phenomenon being studied. On the other hand, convenient selection is

where the researcher selects the informants who are available for the study and can easily be accessible. (Clark & Creswell 2009). These ways of selecting the informants were in line with the scientific guidelines on how to select the study participants. Polit and Hungler (2001) advise that in qualitative research, the researcher selects those subjects who know the most about the phenomenon and who are able to articulate and explain nuances to the researcher. This is because it is believed that data are in the person with experience as it is the person who gives meanings to the experiences of the day-to-day world (Giorgi 1985; Phiri 2004). In supporting these grounds on which the participants should be selected for the study, Creswell (2007) advises that besides having the information about the phenomenon under study, the potential participants should be accessible. This is because if they are not accessible, it becomes difficult for the researcher to collect the data. What this means is that besides having participated in addressing elder abuse in their communities, I also considered the availability and accessibility of those potential informants for the study. That was because I was looking at my data collection plan and the time I was expected to return to the University of Lapland. Additional characteristics of the interviewees are as follows:

Table. 1 Age distribution and number of the informants

<i>Age</i>	<i>Number of informants in Rural Community</i>	<i>Number of informants in Urban Community</i>
20 - 29	1	0
30 - 39	1	1
40 - 49	6	3
50 - 59	9	4
60 - 69	2	3
70 - 79	0	1
<i>Total Number of informants</i>	19	12

Table.1 suggests that the study solicited the views of matured people. This is because many interviewees had passed the age group of the youth. The result also implies that they were more informants from the rural community who participated in the study compared to those in the urban community. The differences in the number of informants who participated in the study is explained by the fact that there were more informants in the rural community who were willing to participate in the study than those in the urban community. Potential informants in urban community were too busy with their own work to participate in the study. Among the potential informants who did not participate in the study included representatives of the youths, ward councillors and opposition political parties. I tried to make several interview appointments with them but all my efforts were in vain. They always told me that they

were busy with other programmes. Thus the result indicates that I had more difficulties in collecting data in the urban community than in the rural community. However, that was not surprising to me as it is a common research challenge in urban areas as people are always busy working or looking for means of survival (Creswell 2007). Thus, I accepted the situation. All in all I collected adequate information from the 12 interviewees who included representatives of elderly people, the police, conventional courts judges, church leaders, area development committee members, social workers, community development workers, nurses, civil society organizations, head teachers, and women's representatives. Their constructions enabled me to have better description and understanding of the phenomenon of elder abuse in the urban community. In social constructionism and qualitative studies, small number of informants are usually recommended if the researcher is to go into depth of the particular issue under investigation (Berger & Luckmann 1991; Creswell 2007; Gergen 2015).

Sex distribution of informants

Of the total 31 informants, 23 were males and 8 were females. Of the 23 males, 16 were from the rural community and 7 were from urban community. With regard to the 8 females, 5 were from urban community and 3 were from rural community. This implies that there were more males than females who participated in addressing the problem of elder abuse in the two communities of Zambia. This could be attributed to the fact that they are more male leaders than female leaders in Zambia like the way it is in many African countries (Zambia National Gender Policy 2002; The Global Gender Gap Report 2015).

Participation in individual interviews and focus group discussions

Of the 31 community leaders, 29 participated in individual interviews and the majority of the same informants (27) also participated in 5 focus group discussions (FGDs). This is because some of the interviews were follow-up interviews with the same participants. That was meant to get more detailed information about certain aspects of elder abuse where information was either inadequate or the topic was too sensitive and could not be discussed in detail during focus group discussions. The first three FGDs had two community leaders and all of them from the rural community where I started my fieldwork from. The first FGD comprised of one male and one female. Both of them worked as social workers. The second FGD had one male and one female and both of them were court judges. The third FGD had only males – one medical doctor and one hospital chaplain (pastor) and both of them worked at the district hospital. The participants in all these FGDs were senior government officials at the local community level. The reasons for having only two community leaders participate in each FGD were twofold. First, government institutions in the rural community of Zambia were understaffed at the time of this study. Thus, as a way of ensuring that service delivery to their clients continued whilst conducting the FGDs, executive officers of those institutions decided that only two of their officers should participate in the FGDs. Second, some of the officers who were supposed to

participate in the FGDs could not show up for the interviews. The reasons for that were not given. The rest of the FGDs had on average of 4 participants in each group with the majority being males. These included 2 FGDs with the police who worked at national level, one FGD with the police who worked at local community level, and another FGD with village headmen. Of interest also was that before I started data collection, I had no plans to conduct FGDs. That was because I feared the monetary costs associated with conducting FGDs. When conducting FGDs in Zambia, the participants usually expect to be given transport allowances and buy them food to eat during the interviews. Thus, because I had no money for that, I planned not to hold FGDs. However, when I met individual participants, the participants organized other community leaders who participated in addressing elder abuse so that they could join us in the discussions. Thus, the interviews which were intended to be individual interviews turned into FGDs. In three instances (one in rural community and two in urban community), when I was conducting individual interviews other community leaders who came to listen to what we were discussing joined the conversation and the interviews turned into FGDs. Because of that, I ended up conducting all the 7 FGDs without paying the informants any transport allowances or buying food for them. This approach to data collection is allowed in qualitative research. Phiri (2004) and Creswell (2007) advise that in qualitative research, data collection approaches are not fixed. For example, the researcher can change the data collection tools whilst doing fieldwork by bringing in other data collection methods so long the researcher is convinced that the approaches will enable him to answer the research questions that the study intends to answer. Thus, as will be seen later, this approach proved very useful as it allowed me to establish common grounds and divergences among community leaders about elder abuse in their communities. Other participants brought in new ideas and examples of elder abuse that they either encountered or participated in addressing. That generated new topics for further discussions and resulted in generating more information about elder abuse in the two communities and the whole Zambia. For example, in the rural community, the community leader who first brought out the issue of political abuse of elder people was not expected to participate in the study. However, when he found us having the interviews, the primary interviewee invited him to join us. That was because he also participated in addressing elder abuse. In the course of the discussions, I realized that he had participated in addressing several cases of elder abuse not only in the rural community but across Zambia. Infact he articulated issues of elder abuse in the two communities and the whole Zambia far much better than most of the informants. The same scenario happened when holding FGD.7 with police officers in the urban community. The officer who brought out the case of sexual abuse of an elderly man which generated a lot of interesting information about elder abuse just jumped into the conversation without inviting her to participate in the discussion. Interesting also is that because I had not planned for the FGDs, when conducting the FGDs, I used the same study guide which I used for individual interviews. However, as will be seen later, I integrated some of the new issues that the informants brought out during individual interviews and FGDs into the consequent interview guide

that I had. This approach was very helpful because it resulted into generating new knowledge about elder abuse in the two communities and the whole Zambia beyond my expectations.

Additional characteristics of the informants

Besides participating in addressing elder abuse in their communities, additional special characteristics of some interviewees that emerged from the interview data were as follows: First, four (4) of them had suffered abuse before. For ethical reasons, the full details of these informants will not be disclosed. However, these included one senior village headman, one medical doctor, and two elderly people's representatives. Two (2) of these were from the rural community and the other two (2) were from the urban community. Second, the majority (25) of them had their relatives who were victims of elder abuse. This result has something to say about the scope of elder abuse in the two communities and the whole Zambia. For instance, it implies that elder abuse is a common problem in Zambia. This analysis is based on the ground that, despite the informants being selected without prior knowledge that some of them were victims of abuse or that they had relatives who suffered abuse, in the process of undertaking this study, the overwhelming majority of them disclosed that they had direct confrontations with the phenomenon of elder abuse. Third, some of the interviewees namely the police, representatives of elderly people, gerontological social workers, doctors, nurses and conventional court judges were also not only local community leaders, but rather leaders of institutions that worked across Zambia in addressing elder abuse. Thus, they did not only intervene in cases of elder abuse in the two communities but through out Zambia. This is because the nature of their jobs and the kind of organizations they worked in allowed them to intervene in cases of elder abuse across Zambia. Thus, their views and experiences in the constructions of different aspects of elder abuse were not only shaped by what they had seen for themselves in their local communities or what they had experienced in their own lives or families but also reflected what happened in all parts of Zambia. That was evident in that informants cited different examples of cases of elder abuse across Zambia. These unique characteristics of the informants brought the following impacts on this study: to begin with, those who were victims of abuse brought "own abuse experiences" to this study. This is because they talked about their own experiences about elder abuse. Those who had relatives who suffered abuse brought in "nuclear and extended family members encounters" with elder abuse. That was because they were able to talk about the phenomenon of elder abuse using their family members as examples. Those who participated in addressing elder abuse across Zambia brought in "the national abuse perspective". This is because they talked about the dynamics that surrounded elder abuse at national level. Combinations of these three perspectives resulted in collecting richer information about elder abuse not only in the two communities but across Zambia.

3.2.3 Interviews with community leaders

In this study, I interviewed a total of 31 community leaders who participated in addressing elder abuse in their communities, of which 11 of them participated in addressing elder abuse in all the communities across Zambia. 29 of them were interviewed through individual interviews. 27 of the same informants were also interviewed in FGDs and in follow-up individual interviews and FGDs. That was meant to get indepth information about elder abuse and to facilitate triangulation of the data. Since, I have already given detailed information about the participants who participated in individual and group (FGDs) interviews (see section 3.2.2 under the headline of participation in inividual interviews and focus group discussions), to avoid repetition, in this section I will focus on providing brief distinctions between individual and focus group interviews and the value that these two methods of data collection brought to this study. Before this is done, conceptualizations of an interview from existing literatures are provided. Qualitative interviews are considered the “back bone” of qualitative research in general (Kvale 1996). At most basic level, interviews can simply be defined as conversations. On the other hand, qualitative interviews can be defined as one-on-one, interactive conversations between an interviewer and an informant (s) but with a specific purpose. (Ibid). Ghosh (2003) argues that the objective of qualitative interviewing is to get detailed information, in the form of narratives or stories of people’s experiences, local histories and shared knowledge to get verbal pictures of systematic behaviors. In the context of this study, qualitative interviews were conducted for the purpose of getting detailed and comprehensive information on the dynamics that surrounded elder abuse in the two communities of Zambia.

Individual interviews

Individual interviews consist of exploring the attitudes and responses of a sole participant about the particular phenomenon under investigation (Lincoln & Guba 2000). This type of interviews provides in-depth answers about the particular phenomenon from the view point or experiences of an ndividual participant. The method is also ideal for exploring subject areas that might be deemed too controversial or sensitive for a focus group atmosphere. (Cooper & Schindler 2011). They are also appropriate where there might not be enough of a sample to conduct a group interview. Because individual interviews can be conducted from any location, it eases discourse and allows for a better glimpse into the participant’s everyday lives. For example, the researchers can use an unstructured interviews (no specific questions), or semi-structured interviews (starts with specific questions), then explores the participant’s tangents of thought about the phenomenon under investigation. (Mason 2002; Creswell 2007). Researchers also benefit from this type of interviews by being able to observe verbal and nonverbal behavior of the interviewee (Shulamit & Rowles 1988; Polit & Beck & Hungler 2001; Rubin & Rubin 2005). In this thesis the community leaders who were selected to participate in individual interviews were chosen on the basis of their ability to share sensitive and controversial information

about elder abuse in their communities and those who raised completely new issues which other community leaders in focus group discussions could not articulate well. These included the chief, senior police officers and other leaders who maintain community security, court judges, elder people's representatives and the informants who brought out the phenomenon of political abuse of elder people. These were interviewed at different intervals in separate individual interviews in order to delve deeper into sensitive topics such as going deeper into the lives of elder people who were buried alive and/or mistreated on the basis that they were witches, operations of Community Crime Prevention Units (CCPUs) and how political abuse took place in their communities.

Focus Group Discussions

Focus group discussion is the type of interviews which involves simultaneously interviewing more than one participant about the particular phenomenon under investigation (Phiri 2004). However, there are no agreements among the qualitative researchers regarding the specific number of people who can participate in the group interview. Ghosh (2003) argues that a group in qualitative research interviews comprises at least of two or more informants and for ease interactions among the participants, the maximum number of the participants can at least go up to ten. On the other hand, Cooper & Schindler (2011) advise that focus groups involve anywhere from four to eight participants. Selection of participants varies a great deal. Studies may base decisions around age group, gender, regional background or any other demographic marker. No matter the selection process, however, the aim of focus groups is to find a consensus. (Ibid). Despite this, the common agreement among qualitative researchers is that the fewer the participants, the more details are likely to be obtained from the group discussions and the larger the group the lesser the details to be obtained. This is because if group participants are few, they have ample time to discuss the phenomenon under investigation and the researcher can probe and probe on the new topics that emerge during group discussions. When the group members are too many, each participant tend to have inadequate time to freely express themselves and this atmosphere may prevent some of the participants from bringing out detailed information about the subjects under investigation. (Phiri 2004). Notwithstanding this, group interviews are advantageous in that because they involve vastly more participants, it reduces the amount of time to collect the data, necessary equipment for recording and processing data. Focus groups are also useful when there is a common interest among a group of people concerning the research question or when the issue is ambiguous or hypothetical and needs to be solidified. This is because the facilitator uses "group dynamics principles to focus or guide a group in an exchange of ideas, feelings, and experiences on a specific topic" (Cooper & Schindler 2011: 177). The focus group also allows the researcher to watch the group dynamics and allows him to draw his own conclusions from the participation dialogue and nonverbal clues. New questions or lines of research can also be generated by the group conversations. This is essential in generating new information and broadening knowledge about

the phenomenon under investigation (Mason 2002; Creswell 2002). In this thesis most of the participants who participated in focus group discussions were invited by their fellow community leaders. The primary intended interviewees invited other community leaders on the ground that they worked hand in hand with those other leaders in addressing elder abuse in their communities. Thus, the invited community leaders were those who were considered by other informants to be well grounded in elder abuse issues. These included the hospital workers, social workers, court judges, police officers and village headmen.

Although some of the advantages for using interviews in this study are already given, let me shade more scientific light on the benefits of the above interviews and specifically to this study. To begin with, individual interviews were appropriate for topics that were sensitive to the informants (Kvale 2006; Creswell 2007; Brydon 2009). For example, going into details of private lives of individual elder persons who suffered specific types of elder abuse. Interviewees were more comfortable to go into details of those elder people during individual interviews and not FGDs. That was because interviewees were freer and had enough time to talk during individual interviews than in FGDs. Although personal disclosures came out during both individual and group interviews, my observation was that during FGDs, some participants were not very free to go into details of their own lives or in the lives of other community members as they did during individual interviews. During FGDs some group members had limited time to talk. For instance, due to personality issues, some group members talked more than others. Even where I tried to moderate the discussions so that all group members could talk (Mason 2002; Rubin & Rubin 2005; Cooper & Schindler 2011), those who were on the quiet side commonly said that they agreed with what other informants had already said.

Notwithstanding the above limitation, FGDs were useful in facilitating an exchange of ideas, feelings, and experiences on specific topics among group members. That was because FGDs allowed brainstorming of various dynamics of elder abuse. For example, group members brought in different ways of thinking about elder abuse and that generated new debates among group members. Thus, FGDs allowed me to watch the group dynamics such as arguments and agreements among group members (Yin 2011). For instance, on the typologies of elder abuse and conditions under which elder people in the two communities suffered spiritual, verbal, neglect and physical abuses, the entire group members agreed that it was common when mysterious deaths that involved the children, youths and other respectful adults took place in the community. That made me to draw certain conclusions on how group members constructed different aspects of elder abuse. For example, one conclusion which arose from those group discussions was that the group members were of the view that some members of their communities did not believe that mysterious deaths just occur. Rather, they believed that there was always someone behind those deaths and usually the elder people. That was because some community members believed that death occur due to witchcraft practices by some elder people in their communities. And one way of discouraging [elder] people from practicing witchcraft was to abuse them. Conclusions

during individual interviews were somehow difficult to make. That was because there were no any other communities leaders who could add new perspectives, agree or challenge what individual interviewees disclosed to me. Thus, I was only able to draw conclusions from individual interviews after I analysed the data from all informants who brought out the particular issue. For example, on political abuse of elder people and operations of CCPUs, I was only able to draw conclusions after I analysed the views of all the community leaders who brought out the issues of political abuse and inadequacies of CCPUs in prevention of elder abuse in their communities. Because of the above strengths and limitations of individual and group interviews, combinations of the two methods were beneficial because the two methods complemented each other. For example, issues which I could not explore in detail during FGDs, I explored them in detail during follow-up individual interviews with respective individuals who disclosed them during previous FGDs. Similarly, to get views of group members on certain aspects of elder abuse mentioned during individual interviews, I brought out those issues during follow-up FGDs. In that way better descriptions and understandings of elder abuse in the two communities of Zambia were enhanced.

In both individual interviews and FGDs, I collected data using semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured questions are a set of predetermined open-ended questions, with other questions emerging from the dialogue between interviewer and interviewee(s) (Di Cicco-Bloom & Crabtree 2006, 335). These types of interviews are most widely used and can occur either with an individual or in groups (Kvale 2006). Some of the main advantages of semi-structured interviews are that it allows for replication of the interview with others. Standardization of at least some of the questions increases data reliability. (Woods 2011). Creswell (2007) defines reliability as the extent to which results are consistent over time among all the study participants and if the results of a study can be reproduced under a similar methodology, then the research instrument is considered to be reliable. Scott Naysmith (2015) advises that semi-structured interviews are organized around thematic priorities or an interview guide yet leave respondents a fair degree of freedom to determine the tenor of conversation, what is said, how much is revealed, and the length of the interview. While the general theme of an interview can circulate around a particular phenomenon, or a series of related issues, the length of semi-structured interviews in this research was not fixed, but open-ended and determined primarily by the respondents' desire to talk. The flexible nature of semi-structured interviews allowed new ideas and perspectives to be brought to light over the course of the research – a iterative research method that allowed me to probe informants for more detail and tailor thematic priorities for different contexts (individual and group interviews), and to take account of new information that became available. These advantages are the main reasons that made me to choose semi-structured interviews as the method of data gathering.

Because I wanted to describe and understand how elder abuse was socially constructed in the two communities of Zambia by the community leaders, I asked similar major predetermined open-ended questions on eight key issues during both individual interviews and FGDs with other questions emerging from the dialogue with the informants (Di-

Cicco-Bloom and Crabtree 2006). I had eight main questions which focused on the following topics: manifestation of elder abuse; characteristics of elder people who suffered abuse; characteristics of perpetrators of elder abuse; circumstances/conditions under which elder abuse took place; risk factors for elder abuse; consequences of elder abuse; measures used to address elder abuse; and recommendations on how to address elder abuse. The questions can be seen in appendix.2 of the study guide used. My thinking was that by asking similar questions during individual interviews and FGDs, I would establish convergences and divergences on how elder abuse was constructed by all the informants and would enhance descriptions and understandings of elder abuse. Bearing in mind that pre-determined questions had a limitation of leaving out some aspects of elder abuse which I could not think about as a researcher when formulating questions (Phiri 2004), I included the section of 'any additional information' in the study guide. That was meant to allow the informants to talk about the aspects of elder abuse which were not included in the pre-determined questions. Thus the informants were allowed to express their views freely.

Before I finalized development of my interview guide, I pre-tested it with two community leaders namely elderly people's representatives and the Zambia Police who participated in addressing elder abuse in all parts of Zambia. The rationales for pre-testing my study guide were twofold: First, the leaders had first hand information on elder abuse in both rural and urban Zambia. Thus, by pre-testing my study guide with them, they gave me the initial useful insights about elder abuse in rural and urban Zambia. Second, it was less costly in monetary terms. That was because both informants were based in the city where I first arrived. Because of this, they were conveniently and easily accessible on the basis of geographical proximity. This is the widely recommendable criteria for selecting study sites and individuals when pre-testing data collection tools (Creswell 2007). In addition, that opportunity also allowed me to pre-test my interview audio tape recorders and approximated the length of each interview. I also sought advice from the two leaders on what they thought about my study guide and how they thought I could go about data collection. That helped me also to make all the necessary fieldwork logistics and adjustments to my data collection plan before the actual study started.

Number of interviews conducted

In this study, I conducted 36 interviews [22 interviews in the rural community and 14 interviews in the urban community]. Of the 36 interviews conducted, 29 were one-to-one interviews and 7 were focus group discussions (FGDs). On average each interview lasted between one hour and three hours. The number of interviews conducted surpassed the number of informants (31) who participated in the study because some of the interviews were follow-up interviews with the same informants. I conducted more interviews in the rural community because I made several follow-up interviews on a number of issues which came out during the interviews. That was because the main study started in the rural community and later moved to the urban community. There were many new issues that emerged during the first few individual

interviews and FGDs. As such, more information and clarifications were needed on those issues. In addition there were more informants readily available to participate in the study in the rural community. In the urban community, I did few interviews because some potential informants were not readily available for the interviews. Notwithstanding this limitation, I conducted 14 interviews in urban community which in qualitative research can be considered to be enough in describing and understanding a phenomenon under study (Guba & Lincoln 1994; Creswell 2007; Saks & Allsop 2007). I also stopped data collection when I did the 36th interview because I reached the saturation point. That was because the issues that were coming out from all the community leaders about elder abuse were just the same. Charles Teddlie and Abbas Tashakkori (2009, 344) say that saturation point occurs in purposive sampling when the addition of more units, for example cases or interviews, do not result in new information for theme development. That is, if the researcher is just collecting the same information from the informants, it means that there are no new things that the informants can share with the researcher and the researcher may stop collecting data. It was on the basis of this scientific advice that I decided to stop collecting data. I collected data for 7 months. That is, from June 2014 to December, 2014. I conducted all the interviews myself because I wanted to make sure that I collect all the information that I needed about elder abuse in the two communities.

Before any interview started, I greeted the informants in their local language and then asked them to choose the language that they wanted us to use during the interviews. Thus, every interview started as an ordinary conversation. This approach created a relaxing atmosphere for the interview. 25 individual interviews were conducted in English and the other 4 were in local languages. With regard to group discussions, 6 FGDs were conducted in English and the other one was conducted using combinations of English and local language. That was because one informant said that even if he understood and spoke English relatively well, he would express himself well using local language. The informant's decision was accepted by everyone who participated in the FGD. That was not a challenge to other group members and to me as a researcher because everyone who participated in that FGD was a native speaker of the local language. For the 4 individual interviews which were conducted in the local language, I translated the study guide from English to local language. Thus, because I allowed the informants to use the language which they were comfortable with, it brought about good communication between the researcher and the informants, as well as among the group members. During the interviews, I avoided the use of jargon. I also encouraged the informants to ask questions or for clarifications if they did not understand my questions. In the same vein, where the informants used jargon or proverbs, I also asked for clarifications. That brought about better descriptions and understandings of how the phenomenon of elder abuse was constructed by the informants. In addition, the informants were also encouraged to choose their own time and venues for the interview. I thought that doing that would make the informants to feel comfortable to share with me their views about elder abuse. All the interviews were conducted during the day. 22 individual interviews and 6 FGDs were conducted in the offices of the

informants, 5 individual interviews were conducted in village huts, another FGD was held from the village tree and the other 2 individual interviews were conducted at the hotels. All the informants constructed different aspects of elder abuse in similar ways. From the interview data, as will be seen later in the chapters for empirical findings, it seems that the similarities were due to the cultural issue in which different types of elder abuse in the two communities were embedded. All the informants in both the rural community and urban community argue that the common forms of elder abuse namely spiritual (accusation of practicing witchcraft), neglect, verbal, physical, sexual and somehow material abuse are embedded in the belief about witchcraft among the perpetrators of elder abuse in their communities. The belief is that some elder people in their communities practice witchcraft. Thus, as a way of punishing elder people believed to practice witchcraft, elder people are abused in different ways which include the above forms. Because all the informants participated in addressing spiritual abuse, which in the views of all the informants, was the main form of elder abuse in both rural community and urban community as well as through out the whole Zambia which bled the other forms of elder abuse, informants had similar views about elder abuse in their communities. That was because spiritual abuse whether in rural and urban communities, it took place in similar ways. For example, from the interview data, all the informants report that, if the particular elder person is constructed by the local people to be a witch, it may start with neglecting or verbally abusing that elder person. If it goes to extremes, he/she is openly spiritually abused and then verbal, physical and material abuses occur simultaneously. After that even deliberate neglect by some family and community members follow. Thus, the interview data imply either the existence of some kind of hegemonic beliefs, perceptions and attitudes about elder abuse in Zambia, or indicates that as a researcher, I did not reach informants with other kinds of views.

I tape recorded both individual interviews and FGDs using digital recorders. As back-up for the data collected, three digital recorders were used simultaneously whenever I conducted individual interviews and FGDs. That was done after I sought permission from the informants to tape record the interviews and the purpose for doing that was explained to them. Using scientific justifications for recording interviews provided by Creswell (2007), I told the informants that the purpose for recording the individual interviews and group discussions was because I wanted to have enough time to listen to their words so that I could understand their views about elder abuse. That was because if I did not tape record the discussions, I would not remember everything shared with me. Three informants during individual interviews refused to have the interviews recorded but accepted to have the interview with them and allowed me to take the notes during the interviews. That was because the nature of their jobs did not allow them to disclose information about their organizations without approval from higher authorities. A note book was also used to take down some notes on major issues which came out during all the individual interviews and FGDs. The use of e-mails was also used to collect some data especially follow-up individual interviews on a few issues where I did not collect enough information whilst doing fieldwork. Process memos were also written immediately after each individual interview and FGD. The essence

of doing that was to elaborate on the context in which each individual interview and FGD took place and if follow-up interviews were needed. (Phiri 2004; Creswell 2007).

Due to the nature of the data collected for this study, it was important for me to record the interviews. Because little was known about elder abuse in Zambia, the study aimed at capturing the nuances of elder abuse in the two communities. That required capturing the actual stories about elder abuse in the informants' own language. In social constructionism and qualitative research, language used in day to day life is key in describing and understanding how the events or objects are socially constructed (Berger & Luckmann 1991; Mason 2002; Gergen 2015). Creswell (2007) advises that informants' words can be used to gain insights into change that has taken place in a particular society, or can lead to cultural change. Veronique Ambrosini and Cliff Bowman (2001) argue that actual words of the research participants can help in transferring complex knowledge, and are important instruments to construct and communicate meaning and impart knowledge. This is because stories told within cultural contexts promote certain values and beliefs about the particular phenomenon and contribute to the construction of knowledge. (Linde 2001; Giddens 2010). According to John Gill & Phil Johnson & Murray Clark (2010), research participants' words can be used to record different viewpoints and interpret collected data to identify similarities and differences in experiences and actions. Research participants' words are also presumed to provide a holistic context that allows individuals to reflect and construct events in their lives or localities (ibid). Since elder abuse can only be understood within its own cultural context (Bavel et al. 2010; Manthorpe et al. 2011; Phelan 2013), recording individual interviews and FGDs enabled me to capture the cultural context of elder abuse in the two communities. That was because the informants' words reflected the cultural values, beliefs, customs, and attitudes attached to abuse of elder people in their communities (Belanger 1999). That helped me to describe and understand how elder abuse was constructed in the two communities.

3.3 Data Analysis

Since in this study I sought to describe and understand how elder abuse was socially constructed by the community leaders, I decided to start data analysis immediately after the first FGD and continued throughout the entire data collection process (Kinsel 2004). I thought that taking this approach would enable me to gain immediate descriptions and understandings of meanings of the data, and where meanings or data were inadequate consult the informants further on those social constructs before leaving their communities. Being aware that elder abuse is a social construct which can only be analysed using different social construction perspectives (Bavel et al. 2010; Manthorpe et al. 2011; Phelan 2013), I decided to employ analysis of data which involved the use of some elements of inductive data analysis and grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Kinsel 2004; Creswell 2007). Inductive approach was central as themes developed inductively from the data and raised to a level of abstraction

that allowed their meanings to be traced (Punch 2005; Brydon 2009). For example, some of the preliminary sub-themes that emerged from the data included prevalence of elder abuse, forms of elder abuse encountered and experienced by the informants, characteristics of the abused elder people, characteristics of the perpetrators of elder abuse, factors that explained each form of elder abuse, consequences of each form of elder abuse, measures used to address each form of elder abuse and recommendations on what should be done to address the problem of elder abuse. To come up with each of these sub-themes, when I started listening to the audio interviews, I paid attention to the major constructions that emerged from each of the 29 individual interviews and the 7 FGDs and specific examples mentioned by the informants. From the first FGD that I listened to, I realized that the group participants confidently discussed components of elder abuse around each of the above sub-themes. For instance, on the forms of elder abuse, informants in the first FGD strongly talked about neglect, spiritual, verbal, physical and political abuses. Thus, to assess how many informants from the rural community and urban community in all the 36 interviews constructed elder abuse around the above sub-themes, I wrote each of the above sub-themes as the main headline on a separate page of my data analysis note book. After this, I started matching each sub-theme with the number of informants who constructed various aspects of elder abuse in line with the particular theme. I even briefly wrote the specific information brought out by the informant(s), the community where the data came from, the page number where to find that information in the transcribed interviews as well as the actual date(s) when those constructions were provided. To avoid struggle of locating that information in the transcripts, I highlighted all the key expressions provided by the informants with summary information next to the highlighted expression(s). For example, where the informants talked about consequences of elder abuse, I highlighted each of those consequences and next to it I wrote in the brackets whether the consequence was on the abused elder person or on the perpetrators of elder abuse or on the local community or on the whole Zambia. To further ease visibility, I also highlighted the summary information by using different colours which included yellow, pink and grey. Choice of these colours had no specific meanings. That approach helped me also when looking for the actual verbatim quotes to include in the chapter for empirical findings of the study. That was, once I felt that the information was necessary to support certain constructions, I quickly went back to the transcribed transcripts to copy and paste it where it was needed. After I listened to all the interviews, the preliminary general impression was that each form of elder abuse in both the rural and urban communities of Zambia revolved around the above 8 sub-themes.

This research had also some conceptual similarities to approaches of grounded theory. This is because it sought to develop understanding out of the data. That was essential because little was known about elder abuse in rural and urban Zambia (SCAZ 2012; Zambia Police 2014). Thus, an approach to data analysis that allowed data to be analysed according to the way the local people constructed different aspects of elder abuse in their local communities was essential. (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Berger and

Luckmann 1991; Guba & Lincoln 1994; Bergen 2015). Under this framework, data is analysed immediately after collection, the analysis informing the next round of data collection if there is a further round of data collection needed (Bryman 2004; Morris 2006). Thus, the sub-themes that emerged from the first FGD were used to inform the list of questions for the interview guide that was used in the subsequent interviews. For instance, in the first FGD in the rural community, one participant briefly talked about political abuse of elder people. Although only one participant talked about political abuse of the elder people, I got interested in that form of elder abuse. That was because it was new to me. It was also rarely talked about in all the scientific literatures that I revealed for this study (see for example Wolf 2000; African Policy Framework and Plan of Action on Ageing 2002; WHO 2002; 2005; 2010; 2013; 2014; Mupila 2009; Ray & Bernard & Phillips 2009; Bavel et al. 2010; Manthorpe et al. 2011; Phelan 2013). Thus, in order for me to develop detailed descriptions and understandings of the phenomenon, I decided to include it on the list of questions for the next follow-up FGD with the same informants and other subsequent individual and group interviews. For instance, when I conducted the second FGD with the conventional court judges, I asked them whether they had encountered or experienced any cases of political abuses of elder abuse in their community. The informants agreed and gave me specific examples on how political abuse manifested itself and the characteristics of the abused elder people. From the narrative interviews, the ways through which political abuse manifested itself included tricking of elder people who were blind and/or with poor eye sight by election officers to vote for political candidates who were not of the elder people's choice during local government, parliamentary and presidential elections.

Because the participants in the above FGDs were highly educated senior government officials, I decided to also get the views of the traditional rulers who interacted with the elderly people on daily basis on political abuse. I brought out the issue during an indepth one-on-one interview which I had with the chief (main traditional leader for the whole rural community) at his palace. Surprisingly, although the chief was not blind and neither did he have any problems with his sight, he openly made self confession to me that he was one of the elder persons in his community who suffered political abuse. According to him, he was manipulated by senior political party leaders to vote for them even if he did not want to do that. It happened to him during 2011 presidential, parliamentary and local government elections. The disclosure by the chief made me to think that political abuse affected elder people of different socio-economic statuses in the rural community. Thus, to make sound and contextual grounded constructions, I compared the initial constructions to the data that emerged in subsequent interviews. When I counted the number of informants who mentioned political abuse of elder people, I realized that 13 informants - 8 from rural community and 5 from urban community acknowledged having encountered the phenomenon of political abuse of elder people. That constant comparative method allowed for the refinement of data, and in turn facilitated knowledge construction. For instance, after all the back and forth analyses, two main constructions emerged: first, in the views of the 13 informants, political abuse was another form of elder abuse in both rural and urban communities

of Zambia. Second, it affected different types of elder people. Details on this form of abuse will be provided in the chapter for empirical findings of the study.

In order to be well immersed in the data, I transcribed the audio interviews myself. To ease transcription of the audio interviews, I first transferred all the interviews from the audio tapes to my personal laptop. To avoid mixing the audio interviews and enhance descriptions and understandings of the constructions of elder abuse by the informants in each community, I created two files namely rural community interviews and urban community interviews and saved all the interviews from the rural community in the file for rural community interviews and those from the urban community in the file for urban community interviews. To start transcription of the interviews, I uploaded all the audio interviews in the interview transcription computer software called Express Scribe Transcription. This software allows the data transcriber to listen to the audio interview at their own pace which can be high speed, medium speed and low speed. The transcriber can also rewind, forward and pause the audio interviews as many times as they can. Because the aim of my study was to describe and understand how the informants constructed elder abuse in their communities, of the above features of Express Scribe Transcription Software, I chose to use low speed, reward and pause for every 10 seconds of the interview segment played. These choices enabled me to transcribe everything that was said by the informants during each interview which included the pauses, grammatical errors, local proverbs and terms as well as the voice tones. For example, the pauses like Mm, hm, or uh huh were common in all the interviews. The pauses indicated that participants agreed with what other participants disclosed or what the researcher said. I also noticed that two local terms dominated the data in both rural and urban community when describing neglect, spiritual, verbal, and physical abuses of the elder people. The two terms were **mumone** and **tuyebela**. The meanings of these terms and how they fueled elder abuse are given in the chapter for empirical findings of the study.

The above ways of transcribing interviews were in line with scientific guidelines on how to transcribe audio interviews. For example, Rubin and Rubin (2005) and Eidukevičiūtė (2013) have noted that precision of the transcripts depends on their intended use, the most precise go down on paper exactly what was said, including grammatical errors, digressions, abrupt changes of focus, profanity, exclamations and other indication of mood such as laughter. Mason (2002) has presented transcription processes as two dominant modes: naturalism, in which every utterance is transcribed in as much detail as possible, and denaturalism, in which idiosyncratic elements of speech are removed. In this study, I used naturalism. The decision to use naturalized transcription process was to capture the main structure of transcript and speech, which represented the relations of the participants to the phenomenon discussed during interview. In other words, that was important because plain written text of transcriptions flattened delicacy of spoken language, attitudes towards elder abuse, as well as the aspect of relations among the participants and between the research participant(s) and the researcher when discussing the phenomenon of elder abuse. (Eidukevičiūtė 2013). For example, after I transcribed all the 36 interviews, I noticed that the terms ‘witch’

and 'witchcraft' were commonly used by all the informants from the rural community and urban community during both individual and group interviews when describing characteristics of elder people who suffered neglect, verbal, spiritual and physical abuses in both rural and urban community. Thus, in order for me to describe and understand how these local constructs fueled elder abuse, whenever I came across the term 'witch' and 'witchcraft' I highlighted it and slowly read those texts. To facilitate knowledge construction with focus on these two local terms, I created another headline in my data analysis note book. To reflect naturalization of the data, I titled the headline as 'Belief in witchcraft'. After that, I started matching the informants with the headline and later counted the number of times the terms 'witch' and 'witchcraft' were used and assessed the consequences associated with the terms. When I analysed all the 36 interviews, it was evident that the two terms had been mentioned over 100 times. Sadly enough was that whenever the particular elder person was constructed to be a 'witch', such a person tended to be feared by community members who believed in the existence of witchcraft. That was because such an elder person was believed to possess evil spiritual powers which could cause harm to individual members of the community or to the whole community. Those ageist attitudes resulted into neglect, verbal, spiritual and physical abuses of that particular elder person. Details of these analyses will come later.

Because there were so many sub-themes that emerged from the data and understandings were not very clear, I decided to further summarize my data. At this point, I compared impressions from all the individual and group (FGDs) interviews before continuing the analysis (Christen L. Erlingsson & Britt-Inger Saveman & Agneta C. Berg 2005). The general impression was that the participants in all the 29 individual interviews and 7 FGDs discussed the phenomenon of elder abuse with focus on the following 6 themes: elder people as victims of abuse, elder abuse as a social issue, factors that explain elder abuse, effective and ineffective measures used in addressing elder abuse, and suggested ways to intervene in elder abuse. That was done by counting the major expressions in the data and the number of informants who provided sufficient information on those expressions. The overall analysis was that each of the above expressions (themes) appeared more than 100 times in the original transcribed interviews and confidently discussed by all the 31 informants. For example, when I read the transcripts, I came across sentences such as chasing of elder people who accepted to practice witchcraft out of the local communities, arrests of the perpetrators of elder abuse, low participation in community development projects and building of new police posts by the Government of Zambia as an attempt to curb elder abuse. I understood from the data that those bits of elder abuse signaled the consequences that abuse of elderly people had brought about on the abused elder people, on the perpetrators, on local communities and on the whole Zambia. Thus, I placed each of those consequences under sub-themes of 'negative consequences of elder abuse on the abused elder people', 'negative consequences of elder abuse on the perpetrators', 'negative consequences of elder abuse on the local community' and 'negative consequences of elder abuse on the whole Zambia'. I then tried to count the number of informants who brought out each of those consequences. I learnt that in all the 36 interviews, they

were being mentioned. To me that meant that elder abuse in the two communities was a social problem. That was because it negatively affected the the whole community. According to Donileen R. Loseke and Joel Best (2011) if the particular problem affects the whole community, it qualifies to be called a social problem. Thus, by using this scientific knowledge, I grouped all the above consequences under the theme 'elder abuse as a social issue'. That way of data analysis made me to move from part of text to whole understanding of the effects produced by elder abuse in the two communities of Zambia. That was because in my data analysis, I was searching for the constructions and not just content of the informants' narrations. (Eidukevičiūtė 2013). For example, I was searching for the changes taken place in the two communities as a result of different forms of elder abuse such as spiritual abuse of elder people.

Although at the above level the constructions were clearer, still it was not very clear about the specific research questions where each of the above themes was responding to. Thus, after reflecting upon all the 6 themes, I decided to categorize my data into two broad headlines. This decision was guided by the number of the research questions that the study sought to answer (Kinsel 2004; Creswell 2007). In this study, I had two main research questions. The questions were: (1) what are the conceptions of community leaders involved in addressing elder abuse in rural and urban Zambia about abuse of the elder people in their communities? And (2) what are the views of community leaders involved in addressing elder abuse on what the Government of Zambia and other stakeholders should do to address the problem of elder abuse in their communities and Zambia in general? I deduced after reflecting upon all the 6 themes that all the views provided by the informants were responses to any of the above two questions. Thus, to make all the responses match with any of the two research questions, from the first research question, I drew this headline: Conceptions of community leaders about elder abuse. From the second question, I came up with this headline: Views of the community leaders on further actions against elder abuse. Having done that, I started sorting each of the above 6 themes against the two headlines. Ultimately, the analysis was that the first three themes (elder people as victims of abuse, elder abuse as a social issue and factors that explain elder abuse) matched well with the first question. Thus, I put these themes under the headline of 'conceptions of community leaders about elder abuse'. The remaining three themes (effective and ineffective measures used in addressing elder abuse, and suggested ways to intervene in elder abuse) tallied well with the second research question. As a result, I put these themes under the headline of 'views of the community leaders on further actions against elder abuse'.

The next step was to find representative statements (verbatim quotes) from the original interviews that backed each theme. The statements were referred to by the interview number, the community where the data was collected from and the actual date for the interview. For example, if I was looking for the risk factors that explained political abuse of elder people and the informants in the rural community during FGD.2 provided the view that one of the factors was multipartyism, and the date for the interview was 8th September 2014, I extracted that statement from the interview and in brackets I wrote this: FGD.2, Rural Community – 08.09.2014. For me to do that,

I had to go back to all the 8 transcribed interviews from the rural community where the phenomenon of political abuse was brought out and searched for that explanation. Thus, this process was very tedious. That was because it at times, it required reading all the transcripts for me to find the representative statements (Kinsel 2004; Erlingsson & Saveman & Berg 2005; Brydon 2009). Despite this hassle, the process made me to further get immersed in the data. For instance, issues which I did not understand at the preliminary stages of data analysis such as familiarization with the data through reading and memoing (Creswell 2007) became clearer at this stage. That was because I paid particular attention to specific constructions in the data. That enhanced the descriptions and understandings of the different aspects of elder abuse in the two communities of Zambia.

The other stage of data analysis was thinking about and coming up with the concepts that best interpreted the statements from the original interviews in each of the 6 themes (Erlingsson & Saveman & Berg 2005). Eidukevičiūtė (2013) emphasises the idea that qualitative data analysis involves interpretation and retelling. According to her, qualitative data analysis is meaningful if the data is interpreted. That is, if the data analyst does not only reveal the range of subject matter people are talking about, but also to recognize and analyse the ways in which they frame and mould their communication. Creswell (2007) advises that to make interpretation of qualitative data become analytical, the analyst should look for concepts either from the data or from available literature. The concepts can then be used to retell the told stories by the informants. Thus, after reflecting upon the data in connection with the various social sciences literatures on violence and elder abuse such as ecological and Marxist theories, the conclusion was that every construction provided by the informants revolved around the 3 concepts namely power, relationship and ageism. For example, if the particular elder person was physically abused after being constructed to be a 'witch', my interpretation of the data was that such form of abuse took place due to poor relationships between the abused elder person and other members of the Zambian society. It also took place due to ageism. That was because such an elder person tended to be feared by other community members. Equally, such form of abuse was precipitated by power imbalances which arose from the belief that such an elder person was constructed by perpetrators of abuse to possess evil spiritual powers which was believed to cause harm to other members of society. Thus, to discourage such an elder person from practicing witchcraft, some community members ended up coercing that elder person. (Brian Levack 1995; Ronald Hutton 1999; Raymond Buckland 2002). I further linked the findings to existing literatures which included connections to the two conceptual frameworks (ecological theory and Marxist theory of violence) used in this study. By doing this, the aim was to make my presentations become more analytical. That was because the approach yielded deeper description and understanding of the text beyond what was bestowed by reading the data (Eidukevičiūtė 2013; Nikupeteri & Laitinen 2015). Thus, the two headlines (Conceptions of community leaders about elder abuse, and Views of the community leaders on further actions against elder abuse), 6 themes (that is, elder people as victims of abuse, elder abuse as a social issue,

factors that explain elder abuse, effective and ineffective measures used in addressing elder abuse, and suggested ways to intervene in elder abuse) and 3 concepts (namely power, relationship and ageism) highlighted above provide the framework of what is presented in the chapters for empirical findings, conclusions and discussions. Summary of the overall analysis can be seen in the conceptual diagram presented in figure 4.

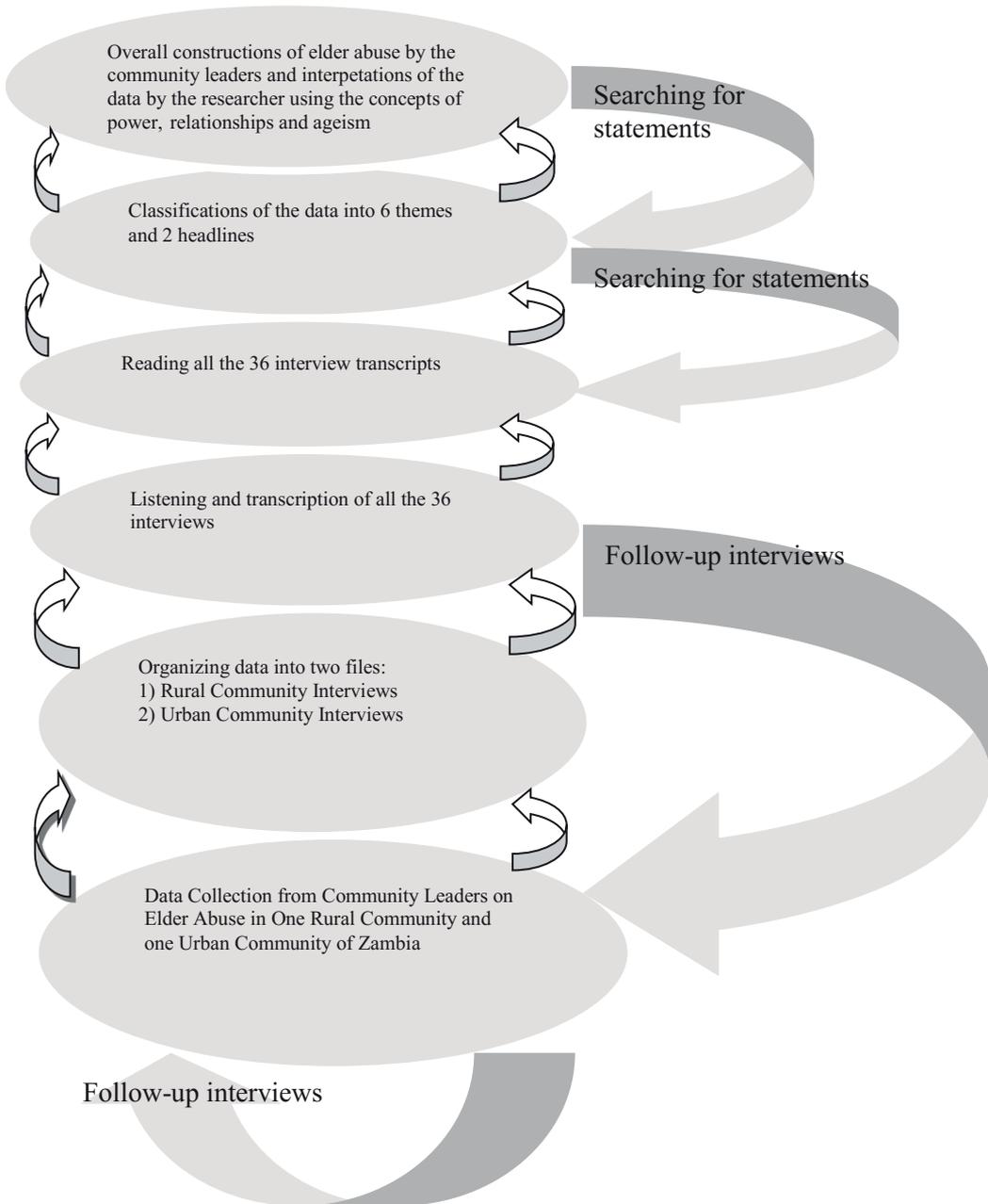


Figure 4 Conceptual diagram of the overall analysis

Figure 4 shows that to analyze data, I engaged in the process of moving in analytic circles rather than using a fixed linear approach (Creswell 2007). To do that I entered with data of text collected from the community leaders in the two communities of Zambia, listened to each audio interview, wrote brief notes on each interview, reflected on what I heard, categorized data and existed with an account of the overall constructions and interpretations of different aspects of elder abuse. These steps are the ones that are commonly recommended in scientific knowledge on how to analyze qualitative data (see Glaser & Strauss 1967; Guba & Lincoln 1994; Joppe 2000; Mason 2002; Kinsel 2004; Phiri 2004; Rubin & Rubin 2005; Brydon 2009; Eidukevičiūtė 2013). This means that my data analysis approaches were guided by existing scientific knowledge.

I would like also to indicate that some of the materials used in this thesis have already appeared in two peer-reviewed journals. The articles carry the following themes: Additional types of elder abuse – empirical evidence from Zambia (Isaac Kabelenga 2014); The Relevancy of Postmodernism in Understanding Elder Abuse: Implications for Social Work Education and Practice (Kabelenga 2015a); Extending thinking about elder abuse: Political abuse among the older people in Zambia (Kabelenga 2015b); Negative consequences of physical abuse of elder people on the perpetrators – Empirical evidence from Zambia (Kabelenga 2016a); and Previous life styles and neglect in old age: Perceptions and conceptions of community leaders in Zambia (Kabelenga 2016b). The articles were written at the preliminary stage of this study. That was meant to allow me gain some scientific experience on how to publish in scientific journals and to get views of different senior scientists on my work especially writing styles, analysis and interpretation of my data. That was because I was not so sure on how to analyse and interpret my data. The feedbacks received on the articles have been used to build and strengthen analysis, interpretation and organizations of the chapters for the empirical findings of the study and conclusions. This is because senior scientists who reviewed my manuscripts guided me on how to deepen analysis, presentation and interpretation of the study findings and make conclusions. Thus, it was worthwhile to make few publications before finalizing this thesis. Having looked at data analysis, I now come to the last part of this chapter and this is ethical considerations.

3.4 Ethical considerations

This study studied a sensitive social issue which had direct bearing on the lives of the human beings and the communities where it was studied. This is because the informants spoke about how elder abuse was socially constructed using either themselves, their own relatives, other community members or their community in general as examples. Thus, adherence to research ethics was important when conducting this research. The definition of ethical issues is pertaining to or dealing with the morals or the principles of morality. Ethical is pertaining to right and wrong in conduct, involving or expressing moral approval, in accordance with the principles of conduct that are considered correct especially those of a given profession or

group (Merton 1973; Goodstein 1980; Nylenna 1998; TENK 2012). Sami Alsmadi (2008) says that ethical questions are often raised in research due to varying behavior expectations and moral responsibilities of researchers who interact with respondents to collect data, and report findings to their clients. Thus certain ethical behavior is normally expected from researchers when they deal with subjects. The common ethical issues in research involving human beings are protecting human participants, informed consent, privacy and confidentiality of the participants, and harm (ibid). Being also fully aware that when social workers carry out research, they enter into personal and moral relationships with those they study (The British Sociological Association Code of Ethical Conduct 2002; British Association of Social Workers 2012; TENK 2012; Shaw and Holland 2014), through out the study I adhered to all the above research ethical rules. Below I explain each of these ethical rules and how I adapted them to my study:

Protecting human participants

In this study, I had the responsibility to protect the participants (Normille 2012; Roller & Lavrakas 2015). Shaw & Holland (2014) advise that when undertaking any social work research, social workers should always respect the rights, privacy, dignity, and sensitivities of their informants and also the integrity of the institutions and/or communities within which the research occurs. For example, throughout the whole research process, the rights of the informants were protected and respected. I did this, for example, by providing all the informants with the full information about the purpose of my study and their rights. The full information about the study and the rights which all the informants enjoyed during this study can be seen in appendix.1. For example, the right to withdraw from the interview at any time they wanted to was enjoyed by three informants. Because of other work responsibilities which they had, informants decided to withdraw from the interviews so that they could attend to other issues and then resumed the interviews when they were free. I respected those informants. That was because I knew that they were exercising their right which I assured them before starting the interviews with them that they would enjoy through out the study. Similarly, because I promised them that the information shared with me would not be shared with anyone other than for partial fulfillment of my PhD studies, original interview transcripts are not shared with anyone. The actual names of the communities where the study took place are not also mentioned in this thesis. Instead, I have only referred to them as rural community and urban community. Given thousands of rural and urban communities in Zambia, my thinking is that even if anyone who comes across the findings of this study tries to investigate the actual communities where the data were connected, it would not be possible to sport out the informants. Thus, this ethical decision should be seen to have been taken to protect the integrity of the informants and their communities.

Informed consent

Consent involves the procedure by which an individual may choose whether or not to participate in a study (Creswell 2007). The researcher's task is to ensure that participants have a complete understanding of the purpose and methods to be used in the study, the risks involved, and the demands placed upon them as a participant (Best & Kahn 2006; Jones & Kottler 2006; TENK 2012; Mikkonen & Laitinen & Hill 2016). The participant must also understand that he or she has the right to withdraw from the study at any time. There are two forms of consent commonly used in research. These are direct and substitute consent. Direct consent is the most preferred because agreement is obtained directly from the person to be involved in the study. Substitute consent, or third-party consent, is given by someone other than the person to be involved in the study. Substitute consent may be obtained when it is determined that the person does not have the capacity to make the decision or is dependent on others for his or her welfare, such as children under the age of 18 or people with cognitive or emotional disabilities (Nagy 2005; Shaw & Holland 2014). Within the concept of informed consent, there is also the concept of voluntary consent. According to the American Educational Research Association (2002) voluntary consent is concerned with each individual's ability to exercise the free power of choice without the intervention of force, fraud, deceit, duress, or other forms of constraint or coercion. In any scientific research, it is advisable that this right to exercise choice must be present throughout the entire research process. The intent of this interpretation is that no such "constraint or coercion" must be either explicit or implicit on the part of the investigator (Alsmadi 2008). This ethical principle was also adhered to through out this study. For instance, besides providing the full information about the study and the rights of the participants, informants only participated in the study after giving me consent to participate in the study. The informed consent used is provided in appendix 1. In this study, informants consented to participate in the study by either giving oral consent or by signing the consent form. That was evident in that, of the 31 informants who participated in the study, 25 gave consent by signing the consent form and the other 6 only gave oral consent. For those who did not want to sign the consent forms, one of the reasons they gave was that for ethical reasons they did not want to append the signatures on the consent forms. Since that was another right of the participants, I respected their choices. Permission was also sought from all the informants to tape record the interviews. Only two informants refused to tape record the interviews, and I respected their decision. This means that no informant was forced to participate in this study.

Privacy and confidentiality

The issue of privacy is always linked to confidentiality and anonymity in research (Merton 1973; Goodstein 1980; Nylenna 1998; Reynolds & Teddlie 2000; Normille 2012; Shaw & Holland 2014). The British Sociological Association Code of Ethical Conduct (2002) states that the anonymity and privacy of those who participate in the research process should be respected. Personal information concerning research

participants should be kept confidential. In some cases, it may be necessary to decide whether it is proper or appropriate to record certain kinds of sensitive information. Alsmadi (2008, 10) states that: “Respondents cooperation is dependent upon their expectations that their privacy will be not be violated. All reasonable care must be taken to safeguard all respondents’ information and to ensure that it will be used only as necessary and for legitimate research purpose only.” This principle was also implemented through out this study. For instance, the informants were not also asked to mention their names during the interviews. For those who mistakenly mentioned their names whilst conducting the interviews, their names were changed when transcribing the interviews. Equally, in Finnish doctoral thesis, the readers of the thesis are not allowed to know who the informants are exactly. This is meant to avoid putting the informants in danger if their real names are known. (TENK 2012). Thus, as the way to adhere to TENK requirements, when reporting the findings of the study, the real names of the informants have been changed. Thus, all the names referred to in chapters 4 and 5 which provide the empirical findings of the study are pseudal names. The names are: Enock, Eunice, Thelma, Comfort, Royd, Simon, Grandmum, Headman, Lainess, Father Isaiah, Moffat, Mirriam, Jackson, Ignatius and Kacheemba. As said earlier, the original audio tape interviews and transcripts will not also be shared with any other persons. In addition, for the sake of protecting the identity of the informants, I have not mentioned the actual names of the communities where the study was undertaken. Instead, I have referred to them as rural and urban community. However, I have maintained the actual transcripts from verbatim as they came out during the interviews.

Harm

The issue of harm represents another area of ethical concern in research. In the context of research ethics, harm may be broadly defined to include extreme physical pain or death, but also involves such factors as psychological stress, personal embarrassment or humiliation, or myriad influences that may adversely affect the participants in a significant way (American Psychological Association 2002; Saks and Allsop 2007; TENK 2012). The most basic concern here is that no individual is harmed by serving as a participant. Thus, it is recommendable that the researcher must take all necessary precautions to ensure that respondents are no way directly harmed or adversely affected as a result of their participation in a research project (Creswell 2007; Alsmadi 2008; Shaw & Holland 2014). Although the study did not have any serious pains on the informants, I also strived hard to ensure that no informant suffered any harm or was put at risk of suffering harm due to participation in this study. Besides not mentioning the actual names of the informants and their communities, I was fully aware that for some informants especially those who were victims of abuse and those who had family members who suffered abuse, had some negative emotional effects such as anger, fear or feeling of inferiority and can negatively impact on their psychological, physical and social wellbeing (Pritchard 1999; Wolf 2000; World Report on Violence and Health 2002; Ray & Bernard & Phillips 2009; UN 2013), through out this study, I avoided

talking about issues that seemed to have negative effects on the informants. One way through which I did that was that, I paid particular attention to the appearances of their faces and language expressions used by the informants (Mangal 2003). For example, in instances where I sensed that informants struggled to talk about that particular issue, I found ways of not forcing them to talk about it. For instance, when talking about sexual abuse of elder people, handful informants who brought it out seemed to be uneasy to talk about it. I was able to deduce that from facial expressions of shyness and language expression which involved laughter and not going into detail. That meant to me that the phenomenon of sexual abuse could be a taboo issue to the informants and talking about it could have negative psychological effects on the informants. Thus, I decided not to continue the discussions on sexual abuse.

From the above information, it means that this study followed the scientific principles for good research practices.

Ethical Review at the University of Lapland

On the basis of Finnish ethical guidelines (TENK 2012), ethical review was not needed for my study. This is because the aim of my study was to interview community leaders and not the victims of elder abuse. If I was interested in victims' experiences, the ethical review should have been done by the University of Lapland's ethical committee. That was because my study was going to have direct bearings on the human subjects that suffered abuse and would have significant ethical implications. Despite this, prior to going into the field to collect data, my research plan which included ethical issues was approved by my supervisors at the University of Lapland. I did that by submitting the whole research plan together with the conceptual frameworks to my supervisors. Being a doctoral thesis at a Finnish University, assessment of my thesis by my supervisors was also guided by TENK (2012). This resulted in making the research project to adhere to all the general scientific and Finnish research ethical considerations.

4 Views of community leaders about elder abuse

In this chapter, I present the views of the community leaders about elder abuse in their communities. This is meant to answer the first question of my study. The question was: What are the conceptions of community leaders involved in addressing elder abuse in rural and urban Zambia about abuse of the elder people in their communities? The conceptions are presented in three main overlapping themes. These are: elder people as victims of abuse; elder abuse as a social issue; and factors that explain elder abuse in the two communities. From the onset of this chapter, I would like to make it clear that the findings of this study are based on the views of the 31 community leaders who participated in this study. Thus, some subjectivity in their constructions can be expected. Below are the details on each of the themes:

4.1 Elder people as victims of abuse

Findings from both communities indicate that by drawing on informants' daily interactions with their local communities, participation in addressing elder abuse, experiential knowledge, observations and reports in the media, most of the interviewees hold the view that elder abuse is a serious social problem. This is because it has not just negatively affected individual elder persons, but negatively affected the whole social fabric of the two communities and the whole Zambia. Of the 31 informants, the overwhelming majority (26) constructs elder abuse as a serious social problem and the other 5 give a different view that it is not very serious. For instance, Grandmum, one of the senior citizens that fight for the rights of the older people in both rural and urban Zambia acknowledged widespread of the social problem of elder abuse in both rural and urban Zambia in these words:

“I would really say that it happens on daily basis. The abuse in the home is an ongoing thing and then there is abuse of the elderly in public places say on public transport and so on. You just need to go around the city or the country side and see how elderly people are treated. Yes. In fact it is a pity that I didn't look up the old newspapers but every now and then you do see a story in press of an elderly person who has been assaulted because they are suspected of being sorcerers. If they are just assaulted they are very lucky because sometime they actually get killed. Yes.” (One-on-one in-depth interview, urban community – 14.10.2014).

The above position was supported by Enock, one of the community leaders for the urban community who was the victim of abuse and worked as an advocate for the older people's rights across Zambia since 2003, when he said this:

“Elder abuse is quiet a serious issue generally. It is now that we are trying to sensitize the community in general to have regard for the older persons. I can give a general situation say in urban community in use of public transport. Older persons experience a lot from the younger ones. In the olden days we had respect for the old people. A young person will give a seat for example to the older person. Now no! You are being pressurized like anybody else if anything they will push you around. And those call boys also their language is not respectful. Very few do recognize but the majority has no respect. In the east part of the urban community the aspect of property abuse that one has struck me. You mentioned it.” (One-on-one in-depth interview – 20.10.2014).

The above social constructions are similar to the ones provided by the 16 informants in the rural community. During the first focus group discussion (FGD.1), the workers who handled several cases of elder abuse in the whole district acknowledged widespread of elder abuse in their community in the following remarks:

“It is a serious problem. It takes place. Daily would not be appropriate because sometimes, some days may be twice in a week.” (FGD. 1 – 04.09.2014).

Handful (5) informants hold a different view from the 26 informants. While they recognize existence of elder abuse in their communities, their position is that it is not a serious problem. They argue that from their daily interactions with their local communities, cases of elder abuse had reduced especially if compared to the way the situation used to be in the recent past. For example, during FGD.5 which was attended by only two senior government officials, I had this discussion with them:

Researcher: I will go directly into the main issue that has brought me here. So the executive director and the pastor, how often do you receive cases of incidences of elder abuse in this hospital?

Informant.1: actually once in a while. We do but only that of late it has minimized a little bit. Most of the elderly patients that we have received are related to being suspected of being witches or practicing witchcraft or where maybe one person dies in the family and then they suspect an older person who is then attacked and beaten. Some have been beaten to death, we have received some that have been brought in dead, and some come in badly injured so we take care of them. We do receive such cases. Yes

Researcher: but maybe from the evidence that you have, can you say is it monthly, is it quarterly or yearly? How often do you receive those cases?

Informant.2: it depends. It is not daily but in a month you might have 2 cases or 2 months might go by without even one. But in the recent past it was common. It was high I should say but of late the numbers have reduced because the police took an active role to educate the community and arrest whoever was found wanting... (FGD.5 – 09.09.2014).

The similarities in the above episodes are unlikely to be mere coincidences. Rather they have emerged from the first hand information and experiences that the informants had as individuals and institutions. This is essential in describing and understanding the social construction of the phenomenon of elder abuse by the 31 community leaders. This is because informants constructed the phenomenon which they were familiar with. Analyses of the above data agree with the position held by Oliver Mupila (2008), HelpAge International (2011) and the Senior Citizens Association of Zambia (2013) that elder abuse is a common social problem in Zambia. The data imply also that elder abuse in the two communities is not just taking place in the family set up. Rather, it is also taking place in public places. This is because the majority of the informants openly and confidently cited examples of cases of elder abuse both within family and public set-ups. Thus, further analysis of the data implies that the 31 informants hold the view that elder abuse in their communities and the whole Zambia should not only be seen as an issue of domestic violence against elder people but also as an issue of community/public violence against elder people.

On the overall, the above data can be interpreted using the concepts of ageism, relationships and power. As evidenced from the above episodes, informants have attributed elder abuse to ageist attitudes that some family and community members have about elder people. Exceptional ageist attitude that manifest in the above episodes is the thinking in negative ways that some elder people are witches. Unfortunately from the informants' views and experiences, these constructions of some elder people bring about poor social relationships with other people in the family and local community, and in turn lead to abuse. This is because people in the two communities and the whole Zambia who are constructed to be witches are usually feared. They are usually perceived to be dangerous as they have the evil spiritual powers to cause harm to the well-being of individuals and society at large. Thus, those those who construct them in that way usually respond by abusing them. This is meant to discourage them and other societal members from practicing witchcraft. The data also imply that the informants are of the view that elder abuse in the two communities is associated with coercive power. Reflections upon the episodes seem to suggest that coercive power is used in negative ways. The perpetrators use it in a negative ways by coercing elder people either verbally or physically. This leads to elder abuse in form of insults, beatings and killings.

The above social constructions have set the road map of the remaining issues to be discussed in detail in the remaining chapters of this thesis.

Forms of abuse suffered by elder people

The social constructs that emerge from the data indicate different and mixed views on the forms of abuse that exist in the two communities. There is agreement among all the 31 informants that the common types of elder abuse take place in 4 forms. These are: spiritual abuse (accusations of elder people as witches), neglect, verbal abuse and physical abuse. 13 informants (8 from rural community and 5 from urban community) hold the view that besides the above 4 forms of abuse, political abuse also takes place. 7 informants add to the above list the existence of material abuse. The other 4 are of the view that even sexual abuse exists. It is important to note that the majority of the informants hold the view that how the above forms of abuse are listed are in order of importance in terms occurrence. That is, according to them spiritual abuse in both the rural community and urban community and through out the whole Zambia is the most prevalent form of elder abuse and affected both older men and older women in the same ways. On the other hand, informants report that sexual abuse in both rural community and urban community may be the least prevalent. This is because spiritual abuse is commonly reported and almost all the informants had participated in addressing it. Informants hold the view that sexual abuse of elder people is rarely reported in their communities and the whole Zambia compared to other forms of abuse. Only 2 informants reported to have participated in addressing it. The informants who argue that sexual abuse is the least prevalent defended their view by arguing that many people are not sexually attracted to elder people, and a few youths who commit sexual abuse of the elder people do it for ritual purposes and not for sexual pleasure. Surprisingly is that even the 4 informants who have brought out sexual abuse have not given detailed information about sexual abuse compared to the way they did with other forms of elder abuse. Perhaps, this is because sexual abuse is a taboo subject to discuss openly in Zambia. The fact that the majority of the community leaders were elderly people and most of them were fit be the researcher's biological parents or grand parents could have made the informants not to be comfortable to discuss the phenomenon of sexual abuse with the researcher. Thus, because when getting consent from the informants I told them to only talk about those aspects of elder abuse for which they had participated in addressing, I did not find it fit to compel them to talk about something for which they said they had not encountered before.

The order of the 'types' of abuse was identified on the basis of the forms of elder abuse that the informants had participated in addressing, experienced, seen for themselves or read in the media. Because little was known about elder abuse in Zambia (SCAZ 2013; Zambia Police 2014), after the informants brought out different forms of elder abuse, I asked each one of them to tell me about the type of abuse which they considered most prevalent, second most prevalent, third most prevalent and least prevalent. The overall response was that the order of prevalence is as provided above. All the 31 informants hold the view that in most cases neglect, verbal and physical abuses are part of spiritual abuse. From their views, spiritual abuse is the main form of elder abuse. However, it always goes hand in hand with neglect, verbal and in extreme cases with physical abuse.

Thus, from their views, these forms of abuse cannot be separated. Detailed information on the interconnectness of these forms of abuse is provided in the later part of this chapter. Some of the representative views that support the above order are as follows:

Researcher: So other than spiritual abuse which we have talked about, what other forms of abuse are common in this district from your own experience?

Informant.1: mostly as a hospital the common abuse from our own point of view is something that has to do with maybe being assaulted which is mostly related to witchcraft. The rape cases were maybe an elderly is raped by a child or a young person, we don't have any information as such, and maybe the pastor can add on that since he interacts on such cases most of the time. From the reports, I think a rape case at one time in 2010 we had about two but I don't know of late.

Informant .2 (Pastor): Thank you. In this year of 2014, we only have one case. It also involved a young lady. We have not even yet brought it to the attention of the hospital board. We wanted first to dig deeper into the case and to consult her parents. She was drugged in the bush by men and sexually abused her twice and warned her that if she reported what happened to her she would be killed.

Researcher: Ok thank you. So we will just focus on spiritual abuse, the one on accusation of witchcraft, the one which you have said is common (FGD.5, Rural Community - 09.09.2014).

In the urban community, informants also agree with the above view:

Researcher: ...I will try to go a little bit more in detail over the things that we have already talked about. I will start with the one which is common...Out of property grabbing or may be material abuse, verbal abuse, spiritual abuse, which ones would you say is the most prominent, then the second prominent, the third prominent and the least prominent? How would you categorise them?

Informant: spiritual abuse though just verbally is common. They will comment loudly to say how has this one lived up to that age?

Researcher: spiritual...

Informant: That is right

Researcher: how about the least common? Is it sexual or is it political abuse?

Informant: No sexual abuse. No. You can consider that as the least because I have not heard stories in that direction (One-on-one-indepth interview, Urban Community – 20.10.2014).

Interesting finding which emerges from the data is that there is lot of interconnectedness among all the types of elder abuse. Exemplary linkages are seen in spiritual abuse, neglect, verbal abuse, and physical abuse. Although these forms of elder abuse are mentioned separately, the view held by almost all the informants indicate that neglect, verbal and physical abuses are part of spiritual abuse. Their construction is that many elder people in their communities are neglected because

they are feared as being wizards and sorcerers. They are also verbally abused because of the belief that they are practicing witchcraft. Physical abuse also takes place mainly when the particular elder person is suspected to be practicing witchcraft. For instance, in the rural community, it was reported as follows:

“Verbal abuse, neglect and physical abuse come whenever they [elder people] are accused of practicing witchcraft.” (One-on-one in-depth interview – 19.09.2014).

Similar view is evident in the data from the urban community:

“... it is mainly, they are co-related. I wouldn't really try to differentiate, they are co-related. You find that it is spiritual abuse, connected to being beaten up – physical abuse.” (One-on-one in-depth interview – 15.10.2014).

Although not as widespread as the aforementioned types of elder abuse, sexual abuse was also seen to have subtle connections to spiritual, neglect and physical abuses:

“Older people, especially older women are sexually abused by young men. They look for charm to get rich and witchdoctors advise them that if they want to get rich, they should go and sleep with an older person. It is also common when young people have AIDS. Witchdoctors usually advise them that if they want to get cured, they should sleep with older persons. So they are not driven by sexual pleasure but other motives. And they usually go to older people who are neglected in communities, those who are isolated.” (One-on-one in-depth interview – 27.08.2014).

In addition, there is also some evidence from the data which indicate that there are situations where material abuses arise due to spiritual abuse. That is, some informants hold the view that if the particular elder person is constructed to be a witch, family and community members may respond by abusing the material resources of such an elder person. For example, this is usually done by deliberately grabbing from an elder person or destroying an elder person's material resources. According to the informants in both individual and group interviews, that is meant to discourage such older people and other community members from practicing witchcraft. In other instances, verbal, material and physical abuses go hand in hand even if spiritual abuse is not there. For instance, during one of the focus group discussions, informants put it this way:

“... Another form of abuse comes not only through witchcraft by somebody dying but by food production during the harvest time. The neighbor has a few bags and him as old as he is because he has help from the children and he is wise enough to use his hands and plough, he produces more bags than the neighbor. Then it's concluded that his things [witchcraft] went into my farm that's why he has a lot of food. So there's that verbal abuse and you will find these people at one point or the other maybe burnt in the house or something like that just because he produced more food.

People were suspecting that he had stolen from their gardens using black magic.” (FGD.4 – 09.09.2014).

Surprising also is that, although political abuse of some elder people is not directly connected to spiritual abuse, in many instances there are strong connections between verbal abuse, physical abuse and political abuse and are directly connected to family, community and national political structures:

“The people who abuse older people are the politicians because they can put a stop to it. They use youngsters. They intimidate the neighborhoods.” (One-on-one in-depth interview – 14.10.2014).

The above data indicate that elder people are victims of abuse because of the poor human relationships that exist at different levels of the Zambian society especially between elder people and other societal members. This interpretation is based on the ground that in all the above voice tones, one of the central issues is the nature of relationships that some elder people have with their family and community members. It is clear that there exist poor relationships at interpersonal, family, community and political institutional levels. This is what brings about abuse. It seems that this happens because in day to day life experiences, if people do not relate well with each other, there is always possibility that one party would abuse the other. This is meant to make one actor to do what the other actor(s) wants even if they are not interested in doing that particular issue. This is why elder abuse is also a power issue. I interpret the data in this way because the relationships types which are evident in all the above verbatim quotes involve oppression and suppression of the elder people. Scientifically speaking, in any relationship which involves oppression and suppression, abuse emerges (Weber 1957; Wolf 2000; Black 2004; Kamwengo 2004; Nikupeteri & Laitinen 2015; Mikkonen & Laitinen & Hill 2016). A second look at the above data seems to suggest that poor social relationships that ignite elder abuse are strongly influenced by the ageist attitudes towards elder people. Endemic ageism is evident in almost all the above episodes through the belief held by some family and community members in the two communities of Zambia that some elder people are witches or are remedies for individual problems. Unfortunately enough, it is clear from the data that these ageist beliefs and thoughts bring about hostile interpersonal, family and community relationships against some elder people and eventually generate into abuse.

When I further think about the above expressions, it means that different social structures support abuse of elder people in the two communities. This interpretation arises from the ground that the episodes have associated elder abuse with different abusive relationships that exist at family level, community level and national level. This implies that when talking about elder abuse in the two communities of Zambia, there is need to think beyond the victims and perpetrators within the two communities. This is because they are other actors from outside the local communities who make some older people to become victims of abuse. This is particularly evident when I

analyse the episodes provided by the informants on political and sexual abuses of some older people. In the expressions related to these forms of abuse, it is evident that in some instances they are foul plays coming from outside the local communities that make some elder people to become victims of abuse. Among them include political directives from political leaders to their supporters and directives from witchdoctors to their clients on what they need do to have their selfish goals achieved. That is, elder people are seen as viable alternatives to be deliberately used to achieve certain ends. Unfortunately, this ageist thinking makes elder people to be vulnerable to more abuse. Thus, the data imply also that the relationships that make some elder people to become victims of abuse in the two communities can only be known with the knowledge of the 'insider community' members who have experienced abuse, intervened in cases of elder abuse in their local communities and who are familiar with their local environments. This is because the above knowledge could not have been known if I talked to people who were not members of the two communities. No wonder elder abuse is context specific and can only be well constructed with the knowledge of the local people who have either experienced or confronted it (WHO 2000; Bavel et al. 2010; Manthorpe et al. 2011; Phelan 2013).

Characteristics of abused elder people

When the informants acknowledged and constructed the phenomenon of elder abuse in the above disturbing manner, two immediate questions crippled my mind – who is an elder person in this community? And what types of elder people are abused? I sought answers to these questions by analysis and reflecting upon the data. Different views are provided by the informants on both questions. With regard to the first question, syntheses of the responses indicate that the constructions of an elder person is to some extent in agreement with many social gerontology literatures and in particular the use of chronological age and functional attributes when constructing an elder person (Kamwengo 2004; Nikander 2009; Phelan 2013; Westerhoff 2015; Zeman & Zeman 2015). The data indicate that from the views of the some community leaders, the average chronological age cut-off starts when one is in their 50s. For other informants, it starts from 60 years, for others at 65. Other informants hold their view that old age in their community starts at 70 and for others at 80 years. Interesting is that these different views emerged among the leaders from the same community and even within the same focus group discussion. This finding underscores the view held by social constructionists that individuals even in the same setting tend to see things differently (Berger and Luckmann 1991; Mason 2002 ; Creswell 2007; Berger 2008; Eidukevičiūtė 2015). Coming to functional attributes, it is evident that the informants are of the view that the common functional attributes used by the local people to construct an elder person are grey hair and unattractive physical appearances. That is, once the person displays these attributes, they are constructed to be old. This is because from the community leaders' observations and experiences as far as the local people are concerned, grey hair and unattractive physical appearances only come with old age. Representative views that came from the informants included the following:

Researcher: ...But how do you define an older person here?

Informant.1: it is hard to tell. That lady Mr... like the one who came yesterday, we can say is she around 80 or also

Informant.2: normally after 65

Researcher: normally after 65?

Informant.2: you are easily connected (that you are a witch);

Informant.1: they do look very old

Researcher: ...laughs, so normally after 65. Why do you think from 65 and above?

Informants 1 & 2: ... laughs everyone

Informant.1: like our life expectancy in Zambia is quite low, and mostly if you find an old lady who is reaching around 65, 70, the question is ... how are they surviving up to this age? You know. So obviously they are doing something (practicing witchcraft) for them to live up to day which is adding to their life – to extend their life span.....such kind of things

Researcher: so they think when you practice witchcraft you can live longer?

Informant.2: yes, there is that belief, and because they have supernatural powers. Yes, they extend their lifespans

Informant 1, 2 and researcher: laughs everyone

Informant. 2: laughs... Instead of dying, they will cause the young person [to die], so that those years are added to them [older people] (FGD.1 – 03.09.2014).

Other informants say that old age starts when a person is their 50s:

“Most of them according to the way we define someone who is elderly here, I think three quarters of them are above 50 years. Because you know, because of our nature may be type of life, by the time you are reaching 55 you are worn out completely somehow.....this person who has been exposed to physical works since childhood without resting, so by the age of 55 someone is completely worn out [old]... yes” (One-on-one in-depth interview – 19.09.2014).

Eunice, who had the responsibility to look after the abused elder people from all parts of Zambia, provides only examples of functional attributes that the local people look at when constructing a person to be old:

“Mainly it is just when they see someone with grey hair. If you just have grey hair, you walk in frail, suspicious way...” (One-on-one in-depth interview - 15.10.2014).

One sad finding which emanates from the data is that because of the interdependence of different types of abuse, elder people who for instance suffer spiritual abuse are the same people who suffer neglect, verbal, physical and material abuses. Another issue which emerges from the data is that when it comes to spiritual, verbal, physical and material abuses, any elder person regardless of their socio-economic status can suffer it. This is because what determines these types of abuse is the quality of social

relationships between the particular elder person and the abusers. That is, informants hold the view that if the particular elder person is labeled to be a witch, regardless of their socio-economic statuses, they can be abused.

What the above social constructions entail is that elder people who suffer abuse in the two communities are not homogenous group. Rather they are a heterogeneous group. Informants in both communities bring out different examples of elder people who had suffered abuse. For instance, when describing elder people who suffer the above forms of abuses in terms of age, sex, educational attainment, economic status, family size, religiosity, designation, and relationships with the abuser, Ignatius who attended to abused elder patients at the hospital, summarized the characteristics of the abused elder people as follows:

“For me I can also say it’s mixed cut because we see these people. They come in the hospital, you find this person has a family, they have a farm, they have a house but maybe he is alone, his children are not with him and they look at his age - how is he producing more food than us? He has something helping him at night.... It depends on how they look at you... Sometimes traditionally you might be because they feel because you have that hard skin there is something behind you.” (FGD.4, Rural community – 09.09.2014).

Using institutional experiences in handling cases of elder abuse in different communities across Zambia, Eunice also acknowledged heterogeneity of elder people who suffer abuse in Zambia:

“Nobody is at an advantage because they are rich. You are being abused not because of those. You are being abused because you are gray haired... I am 34, I have grey hair, I don’t know whether I am safe anymore. If you just have grey hair, you walk in frail suspicious way, haa, then, you are deemed in witchcraft. I think it is cross cutting really. The factor is just the fact that you are aged and you are grey haired, you are deemed useless. You know whether you are a professor you were a professor at some stage or a banker just the fact that you sit around looking unresourceful. Yah [yes].” (One-on-one in-depth interview, urban community - 15.10.2014).

The above conceptions are contrasted by Royd, who suffered spiritual and verbal abuses. When I heard that Royd was one of the community leaders who had suffered abuse before, I decided to have an interview with him so that I could get experiential knowledge which is essential in describing and understanding the social constructions of social realities like elder abuse (Fook 2002; Mullaly 2007; Gray & Webb 2013). I had this conversation with Royd on 15.09.2014 in his office in the rural community:

Researcher: Now sir, we talked briefly about the circumstances under which this spiritual abuse takes place. But, is it just merely by me being old that can make me being accused of practicing witchcraft or is it being old in addition to something

else that can make someone to be accused of being a witch? What have been your experiences like?

Informant: no, sometimes it's the way someone conducts himself

Researcher: from your own experience how has been the conduct of those older people?

Informant: maybe language, braveness ... and so all those people suspect the man - he cannot just be brave for nothing and his language is not good, why is he always talking like that? There must be something terrible.

Researcher: and so, it is not age alone?

Informant: not age alone. Not every old man is accused of witchcraft. ...No, there must be some language of some pomposity, some insults of some kind and some boasting. There are some languages whereby someone is just jovial and likes joking with others. Those maybe they say that's how he is. But there's whereby you even say uuhm... you are even seeing that no, this man is just ... just don't talk, there must be something behind.

Even if they are more informants who agree that elder people of different characteristics suffered abuse, the above minority contradiction had something to say to me. Thinking using social constructionism which I used as the philosophical foundation of this study, the above divergent conceptions made me to think that informants even in the same community did not hold the same view about elder abuse. Interesting is that even those who were victims of abuse did not give the same views. For instance, both Ignatius and Royd were victims of spiritual and verbal abuses in the rural community. However, from the above expressions, how they constructed the phenomenon of spiritual and verbal abuse was not the same. Thus the data agree with the tenets of social constructionism where it is argued that social realities are perceived, conceived and experienced in different ways even by the people living in the same locality or those who have experienced it (Berger & Luckmann 1991; Mason 2002; Bergen 2015).

With focus on sexual abuse, the 4 informants who brought it out mainly associate it with elder women who abuse substances especially alcohol and who live in isolation. However, one informant intervened in the case of sexual abuse that involved an elderly man who was sexually abused by the grand daughters. The informant argued that assessment of that case suggested that depending on circumstances such as being frail, not being married and living with grand daughters, sexual abuse also happen to older men. This is because of physical frailty and the nature of community environments in which they live, such men like the way it is with some older women, they are not able to protect themselves against the abusers. Thus, perpetrators can take advantage of those older men.

Researcher: from the cases of sexual abuse that you have intervened in, what were the characteristics of those older people?

Informant 1: they were older women. Sexual abuse is experienced mainly by females because they are vulnerable. Mainly the age is those from 65 years and above. Their bodies begin to be tired.

Informant 2: We also had that case of an older man

Informant 1: older man...when was that? I cant remember

Informant 3: Laughs,...older man... May be

Informant 2: Yes we had a case here. Remember we had that case of sexual abuse of that old man who was being used by the grand daughters.

Informant 2: He reported the case that these young girls are playing with me and if anything happens to them no one should blame me

Informant 4: Yes, yes. I remember. It was in that compound. We visited that home and seriously warned those girls.

Researcher: but what caused that?

Informant 2: I think he was too old to protect himself.

Researcher: How old was he?

Informant 2: He should be in his 70s or so

Researcher: Was he married?

Informant 2: No he wasn't. I don't know whether the wife died (FGD.7 – 05.11.2014).

In separate individual interviews, Wynter and Lainess, who intervened in handful cases of sexual abuse by reporting the cases to law enforcement agencies, and arresting and prosecuting cases of elder abuse (in the case of Wynter), had this to say about the characteristics of older women who suffered sexual abuse:

*“Most of those are those that abuse the substances, haa (yes)..... Those who are fond of drinking, such that if they are drunk, like their local beer called **munkoyo** you find they become so drunk, haa (yes). They become also a little bit unruly to the community such that they don't even have for example, give good guidance to the young ones and they become in the forefront to use abusive language.” (One-on-one indepth interview with Wynter – 03.09.2014). **Note: Munkoyo** is a popular traditional drink in Zambia. It is commonly prepared by women using sorghum or maize mealie-meal.*

“Not everyone. However, women who drink (get drunk) are more likely to be sexually abused than men. So their own behaviors when they abuse substance make them to be sexually abused.” (One-on-one indepth interview with Lainess - 07.11.2014).

Although not jumping the gun to go into explanations for elder abuse, the above data imply that the family and community environments in which older women and men find themselves in make them to become vulnerable to sexual abuse. As can be seen from the data, it is evident that some elder people live in environments where there is inadequate physical protection. As a result whether male or female they get sexually

abused. Detailed analysis and interpretation of these risk factors will come later in the section of factors that explain elder abuse in the two communities.

Turning to political abuse, three categories of abused elder people emerge from the data. These are: elder people who are economically poor; elder people who are illiterate; and elder people with poor eye sights. 13 informants (8 from rural community and 5 from urban community) hold the view that the types of elder people who suffer political abuse are mainly those who live in material poverty. That is, politicians take advantage of them because of their economic problems by giving them trivial material things in exchange of their votes. One of the saddest parts of the construction provided by the informants is that because of the economic hardships, in some instances even elder people themselves easily succumb to political abuse because of the potential economic benefits that accrue to them. The benefits that emerge from the data include little food, money and clothes which politicians give to the abused elder people. One representative construction on this category is extracted from the data:

“The one which is also common is political because they (politicians) take advantage of people who are poor and so if they bring them something, they entice them to vote for them because of that poverty.” (One-on-one in-depth interview – 15.09.2014).

7 informants indicate further that elder people who suffer political abuse are also those who are too old to make independent decisions. Although informants did not give the precise meaning of ‘too old’ they constructed victims of political abuse as those with what they termed ‘mental exhaustion’. Informants constructed ‘mental exhaustion’ as inability of some elder people to make independent political decisions and remember things due to their old age. Because of that they were easily manipulated or tricked by political party representatives to support certain political parties or candidates:

“The key thing is the mental faculties of an elderly person seem to be failing them in terms of supporting or defending themselves. They will argue to some point and give up. It is the brain that has worked enough and so, that is how they are abused in terms of the brain exhaustion or tiredness or whatever you can call it. They can’t differentiate. It’s like all the parties; PF, UPND they speak the same. When they say, they are all politicians, they are not able to get to say these are PF policies, this is UPND policies and the difference is this.” (Follow-up FGD.3 – 08.09.2014).

Note – PF (Patriotic Front) and UPND (United Party for National Development) are examples of political parties in Zambia. PF is currently the political party in power. It ascended to power in September 2011. UPND is the strongest opposition political party.

One informant during the above focus group discussion cited a typical example of a veteran politician who suffered political abuse despite having all the high socio-economic statuses such as being educated, economically rich and participated in Zambian politics as a Member of Parliament before because of his old age:

“... and so, you can see how these people are abused. You could see that the man knows what wants but he cannot... His image and intelligence cannot support him anymore but otherwise he is a very active. He comes to the meetings and he will just sit to be part and parcel and this time when he sits he just nods to everything and everybody respects him to say the man has zeal. Whatever anyone says he says that is very good, but what is it? It is the brain that has worked enough and so, that is how they are abused in terms of the brain exhaustion.” (Jackson during FGD.3 - 08.09.2014).

Whilst the issue of mental faculties was seen by some informants to be behind political abuse, conventional court judges who also encountered it disputed that view during a follow-up FGD which I had with them specifically to explore the phenomenon of political abuse:

Researcher: your honors, I will go straight into the issue that has brought me here, and will just take a few minutes. The first thing that I wanted us to explore is the aspect of political abuse. It is something which we talked about that is in existence in this district.

Informant.1: generally speaking in this province I have heard about it

Researcher: ok

Informant.2: in particular this district

Researcher: sure, sure

Informant.1: Provincial level. Yes. As a province those cases have been heard

Researcher: ok.

Informant 2: that one is also common

Researcher: On the characteristics of the abused people, other people are saying that it's actually those older people with mental capacity difficulties are the ones that are manipulated. So I don't know what you think? Or is it just older people of all ages so long they are not able to read and write they can easily be manipulated?

Informant 1: that is not true. To me that is not true because, it's not the mental thing that normally affects them. No.

Informant.2: somebody could be aged and be able to read, that person under normal circumstances is not given a hand in terms of voting

Informant.1: But there are those who are aged and are able to even write but they are not able to vote on their own maybe because they cannot see properly as a result of old age. (FGD.4 - 11.09.2014).

In addition to the above, 6 informants (2 from urban community and 4 from rural community) further argue that political abuse is also common among elder people with poor eye sights. The informants in both communities report that because of old age, some elder people had problems with their eye sights. They also argue that it is common among elder people who are not able to read and write. These individual characteristics have become risk factors for political abuse. For instance, the

informants report that when casting the votes during presidential, parliamentary and local government elections, some election officers take advantage of such elder people by making them to vote for political candidates or parties that are not in the interest of the respective elder persons. In shading more light on these characteristics, the informants narrated what they had seen for themselves during elections. For example, during the fifth follow-up focus group discussion with other senior community leaders which I also conducted specifically to have a better description and understanding of the phenomenon of political abuse in the rural community, the following was disclosed:

“We have seen situations where a ballot paper is turned upside down and given to this person who cannot see properly. So by seeing that top portrait there that person will say - this is the preferred candidate and will mark not knowing to say he or she is voting for someone who is at the last. So for most of those people the cause is poor eye-sight due to their old age.” (FGD. 5 – 11.09.2014).

Informants in the urban community agree with the views provided by their counterparts in rural Zambia. For example, Father Isaiah, who also participated in Zambian elections as an election supervisor, recalled as follows:

“I remember when I was very young I got involved in this polling elections especially when it came to supervision and if you are not careful you would find yourself being abused by politicians. The polling officer is in charge of that polling station and one of his duties is to go and assist somebody to vote and that is where depending on the level, the integrity of this polling officer or the lack of it, anything can happen and older persons are found to be abused, the blind have been found to be abused because they are not able to read and write.” (One-on-one in-depth interview – 16.10.2014).

On the whole, what can be seen from the above data on each typology of elder abuse is the heterogeneity of the elder people who suffer abuse in the two communities. This analysis is anchored on the ground that in each typology there is more than one category of elder people that has been brought out by the informants. One interpretation which arises from all the data suggest that elder people of different socio-economic statuses suffer abuses because elder abuse is determined by the quality of different relationships that exist between some elder people and other members of the Zambian society. From the data, it seems that the main relationships which make some elder people to become victims of abuse exist at three broad levels namely micro, meso and macro. These levels co-exist and in some instances reinforce each other in making elder people become victims of abuse. From the data, it is evident that individual elder people's intra and inter-personal relationships with their families, communities and national political institutions have surfaced in the creation of conditions for abuse of some older people. That is, the data indicate that if the

relationships involve suspicion, dishonestness and oppression, any elder person regardless of their socio-economic status can suffer abuse. This is because both in theory and practice, poor human relationships bring about dominance of one actor by the other as one actor would always want to force another actor either directly or indirect to obey them. This is meant to achieve the goals pursued by the dominant. (Weber 1957; Mahajan 2003; Black 2014). In any case, the weak person who is usually the abused older person is dominated against because of the weak physical power which is the natural characteristic associated with old age (Kamwengo 2004; Ray & Bernard & Phillips 2009; World Report on Ageing and Health 2015).

Further reflections upon the data seem to indicate that the negative relationships that some elder people have with other members of society can be interpreted using the concept of ageism (Saxs 1993; Antonucci 2001; World Report on Violence and Health 2002; Black 2014). The ageist thoughts, treatments and attitudes evident in the data include thinking that some elder people are witches; that some elder people can be used as traditional medicines to cure HIV/AIDS; can be used to win political elections and even if they are manipulated during an election they would not know that they were being manipulated. That is, the data suggest that the more the particular elder person is negatively perceived by other members of society, the more he/she is likely to stand in danger of being abused.

Characteristics of perpetrators of elder abuse

Although the perpetrators of elder abuse in the two communities have already been spotted out in the first parts of this chapter, it is important to shade more scientific light on the perpetrators. This is because they raise unique features that are useful in describing and understanding elder abuse in the two communities as well in suggesting policy and programmatic ideas on how to address elder abuse. Informants have given different views on the characteristics of the perpetrators of elder abuse. Infact, the different views brought out are just as many as the informants themselves. Notwithstanding this, analyses of the data bring out two broad categories of the perpetrators of elder abuse. These are elder people's family members and non-family members. From the informants' views and experiences, elder people's family members are more associated with neglect. When it comes to spiritual, verbal, physical, material, political and sexual abuses, both the elder people's family members and non-family members are involved. Within these broad categories, five sub-categories of perpetrators have been brought out by the informants. These are the youths, adults including elder people themselves, local community leaders, political party leaders who include those in government, political cadres and election officers. Adult youths emerge in all the types of elder abuse. Adults who surprisingly include elder people themselves are evident in spiritual, neglect, physical and political abuses. Local community leaders surface in spiritual, material and political abuses. Political party leaders and political cadres emerge in material and political abuses. Election officers are confined to political abuse. The data indicate that depending on the nature of abuse and the environment in which abuse takes place++2, the perpetrators abuse

elder people either as individuals [in the cases of neglect, verbal, sexual, political and material abuses] or as a group which is common practice in spiritual, verbal, physical and material abuses. When I further open the data, it is evident that all the categories of perpetrators include male and female adult youths, adult men and women and elder people themselves. The perpetrators may also be educated or uneducated, economically rich or poor, literate or illiterate and coming from small or large families. Interesting finding which emerges from the data from both study sites is that some perpetrators come from outside the immediate local communities where the abused elder people live. This is common with political abuse. Divergent views on the issue can be seen in the representative expressions below:

Researcher: the perpetrators or the people who abuse these older people, like insulting older people that you are witches, carrying coffins, to beat up these older people and burying these older people alive, what are there characteristics? are they more males or females, educated or uneducated, are they youths or I don't know. Who abuses elder people?

Informant.1: mainly males. They are the ones who are strong.

Informant.2: for me I would say females. Because females are the managers of homes and are found most of the times at home

Participant.3: you find even those that have been to school, abhh (yes),... they also participate because of traditional set up. Just like a belief all of them believe in it.

Participant.2: Those who are not educated.

Researcher: but why do you think sir those who are not educated?

Participant.2: you know,.... will I say may be due to ignorance

Participant1: I think its every one there. On that one, both because there are certain incidence where we have heard of communities complaining against teachers who have gone to those communities to teach saying these teachers you have brought us here they are not free [they have witchcraft], we are failing to sleep. So you would find that even the teachers in some other areas they are complaining to say the communities you have brought us to, we are not even sleeping and there are so many things happening. So you would find that it is a one one situation. These are complaining and the other one are complaining. So in short, everyone complains against each other. (FGD – 04.09.2014).

“The way it does occur, someone will do it indirectly. Will engage the young ones - give them may be alcohol, yes, drink or maybe instructing them to do something and I will be in the background pretending to have no knowledge.” (One-on-one in-depth interview – 17.09.2014).

Like in the case of the characteristics of the abused elder people, the above data indicate heterogeneity of the perpetrators of elder abuse. The data seem to suggest that heterogeneity comes about because of the motivations behind elder abuse. That is, the motivation for elder abuse determines who and how to participate in abuse.

From the data, it is evident that some motivations can be more open and some more hidden. From the constructions provided by the informants, there is evidence that one motivation for spiritual, verbal, physical, material and neglect abuses include discouraging elder people and other members of society from practicing witchcraft. On the hand, hidden motivations are more associated with sexual abuse. From the conceptions of the informants, sexual abuse is not really meant for sexual pleasure. Rather, it is hidden in certain ritualistic beliefs with some of the beliefs that by having sex with older people, one can get cured from certain ailments like HIV/AIDS. From these constructions, it is clear that the real motivations for elder abuse are only known by the perpetrators of abuse.

The above interpretations go back to the concepts of ageism, relationships and power. That is, if perpetrators perceive the particular elder person in a negative stereo type ways, regardless of the socio-economic status of the abuser, they can do whatever they they are able to do within their abilities to abuse that particular elder person. This is because before people embark on abuse, they get convinced that by abusing that particular elder person, they will achieve certain goals. From another perspective, the data indicate that certain relationships that make elder people to become victims of abuse are subtle and others are vertical. From the above episodes, subtle and vertical relationships are evident in all the typologies of elder abuse. They are particularly evident in the informants' expressions where adults abuse some elder persons by hiding behind the youths. This means that the data have indicated that in some instances when perpetrating elder abuse, there are superior-subordinate relationships even among the perpetrators. For instance, the above data suggest that the adults can be constructed as lead or superior perpetrators and the youths as subordinate or follower perpetrators. This means also that elder abuse in the two communities is a power issue. From the data, it is clear that perpetrators abuse elder people because of the powers that they possess due to either their individual privileged positions or group influences. Privileged positions evident in the data include the use of economic power (money) by some adults or social power such as being community leaders or being parents to influence the youths to embark on elder abuse. Group power is evident in the data in that if individuals are not able to abuse the particular elder person as individuals, they team up so that they can easily overpower that elder person. This implies that from the informants' views the relationships and power dynamics that fuel elder abuse in the two communities are very complex and only be described and understood with the knowledge of the local people who know how elder abuse unfold in their communities. Thus, the data show also what can be termed to be 'politics of elder abuse' in the two communities. That is, elder abuse in the two communities is a dirty and tricky game which involves influencing and re-influencing one another.

Another look at the data, especially those on spiritual and political abuses, also seem to agree with ecological theory. This theory emphasizes that social phenomena [elder abuse] can be described and understood by digging deeper into the four levels namely individual, relationship, community and societal levels. (Lawton & Nahemow 1973; Teaster 2013; Phelan 2013). When the episodes are thought about by linking them to

these levels, it is clear that the data attach responsibility for elder abuse to perpetrators at micro level, perpetrators at meso level and perpetrators at macro level. These levels are nested together. This is because perpetrators at different levels work hand in hand when abusing elder people.

Meanings of elder abuse

The meanings of elder abuse are constructed in different ways by the informants. Analysis of the data appear to suggest that diverse meanings provided are influenced by the informants’ level of education, profession, institutions they work for, the types of abuse that they have participated in addressing, their own experiences and what they see in the media. In some instances, informants just give examples of what they consider to be abuse when giving the meaning of abuse. Notwithstanding diversity of the meanings, synthesis of all the data indicate some similarities of the meanings of elder abuse as formulated in gerontological literature (Pritchard 1999; Bavel et al. 2010; Manthorpe et al. 2011).

Notwithstanding diversity in the constructions of the meaning of elder abuse, all the meanings are grouped in seven themes: spiritual abuse, verbal abuse, physical abuse, material abuse, political abuse, sexual abuse and neglect. To reduce on the text and avoid repetition of some of the issues which I have already presented in the earlier parts of this chapter, the meanings of elder abuse that emerge from the data are summarized in figure 5.

<i>Themes</i>	<i>Meanings of elder abuse</i>	
	<i>Rural Community</i>	<i>Urban Community</i>
Spiritual abuse	Suspecting older people as witches/sorcerers/wizards; attacking, biting and killing an elder people on the basis that he/she is a witch; setting ablaze the house of the elder person on the basis that he/she is a witch	Accusing an elder person of practicing witchcraft; assaulting or killing an elder person on suspicion of being sorcerers
Verbal abuse	Using unkind words; using reducing/demeaning words; using harsh words; and shouting at an elder person with an angry voice	Talking to an elder person in disrespectful manner; shouting at, laughing at, making unkind remarks about; and using threatening language to an elder person
Physical abuse	Setting ablaze, beating, killing, burying an elder person alive	Beating, setting ablaze, killing an elder person
Material abuse	Misusing retirement benefits of an elder person by family members; diverting material resources meant for the older people by government/community leaders to other activities	Grabbing land from an elder person; selling land for an elder person illegally; thieving from an elder person

Political abuse	Dictating to an elder person on whom to vote for in a political election; threatening an elder person to vote for or not vote for a particular political candidate/party; refusing an older people from going to vote; deceiving poor eye sight and illiterate older people by presiding officers and family members to vote for political candidates/parties who are not of older people's choice	Making older people to vote for political candidates/parties who are not of their choice; being insincere, dishonest in handling voting by blind/poor eye sights and illiterate older people by presiding officers; intimidating older people by politicians and political cadres during election times
Sexual abuse	Raping older person	Raping elderly women; touching private parts of older men
Neglect	Ignoring older people; refusing to give food to older person; living in not well cared for environment; not telling older people about new developments in the community; older people coming to the hospital alone; no one taking care of an elder person in the hospital ward	Chasing older person from family member's homes; refusal to take care of an elder person by family members; damping an elder person in public places

Figure 5 Meanings of elder abuse

The data provided in figure 5 raise the following deductions: First, from some informants' views elder abuse means deliberate relation with an elder person in the manner that can cause harm to any elder person with or without knowledge of the particular elder person. Causing harm without knowledge of the abused elder person is particularly evident in political abuse where some elder people such as the blind and the illiterates are tricked to vote for candidates who are not of their choice. Second, for other informants abuse means deliberate exercising one's power on an elder person in the manner that is injurious to an elder person and the whole society where the particular elder person lives. This is evident in the definitions of spiritual, verbal, neglect, physical and political abuses. From the views of some informants, these forms of abuse do not only cause harm to the abused elder person but also to the local communities and the whole Zambia. Third, for some informants, abuse means deliberate treating an elder person in an ageism manner. This is evident in all the forms of abuse. In all the seven forms, there are elements of treating elder people in an ageist manners such as thinking and treating them as witches, seeing and thinking about them as traditional medicines to cure some health problems such as HIV/AIDs, using them as conduits for winning political elections, leaving them out of the community development programmes, shouting at them and misusing their property.

When all the above constructions are further analyzed, it seems to suggest that the central point in the conceptions of elder abuse by all the informants refers to any deliberate or intentional action(s) meant to cause harm to an elder person either directly or indirectly. This entails that the action(s) should also be determined by negative relationships, abusing one's powers as well as exhibiting ageist thoughts, treatment and attitudes to an elder person(s). Perceived from these connotations, it means that the informants are of the view that if the particular action(s) is not deliberate, whether it causes harm to an elder person, it does not qualify to be constructed as elder abuse. This interpretation is anchored on the ground that in all the above expressions, informants describe the perpetrators as people who are fully conscious about their actions. Thus, their actions are always intentional in nature. This is why before perpetrators embark on elder abuse, they have well thought out plans on how to go about abusing the particular elder person. These interpretations are further supported by the ground that from the informants' daily interactions with their local environments, elder abuse in their communities is only committed by youths and adults.

4.2 Elder abuse as a social issue

In both communities elder abuse is constructed by the 26 informants to be a social problem. Their constructions are based on what they have seen for themselves. That is, from the informants' daily interactions with their local communities, whenever elder abuse takes place, it produces negative effects that do not just end at the abused individual elder persons, but also disturbs the normal functioning of the local communities and in some instances disturbs the whole Zambia. There is enough evidence from the data that elder abuse is hostile to the welfare of the two communities and the whole Zambia. When I analyze the views of the 26 informants, it is more or less the same like reading academic literatures on how people recognize social problems in their societies. For example, Earl Raab and Gertrude. J. Selznick (1959, 6) argue that a social problem exists when organized society's ability to order relationships among people seems to be failing; when its institutions are faltering, its laws are being flouted, the transmissions of its values from one generations to the next is breaking down, the framework of social expectation is being shaken. These arguments are extended by Malcolm Spector and Kitsuse. I. Kitsuse (1987) when they argue that social problems are what people think they are and if conditions are destructive to society. In supporting the conceptions provided by the above scholars, Loseke and Best (2011, 3) also argue that social problems is a term used to label conditions believed to occur frequently, to be very troublesome in their consequences, and therefore need to be eliminated. These theoretical arguments are more or less the same of the things that I am going to talk about on how elder abuse is a social issue in the two communities and Zambia as a whole from the views and experiences of the 26 informants.

Besides the negative effects of elder abuse on the abused elder people talked about in the first part of this chapter, two main themes emerge from the data. That is, elder abuse negatively affects the normal functioning of: 1) local communities and, 2) the whole Zambia. At local community levels, the main theme which emerges from the data is decline of community solidarity. At national level, it is a public eye-opener that Zambian communities are not age-friendly. Below I shade more light on each of these themes.

4.2.1 Elder abuse as a social issue at local community levels

Elder abuse is constructed by the informants to be a social problem because it contributes to the decline of local community solidarity. As used by some informants, community solidarity is conceptualized as community unit which arises from smooth community relationships among the community members. The majority (24) of the informants hold the view that this unit is dying out because of the social confusions associated with elder abuse. This is particularly applicable to spiritual, verbal, physical, material, and neglect abuses. Three sub-themes from the data which show this decline include arrests and imprisonments of community members, family and community divisions and low participation in community activities. Details on each of these social confusions are provided below:

Arrests and imprisonment of community members

Informants report that once elder abuse cases are reported to the law enforcement agencies such as the Zambia police, courts of law, village courts and CCPUs, the perpetrators of elder abuse get arrested, prosecuted and if found guilty, they get imprisoned. This is because from the informants' views elder abuse is a criminal offence in Zambia. Typical stories on how the perpetrators are hard hit by the Zambian criminal laws are overwhelming in the data. For example, in an interview which I had with Simon, the community leader who witnessed one terrible incidence where an old man was buried alive by community members out of suspicion that he was a witch, he explained the social consequences of that type of elder abuse as follows:

Researcher: I heard you said that the parent was buried alive, what bad things came out of doing that? Maybe when a person is beaten and dies, what bad things come to those that do that?

Informant: the bad outcome is getting arrested. Yes, getting arrested. These days they are being sentenced to a lot of years, 35 years

Researcher: sure?

Informant: some are being arrested, death penalty. So that is the bad outcome that is there

Researcher: it is true. In reference to what you said, those who mistreated the parents and killed them, how many years were most of them sentenced to?

Informant: some of them are at Mukobeko - 35 years. Yes...even the headman my nephew Kacheemba.

Researcher: sure, even him (headman Kacheemba) was arrested?

Informant: he is still there (in Mukobeko Maximum Security Prison)

Researcher: yaah (sympathising)

Informant: they arrested him, he was even the ring leader

Researcher: yaah (sympathising)

Informant: By then I was just from saying that this funeral mourn well, even if they have killed the old man, get out of here, if it is because of your neighbourhood you don't have reason (to get involved in abuse of the old man)

Researcher: laughs

Informant: I was like - no let me go, but when he was arrested, he sent for me that tell him (Simon) to come and see me. Yes. (Interview with Simon – 16.09.2014).

Note: Mukobeko is the maximum security prison in Zambia. It is the prison meant specifically for dangerous criminals. Criminals are usually sentenced either to life imprisonment, or death. They can only be pardoned at the directives of the republican president as a way of exercising the national constitutional rights of the republican president on prerogatives of mercy (Constitution of Zambia 2016).

The above phraseology is notably echoed by other informants in separate interviews. For example, referring to the popular incidence of elder abuse in the urban community reported on Zambian televisions, radio and in newspapers in 2013 where an elder man was neglected by the young sister by letting him to be staying in an abandoned pit latrine, Eunice, who intervened in the plight of the old man by removing him from the perpetrator and placing him in her home, disclosed this:

“...That old man. We removed him from there. It was really bad. The [police] arrested the sister who neglected the brother. Yes. We were told so by the police. And since then she was released I think on bail or bond, and then the police would be better placed to determine what type of justice.” (One-on-one in-depth interview – 15.10.2014).

Informants cite the Zambia Witchcraft Act (ZWA) Chapter 90, Defamation Act of 1964 and Moral Justice Act of the Laws of Zambia as some of the legal acts that back arrests, fine and imprisonment of the perpetrators of elder abuse in their communities. The main act cited was the witchcraft act. This act provides for penalties for the practice of witchcraft; and to provide for matters incidental to or connected therewith. It first came into effect on 9th May, 1914 and it has been in effect since then. It was revisited in 2014. According to this act, “witchcraft” includes the throwing of bones, the use of charms and any other means, process or device adopted in the practice of witchcraft or sorcery. It includes practices such as “boiling water test” which means the dipping into boiling water of the limbs or any portion of the body of a person (ZWA 2014/1).

For example, section 2 of the act reads as follows: Whoever names or indicates or accuses or threatens to accuse any person as being a wizard or witch; or imputes to any person the use of non-natural means in causing any death, injury, damage or calamity; or asserts that any person has, by committing adultery, caused in some non-natural way, death, injury, damage or calamity; shall be liable upon conviction to a fine not exceeding seven hundred and fifty penalty units or to imprisonment with or without hard labour for any term not exceeding one year, or to both. Provided that this section shall not apply to any person who makes a report to a police officer of or above the rank of Sub Inspector or, where there is no such police officer, to a District Secretary or an Assistant District Secretary. Any person who represents himself as able by supernatural means to cause fear, annoyance, or injury to another in mind, person or property; or pretends to exercise any kind of supernatural power, witchcraft, sorcery or enchantment calculated to cause such fear, annoyance or injury; shall be liable to a fine of not more than one thousand five hundred penalty units or to imprisonment with or without hard labour for any term not exceeding two years. (ZWA Chapter 90 of 2014/2).

Although two schools of thought emerge from the data with one school arguing that witchcraft is real, and the other that it is not real, from the above act, it is clear that belief in witchcraft is a nationally recognized social issue in Zambia. Of interest also is that the above act was first developed and introduced by Zambia's former colonial masters (the British government) in 1914. That was done due to the recognition that some people in Zambia believed in witchcraft and was a source of violence in many communities (Kamwengo 2004). This means that belief in witchcraft in Zambia is an old phenomenon. Times of Zambia (2009) argue that belief in witchcraft in Zambia is as old as man because in the olden days, chiefs used to invite ancestral spiritual powers to cleanse their villagers from time to time and banish those who were involved in the scourge. From the content of the act, it is clear also that the act applies to both the accused and accuser. However, it has not specified any category of people associated with witchcraft practice. Because the act is a public document, it is likely to shape the social constructions of the various issues surrounding elder abuse which the informants talked about.

On the whole, the data imply that from the views of the informants, elder abuse in the two communities and the whole Zambia is a social issue because it violates family, community and national relationships. As can be seen from the above episodes, because of elder abuse, interpersonal, family, community and national relationships get disturbed. People who used to relate well with each other and with their state begin to live in fear of each other in their own communities and nation. This is detrimental to the welfare of individuals, their families, communities and the whole nation. This is because with the above effects, some informants are of the view that it even becomes difficult for the parties involved in violence to live in harmony with each other and their society. Other informants report that even social help gets restricted or withdrawn from each other.

The data suggest also that elder abuse is a social issue because it even goes to the extent of involving state interventions in harmonizing relationships between the conflicting parties. This is evident in that, from the episodes, police arrests and imprisonments by courts of law are aimed at disempowering the perpetrators of their illegal coercive

powers and empowering the older people and other members of the Zambian society. This is because any arrests made by the state or any other people in any society are meant to disempower the culprit(s) and empower the victimized. For example, elder people and other members of society are empowered with knowledge on what they need to do whenever they face abuse. That is, they are made to know that whenever they are faced with abuse, they should report the culprits to law enforcement agencies. (Heisler 2000; Black 2004; Jackson et al. 2012; Gerber & Jackson 2015; Murphy & Jackson 2016). It seems that arrests and imprisonments of perpetrators of elder abuse are deliberate efforts by the Zambian government and community members to prevent further weakening of family and community relationships which come about due to elder abuse. Speaking from an academic point of view, and in particular criminal justice and social work theory and practice, correctional services such as arrests and imprisonments of violators of human relationships are meant to reform the perpetrators of violence so that they desist from violence. This is done with the ultimate goal of trying to improve human relationships. The rationale for this is that good human relationships are the essential preconditions for the prevention of violence. This is because theory and practice show that people who relate well with each other rarely go into violence. If they do, they can easily forgive each other and unite again. (Mandela 2002; WHO 2002; Nikander 2009).

From the data, it seems also that arrests, prosecution and imprisonment of the perpetrators are meant to address ageism. This is because with such punishments of the perpetrators, everyone living in Zambia may be constructed to refrain from treating elder people in ageist manner. That is, they would fear mistreating elder people to avoid punishment associated with such vices.

Family and community divisions

Elder abuse is also constructed by the informants to be a social problem because of the social havoc it brings about among family and community members. Analysis of data shows that besides arrests, prosecution and imprisonments of the perpetrators, it brings about family and community divisions. This comes about because of the social hatred that arises among family and community members whenever elder abuse takes place. For example, during the second focus group discussion with community leaders in the rural community who presided on several cases of elder abuse, they summarized the social divisions created in this manner:

“It causes more havoc. That is negative. It causes more havoc. Some they relocate. Some they live in fear. At village setup they are not effective. Again those people are asked to move out or to relocate to other villages. They are chased.” (FGD.2 – 04.09.2014).

Similar phraseology emerges from the urban community. For example, Eunice, who looked after the abused elder people shares what she has seen for herself about what happens at family and community levels when an elder person is abused:

“Family disturbilisation. Families won’t be close anymore. The community won’t work together as a team.” (One-on-one in-depth interview – 15.10.2014).

Self-explanatory of the above data indicate that the informants are of the view that elder abuse is a social issue in their communities because it tears apart family and community relationships. This means that the social effects of elder abuse are felt by many people. This is because even the people who were not directly involved in the abuse feel the negative consequences. For example, from the informants’ own observations and experiences, if abuse is committed by people outside the family of the abused elder person, the whole family of the abused elder person and the whole family of the abuser feel the effects. Effects that emerge from the data include fear, stigma and poor social relationships among others. It appears also that creation of family and community divisions are other negative unintended consequences of elder abuse in the two communities. This is because from the informants’ observations and experiences, elder abuse is targeted at individual or group of elder persons. However, once it takes place, many people at different levels of the Zambian society negatively get affected. This means that informants are of the view that elder abuse in their communities has trickle-down effects beyond the parties involved in abuse. Thus the data is in agreement with ecological theory of elder abuse which shows the interdependence between micro, meso and macro levels (Lawton & Nahemow 1973; Bronfenbrenner & Morris 2006; Teaster 2013; Phelan 2013).

Low participation in community activities

Informants report further that, because of the aforementioned social confusions, elder abuse brings about low participation of some community members in community development activities. Because of the anger, hatred, stigma, and fear that result from elder abuse, some community members such as the abused elder people consider themselves as foreigners in their own motherland. As such they develop inferiority complex which results in self-exclusion from active participation in community activities. In several interviews, typical of community life due to spiritual, verbal, neglect, and physical abuses is expressed as follows:

“...there is no order in communities. They [older people in general] are actually affected very much. You will find that these old persons start isolating. That is what I have discovered. If somebody has died, they will not even go there. ...Yes, they will stay at home. When there is a [community] meeting, they will be at home because they know the consequences in case they are not protected by any person. So actually this is something that we have seen...” (One-o-one indepth interview – 19.09.2014).

“...the community won’t work together as a team. That will lead to poor participation in community based programmes. Laws obviously. Disorderliness. You know.” (One-on-one indepth interview – 15.10.2014).

In terms of interpretation, the data suggest that the informants are of the view that elder abuse is a social problem in their communities because it has generated troublesome social relationships among family and community members. From the above expressions, it is evident that elder abuse is destroying the social fabrics of the families and communities. Arguing from sociology of social problems, these social effects could negatively affect the transmissions of socially acceptable norms, values and practices from the older generation to the younger generations. This is another social condition that makes a particular problem to qualify to be a social problem. (Raab & Setznick 1959; Merton 1973; Spector & Kitsuse 1987; Loseke & Best 2011). The data entail also that informants are of the view that, elder abuse in the two communities is a power issue. This interpretation is based on the ground that from the above expressions, senior citizens despite their wisdom and lived experiences about family and community lives, they become powerless in their own communities. This is evident in elder people's withdrawal from and/or limited participation in community activities due to fear of standing in danger of suffering abuse if they participate. The youths despite having little experience about community life dominate community affairs. From the data, it seems that poor social relationships arise from ageism. That is, ageism is making older people and youths not to relate well. In the data, ageism has manifested through the belief brought out by the informants that some members of the two communities believe that some elder people are witches. This results in limited interactions between the older generation and younger generation. From sociology of social problems point of view, the danger of having these types of social relationships is that they can even kill good traditional values, norms, beliefs, customs and practices. This is because the troubled older people-younger people social relationships limit transmissions of culture between the older generations and younger generations. (ibid). Ronald Inglehart (1990) advises that for any society to exist and perpetuate itself, the older generation and the younger generation should co-exist so that the knowledge that older people have about society is passed to the younger generation and the knowledge that the younger generation have about society is passed to the older generation. This is only possible if older generations and younger generations relate well. In supporting this interpretation of the data, one traditional leader brought out this Zambian proverb:

"In our tradition, we say that do not kill an older person because they know the traditional medicine for snake bite. If you kill them, who will give you the medicine when you are bitten by the snake?" (One-on-one in-depth interview – 17.09.2014).

Unfortunately, from the above data, that way of socializing is being tempered with. This has the danger of making some good traditional Zambian ways of living to come into extinction. One direct interpretation that arises from the above proverb is that the tradition leader is of the view that because of elder abuse some of the abused elder people in Zambian communities who know traditional medicines for snake bite might not be willing to share it with the younger generations when one is bitten by

the snake. This can be done due to fear that if such traditional knowledge is passed to the younger generation, they might be accused of practicing witchcraft and end up suffering the in-human treatments associated with witchcraft accusations (Farror & Farror 1984; Levack 1995; Hutton 1999; Buckland 2002). This may not be very health for the two communities and the whole Zambia. For instance, since snake bite is a common problem in Zambia and the whole Africa especially in rural areas, and a lot of people still depend on traditional medicines (WHO 2005; 2015), the proverb means that if the person is bitten by the snake and elder people do not come to their aid, their lives may end up being lost due to lack of traditional medicines used in treating snake poison. If that happens, it implies that valuable human resource that may contribute positively to the socio-economic development of their families, local communities, Zambia and the whole world would be lost. This interpretation agrees further with the social gerontologist advice provided by Kamwengo (2004) where he cautions that, it is always important to remember that some traditional values and beliefs which are key to human existence can only be known by elderly people.

4.2.2 Elder abuse as a social issue at national level

A very an unanticipated theme which arise from the data is that although elder abuse takes place at household and local community levels, some informants hold the view that its impacts have been felt even by the Zambian government and other actors involved in the social development of Zambia. This is because it is forcing the Government of Zambia and other stakeholders to channel some [public] resources specifically to address elder abuse and other sufferings faced by elder people and the general population. Informants cite establishments of new police posts, Christian evangelistic crusades, draft Zambia National Ageing Policy, Social Protection Programmes, establishment of senior citizens associations and proposal by the Inspector General of Police to establish Senior Citizens Help Desk in all police stations across Zambia as specific ways which indicate that elder abuse is a national social problem. In other words, some informants see elder abuse to have created opportunities for the people of Zambia which include the government to realize that local communities in both rural and urban Zambia are not very much age-friendly and something needs to be done if Zambians are to grow old in age-friendly communities. Some of the representative constructions on the issue are as follows:

“This old age abuse has acted as an eye opener to who? To the government. Where the government had no ...I mean... had a blind eye, it’s able, now to turn the eye towards that point. For example, a place like this one, if people are burying themselves alive, now the eye of the government is centered on these ...if similar things happens here, then the government comes in with the full force, and if it continues then the government is going to think of something to be at this point, that is going to protect the aged... (One-on-one indepth interview, rural community – 15.09.2014).

“It has given an opportunity to take steps to bring about positive things - advocacy to introduce new things in Zambia. For example last year on elder abuse day, we met the IG [Inspector General of Police] to bring to the fore that older people are being abused. The IG recognized that and promised to establish the Victim Support Desk for the older persons. It is also bringing about economic empowerment of the older people. For example as senior citizens, we are lobbying the government to introduce Social Cash Transfers, and specifically we are crying for universal social pension.”
(One-on-one indepth interview, urban community – 07.11.2014).

The above data indicate that elder abuse is a social issue at national level because it is shaping citizen-state relationships. The basis for this interpretation is that, from the above expressions, it is clear that elder abuse is forcing the Government of Zambia to partner with other development actors to address the various problems at individual, family and local community levels which fuel elder abuse. In short, these micro-macro closer relationships which have come about because of elder abuse seem to aim at realigning individual, family and community relationships which are cardinal in addressing elder abuse. (Antonucci 2001; Black 2004; Wilkins 2014). By using knowledge from sociology of social problems, one condition that makes the particular problem to qualify to be a social problem, is that it should affect many people and its resolution should lie in having the concerted efforts from many actors (Raab & Setznick 1959; Merton 1973; Spector & Kitsuse 1987; Loseke & Best 2011). This is what this study has established. From the above episodes, it is clear that some informants are of the view that because the effects of elder abuse are not only felt by the parties directly involved in the confrontations, people in the two communities are calling for concerted efforts from various social development actors to help in addressing the problems that bring about elder abuse. When the data is connected to the conceptual frameworks used in this thesis, it is in tandem with the Marxist theory of violence. This theory argues that violence reveals injustices in particular society and suggests ways of addressing those injustices if societal relationships are to be harmonized in order to bring about a just society (Thomas 1995; Giddens 2010). From the data, some of the injustices revealed by the informants include inadequate security at local community level, treating some elder people as witches, and material poverty among the older people. These injustices have suggested some of the ways that should be introduced in the two communities and the whole Zambia if Zambia is to become a just society. From the episodes, some of the suggested ways include improving security at local community level, and improving economic well-being of the older people. From the informants' views, it is hoped that, by having these measures in place, poor relationships that exist between some older people and other members of the Zambian society would be improved, and ultimately bring about a just Zambia. For example, if police services are readily available at local community level, perpetrators of elder abuse might desist from abusing elder people for fear of being arrested by the police (Heisler 2000).

Having described how elder abuse is a social issue at local communities and at national level, I now turn to the explanations of elder abuse.

4.3 Factors that explain elder abuse in the two communities

The factors that explain elder abuse in each of the two communities are many. However, because of the interdependence of the various types of abuse recorded in the two communities, the factors that explain elder abuse are cutting across all the types of abuse. Because of this, I have categorized all the factors into four themes. I use ecological and Marxist theories of elder abuse in categorizing the explanations. This is because the informants' constructions seems to agree with what is theorized in these theories. The four themes are: individual older people's factors, perpetrators' factors, local community social factors, and national environmental factors. Sub-themes are also provided under each of the above main themes. Although I have categorized the explanations in four themes, there is evidence that in some instances the explanations are interdependent. Interesting also is that from the data, it is evident that informants have given their own views and the views that are commonly held by other community members about the factors that lead to abuse of elder people in their communities. For instance, informants who were victims of abuse and those who had family members who suffered abuse explained for themselves the risk factors that led to their abuse and for their family members and gave all the above explanations. Figure 6 summarizes the factors:

<i>Theme</i>	<i>Specific factors</i>	
	<i>Locality</i>	
	<i>Rural Community</i>	<i>Urban Community</i>
<i>Individual older people's factors</i>	Illiteracy, monetary poverty, poor eye sights, older people's own behavior	Illiteracy, monetary poverty, poor eye sights, older people's own behavior
<i>Perpetrators' factors</i>	Clan, Perceived benefits of elder abuse, knowledge poverty	Perceived benefits of elder abuse, knowledge poverty
<i>Local community social factors</i>	Belief in witchcraft, changes in traditional ways of living (weakening of villages and extended family structures), insecurity, poverty (monetary and knowledge poverty)	Belief in witchcraft, changes in traditional ways of living (weakening of extended family structures), poverty (monetary and knowledge poverty)
<i>National environmental factors</i>	inadequate implementation of public policies, lack of institutional homes for the older people and programmes on ageing, National monetary poverty	Multipartism, inadequate implementation of public policies and programmes on ageing, National monetary poverty

Figure 6 Factors that explain elder abuse

Having summarized the factors, I now turn to the detailed presentation of each of factor:

Individual older people's factors

Informants define individual older people's factors as those factors that are associated with the abused individual older persons. The main factors which emerge from the data which are specifically to do with the abused individual elder people are illiteracy, monetary poverty, poor eye sights, elder people's behavior, and old age. I have already talked about illiteracy, monetary poverty, old age and poor eye sights in the first part of this chapter under the headline for elder people as victims of abuse. Thus, to avoid repetition, in this sub-chapter, I focus on one factor which I have not talked about. This is elder people's own behavior.

Elder people's own behavior

Most of the informants associate spiritual, verbal, neglect, sexual and physical abuses with some behavior problems of some elder people. Although there is no agreed upon definition of what is a behavior problem, it is evident that informants hold the following two views on what constitute a behavior problem: (a) behavior that goes to an extreme - behavior that is slightly different from the usual; and (b) behavior that is unacceptable because of social or cultural expectations. When I reflect upon the informants' views, they are similar to the definitions of behavior problems provided in existing literature (see Segen 2006). For example, during the fourth focus group discussion, informants disclosed that although witchcraft practices are socially unacceptable in all Zambian communities, some elder people practiced witchcraft and some of the abused elder people had even made self-confessions that they were the ones who were behind the death of other community members:

Researcher: ... maybe I will also ask another question here. From what I think we have discussed it means that witchcraft is real or is it not real?

Informants 1 and 2: Laughs...

Informant. 1: It is real.

Informant. 1: Yes, it is there...

Informant. 2: Uhuu, uhuu (that is true, that is true)

*Informant. 1: Why I say real, the pastor will bear my witness. We have had incidences here [at the hospital], and I think the most recent one is this lady whose both legs were fractured. This lady never groaned of pain in the hospital...never. The patient was always active, looking around and so on. Why are saying real? The chaplain's office one day and the nurses reported that patients here are not sleeping. Why? This old lady has some demons or whatever... **tuyebela** that are troubling us at night and there were 6 of those **tuyebelas** that followed out of 76. They came in form of butterflies, chameleons, rats which the pastor here burnt. And when all these things were burnt the lady started feeling pain. So with that story at female ward, I say*

witchcraft is real. Because spiritually we did the job and that lady was converted and from there on no more trouble in the ward.

Informant.1: The pastor here can bear me witness

Informant.2(pastor): Yes, yes, she had 76 of them

Researcher: Laughs

Informant.2: Uhuu, Uhuu (yes, yes)

Researcher: so there I can see another thing. We can then conclude that some older people are playing a part in causing their own abuse?

Informant.1: Yes. Like this practical example I have just given, for sure she admitted she killed that child. So she invited it [abuse] on herself. (FGD.4, Rural Community – 09.09.2014).”

Note: **tuyebela** is the type of witchcraft believed to be practiced by women in Zambia.

Other informants cite some elder people’s tendencies of using threatening languages to other community members as another elder people’s behavior that fuel elder abuse:

“...Look, usually for people to know that this man is a witchman, somebody have to provoke them. They told them that – don’t play with me, you will not see the sunset. So those people they have to take that measure [elder abuse]. There is someone who can really say if you talk to that man you will not see sunset. Things happen, things happen, once you quarrel, you face the problem. So these are the issues which I know about those people. Yes. This is a lifestyle, where he has benefited from his own behavior.” (One-on-one indepth interview – 08.09.2014).

The above data suggest that the informants hold the views that the social relationships that some elder people create with other family and community members are what sometimes lead to elder people’s abuse. As can be seen from the episodes, informants are of the view that some elder people relate with other community members in the manner that makes them to be thought about in ageism manner. Those relationships of fear and distrust can ignite violence. These interpretations are based on the ground that in real life, it is common tendency among many human beings to reward human behavior according to one’s own behavior. For example, those who behave in socially acceptable ways are respected. This is meant to encourage them to keep up with their good behavior. On the other hand, those who behave in ways that are not socially acceptable are usually mistreated. This is to make them live in socially acceptable ways. (Kalat 1999; Heydrich & Schiamberg & Chee 2012; Wilkins 2014).

Perpetrators’ factors

Perpetrators’ factors are defined by the informants as those factors that are associated with the perpetrators of elder abuse. Evidences in the data show that in some instances the factors that explain elder abuse are built in the nature of the people who perpetrate abuse. Each informant brought out many factors. Interesting is that

even within community or FGDs, informants did not agree on the factors that led to elder abuse. For example, some informants brought out material poverty, low levels of education, jealous, substance abuse, belief in witchcraft, low levels of religiosity, nature of the clan they came from, the size of the family they came from, and the family linkages with the abused elder person. However, these factors were disputed by other informants saying for example that even people who were educated, who did not abuse substance, who were religious, who came from smaller families, from all types of clans, who were economically rich, with respectable designations, young and old, and those who did not abuse substance participated in elder abuse. These divergent views were expected because informants had different information about elder abuse. Thus, I expected that despite similarities in the constructions of other spheres of elder abuse, they would bring different views on other spheres. This is because individuals see things differently (Berger and Luckmann 1991; Mason 2002; Creswell 2007; Berger 2008; Eidukevičiūtė 2013). Thus, from the view held by other informants all the above factors can be seen to have played a part in explaining elder abuse in the two communities. One of the major distinguishing factors is the clan. This factor is more of the rural community. This is because the issue of clans in Zambia is a characteristic of rural communities of Zambia. I will shade more light on this factor later. Besides this factor, other perpetrators' factors which I am going to talk about in detail are perceived benefits of elder abuse, and knowledge poverty. This is because I have already talked about the other factors in the section for characteristics of perpetrators of elder abuse. Details on each of these factors are discussed below:

Clan and elder abuse

Although there is no agreement among the informants on how clan play a part in perpetrating elder abuse in the rural community, some informants are of the view that it plays a part. By clan, informants refer to a group of people in their community who are considered by the local people to be the 'owners' of that community. They are usually the majority and have the same ancestral background. Informants who support this view argue that because of that traditional set up, they are individuals in the community who consider themselves more powerful than others, and usually those from dominant clans find it easier to abuse elder people from smaller clans. This is because, those from stronger clans have mass support from other community members such that even if they abuse an elder person, they may not receive serious negative sanctions from the local leadership which is always dominated by people from the biggest clan. For example, conventional court judges had this to say during the focus group discussion which I had with them in the court room:

Researcher: how about in terms of the clans?

Informant.1: you know in this province we have much of clans. You would find others will say "I am the owner of mushroom", "I am the owner of bright colour" and others that "they are the owners of the hill" and I have heard most of the people say you know, they classify some clans to be more powerfull than the others in

terms of witchcraft. You would find if someone is maybe provoked, he will even stop mentioning his name but will start talking about his clan

Researcher: hehehehe [sure?]

Informant.1: because "I am the owner of the hill", I can do this, I can do that. So it is not associated with the chief mostly but it is associated with the clans

Informant.2: I think the way I understand clans, myself is just may be you would find that others would say am "I am the elephant" and you know an elephant is something that is big and so it can stamp on any thing and so I think going by the names of their clans, people they think they are more power than others.

Informant.1: those who consider themselves to be more powerful than others. Yes

Informant.2: others consider themselves to be the "parents" to these other clans.

Informant.1: So I think going by the names of those clans, some people think they are more powerful than the others.... (FGD.2 – 04.09.2014).

The above data implies that the informants are of the view that the perceived power that one thinks they possess can influence the degree of their participation in elder abuse. This is because from the above constructions, it is evident that those community members who consider themselves more powerful than others can find it easier to dominate those considered to be powerless. This means that the traditional relationships that exist among community members can influence one to perpetrate elder abuse. That is, those with stronger local connections can feel superior to those with weaker connections to local traditional structures and may decide to bring weaker clans in their subjugation. This interpretation of the data goes back to the earlier views of the informants that elder abuse in their communities is a power issue which involves oppression and suppression of one community member by the other community members with the powerful individuals or group of individuals suppressing the less powerful. These views of the informants are also in agreement with theories of power and violence. For example, in scientific knowledge, one of the sources of power is the connections that one has in society. Those with more connections and those who are connected to people with power in society tend to be more powerful than those with little or no connections with those with power. (Weber 1957; Putnam 1993; Mahajan 2003). These power imbalances can bring about violence in different ways. For instance, the less powerful may react to those injustices by arising against the powerful, and those with more power can reiterate by suppressing the less powerful through either beatings, killings or denying them access to power and other socio-economic benefits of their society. This has been the source of terrible violence in many African countries. Examples to cite here include violence acts that have taken place in Rwanda (1994 genocide), South Africa (Xenophobic attacks) and Nigeria (ethnic violence). In all these countries the issues of dominant and less dominant clans have also been part of the violent acts. (World Report on Violence and Health 2002; Mandela 2002; Kamwengo 2004; Times of Zambia 2013).

Perceived benefits of elder abuse

One of the key issues that emerge from the data is the motivation that lies behind elder abuse. According to all the informants, elder abuse in their communities does not just happen. Rather, it is motivated by the potential benefits perceived by the perpetrators. Analyses of the data indicate that the perceived benefits of elder abuse by the perpetrators can be categorized into two: those related to spiritual, verbal, physical and neglect abuses; and those associated with political abuse.

Perceived benefits of spiritual, verbal, physical and neglect abuses

From the informants' views, the main perceived benefits by the perpetrators of the above types of abuse include the belief that if elder people are abused, they would be forced to live in socially acceptable ways. These include forcing them to stop practicing witchcraft and in turn bring about a better society. Agreements on this factor are evident in both focus group discussions and one-on-one indepth interviews:

“The reason that they give that causes them to neglect the old ones is the belief that they have in whatever happens in their households. Because once they believe that this thing has happened as a result of this person, then to them they think maybe the solution is to just neglect that person and then leave him or her to just die on himself or herself. So it's just the belief that they have in something that happens in their households. According to our African setup, maybe you would find people are sleeping and maybe a child starts crying. So this person now thinks to say let me go outside and start shouting so that this person will stop doing whatever he or she is doing [practicing witchcraft]. So that one is done as a matter of trying to prevent such a thing [bewitching the child] from happening.” (FGD.2 – 04.09.2014).

“At one time, I had a discussion with a young man who came up here and found me and said: you when you die, we shall complain. We shall complain bitterly and we shall even apply the ‘mumone’ medicine on your forehead so that whoever will be connected to your death is killed. And I tried to find out what the young man was talking about and what he meant was that, there are those that the young men know do have such things [witchcraft], who would also be killed. ... Yes, because when you are a bad person you have to go of course...Ya [yes]. They do arise against such kind of wizards. Even when their fellow youth dies, it's the same, but not all elderly people, when a wizard....probably I am a wizard and I die they will celebrate and say – ehee (yes), let him go (die), things like that. ... They want only good people to continue to live ...I mean you are disturbing the peace of the people around. And what is the reason for you living? Ya [yes]. This is what is in the minds of the community members about the wizards.” (One-on-one indepth interview – 15.09.2014).

Note: **Mumone** is traditional medicine in Zambia used by some local people to identify the person who has killed another person. Mumone is translated in English as ‘identify the person who has killed you.’ Some informants in both

communities informed me that some local people apply mumone on the coffin when going to bury the dead person and the coffin leads the pallbearers and the mourners to the person who has killed that person. And once the coffin hits or goes to the home of the particular elder person, elder abuse reaches the climax and some elder people are either severely beaten or instantly killed using the coffin and biting from some mourners. However, other informants report that it is a fake practice because it is predetermined by some community members who suspect the particular elder person[s] to be behind the death of that person. Informants in both communities also indicate that it is done out of jealous and hate of some elder people.

From the above expressions, it seems that the data imply that poor family and community relationships that exist between some elder people and some family and community members are what lead to elder abuse. As evidenced in the data, informants have provided the view that perpetrators abuse some elder people because they want to force individual elder persons to relate well with their family and community members. It sounds that those ways of thinking are influenced by ageism. Endemic ageism is evident in the data in that all the 36 informants hold the view that in their communities, some individual and community problems are associated with some individual elder people who are constructed by some members of their community to be witches. According to the informants, these negative constructions are enough bases for embarking on elder abuse. The data also indicate that elder abuse in the two communities is explained by power relationships. That is, some elder people are constructed to possess 'evil spiritual powers' which is called witchcraft and others are believed not to have those powers. It seems that these power imbalances are the major source of violence. For example, because those constructed to possess 'evil powers' are believed to cause harm to individuals and the whole community, other members of society embark on elder abuse as a deliberate attempt to suppress the 'evil' spiritual powers believed to be possessed by some older people. From the data, this is believed as one way through which human relationships can be improved so that every community member relates with other community members in socially accepted manner.

Perceived benefits of political abuse

Another explanation for elder abuse is the perceived benefits of political abuse. Informants indicate that the perceived benefits of winning an election on the side of the perpetrators cause political abuse of some elder people. The perceived benefits that emerge from the data include acquisition of political power, monetary gains and social status that accrue from being in political power. Shockingly, informants disclose that these perceived benefits made even family members to politically abuse their own elder people. Of great interest in political abuse is that even the abused elder persons sometimes benefit from their abuse. For instance, informants disclose that some elder people are given little money, alcohol and clothes by politicians in

exchange of their votes, and that help them [elder people] to meet some of their immediate personal needs. For example, during the follow-up focus group discussions and one-on-one indepth interviews intended specifically to have in-depth description and understanding of the phenomenon of political abuse of elder people, community leaders who served before as election monitors, amplified the linkages between perceived benefits and political abuse of some elder people as follows:

“If I am a councilor and I am gaining an income from this party and then this income is the one I use to take care of this household and then this old woman is now coming publically to oppose me, if I lose and that party loses the income will cease and even you [old person], you will suffer. And so there is that interest that I am pursuing which will cause me to abuse to say - can you just agree with me I know better because what will come you will benefit. If you fall sick I will go to the chairman to borrow a vehicle for PF and they will take you to the hospital and so there is always a special interest that leads to this situation [political abuse]. Even those who don't abuse substance because they have interest to gain. If he wants to be a councilor and a councilor will be getting K700 (around 91.62 US Dollars) as an allowance, he will make sure that they [old people] will vote for that party.” (FGD.3 – 08.09.2014).

Note: PF stands for Patriot Front and is currently the ruling political party in Zambia.

“It's the politicians who want to have political power. Once at election time they abuse and so on. And as soon as they have their positions that's it until the next time.” (One-on-one indepth interview – 14.10.2014).

From the above episodes, it is evident that it is struggle for political power that lead to political abuse of some elder people. I interpret the data in this way because the above statements suggest dominance of one actor (politicians and political cadres) over other actors (elder people) with the goal to win more political support so that they can acquire political power (Weber 1957; Mahajan 2003). In other words, the data imply that it is the nature of macro-micro political environments created by national political party actors in Zambia that brings about abusive political relationships at household, family, community and national levels. This is because from the above data, it can be seen that struggle for political power takes place simultaneously at all these levels. This shapes the political relationships that fuel political abuse at all these levels. For any politician to win an election in Zambia, they need to mobilize political support at individual level, family level, community level and national level. This shows the political connections between micro, meso and macro levels that lead to political abuse of some elder people. From the above expressions, it is evident that the informants hold the view that these levels are inseparable when describing and understanding political abuse of some elder people in their communities.

Knowledge poverty

Knowledge poverty among the perpetrators of elder abuse has come out strongly from the data as another factor that fuel elder abuse. Informants construct knowledge poverty as lack of appropriate knowledge about ageing. Their construction is that because of lack of appropriate knowledge about ageing, many people in the two communities and the whole Zambia tend to think about elder people in ageism manner. For instance, when they see an elder person who is very productive in their old age, and those who talk alone, they are constructed to be witches. That is, when the older person is productive, they think that it is the witchcraft that is making those older people to be productive. When the older person is seen to speak to themselves, they think that they have evil spiritual persons around them with whom they talk to. Combinations of these knowledge poverties bring about negative relationships between some elder people and other members of society and ultimately result into neglect, spiritual, verbal and physical abuses and in some instances bring about material abuse. In explaining this factor, informants cited cases of elder abuse which they had seen for themselves:

“I know of a case, you know, when you grow old to stand up becomes difficult. So this old woman to stand up used to bend. So the family [son and daughter-in-law] started saying that this old woman gives the back to our children - you are cursing our children. So they started beating her and chased her from their home.” (One-on-one indepth interview – 27.08.2014).

“This is what happens: An elderly man or a woman works up in the night be it an urban setting or a rural setting. Mainly elderly people are kept in their own rooms be it a guest wing or a thatched house somewhere alone. Conveniences such as toilets they are outside, far from where their bedrooms are. Due to bladder inconsistency, they will wake up three, four times to go and relieve themselves in the night. Midnight – 02:00 AM; 03:00 AM. This elderly man wakes up at 03:00 AM, dementia kicks, he goes, bladder inconsistency hits him, he goes to relief himself, outside far from his room. He manages to go. Dementia clicks in, he forgets where he came from. Where is my bedroom? He starts looking around. Everybody’s senses are peculiar to touch. You touch something then you remember, this could be it. So they forget. Dementia has clicked in. There are stuck naked obviously for the reason that they were going to the ablution. They forget which door am I coming from? They start touching around, sense of feeling to give them any idea. That touching around of the neighbors’ house – neighbor wakes up; it is 03:00, finds this old man stuck naked 03:00, touching around your house - my God - he has no gun, he has no knife, he has no any identical weapon, he is a witch, he has come to attack us, he was putting charms around our house – beat, beat, beat, beat, beat. In the urban setting, the mansions’ toilets may be upstairs. Grandma forgets where upstairs is, goes to children’s room who is sleeping, tapping on the bed, could this be the toilet, child wakes up - screams as if the DSTV is switched off; mother runs from up-staired

master bedroom find grandma on granddaughter's bed – grand pa or grand ma, he was trying to sexually abuse my daughter. So people need to know diseases or conditions that make the elderly people act the way they do.” (One-on-one in-depth interview – 15.10.2014).

Interpretations of the above data seem to revolve around the concepts of knowledge power and social relationships. This is because from the above evidence-based narrations, it can be seen that informants are of the view that elder people are being abused in their community due to lack of adequate knowledge by the perpetrators about ageing. It seems that inadequate knowledge power brings about negative stereotyped ways of thinking about and relating with the older people. These create social platforms for elder abuse. The data indicate also that knowledge poverty exists at three levels namely individual elder people's level (that is, not knowing what to do when faced with abusive situations), at perpetrator's level and at local community levels (that is, not having adequate knowledge on ageing). These three levels are interdependent. As such they reinforce each other in producing and perpetuating elder abuse. This means that the data have indicated that if one is to adequately describe and understand the phenomenon of elder abuse in the two communities, they need to dig deeper into the concept of knowledge poverty at all the above levels. This way of constructing elder abuse is similar to the tenets of ecological theory which I used as my conceptual framework (Lawton & Nahemow 1973; Crouter 1978; Greenfield 2012; Teaster 2013; Phelan 2013).

Local community social factors

Local community social factors are defined by the informants as those factors which are associated with the local environments in which elder abuses take place. Analyses of the data indicate that elder abuse is also attributed to some of the cultural beliefs, practices and socio-economic changes that have taken place in the Zambian local communities. From the data, the unhealth socio-cultural and economic conditions that are at the centre of elder abuse are belief in witchcraft, changes in traditional ways of living, insecurity and monetary poverty. Since, I have talked about belief in witchcraft in all the sections of this chapter and monetary poverty in the sections for older people as victims of abuse and perpetrators factors, I will concentrate on changes in traditional ways of living and insecurity. Details on each of these local community conditions are given below:

Changes in traditional ways of living

In both communities, informants also attribute elder abuse to the changes that have taken place at local community and family levels. The main changes that emerge from the data are weakening of the villages and extended family system. Weakening of villages is more evident in the data from the rural community. Weakening of the extended family is evident in data from both study sites. The informants report that in the past when traditional Zambian ways of living were strong such as having large

and united extended families and villages, the problem of elder abuse was not very much common. That was because when the particular elder people was at risk of abuse, other extended family and village members came to their rescue. Thus, villages and extended families served as primary social and physical protectors of elder people. In the modern Zambia, all these traditional ways of living are constructed by the informants to be on the decline. For examples, the informants disclose that villages in Zambia are becoming smaller and smaller and some of them have completely disintegrated. This is attributed to many factors. Among them include the belief in witchcraft which discourages people from living in their villages of origin for fear of being bewitched or accused of being witches, migration of the younger generations from rural areas to cities due to underdevelopment of rural areas, and western liberal values which support nuclear family at the expense of extended family. In the views of the informants, these changes have brought about the situation whereby some elder people have either lost or have inadequate traditional mechanisms to protect them in an event of being at risk of abuse. For instance, informants indicate that if the particular elder person lives alone and he/she is constructed to be a witch, abusers find it easier to abuse such a person. This is because such a person has no immediate family members to protect them during those moments. When enabling me to understand the concept of village in the Zambian context and its role in describing and understanding elder abuse, one of the village headmen explained it this way:

“In the past people used to live in large villages and that helped a lot. Just in one village, they used to be at least 20 households with around 50 village members, and all of them living together. That was meant for protection against the enemies. If one village member or other villages arose against one village member, other village members came to the rescue of their member. All these have now changed. Many people are living as individuals. Today, all these have changed. This is because of quarrels among village members. The other thing is because of fear which has come about because of witchcraft beliefs. They fear that if I continue living in this village, my children will be bewitched.” (One-on-one indepth interview – 17.09.2014).

Grandmum, the senior citizen who promotes the rights of the older people throughout Zambia also provides the similar construction. She amplifies the linkages between family size and elder abuse as follows:

“If that elderly person has a family, they would not dare [abuse him/her]. They are scared of accusing the elderly of anything [practicing witchcraft]. It will be whispered but even the whispering will be very careful. But if the elderly person lives on their own, then there is fair game - anyone who wants to accuse them of all sorts of things...” (One-on-one indepth interview – 14.10.2014).

The above data can be interpreted using the concepts of family and village relationships as well as the concepts of family and village power. That is, the data

indicate that changes in family and village relationships explain elder abuse. That is, with the weakening of the institutions that traditionally took care of the elder people, it means that elder people are powerless. As a result anyone is at ease to abuse them. This is because they lack adequate informal physical and social protection, which apparently both in theory and practice should be the immediate protectors of the elder people whenever they are faced with situations which they cannot handle alone (Fuller 1972; Jaeger 1981; Atchley 1991; Kamwengo 2004; Phiri 2004; Mapoma 2013). This interpretation of data agrees with several studies on power and relationships. Notable include studies undertaken by Weber (1957), Osei-Hwedie & Mwansa & Mufune (1990), Black 2004; and Jory & Yodanis (2015). With focus on family power and relationships, the studies established and concluded that at family level individual powers also come from the family connections. That is, the more one has family support and networks, the more power they have, and the lesser they stand in danger of abuse from other members of society. This is because of the protections that come from other family members. The other way of interpreting the data is to think about it by linking the data to the popular power and relationships adage which says that 'there is strength in numbers.' That is, if people live or come together in large numbers, their their power increases automatically. This is because they draw on the strength of one another and that is enough force to reckon with even in an event of trouble from other people coming from outside their team. However, if people live alone or have inadequate connections, even their individual power is limited and can easily be suppressed by those with more power. (Mahajan 2003, 13).

Insecurity

Elder abuse is also attributable to insecurity in local communities. Informants in both communities report that absence of police services in many localities where many elder people live is another factor that explains elder abuse in their communities. They narrate that where police services exist, they are inadequate and not easily accessible by many elder people. In part, this is due to long distances from areas where many elder people live to where the offices of the police are found. In other instances, some informants report that the police do not respond on time in an event of elder abuse especially when compared to other cases of abuse that involve the weaker members of the Zambian community such as abuse of children and gender based violence involving women in productive age group. Combinations of these factors fuel lawlessness in local communities and the perpetrators take advantage of that. For example, in an in-depth interview with the chief and specifically with reference to the terrible form of elder abuse recorded in the history of Zambia where one old man was buried alive on suspicion that he was a witch (which I have partly talked about), the chief had this to say about what led to that:

"The old man who was buried alive here was because of the absence of the police services. If the police were here, they would have saved the life of that old man. The

incidence started from around 9 AM and the man was buried alive around 5PM.” (One-on-one indepth interview – 16.09.2014).

Similar explanation is given by Lainess, the senior citizen that promotes the rights of the older people throughout Zambia and globally. In a follow-up interview which I had with her in an attempt to get some clarifications on a number of issues which came out from the first interview, she bitterly complained about the unfair treatment that the older people have received from the Zambia police:

“The police have provided protection for children and for women but they have not provided for an older person. We don’t have friendly corners for older persons. Even to approach [police] authority can be frightening for an older person.” (One-on-one indepth interview – 07.11.2014).

Other community leaders also agree with the other informants but cite operational challenges faced by the police as one of the main causes of inadequate police services in local communities:

“As right up now as we speak to you, or as I speak to you, we do not have transport. If we have a report for example to say there is an elderly person that is being abused or assaulted right now, it will take us may be two days to travel to where the elder person is. But at the end of the day, you will find that you have lost a life.” (FGD – 03.09.2014).

The above data is interpretable using the concepts of police power and police-community relationships. That is, the data indicate that the Zambia police are not adequately exercising its institutional power in the prevention of violence against elder people. This means that the informants are of the view that the relationships which the Zambia police have with the local communities are not adequate. As a result of these police inadequacies, the perpetrators take advantage and find it easier to abuse elder people. This is because they know that even if they are abused, the abused elder person may not report the case to law enforcement agencies. This thinking may be influenced by none availability of the law enforcement agencies in local communities. The data also suggest that elder abuse is attributable to the weaknesses at the macro level of the Zambian society. The scientific basis for this interpretation is that, the police are state machinery. Thus, its inadequacies in operations reflect weaknesses of the government in place in that particular state. That is, it shows that the government in that particular state either has not done much or has failed to make the police to work effectively and adequately. (Gough 1999; Mahajan 2003; Telep 2010).

National environmental factors

In elder abuse discourses, available scientific literatures argue that, elder abuse at individual, family and community levels can also be described and understood well by thinking about the national environments in which it takes place (Lawton & Nahemow 1973; Crouter 1978; Pillemer & Wolf 1982; World Report on Violence and Health 2002; Mullaly 2007; Greenfield 2012). Thus, by paying particular attention to this scientific thinking, I sought from the informants the national environmental factors that they considered to be behind elder abuse. Informants construct national environmental factors as those factors that are associated with the way Zambia as a nation is organized by the Government of Zambia. Analyses of data indicate that in both communities, elder abuse is also attributable by the informants to the macro Zambian environment. The main macro factors which emerge from the data are inadequate implementation of public policies and programmes on ageing, multi-partism, inadequate institutional homes for the older people, and national monetary poverty. Since, I have already talked about multipartism, I will focus on the other factors.

Inadequate implementation of public policies and programmes on ageing

Inadequate implementation of public policies and programmes meant to improve the social welfare of elder people is also seen by the informants to be another macro factor that explains elder abuse. Informants argue that even if the Zambian government has come up with, for example, Zambia National Ageing policy, National Social Protection Policy, Public Welfare Assistance Scheme, Health Exemption Policy for Older people aged 65 and above among others, the policies are not adequately and effectively implemented. This has brought about a situation where the majority of the elder people have inadequate protection from the state. This creates fertile grounds for abuse. For example, because of the weaknesses in monitoring the implementation of public policies on ageing, even government officials and community leaders take advantage of the situation. Some informants argue that because of public system lapses, some government officials and local community leaders divert public resources meant for the well-being of the elder people to their own personal programmes. Others embark on political abuse of elder people by deceiving the elder people to vote for political candidates who are not in the interest of the elder people under the pretext that they would implement elder people's policies and programmes once they form government. Informants in both focus group discussions and one-on-one in-depth interview speak the same voice on the above factor:

“...the policies themselves. We don't have good policies that are there to protect our old. Yes. Because if you try to compare the African setup to the whites you would find that in the African setup even if we have come up with the issues of villages for the aged [institutional homes for the older people], the policies themselves they are not all that good. What am I saying? What I am saying is, these old people even if they are taken to the home for the aged they are not taken care of nicely. So as a result

of the hardships that these old men and women undergo whilst in the village for the aged they leave and come back again to the communities. And when they come back to the communities they are not accepted. Then in the end whatever happens, it brings such kind of problems [elder abuses]. So the policies themselves I think they are not there to govern the old people.” (FGD.2 – 04.09.2014).

“...what I would you consider to be the second most important cause of elder abuse in this community that cut across all the above types of elder abuse is the lack of policies. They are not being implemented. Where we have policies they are not being implemented. You know going back to education I believe primary education is supposed to be compulsory. But who sees to it that it’s being carried out? Nobody. There are many many children thousands of children who are not going to school and that is supposed to be an offence. But it’s not. No one to implement it. It is just on paper. So lack of policies and some of the policies which are there now are okay but then they are not implemented. Poor implementation of existing policies... So can we say that the problem is the government. Yes. It is the government (One-on-one in-depth interview – 14.10.2014).

The above data can be interpreted using the concepts of senior citizen-state relationships, and state power. That is, the data imply that elder abuse is attributable to inadequate senior citizen-state relationships. This is because from the above data, it is clear that as far as the informants are concerned, even if some relationships exist between the senior citizens and the state, the relationships are not adequate and effective. From the data, it seems that informants hold the view that it is the state that is making the relationships not to work well to the advantage of the senior citizens. The basis for this interpretation is that the above informants have bemoaned inadequate implementation of older people’s policies and programme by the government. This type of relationship makes the elder people to become vulnerable to abuse because they lack adequate state support. Theory and empirical research indicate that in any situations which involve vulnerability and inadequate state support (Gough 1999; Mahajan 2003; Black 2014), abuse can easily take place. This is because it makes the vulnerable people to become powerless. As a result any person can take advantage of the situation of the powerless people. This arises because the oppressors know that even if they oppress the powerless in society, the oppressed would do nothing or very little about their situation. This comes about due to imbalance in power between the oppressors [abusers] and the oppressed [abused]. Usually the oppressor has more power than the oppressed. Thus, the oppressor takes advantage of the oppressed. (Weber 1957; Saxe 1993; Thomas 1995; Giddens 2010; Nikupeteri & Laitinen 2015; Mikkonen 2016).

By further connecting the data to the two conceptual frameworks that guided me in thinking about the data, it agrees with both frameworks (that is, ecological and Marxist theories of violence). These theories argue that the macro level negatively or positively affects the micro level (Lawton & Nahemow 1973; Thomas 1995; World Report on

Violence and Health 2002; Giddens 2010; Phelan 2013; Teaster 2013). Analyses of the above episodes suggest that from the view held by the informants the problem of abuse suffered by individual elder persons at family and community levels is due to the nature of the Zambian government. That is, the government is not adequately implementing the policies intended to protect elder people from abuse. The data also mirror the tenets of Marxist theory of violence. This theory views macro social structures as the source of social problems in capitalist society, and not solely the individual who suffers those problems. Thus, problems at individual level are a manifestation of the weaknesses of the macro structures (Thomas 1995; Giddens 2010). This also shows the interdependence of the macro, meso and micro levels when describing and understanding elder abuse in the two communities.

Lack of institutional homes for the older people

In the rural community, informants attribute elder abuse to lack of institutional homes for the older people. Informants disclose that the whole rural community does not have any institutional homes for the older people. This makes it difficult for community leaders to adequately intervene in the plight of the elder people who are at risk of abuse or those already being abused. For instance, informants report that they are unable to remove such elder people from the perpetrators of abuse because they have no institutional homes where they can be kept. They also attribute this limitation to lack of national laws and policies on how community leaders like public social welfare officers can protect older people in an event of abuse. For example, during the first focus group discussion, community leaders explained elder abuse in this way:

Researcher: Do you have any institutional homes for the older people in this district?

Informant.1: Here in this district, we do not have any home for the older people. No. Because that is also a challenge. This old person is being you know being abused by relative, but then there is no authority that can intervene. The social welfare officer can remove a child from the family, will just go – pull, remove and place, you are protected by law. But in terms of an old person, you are not protected. So even if he removes, where are you taking this person? (laughs everyone).

Informant.2: no where

Informant.1: But now if you remove, you take him to your home? (laughs everyone), and that person is a wizard (laughs everyone). My wife will be saying - I am going to discipline this man. How can you bring him in my house? He will just bewitch you (laughs everyone)

Informant.2: he will bewitch you

Informant.1: where do you take this person? (laughs everyone), you see.

Informant.1: Six years ago, in 2006, this old person was neglected. So we used to take as church some food rations at his home. They accused him of having bewitched a grand child

Researcher: the same man?

Informant.1: the same man

Researcher: so he was accused of...

Informant.1: by those who believe in it, beat him up, and he was rescued. Someone phoned a police officer who was a tribesman – you are even sited, your relative is being killed here. Come and see (laughs everyone). So he [the police officer] came picked up the motor bike he was using, went there, and rescued the man. He put him in this old tent

Researcher: in this tent?

Informant.1: in this old tent here (FGD.1 – 03.09.2014).

Eunice, who looked after the abused elder people, also brings out the same factor:

“...There are no institutions which are put in favor for the senior citizens. Which institutions have you ever heard teaches about gerontology or how to take care of the aged? Not even in church is that preached. ...Even the component of ageing in Ministry of Health, there is no department, department of ageing or department of what. It is sad... How many nutritional, maternal health programmes, male circumcision programmes for children are we doing now? How many are there? How many are there? They are a lot. How many programmes have you have heard for the elderly? Nothing is designed for the senior citizens...” (One-on-one indepth interview – 15.10.2014).

The Government of Zambia accepts the above complaint. However, it gives two reasons for having few institutional homes for the older people:

- 1) Government wants to promote and sustain the extended family system through taking care of the aged. This is because extended family is the best organ to take care of the aged
- 2) Government does not have resources/capacity to manage and sustain the homes if they are many (Draft Zambia National Ageing Policy 2013).

The above data is interpretable using the concepts of state-citizen relationships and power. That is, the data indicate that it is inadequate relationships between the state and elder people that is contributing to elder abuse. In public policy discourses, every government has the responsibility to take care of the vulnerable people in society (Gough 1999; Mahajan 2003; Hall & Midgley 2004; Mkandawire 2005). With regard to the older people many governments across the world have established institutional homes for the older people where elder people who are at risk of abuse or those who are abused can be kept (World Report on Violence and Health 2002; Bavel et al. 2010; Manthorpe et al. 2011). However, from the view held by the above informants, it is clear that this public measure is not there in the rural community of Zambia. Because of this, institutional powers of public institutions responsible

for public social welfare of the older people have been made by the Government of Zambia to be ineffective, and ultimately contributing to elder abuses. From the policy justifications given by the Zambian government for having few institutional homes for the aged, it is evident that the government values for example the use of the extended family in the care of the aged. This government position is not in agreement with the position provided by the informants in relation with what is obtaining in their local communities. All the 31 informants have reported that in their communities, the extended family and village structures have weakened and in some instances even died. Due to high levels of unemployment, the majority of the families in both rural and urban Zambia are also living in absolute poverty (Zambia National Census Report 2010; Zambia MDGs Progress Report 2013; Rural Community Description Report 2014; Urban Community Description Report 2014; Zambia Central Statistics Office 2016). However, these are the same structures described by the Zambian government to be well positioned to take care of the aged. In my own thinking, this is a paradox. This is because despite the government being fully aware of the social and economic changes that have taken place in Zambia, the values and policies being advocated for by those in power mismatch with what is obtaining in local communities. Thus, the social policy directions propagated by the Zambian government on how to take care of the aged are difficult to understand.

National monetary poverty

Elder abuse in the two communities is also attributed by the informants to monetary poverty at national level. Although I have talked about monetary poverty as the explanatory factor for elder abuse under individual abused elder people's factors, perpetrators' factors and local community environmental factors, it is important for me to discuss it at national level. This is because from the informants' views some of the factors at individual elder people, perpetrators, and local community levels that lead to elder abuse are connected to national monetary poverty. That is, informants hold the view that poor economic performance of the Zambian economy has negatively affected the whole fabric of the Zambian society. For example, inadequate income at individual, family, community and formal institutional levels are as a result of inadequate income at national level. This is because the Government of Zambia has not created the enabling environments that allow many Zambians to be in adequate wage employment. As a result, levels of unemployment among Zambians are high. This has translated in poor living standards among many Zambians. For instance, at the time of this study, of the total 14 million Zambian people, 58 % were living in extreme poverty with rural poverty rates standing at about 78 % and urban rates at about 53 %. (Zambia Central Statistics Office 2014). Informants argue that for any elder care to be adequate, financial resources should be there. Thus, inadequate income has crippled the power of many institutions both formal and informal from adequate service provision to the needy elder people. On this factor, same voice tone is heard from both communities:

“It is the economy. There is breakdown in the economy.” (One-on-one-indepth interview, rural community – 03.09.2014).

Informant: I think that the pressure that the few people who may be in the position to help they are put under

Researcher: and what type of pressure mum?

Informant: It is economic survival. The burden of care because they have to take care of their own nuclear families. So the economy of the country which impacts on the people is the cause (Follow-up one-on-one in-depth interview, urban community – 07.11.2014).

The above data can be interpreted using the concepts of economic power and economic relationships. That is, the data indicate that the informants are of the view that weak national economic power negatively affects the economic power and economic relationships among the elder people, elder people’s formal and informal caregivers as well as other community members. Given the importance of national economic power in shaping human economic relationships (Todaro 1982; WHO 2002; World Bank 2005), it implies that weak national economic power brings about weak economic powers at individual, household, family and community levels as well as at formal and informal institutional levels. From the informants’ views, this state of affairs has brought about hostile human economic relationships such as economic dependence, economic stress and economic frustration among the elder people, caregivers and community members.

The above data is also in agreement with ecological and Marxist theories of violence. These theories theorize the interconnectedness of the macro level, meso level and micro level when explaining elder abuse. That is, it is theorized that what happens at macro level affects the other levels. This can be either in positive or negative ways. (Lawton & Nahemow, 1973; World Report on Violence and Health, 2002; Phelan, 2013 and Teaster 2013). In the case of the above data, it is evident that informants are of the view that because of the poor performance of the Zambian economy, it has bred poor economic relationships at meso and micro levels. Because of the frustrations associated with living in economic hardships (Ose-Hwedie & Mwansa & Mufune 1990; Mandela 2002; Kamwengo 2004), some members of the Zambian society express themselves through elder abuse.

The above all are the major issues that emerged in response to the first research question that this study sought to answer. Having answered the first research question, I now move to the second research question. This is covered in the next chapter.

5 Views of the community leaders on further actions against elder abuse

In this second chapter of the empirical findings of the study, I respond to the second research question. The question was: What are the views of community leaders involved in addressing elder abuse on what the Government of Zambia and other stakeholders should do to address the problem of elder abuse in their communities and Zambia in general?

For the sake of bringing about a better description and understanding of the issues brought out by the informants, this chapter is divided into two broad sub-chapters. The first sub-chapter focuses on the measures that are being used to address elder abuse. The second sub-chapter focuses on the suggestions/recommendations made by the informants on what the Government of Zambia and other stakeholders should do to address elder abuse in the two communities and the whole Zambia. The first sub-chapter is included because it will act as a back up to the suggestions made by the informants. My thinking is that, this will bring about better descriptions and understandings of the suggestions made by the informants. This is because the informants' suggestions will move beyond mere theoretical ideas to more practicalities.

5.1 Measures used to address elder abuse

In response to the global recommendation that because elder abuse is context specific, future studies should focus on establishing specific measures used to address specific types of elder abuse in those contexts (Ploeg & Hutchinson 1999; World Report on Violence and Health 2002; Bavel et al. 2010; UNECE 2013), I asked all the informants this open question: how do elder people in this community protect themselves when they are faced with abuse? The findings of the study indicated that six main measures are used. These are: churches, village courts, police, conventional courts, CCPUs and Government Department of Social Welfare. When I analyse the data, it is clear that all the measures can be summarized in two categories namely informal measures and formal measures. Village courts and churches fall under informal measures. The police, courts of law and Department of Social Welfare fall in the category of formal measures. Further analyses of the measures also bring out the thinking that the measures can also be categorized according to the WHO (2002) approaches for categorizing its interventions for addressing elder abuse. These are: universal interventions, selected interventions and indicated interventions. From the views provided by the informants, it is evident that the church falls under universal interventions. This is because in an attempt to address elder abuse, the church targets

every community member without regard to individual risk. For instance, informants disclose that the church through its evangelistic crusades teaches the whole community about the importance of respect for elder people, peaceful conflict resolution and negative consequences associated with elder abuse. Department of Social Welfare falls under selected interventions. This is because from what the informants have reported, it is clear that the department only targets elder people who are risk of abuse or those who are already abused. Courts of law, village courts and CCPUs can be categorized as indicated interventions. This categorization is based on the ground that from the evidence provided by the informants, these three measures only deal with people who have already demonstrated violent behavior such as abuse of elder people. The police are cutting across all the above interventions. This is because it is reported by some informants that the police sensitize the whole community about elder abuse. In some instances the police target people considered to be at heightened risk for violence such as the older people and the youths. In other instances, it only target perpetrators of elder abuse. Because in the existing literature, terms like universal, selected and indicated interventions are widely used (Ploeg & Hutchinson 1999; WHO 2002; Bavel et al. 2010; UNECE 2013), in this thesis I have chosen to use terms informal and formal measures. This is meant to bring new perspectives in the scientific knowledge on how to think about ways of addressing elder abuse. This is particularly applicable to the use of the informal measures. In the existing scientific knowledge, the use of informal measures in addressing elder abuse is less visible. Thus, as a way of making this category of measures become visible in scientific knowledge, I have opted to use informal measures as one way of categorizing my data. Figure 7 summarizes the measures used:

<i>Theme</i>	<i>Specific measures used by locality</i>	
	<i>Rural Community</i>	<i>Urban Community</i>
<i>Informal measures</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Village courts - Churches 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Churches
<i>Formal measures</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Law enforcement agencies (police, courts of law; CCPUs) - Government Department of Social Welfare 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Law enforcement agencies (police, courts of law; CCPUs) - Government Department of Social Welfare

Figure 7 Measures used to address elder abuse

Figure 7 indicates that handful measures are used in the two communities in an event of elder abuse. This shows that there are few institutions that are involved in addressing the problem of elder abuse. Important to note is that this study has established three very interesting findings on the measures used to address elder abuse. These are: first, the data indicate that both of the above sets of measures are used in instances of spiritual, verbal, physical, material and neglect abuses. Second, no informant in both

communities talked about how sexual abuse was addressed. In part, this is because from the 4 informants that brought out the phenomenon of sexual abuse, sexual abuse was seen to be the least recorded type of abuse in their communities. As reported in the section for forms of abuse recorded in the two communities, another possible explanation for not giving the researcher detailed information on sexual abuse by the informants could be the taboo subject associated with discussing sexual issues in public in Africa (Kamwengo 2004). The silence on sexual abuse could also have been compounded by the fact that the researcher was young in age compared with the informants who were far much older. This age difference could have made some informants to feel out of place to discuss sexual issues with the person who was fit to be their own child and/or grand child. Third and very unfortunate, for political abuse, informants report that abused elder people do nothing about it. This is because from the informants' view, most of the elder people were not even aware that they were being abused. In those instances where they were aware, informants indicate that they do not report the matters to any institutions because there are no immediate direct physical pains associated with political abuse on the abused elder persons. This shows the sophisticated nature of political abuse of elder people in the two communities of Zambia. Below I shade more light on each of the measures:

Informal measures

Informal measures are defined by the informants as those measures which the local people themselves have devised to address their local problems. Thus, these measures have no legal back-ups. This is because they are just improvised by the local people themselves in response to their problems. With regard to the rural community, two informal measures emerge from the data. These are village courts and churches. In the urban community, the church has emerged.

Going to churches

The church was brought out by the informants in both study sites as the common measure used by elder people when faced with abuse. It was also described by the informants to be one of the most effective measures used in addressing elder abuse. A good number of reasons emerge from the data as to why the church is the most effective. They include the following: first, it is within their residences and also because they know the nature and operations of those churches, abused elder people find it easier to walk to churches in an event of abuse. Second, informants disclose that the church show good care and love to the abused elder people by providing for their needs even if the elder person's family members and other community members abused them. Third, it responds to the needs of the abused elder people in holistic manner. For example, it provides physical protection, food, shelter, clothing and spiritual support. Fourth, it monitors on every day basis on how the conflicting parties relate with each other. This is because the church is always present in the local communities where the abused elder person and the abusers live. Fifth, it quickly responds to cases of elder abuse. This is because the church is less bureaucratic when

intervening in elder abuse situations. Sixth, the church reconciles the parties involved in elder abuse confrontations in more peaceful ways. It does not stigmatize any parties involved in elder abuse. Although informants did not quantify the incidences of elder abuse which had reduced due to the confessions made by the abused elder people and perpetrators of abuse, informants hold the view that once the parties involved in elder abuse confess, repent and turn away from their wicked ways, the church helps those people to get integrated in the community as well as acceptance from the whole community. These special attributes of the church have dominated the data. For example, during one FGD, informants cited complicated examples of cases of elder abuse which the church had amicably resolved in this way:

Researcher: From the information I have collected from other respondents, they are saying that in this district the form of abuse which is common is spiritual abuse. So which measures are more effective in addressing this spiritual abuse?

*Informant.1: for us as a spiritual or Christian institution, we have seen these witches repent after being prayed for and just a couple of months ago there was a young man less than 40 who was practicing witchcraft. We burnt his **katundu** (witchcraft) just behind the chapel. He is now a believer. We prayed for him and he is doing fine. The pastor will shade more light on that since he deals with those issues more closely.*

Researcher: Pastor what can you say?

Informant.2 (Pastor): with Christianity, the difference is that they will repent and leave the practice. We want to remove the label of a witch and put a label of a repented person who is like everybody else to be accepted back into the community and in that way we are promoting unity and we will also bring development.

Informant.1: For me, from my practical example it is very effective because the reason is simple. I have practical examples. There was one person who was suspected to be a witch from my own church, he was beaten. As a church we took trouble to visit this old man and gave him comfort. This man felt accepted okay. We prayed for him, we stood in the church where he confessed I was beaten for nothing, I am not a witch, if you want to accept me accept me but if you don't want then don't accept me but what I know is that I am not a witch and I was beaten for nothing. So as a church now you have to play an active role to protect that person. Do not support anything negative. With time people come to understand. Of course they still be abused verbally, it takes time to accept them that is true. Another practical example from my church again, this man was practicing witchcraft. He confessed, approached the elders who did the praying and burnt whatever he was using. His own family could not accept him when he lost his own son. They said he had killed his own son...So that challenge comes now and the church has a role. The church members should not play the negative way, they should always be positive. They should also encourage the culprit or the victim to live positively and continue preaching the good news and just bring peace, be a peace maker. I have seen it work. For sure the first few months are not easy, you need dedication, commitment and support from the Christian community to say no to anything negative

Researcher: Sure, sure. The pastor, what can you say again?

Informant.2: Exactly. Just like the Executive Director has said, the first few months are difficult, but with our support as a church and their own faith, they get accepted in the community (FGD.5 – 09.09.2014).

In separate individual interviews, praises of the church are also echoed:

“They go to churches. This is because of the teachings of love, reconciliation and forgiveness.” (One-on-one indepth interview, urban community – 27.08.2014).

“The church is more effective ... because the church is within the community. The church is nearby that particular person. With the church, we believe as Christians they must have love. Love one another and the like. So you find that may be if one comes to church with this problem [elder abuse], that particular person will be supported may be spiritually, mentally or psychologically. May be within the church they are some people who come out saying – no may be with this problem one is facing, I am contributing this through one’s faith. Sure. (One-on-one indepth interview, rural community – 17.09.2014).

The above data can be interpreted using the concepts of church power, proximity relationships and ageism. That is, the data imply that informants hold the view that the church is effective in addressing different types of elder abuse because of its ability to holistically address elder abuse. The holistic nature of the church is clear in the above data. For example, the church is described by the informants to have demonstrated power to offer spiritual, psychological and physical needs of the abused elder persons simultaneously. Using church power, it is also evident that troublesome relationships between the abused elder people and the perpetrators do get corrected. Ageism is also addressed. For example, in the Bible, Christian’s Holy Book which is commonly used by the majority of the Zambians given that Zambia is a Christian nation (Zambia Central Statistics Office 2016), old age is associated with blessings from God. From Biblical point of view, old age is an indication that the particular person has lived a holy life. As a result, God has rewarded that person with old life. Let me back up this interpretation of data by citing few Bible verses. Proverbs 16 verses 31 reads as follows: “Gray hair is a crown of splendor; it is attained in the way of righteousness.” Job 12 verses 12 reads: “Is not wisdom found among the aged? Does not long life bring understanding?” Leviticus 19 verses 32, records: “You shall stand up before the gray head and honor the face of an old man, and you shall fear your God: I am the **Lord**.” (The Holy Bible – King James Version 2009). These preachings have power to neutralize negative stereo-typed beliefs and attitudes towards the aged. This is because by enabling community members to know that old age comes from God, community members may stop constructing elder people as witches. By re-constructing the image of the elder people in a positive way, good relationships between elder people and

members of their society can be improved and in turn make them to relate well with each other.

The data also suggest that churches are used because of proximity relationships which it has with the local people. Globally, churches are usually situated in local communities. One reason for doing this is for the church to establish good rapport with the church members and the general community. This makes it easier for the church members and general community to trust the church. In turn, the warm rapport established makes it easier for the community members to go to the church when faced with problems which they cannot resolve using their own abilities. And for sure, in some instances, the church also addresses both private and social problems using the church resources. It is this church power that makes congregants to construct the church to be a home where they can find hope, rest, peace and solace. It is also on the basis of the benefits of belonging to the church that make the clergy and church members to encourage non-congregants to join the church. (Weber 1964; Thomas 1995; Chaney 2008; Giddens 2010).

Going to village courts

Village courts emerge from the rural community as another measure commonly used by many elder people when faced with abuse. From the informants' views, village courts which they also called as traditional courts are local community structures formed by the community members themselves with the aim to provide justice over local matters that affect them. The compositions of these courts include traditional leaders such the Senior Chief, Sub-chief(s) and the [Sub] chief's appointees. From the material gathered, it seems that village courts are usually used because of the proximity. That is, village courts are located within the residences. Thus, abused elder people find it easier to walk to these courts to report their case. In some instances, the courts itself summon the conflicting parties to appear before traditional leaders whenever there are elder abuse cases. This is because traditional leaders are mandated by the local people to do so whenever the community records some behaviors or occurrences which are against the community beliefs, norms and values. These constructions are audible in both focus group discussions and one-on-one indepth interview. For example, in one of the interviews with community leaders who participated in addressing elder abuse using village courts, they reported this:

Researcher: So when these people are accused for example of witchcraft practices, how do they protect themselves?

Informant.1: Okay, normally in the villages there are village courts where they will demand on the accused wizard to surrender the charms.

Researcher: and do these suspects do that?

Informant.1: yes they surrender. Yes. I have even seen them. Was it last year or the other year, 2012? (laughs)

Informant.2: Yes... (laughs)

Informant.1: The accused surrendered to the village courts the charms. There was cleansing. There was someone who came to clean the village. So they surrendered various pieces of articles. ...Yes. And then with their articles, the wizards were now driven to the palace [Senior Chief's palace].

Researcher: The chief's palace?

Informant.1: Yes, So that they go and present these articles and explain usage. Yes. So each one would come and explain how he uses it – this is a gun. I do this, this, this and then the person will die. ... And then from there, they will call that ng'anga [witchdoctor], the one who diffuses the charm. I don't know whether there is this praying over them or will do something to make them [the charm] ineffective. Yes. And then he is the one who is going to burn it in a special ritual. Yes. They wanted to burn when the officers were there. But they said – no, no, no, that is too extreme, we will do those things later....we are just here to sensitize these people. Then from there, the chief will resettle those people. There is an area where he takes them, area for the wizards. He gives them some plots [small pieces of land] to say – you stay there, you stay here, you stay there and cultivate there. (FGD – 03.09.2014).

Although village courts are used, most of the informants hold the view that they are not effective in addressing elder abuse. The factors that explain its inability are internal. That is, the factors are situated within the institutional organizations and operations of the village courts. Three internal factors emerge from the data. These are:

First, informants hold the view that some village court judges are not partial when presiding on cases of elder abuse. This is common in cases of spiritual abuse. Informants disclose that sometimes village court judges are among the local community members who believe that some elder people practice witchcraft. As a result they support and/or justify abuse of some elder people. Because of that, when passing judgement, they can deliberately judge against the abused elder person.

Second, informants also disclose that village courts are sometimes stigmatizing. That is, at times the courts stigmatize the abused elder person. This is also common in instances of spiritual abuse. For example, the data indicate that when presiding on cases of spiritual abuse, sometimes the court judges force the abused elder person(s) to publicly acknowledge that he/she truly practices witchcraft. In other extreme instances, when the particular elder person is convicted to be a witch, they can be secluded from the larger community by the court judges and make them to settle in a place set aside specifically for the witches. If these two approaches are taken, the whole community is made to know that the particular elder person is a witch. From the informants' views, this is very stigmatizing and shameful to that person and his/her family. This is because such a person will be publicly constructed to be an evil person. The whole family for that particular person also negatively gets affected. For example, other community members may construct the whole family to be a family of wizards/sorcerers. In turn this may make the whole family to be feared in that community. This is because in Zambia like in any other parts of the world, witchcraft is feared. This is attributable to the belief held by some people that witchcraft has power to cause harm to individuals

and the whole society (Farror & Farror 1984; Levack 1995; Hutton 1999; Buckland 2002).

Third, confrontational approach to conflict resolution used by the court. Some informants report that, in some instances, village courts take a confrontation approach to conflict resolution. By confrontation approach, it means that the courts at times directly get involved in physical confrontations with either the abused elder person or the perpetrators of abuse. This is done for example by tying the perpetrators to village trees meant specifically for punishing violators of community norms and values. In some instances, they chase the convicted person from the local community. This approach is seen by the informants to be detrimental to the welfare of local communities. This is because it weakens local communities. For example, community members who are chased may be those with the potential to contribute to the socio-economic development of that community. One negative implication which arises is that even their socio-economic activities in that community will stop taking place. The additional negative trickle-down effect that emerges is that, the whole community suffers. For example, social help such as contributions in an event of community problems like funerals and other community events that need social support from community members may either reduce or be stopped by the victimized people. Let me strengthen the above analyses by citing few extracts from the interview data which support my arguments:

“Village courts are stigmatizing. Yes. People will know that he is [a witch] ... very stigmatizing actually. It’s there, but for you to go to that village court, you must know better. You must have been found with the charm, you confess and explain how you use it. And them being subjects [village court judges], they also fear that, one day you fall victim to this wizard...so they are not very objective in their judgement..” (FGD.1 – 03.09.2014).

“At village setup they [village courts] are not effective. Somehow I may say they are not effective because you would find sometimes when it is done now and again [accusations of practicing witchcraft and/or perpetrating abuse], those people are asked to move out of the community, to relocate to other villages, they are chased. Especially if they [village court judges] come up with such a measure but at its prime what they normally do is this person has to pay a chicken or maybe a goat and it ends there.” (FGD.2 – 04.09.2014).

The above data can be interpreted using the concepts of institutional power and proximity relationships. That is, the data indicate that some of the abused elder people go to village courts due to the power that village courts have in resolving community problems. This is because from the above data, it is evident that village courts has power to compel erring community members to stop any human behaviors and practices that impact negatively on the well-being of individual community members and the whole community. Notwithstanding this, from the views provided by the

informants, there is evidence that it is village courts' inability to address elder abuse to the satisfaction of the local people which makes it to be constructed by the informants to be an ineffective institution. Thus, when the data is linked to existing literature, it is also in agreement with Rothstein and Stolle's theory of institutional trust which argues that what makes people to have trust in an institution is the institution's ability to adequately and effectively respond to the needs of the people (Rothstein & Stolle 1998). Thus, from the data, it is clear that lack of trust in village courts by the informants is due to the operations of the village courts. For example, from the data, some informants have provided the view that village courts are sometimes not objective, and sometimes they are confrontational when presiding on some cases of abuse. In other instances, it creates social platforms for stigmatizing the victims.

By linking the data further to the conceptual frameworks used in this study, the data are in agreement with ecological and Marxist theories of violence. In these theories, it is argued that what happens at macro level directly affect the meso and micro levels. This is due to imbalances in power where the macro level is always more powerful than the other two levels. As a result, the macro level easily influences what exist at the other levels. (Lawton & Nahemow 1973; Crouter 1978; Thomas 1995; WHO 2002; Giddens 2010; Greenfield 2012; Teaster 2013). These theorizations are evident in the data in that at local community level, village courts which can be constructed to be macro level structures influences the behavior of the abused elder people and the perpetrators of elder abuse. This is done, for example, by forcing particular elder persons and perpetrators of elder abuse to appear before the court when they are constructed to have failed to live according to community norms and values or if elder people and perpetrators feel that their human rights are violated. This analysis of the data re-affirms the power that village courts have in the two communities of Zambia.

Formal measures

From figure 7, it is evident that handful formal measures are also used in incidences of elder abuse. Informants construct formal measures as those measures established by the Zambian government specifically to help address elder abuse and other [social] problems in Zambian communities. The measures are formed using certain legal provisions such as acts of parliament. As such there are formal laws, rules and regulations put in place by the Zambian government to guide operations of those measures. Thus formal measures are managed either by government institutions or institutions approved by the government. Two broad measures emerge from the data. These are: the use of law enforcement agencies and Government Department of Social Welfare in the Ministry of Community Development and Social Services. Below are the details on each of these measures:

Going to law enforcement agencies

The materials gathered indicate that the common law enforcement agencies used include the Zambia police, courts of law and the Community Crime Prevention Units (CCPUs). From the informants' views, these institutions are used because

they are mandated by the Zambian government specifically to be responsible of attending to people who feel that their rights are violated. Unlike the Zambia police and formal courts of law which are purely government institutions, informants report that CCPUs are voluntary community legal institutions formed and approved by the Government of Zambia. Because of the national problem of having few police and formal conventional court services in many communities specifically in rural Zambia, the government decided in early 1990s to involve the local people themselves to participate in improving security in their local communities. This has been done by requesting for community members to volunteer in beefing-up community security. The volunteers are given short training in police services. However, the institutions are not run by the government. Rather they are managed by community members themselves. The volunteers also are not salaried government workers. They are simply the eyes of the conventional police and courts of law at local community level. Thus, whenever there is violation of human rights either at family or community level, the CCPUs are the first insitutions authorized by the government to institute arrests of the violators of law and then handle the offenders to either the police or courts law for formal arrests and determination of the case at hand. Of the above three formal measures, use of the police and courts of law are constructed by the informants to be effective in addressing elder abuse. CCPUs are seen to be ineffective.

The data indicate that because of the nature of the police and courts of law of being forceful and the public authority given to it by the Zambian government to arrest any violators of the law, many people fear the police and conventional courts to avoid being arrested. That made the potential perpetrators to desist from elder abuse. Although informants could not provide statistical information to show the actual number of cases that had reduced due to police arrests, some informants actually attribute the reduction in incidences of elder abuse in their communities to the efforts put in by police to arrest and prosecute the perpetrators of elder abuse. That is, informants argue that, in the recent past incidences of elder abuse were common. However, the police took a swipe on many perpetrators by arresting them. That sent the warning signals to the whole Zambian society that elder abuse was a serious crime, and ultimately made community members to desist from such vices. These strengths of the police can be seen in the following representative narrations:

“...Three older people in this district died from coffin beatings... they were beaten by the coffin. That was done in 2008. If you go to the police, the report should be there, in 2008. And the reason they died was because they were no police presence. In those instances when the police are around, they silence the unruly people and those people [older people] are not beaten...Like the incidence we had across the stream there, that old man would have died if the police were not around. The police protected him...they prevented the unruly behaviour... So what are we saying? The use of the police is effective. We have said effective and the reason being that the police are impartial and may be even just people fear that if we beat this person, the police

will end up arresting us, and then you end up in in trouble, in prison. That one is effective, the police is very very effective. (FGD.1 – 03.09.2014).

“When the matter comes here [conventional court of law], we ask them to compensate them. It is a court. If something that has been brought in court has been proved beyond reasonable doubt say maybe calling this person a witch or not being found doing it. On our part that is very effective because it happens as a deterrence from doing it again.” (FGD.2 – 04.09.2014).

“In the recent past it [elder abuse] was common, it was high... but of late the numbers have reduced because the police took an active role to educate the community and arrest whoever was found wanting...” (FGD.5 – 09.09.2014).

The above data can be interpreted using the concept of institutional power. This is because from the episodes, there is evidence that some elder people go to law enforcement agencies when faced with abuse because of the trust in institutional power that the police and conventional courts of law have. For example, the police and courts of law are entrusted with coercive power by the Zambian government to arrest, prosecute and punish the violators of human rights (Law Association of Zambia 2015). Because of this power, the weak people in society find strength in depending on law enforcement agencies whenever they feel their lives are threatened because of the actions of another person. That is, they have the confidence that if they approach legal institutions, they will get the protection they need and their rights will be restored either by use of force or by using peaceful means. (Telep 2010; Weisburd & Telep & Braga 2010; Nikupeteri & Laitinen 2015). This interpretation of data is in agreement with theories of power and specifically those that focus on problem solving. Among them include theories provided by Helen Harris Perlman (1957) and Francis Turner (1979). One of the central ideas provided by these scholars is that whenever people are faced with problems they first try to address the problem using their own efforts. If they fail to address their problems, that is when they seek interventions from other people or institutions in society. Usually the people who are approached are those perceived to have more abilities when it comes to resolving those particular problems. Thus, the nature of power possessed determines the person or institution to be approached and how the particular problem can be resolved. Again, these ways of thinking about the data strengthen earlier interpretations that elder abuse in the two communities is a power issue. This is because the dynamics surrounding resolution of elder abuse involves empowering and disempowering. For example, from the data it is evident that abused elder people get empowered when law enforcement agencies are brought in their situation and decisions by the law enforcements are made in favour of the abused elder person. On the other hand, the perpetrators of abuse get disempowered of their illegal coercive power which they use when abusing an elder person once they are punished by law enforcement agencies.

The reasons for the ineffectiveness of CCPUs in addressing elder abuse are more or less the same like those given for the ineffectiveness of village courts. However, some informants hold the view that additional reasons that make CCPUs ineffective include the following: to begin with, lack of operational logistics like transport and communication equipment. Informants report that even if CCPUs are established by the act of parliament and are found in residential areas where elder people live, the government does not fund operational costs of the CCPUs. This is because CCPUs are volunteer institutions and the government expects the local people themselves to fund the operations of the CCPUs. Unfortunately, due to income poverty at household and community levels, the local people are unable to do that. Thus, CCPUs usually do not have transport and communication equipment needed to ease movements when providing security to the community. Because of this limitation, they usually delay in reporting matters of violence to police stations. In addition, due to the above operational challenges, many CCPUs volunteers get demotivated. Thus, they are not fully devoted to their duties. Expressions that show disatisfactions with the operations of the CCPUs are many in the data. Among them include the following:

Researcher: What measures would you say are not effective in addressing cases of elder abuse?

Informant: CCPUs. No. CCPUs are not effective. No. Those are not effective (One-on-one indepth interview – 27.08.2014).

Researcher: On the side of the neighbourhood security watch (CCPUs), what is causing it not to be very much effective in terms of helping the elderly people who are unable to defend themselves from other people?

Informant: the cause is that, the police disregard them [the CCPUs]... they recruit them like those people who will be getting paid. Then at last they tell them that it is voluntary work. ...They don't get paid... Because sometimes, when they go to arrest someone, and that person is armed, if you get hurt, who will benefit? (One-on-one indepth interview – 16.09.2014).

Like in the case of other measures already looked at, the above data can also be interpreted using the concept of institutional power. That is, the data imply that CCPUs are ineffective because of its inability to adequately address elder abuse. From the above expressions, it is clear that informants attribute CCPUs' inabilities to inadequate support that CCPUs receive from the Zambian government. This is because the government has not created local and national environments where the CCPUs can operate effectively and adequately. For example, in the data, there is evidence that CCPUs do not get paid for the services offered to the local people. Similarly, despite CCPUs' job being risky, for example it involves arresting criminals in local communities, there is no guarantee that in an event of injury, the volunteers would get compensated. These limitations in the organizations of CCPUs by the Government of Zambia make them ineffective. For instance, the volunteers are made

not to get committed to their duties. In the informants' views, this is because they are few personal benefits that accrue to individual volunteers.

Going to the Department of Social Welfare

The use of the Zambian Government's Department of Social Welfare in the Ministry of Community Development and Social Services also emerge from the data. Informants report that the measure is usually used when elder people are faced with neglect. Informants indicate that the Department of Social Welfare is the main referral center for all needy [elder] people in Zambia. That is, every person in need of government social welfare assistance is free to approach the department. In trying to make it come closer to the people at grassroots, the department has opened some of its offices in the local communities. Due to its public mandate and geographical proximity, informants report that many abused elder people find it easier to go to the Department of Social Welfare for assistance. Thus, it is common in the data to hear informants talk about the department:

“When it comes to negligence, they do come forward to the Ministry of Community Development and Social Services to say no, they don't give me food, no one is building for me a shelter, can you come in and help me. They come forward with negligence.” (FGD.1 – 03.09.2014).

“The Ministry of Community Development has set up homes for those older persons who are destitute and those who are abused.” (Follow-up one-on-one indepth interview – 07.11.2014).

Notwithstanding the above, the use of the Department of Social Welfare is constructed by the informants to be ineffective in addressing elder abuse. Four (4) reasons for its ineffectiveness emerge from the data. These are: first, the department is usually faced with erratic financial resources to use in an event of elder abuse. Second, there are usually long procedures to follow before intervening in any elder abuse situations. Combinations of these two factors make the department not to intervene quickly in cases of elder abuse. For example, some informants report that if the particular elder person is neglected and needs shelter, it takes long time before the department could resolve the plight for that particular person. In some instances, it can even take more than one year. This is because the department usually does not have money readily available to be used when cases of elder abuse are brought to its attention. Thus, whenever the department receives those cases, officers have to either wait for government funding which usually delays to be released by the government or they have to look for private institutions such as well-wishers to come to the aid of that person. Third, and with focus on the rural community, the department does not have any institutional homes for the elder people. This makes it difficult for the district social welfare officers, for example, to remove abused elder people or those at risk of abuse from the perpetrators of abuse. Some informants argue that even

if social welfare officers remove those people from the perpetrators, they have no institutional homes to keep them from. Fourth, some informants report that there are no laws that empower social welfare officers to remove the abused elder persons from the perpetrators. Thus, in the views of the informants, the department does not have legal powers to remove the abused elder people or those at risk of abuse from the perpetrators like the way it does with the children. As a way of strengthening the above arguments, let me bring out one representative extract from the interview data:

“When they refer them to the department [Department of Social Welfare], the department does not have money to give them. Government allocation towards social welfare is really small. At times in the year you get K3000 [237 Euro (354 USD)], and that K3000 is completely nothing. There are many old persons who want may be shelter, may be one wants clothing, and even just that same money is also for these vulnerable children who are going to school may be at the Boys Secondary School. That is quite very little. Also we don’t have homes for the older people. If this old person is being abused by a relative, there must be like an authority to remove this person from the family and place him in institutional home. These places of blessings [institutional homes] should be readily available in communities. That is also a challenge. This old person is being abused by a relative, but then there is no authority that can intervene...” (FGD.1 – 03.09.2014).

The data indicate that it is inability by the Department of Social Welfare to adequately exercise its institutional power to address elder abuse which makes it to be socially constructed by the informants to be an ineffective institution. This is due to various operational challenges. It is clear from the data that the challenges are beyond the control of the department. This is because in the views of the informants, the weaknesses in the operations of the department are created and reinforced by the external factors for which it has no control over, and that is the central government which is supposed to empower the department with enough public resources needed for the department to operate effectively and adequately. For example, from the data, it is evident that central government does not adequately fund the department. As a result, the financial capacity of its department has been weakened. In turn that has made the department not to be able to effectively and adequately respond to the needs of the abused elder people or those at risk of abuse.

By connecting the data to the conceptual frameworks used in this thesis, it is also clear that the data is in tandem with ecological and Marxist theories of violence. These theories argue that the performance of the macro level system/structure directly affect the meso and micro level structures. This is because of power imbalances with the macro level having more power to shape what happens at the lower levels. (Lawton & Nahemow 1973; Crouter 1978; Thomas 1995; Giddens 2010; Greenfield 2012; Teaster 2013). What is contained in the above conceptual frameworks equally broaden ways of describing and understanding the phenomenon of elder abuse in the two communities. That is, because the Central Government of Zambia (macro level political structure)

does not adequately support operations of the Department of Social Welfare (meso level administrative institution), it makes people at micro level (elder people) not to be adequately protected by the Department of Social Welfare when faced with abuse or when they are risk of abuse. This shows the nestedness of the macro, meso and micro levels when explaining elder abuse in the two communities of Zambia.

In summary, by bringing all the above measures together, it is evident that informants hold the view that though there are just handful measures used in addressing elder abuse, half of the measures are ineffective. This is because of the six (6) measures, only three (3) are classified by the informants to be effective. This interpretation of the data justifies the informants' view that many elder people in the two communities do not have adequate formal and informal support. This exists at all the levels of the Zambian society. This state of affairs makes some elder people to be vulnerable to abuse. This is because perpetrators know that even if they abuse an elder person, nothing much may be done about their situation.

5.2 Suggested ways to intervene in elder abuse

Several suggestions are made by the informants on how to intervene in elder abuse. Interesting enough is that, there are a lot of similarities in the suggestions provided by the informants from both communities. However, after analyses of all the suggestions using the conceptual frameworks and various social science literatures, I have categorized all the suggestions into two themes. These are empowerment approaches and normative re-educative approaches. However, it should be noted that despite these categorizations, the approaches overlap. Figure 8 summarizes the suggestions that emerge from the data.

<i>Theme</i>	<i>Suggested interventions by locality</i>	
	<i>Rural Community</i>	<i>Urban Community</i>
<i>Empowerment approaches</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Economic empowerment of elder people and youths – Improve security – Institutional capacity building – Church affiliation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Economic empowerment of elder people and youths – Institutional capacity building – Church affiliation
<i>Normative re-educative approaches</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Public sensitization on ageing and witchcraft – Mainstreaming/introducing ageing in school curricula – Public holiday for elder people – Strengthen villages and families 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Public sensitization on ageing and witchcraft – Mainstreaming/introducing ageing in school curricula – Public holiday for elder people – Strengthen family ties

Figure 8 Suggested ways to intervene in elder abuse

Below are the details on each of the above approaches:

Empowerment approaches

Empowerment approaches are defined by the informants as those approaches aimed at giving power to elder people, the local communities, and the institutions [informal and formal] that have the responsibility to provide care and support to the elder people. Synthesis of all the data indicate that the general thinking from all the informants is that if mass empowerment takes place at all the above levels of the Zambian society, elder abuse can be reduced to minimal possible levels. This is because from their views, elder abuse in their communities and the whole Zambia is a power issue. Thus, if everyone in the two communities and the whole Zambia is empowered, it would reduce on the power imbalances which are one of the main sources of elder abuse. From the informants' views, that is an essential pre-condition for elder abuse prevention. For example, some informants argue that empowerment approaches have power to improve relationships among members of their communities and the whole Zambian society. If adequately empowered, every member of the Zambian society can become more or less equal either in the ways of thinking, looking at or doing things or in terms of standards of living. And where good relationships exist, cases of abuse are minimal. This is because people at all levels of the Zambian society would be able to love, respect and care for each other. As shown in figure 7, the suggestions made by the informants on how to empower their community members as well as the whole Zambia include economic empowerments of the older people and the youths, improve security, institutional capacity building, mainstreaming/introducing ageing in school curricula and church affiliation. Detailed information on each of these suggestions is provided below:

Economic empowerment

Due to high levels of income poverty among elder people, the youths and throughout Zambia, informants are of the view that elder abuse in their communities and the whole Zambia could be minimized through economic empowerments of everyone in Zambia. Their thinking is that if economically empowered, factors such as economic dependence, economic strains, economic inequality and economic frustrations which fuel elder abuse would be reduced. For example, informants argue that if economic empowerment takes place at all levels of the Zambian society, economic independence for every Zambian would be attained. This may bring about socio-economic happiness among all the people living in Zambia. According to them, if people lead happy lives, it is rare for them to get involved in violence. These ways of thinking on how to reconstruct the two communities and the whole Zambia have saturated the data. Below is one representative voice which supports the above arguments:

“If we talk of universal pensions, at least that will ensure a pension to an older person and with that bit of income even those that want to support them will do it because they know that there is something at least to be able for them to support

the older people. One thing found in our work is if financially empowered and live independently, older people are respected in their communities and by their own children. So policies to support older people to have their own income in old age should be encouraged. In short, universal social pension. This makes them live independently. If not they may kill them. It also reduces on other types of abuses. In Lesotho they have universal pension and has reduced on abuse. Uplifting should be throughout the whole nation. There is need to uplift both the young and the old. We need to reduce poverty; inequality; everyone should be independent; everyone should live happily.” (One-on-one indepth interview – 07.11.2014).

The above data indicate that by empowering elder people, the youths and the majority of the Zambian people, the quality of social relationships between the elder people/youths and their family and community members can be improved. This is important in elder abuse prevention. According to the informants, people with high economic status have more power at all levels of the Zambian society than those with low economic status. As such they are usually respected in society. And the more one is respected in society, the lesser the chances of abuse. (The Holy Bible 2009). This is because from the informants’ observations and experiences, people in their communities and the whole Zambia usually get attracted to people with high economic status. The attraction arises from the thinking that if they get connected to that person, they may get some economic gains from that person. On the other hand, people with low economic status are usually less valued by the local people. This is because those people become a burden to other members of the Zambian society for their survival. For instance, those people may resort to perpetual begging from people with economic power in order for them to survive. This way of living may fuel abuse. For instance, informants report that one way through which other members of the Zambian society usually respond to such kind of older people is by abusing them either directly or indirectly. Direct abuse may involve for example verbal abuse. Indirect abuse may involve neglect.

Church affiliation

Another very interesting suggested intervention which has saturated the data is the need to encourage every community member in Zambia to join church denominations of their own choice. Informants support this view on the ground that from their daily interactions with their local communities and experiences, the church has proved to be a reliable institution in handling elder abuse cases throughout Zambia. Notwithstanding this, the church’s support is usually biased towards its own members. Thus, informants think that everyone in Zambia should be encouraged to actively get connected to some church denomination so that in an event of elder abuse, they may stand a better chance of receiving some support from the church. For example, during the second focus group discussion with community leaders who had seen for themselves how the church supports its members in an event of elder abuse, they applauded church belonging in these remarks:

“One of them is to encourage people to be Christians. There are so many benefits. If you are a Christian even just practicing witchcraft will be discouraged. If you are too old and there is no one to take care of you, the church will take care of you. Those people, who could have been pastors before, could have been fathers before once they get old in most cases we have seen churches taking up the responsibility of looking after them up to the point of their death. Even when they are accused of practicing witchcraft by the community, we have seen such kind of people taking refuge in churches and they have been embraced by the church itself.” (FGD.2 – 04.09.2014).

Similar ways of thinking emerge during one-on-one indepth interviews. For example, one of the informants said this:

“I think that the environment in town, family and community care for the needy elder people is no longer there. If it’s there it is just very few people who are practicing that... only the churches because if that older person has affiliated herself or himself to the church then the church would come in just to compliment what this person is supposed to have.” (Interview – 06.11.2014).

The above data can be interpreted using the concepts of individual power and institutional power. This is because the data suggest ways of enhancing individual power. It is clear that the informants hold the view that the church in their communities possesses institutional power from which individual congregants can draw power from for their protection in an evident of abuse. These ways of thinking are line with theories of power. Scientists from various social science disciplines which include sociology, social work and political science among others argue that, one of the sources of individual power is the institution to which the particular individuals belong. Their argument is that people who belong to more powerful institutions tend to have more power than those who belong to less powerful institutions. This is because they draw power from those institutions. (Weber 1957; Foucoult 1980; Osei-Hwedie & Mwansa & Mufune 1990; Thomas 1995; Mahajan 2003; Giddens 2010; Lauby 2014; Jory & Yodanis 2015). Thus, because the informants think that some churches have power in the Zambian society and many people respect the church, the data imply that by encouraging community members to belong to the church, it is assumed that individual church members can have some power drawn from the church where they belong. That power may be the strength to rely on during hard times such as elder abuse.

Strengthening capacity of institutions promoting elder people’s welfare

Another suggestion that is visible in the data is the need for the Zambian government and other stakeholders to strengthen the capacity of the institutions that promote the welfare of elder people in both communities and across Zambia. This suggestion is a response to the limitations that exist in institutions [both formal and informal]

that are supposed to intervene in the plight of elder people. Thus, being aware that some institutions were not able to effectively and adequately intervene in cases of elder abuse because of circumstances beyond their control, informants advocate for institutional capacity building. In the views of the informants, the institutions which should be strengthened include the church, the police, CCPUs, Department of Social Welfare, elder people's organizations, the family and villages. In the data, cross-cutting recommendations on how to strengthen the capacities of these institutions are improving the financial capacity and other operational abilities of all the above institutions:

“To start with, I would say, to equip the law enforcing agencies with may be enough logistics. That is to do with the transport issues, vehicles, enough may be allocations [funding] of may be fuels. Then the human resource itself which because as I am speaking to you for example, this place we may have may one car which right up now is out ...If we have a report for example to say there is an elderly person that is being abused or assorted right now, it will take the police may be two days to travel to where the elder person is. But at the end of the day, you will find that you have lost a life. So those could be abit of some things that I think could be the best measures. May be the third thing to do, at local level, the people that we work with, like those that who help us - the CCPUs, for example are people we also feel should have also have the necessary may be equipment.” (One-on-one indepth interview – 03.09.2014).

The above data is interpretable using the concepts of institutional power and elder people-institutional relationships. That is, from the data, it imply that informants are of the view that if capacities of institutions that have the responsibility to attend to the needs of the elder people are strengthened, they would be able to effectively and adequately fight elder abuse. In other words, the data entail that if the relationships between the elder people and the institutions that are supposed to fight for the well-being of the elder people are strengthened, elder abuse could be combated. This is because the institutions would be quick to intervene in cases of elder abuse. The proposal also seems to be in line with WHO (2015) and HelpAge International (2015) suggestions on how to address problems associated with ageing and health in Africa. These global institutions recommend that there is need to develop long term care systems for the older people in Africa if elder abuse is to be minimised, recognising that informal, unsupported care by family members and friends alone is unsustainable. Thus, these institutions recommend establishment, building and strengthening of both formal and informal institutions that can adequately respond to needs of elder people. They advise further that the institutions should be organised in accordance with the changes that have taken place in Africa. Among them include strengthening operations of law enforcement agencies, establishment of institutional homes for the aged, and strengthening local measures used in improving welfare of the aged. Thus, the data imply that the views of the informants are in line with the

global thinking on how Africa should be socially reconstructed if elder abuse is to be addressed.

Normative re-educative approaches

Normative re-educative approaches are constructed by the informants as those approaches aimed at changing the norms, values, beliefs and attitudes of the Zambian people about elder people. All the informants are of the view that because elder abuse is largely caused by negative beliefs that many people in their local communities and the whole Zambia have about ageing, elder abuse can also be addressed by using normative re-educative strategies. The policy and programmatic recommendations made by the informants which fall in this category are: public sensitizations on ageing and witchcraft, strengthen of villages and family ties and introduce public holiday for senior citizens.

Sensitize elder people and general public on ageing and witchcraft

Sensitization of the elder people, the local communities and the whole Zambia on ageing and witchcraft has emerged strongly from the data as another viable approach to use to fight elder abuse in the two communities and throughout Zambia. Many informants hold the view that whether witchcraft is real or not real, it is something that some people in Zambian communities believe in. That is why it is one of the major factors that fuel different forms of elder abuse in many Zambian communities. Thus, from the informants' views, different forms of elder abuse in Zambia can be addressed if the belief in witchcraft is killed. For example, informants propose that if there some elder people in Zambia who truly practice witchcraft, they should be sensitized on the dangers associated with such evil practices so that they stop practicing it. They also suggest the need to extend sensitization campaigns on ageing and witchcraft to everyone living in Zambia so that people have appropriate knowledge about ageing and witchcraft as well as the negative consequences of abusing elder people. For instance, they think that everyone living in Zambia should be made to understand that ageing has nothing to do with witchcraft practices. Rather, growing old comes about due to various reasons such as living health living and just due to God's blessings upon someone. Informants further suggest that all the people living in Zambia should also be made to understand that death, sickness and other problems are part of human life. This is why in every part of the world there are people who get sick, die or experience problems. Thus problems in Zambian communities should not be seen to be coming from elder people. Informants think further that in order to change institutional negative attitudes towards elder people, sensitization should also be targeted to institutions that promote the well-being of the vulnerable people in Zambia such as civil society organizations. The above ways of thinking on how to reconstruct the two communities and the whole Zambia are vivid in the following voices among others:

“The advise is if they [elder people] are to be accepted in the community, we as Africans we have a belief whoever is old, with the grey hair, he or she practices witchcraft. So for them [elder people] to be accepted in the community let them at all costs not practice witchcraft. They should not.” (One-on-one indepth interview – 17.09.2014).

“This mentality also that success is attributed to witchcraft should be fought. Attitude should be changed. People should appreciate hardworking. Appreciation reduces abuse. Many ministries and donors should come in. This is a national issue. There is also need to sensitize key formal institutions on elder abuse; say sensitizing the NGOs and the police. They [elder people] need the support of society or of NGOs but NGOs can only react if certain things are brought to their attention. But if they are happening and the NGOs are not aware it is not possible. I think the police themselves they are not sensitized and this is why we were sensitizing the IG [inspector general of police] on the abuse of older persons and she agreed that you know ...the police have provided for children and for women but they have not provided for an older person.” (One-on-one indepth interview – 07.11.2014).

The above data can be interpreted using the concepts of social power, social relationships and ageism. This is because the data imply that informants are of the view that by giving Zambians appropriate knowledge about ageing, it would foster positive social relationships with elder people. This in turn may help in addressing ageism at all the levels of the Zambian society. For example, if civil society organizations are empowered with appropriate knowledge on how elder people are treated at all levels of the Zambian society, they may join the fight against ageism and elder abuse. This is because they will be enabled to know the factors that lead to elder abuse and some of the roles that civil society organizations can play to address those factors. When the data is further connected to existing scientific knowledge, it is in agreement with suggestions made by Fuller (1972); Fry (1990), Kamwengo (2004) and HelpAge International (2015) on how to address violence against older people in Africa. One of the recommendations made by all these researchers is that prevention of violence against older people lies in addressing the belief in witchcraft which was commonly associated with the aged. Thus, the informants' voices have strengthened the above thinking.

Introduce ageing in school curricula

Informants' advocacy for the need to introduce ageing in school curricula is a response to the social changes that have taken place in Zambia. Because of the deteriorations in traditional ways of living such as weakening of villages and extended family structures which in the past used to teach young people about ageing, informants suggest the need for the Government of Zambia to consider either mainstreaming ageing or introduce a specific subject on ageing in school curricula from pre-school to tertiary education levels. Informants think that taking such as an approach would help the younger generation to understand ageing issues at an early stage of their lives.

This is seen to be beneficial not only to the children but to the whole Zambia. For example, informants hold the view that children are the future policy makers and next generation of elder people in Zambia. Thus, if they have appropriate knowledge about ageing at a tender age, they can prepare themselves adequately for their old age by putting in place measures that prevent elder abuse. These may include putting in place good public and private social protection mechanisms, and other policies and programmes on ageing. Since school going children comprise the larger segment (over 46, 4 %) of the Zambian population (Zambia Central Statistics Office 2014), this suggestion is further supported by the informants due to the thinking that if all the children in Zambia acquire good values and beliefs about ageing, they would develop positive relationships with elder people. In a way, that may help in the prevention of mistreatment of the elder people. These ways of thinking are audible in the data:

“... it will do a great deal if we introduce ageing in school. You know us from the old school we were made not to fear the old man. The old man was our friend. When there is a problem, it was the old man in the village, the father to your father is the one who you played with it. You go back to the old school, you can sleep on their beds, you are free with them. Now that culture we are losing it. So I think it is a good way that people should understand this. On the other point why am supporting it is, look at the white man they don't fear the white man who is old because they understand the cause of death. They are well informed. So we have to take away that culture of believing that every death there must be an old man behind it with an invisible gun.” (FGD.4 – 09.09.2014).

“Because like you say charity begins at home. And if they did not experience charity they will not recognize it even if it hit them in the face. I would say a subject on its own especially since we have an aging policy they could look at it, you know, to have them [children] to know how they age from the day they are born up to there. You know what is involved and so on. They bring in the tradition.” (One-on-one indepth interview - 14.10.2014).

“...If parents are busy working class they [children] spend most of time in school. I think having a school subject on ageing, gerontology on its own can be good but can be called different names at different educational levels. Yes. You learn about your life beginning the other way round. You are still young then you learn about how you will grow old.” (One-on-one indepth interview – 15.10.2014).

The above data can be interpreted using the combinations of the concepts of knowledge power, social relationships and ageism. That is, from the data it is evident that informants are of the view that in order to address elder abuse, there is need to empower the younger generation with appropriate knowledge about ageing. As the popular adage goes – knowledge is power (Majahan 2003; Lauby 2014; Black 2014). Thus with good knowledge on ageing, informants think that the social power that

comes about by having appropriate knowledge can be enhanced. This is essential in bringing about good social relationships among people. In the informants' views, good relationships and appropriate use of power are some of the pre-conditions for prevention of violence. That is, the thinking of the informants is that if people relate well with each other, they are not able to exercise their powers in ways which are injurious to other people. The data also imply that informants are concerned with ways of addressing ageism in their communities and the whole Zambia. That is, if ways of thinking that encourage positive attitudes towards elder people are inculcated in the children in Zambia, ageism can be addressed. Given that ageism is one of the main factors that lead to elder abuse in the two communities and at all levels of the Zambian society, it means that, informants think that if ageism is addressed elder abuse can be minimized in the two communities and the whole Zambia. Both in theory and practice, one viable strategy for addressing ageism is through mass knowledge dissemination. This is because appropriate knowledge changes the way people think and perceive things. (Chin & Benne 1969; World Conference on Education for All 1990; Saks 1993; Black 2014).

Strengthen families and villages

Informants also propose strengthening of the traditional Zambian ways of living where people of the same blood line lived together and in large numbers. This way of living is perceived by the informants to have positive implications in the fight against elder abuse in their communities and the whole Zambia. For instance, informants argue that if family members begin to live together in large numbers, in an event of elder abuse, other family and/or village members would be able to at least help the particular elder person at risk of abuse. The policy and programme proposals that emerge from the data on how to strengthen families and villages in Zambia include coming up with the village act which could discourage people from living alone and also by developing rural areas so that they become attractive to the indigenous people and other development actors. Embracing extended family ties whilst in productive years is also seen by the informants to be another life style that should be encouraged among Zambians. Informants argue from their lived personal and community experiences that elder people who valued their extended family members in their days of productivity are rarely neglected. In supporting the proposal, some informants cited their own experiences saying that they valued the extended family members whilst they had means to do so in their days of productivity and those family members had reciprocated by taking care of them in old age. In both one-on-one indepth interviews and focus group discussions, these views on how to reconstruct the two communities and the whole Zambia are many:

“Those days [in the past] calling a person or being a village headman it was those big villages, many houses, many people. But like this time when you go there [what is now called a village] you just find one person with his children or her grandchildren and he can be called a headman. But in these days people have stopped living

together. Those areas should have better infrastructure because we have seen villages dying because maybe my mother is in the village. I will give you this example of where my mother is in the village and she is sick, there is no better hospital facility which can easily attend to her when she is in problems. So you find me now as a son I will go to the village and say, mum I'm getting you, I'm going with you to the township where there is hospital so that you can stay near the hospital. When I bring her here it will become difficult for me to send her back. I will say, I will look for a house for you in the township. Yes. So if I get my mother who is staying with her sister, immediately I just get my mother from the village, I will forget my auntie. So now in that it completely kills the extended family issue.” (FGD.2 – 04.09.2014).

“Why can't we have those old like [village] registers in place? Why can't we establish villages so that we can have order everywhere? There should be headmen having headmen who have rules in that they can have something like may be a role, a guide to follow - what should happen in that village? How should people behave? According to the traditional setup, what contributions, what roles do citizens in that village have? What roles? Yes. And those responsibilities? (One-on-one indepth interview – 19.09.2014).

“Thanks for what we do in productive days. I have more support from the extended family members. I personally get more help from my extended family members. They are more concerned for me than my biological children...You can't say I am going to reap on my investment on my children. No. I have kept extended family members in my home, these have appreciated more than my own children. We were affected by the HIV pandemic. We kept my wife's sister's daughter and kept her up to finishing education. This one always calls daddy, mummy, how are you? I say tomorrow is my birthday and she is the only one who sends me birthday wishes. My own children do not know when I was born. The extended family, yes it is dying down but it is of great value.” (One-on-one indepth interview – 20.10.2014).

The above data can be interpreted using the concepts of family relationships, family power and village power. That is, the data suggest that informants are of the view that elder abuse in their communities and the whole Zambia can be minimized if extended family relationships are improved. In the views of the informants, if this is done, it means that elder people can also have mass social support from extended family members. This can help in elder abuse prevention. This is because other family members can defend elderly family members who are not able to defend themselves in an event of abuse. As theory and empirical research have shown, at family level, the power of the weak family members rests in other family members. The more one has family support, the lesser the chances of being suppressed. (Weber 1959; Thomas 1995; Antonucci 2001; Giddens 2010; Jory & Yodanis 2015; Nikupeteri & Laitinen 2015). Because of these sources of power, perpetrators may fear abusing elder people for fear that if they abuse them, their family members may revenge by taking

stain actions against the perpetrators. This may include beatings of the perpetrators, reporting them to the police or courts of law.

Public holiday for senior citizens

Although 1 October of each year since 1991 is an international day for the elder people (UN 1990; World Report on Violence and Health 2002), many informants especially in the rural community showed ignorance about the day. Even those who were aware about the day in both study sites indicated that the day was not a public holiday like the way it was with women's day and youth day among other public days in Zambia. As such it was not taken seriously at all by many people in Zambia. This has made it difficult to mobilize many people in Zambia to pay attention to the plight of the elder people. In light of this national injustice, informants propose the need for the Zambian government to come up with the public holiday for senior citizens. This is seen to be another viable avenue through which the various dynamics that surround elder abuse could be brought out in public space and addressed. For instance, informants argue that having such a day would make different stakeholders such as civil society organizations, private sector and international community to become aware of the plight of the elder people, make them come on board and wage war against abuse of elder people like the way it is done with other social problems such as HIV/AIDS, child labour, and child sexual defilement among others. Informants also think that by observing such a day, it would result in bringing elder people in mainstream development. This is because elder people would receive a national recognition and more national resources might be allocated to their development. Because of these perceived benefits, the majority of the informants lobby for the public day for the senior citizens:

“If only the government can come in and declare it a public holiday for the aged. I think even us by now would have even have appreciated the way we have appreciated these other days like women's day, youth day and the day of the children I think it is there. I think if the government can just try to declare it a public holiday. 1st October is declared as public holiday then it would be known by everyone in Zambia, the rural community in particular. That will be a time to bring all the older people together, sensitize them. If at all they are practicing witchcraft to throw them away and also to sensitize the young to help them appreciate life in old age so that even those young ones when they have if that day falls on a school day, if they have not gone to school, then they will be able to know that this day that we have not gone to school is the day for the aged. And those children will be made to appreciate the old in the community.” (FGD.2 – 04.09.2014).

“Having public holiday for the older persons is okay. Even last year, the then Minister of Community Development declared the whole of October as the month of the older people. And a number of activities were supposed to take part. They took place in the compounds. There were some sketches you know, sensitization talks

and so on. That was good. It was good. This day should be taken seriously. Yes. You know we are talking about life of a human being and each one of us we are expected to go through these things. And just as we were saying if we don't take these things seriously tomorrow we will be negatively affected.” (One-on-one indepth interview – 14.10.2014).

The above data imply that the informants are concerned with ways of improving social relationships that involve elder people and the whole Zambian society. They are also concerned with ways of addressing ageism throughout the whole Zambia. That is, the data suggest that by having the public holiday specifically for the elder people, positive relationships between the elder people and the general public may be improved. This is because senior citizens would become the major subject of discussions at all levels of the Zambian society. Thus, people throughout Zambia would get concerned about the aged and some common problems faced by the older people that lead to problems like elder abuse may be attended to. The data imply also that informants are of the view that by having the public holiday for the elder people, ageism can be fought in their communities and the whole Zambia. This is because during that day, focus could be on re-building the negative stereo-typed ways of thinking about ageing throughout Zambia. For instance, the popular belief which associate ageing with witchcraft practices can be preached against. This is because the majority of the people in Zambia will constantly be given appropriate knowledge about ageing. In the informants' views, since appropriate knowledge is the power that can transform the way people think about certain phenomenon, introduction of public holiday for the senior citizens can play a big role in the social reconstruction of the belief systems among members of their communities and the whole Zambia about ageing. This may help in the fight against elder abuse. This is because the negative beliefs and thoughts about ageing which fuel abuse will begin to be discarded among many people in Zambia.

The above all are the major measures and policy proposals made by the informants on further actions against elder abuse in the two communities and the whole Zambia. I now turn to the last chapter of the thesis and this is the conclusion.

6 Conclusions

This qualitative constructionist study sought to describe and understand elder abuse in the rural community and urban community of Zambia using the views of the community leaders involved in addressing elder abuse. In order to do this, the study had two specific research tasks to attend to:

- 1) What are the conceptions of community leaders involved in addressing elder abuse in the rural community and urban community about abuse of the elder people in their communities?
- 2) What are the views of community leaders involved in addressing elder abuse in the rural community and urban community on what the Government of Zambia and other stakeholders should do to address the problem of elder abuse in their communities and Zambia in general?

Through the use of social constructionism and qualitative approach as methodological commitments of the study, the voices of thirty one (31) community leaders in Zambia have been captured and most of them construct different aspects of elder abuse in their communities in similar manner. Thus, in this last chapter of the thesis, I offer concluding thoughts about this study. The chapter is divided into two main sections. These are: 1) summary of the key findings of the study, and 2) discussions. The section for discussions is divided into six (6) sub-sections. These are: (1) elder abuse as a global issue including local ways of knowing and doing; (2) proposed model of elder abuse in Zambia; (3) evaluation of the research; (4) limitations of the research project; (5) reflection on learning and personal developments through research; and (6) ideas for further research.

6.1 Summary of the major findings of the study

This section is presented in two broad themes. These are in accordance with the two main research questions which this study sought to answer. The themes are: views of the community leaders about elder abuse; and suggested measures on how to address elder abuse. Within these themes, the major findings are summarized using the sub-themes that emerged from the data.

Views of the community leaders about elder abuse

In the first research question which focused on establishing the views of the community leaders about elder abuse in their communities, it is clear that the informants hold the view that elder abuse in their communities can be summarized into two broad categories. These are: elder people as victims of abuse and elder abuse as a social issue. Below are the major findings of the study under each of the two categories:

Elder people as victims of abuse

To begin this, from this study it is evident that all the 31 informants hold the view that elder people in the two communities of Zambia are abused within family and non-family set-ups. This means that from the views of the informants elder abuse in the two communities is both a domestic and public issue. Although there is no consensus among all the informants on the forms of elder abuse recorded in their communities, at the time of this study, at least seven main typologies of elder abuse emerged from the data with some forms of elder abuse namely spiritual abuse, verbal abuse, neglect and physical abuse being brought out by all informants and others namely political, material and sexual abuses being acknowledged and discussed by a few informants. Of great interest is that informants have indicated that spiritual abuse is the main form of elder abuse. This is because it gives birth to other forms of abuse especially verbal abuse, physical abuse, and neglect. Thus, in the views of the informants these forms of elder abuse take place simultaneously. In light of this, informants conclude that many abused elder people in the rural and urban community of Zambia suffer more than one form of abuse simultaneously. This is because most of the above forms of abuse take place concurrently.

Given also that although the four informants were selected to participate in this study without knowing that they had suffered any forms of abuse in their lives before and that the majority of them had relatives who suffered abuse, the results imply that notwithstanding the number of informants being small and an homogenous group, elder abuse could be a serious problem in Zambia. Thus, besides participating in addressing elder abuse, the majority of the informants had first hand information about elder abuse. In light of this, all informants hold the view that they shared with me the information on the phenomenon that they confronted at different levels of their lives, communities and the whole Zambia and their views should be taken to be coming from the people on the ground where elder abuse takes place.

By reflecting on what is involved in each of the above forms of elder abuse, the study concludes that elder abuse in the two communities of Zambia is a relationship issue, power issue and ageism issue. It is vivid throughout this study that because of negative stereo-typed ways of thinking about elder people which has largely manifested through the belief held by some individuals in the two communities of Zambia that some older people in their communities are witches, it brings about poor relationships between some elder people and other members of the Zambian society. Due to fear of the dangers believed to be associated with witchcraft, some people both family and non-family members end up developing poor relationships with some elder people. As

an expression of anger against and hatred for those elder people believed to be witches, some family and non-family members embark on elder abuse. This is usually done through exercising coercive power through neglecting, insulting, beatings, and in other extreme instances killings of those types of elder people.

Characteristics of abused elder people

Throughout this study, informants have provided the view that on each typology of elder abuse recorded in the two communities there are different categories of elder people who suffer abuse. It is evident from the data that, if the particular elder person is perceived in ageism manner by other family and community members, whether male or female, educated or uneducated, religious or unreligious, with small or large family, dependent or independent, involved in substance abuse or not, and whether economically rich or poor, elder abuse can take place. Thus, informants conclude that any type of abuse that the particular elder person suffers in the two communities of Zambia is dependent on the quality of relationships that exist between the particular elder person and the perpetrators. This is visible in this study in that if the particular elder person is perceived in negative ways by other societal members, regardless of their socio-economic status in society, they suffer abuse. This is because the perpetrators would like to use force in order to make that particular elder person to do what the perpetrators want. This is one of the main reasons any form of elder abuse in the two communities of Zambia is a power issue. That is, elder abuse involves struggles among the conflicting parties to achieve something, with the perpetrators in many instances using their powers to get what they want from the particular elder person by force, and in some instances receiving resistance from the particular elder person to allow the perpetrators get what they want from him/her. With the perpetrators having more physical power than the targeted elder person, it results in perpetrators overpowering the particular elder person either through physical abuse, material abuse, sexual abuse, or neglect.

Characteristics of perpetrators of elder abuse

At the time of this study, all the informants provided the view that the perpetrators of different types of elder abuse in their communities were not a homogenous group. Rather they were a heterogeneous group. Although there is no consensus among the informants on the characteristics of the perpetrators of elder abuse, from the present study, it is evident that most informants hold the view that depending on the type of abuse, males or females or both; people of different ages [matured], different educational backgrounds, different economic statuses, different family sizes, related or not related to the abused elder person, and with or without designations may get involved in abuse of elder people. Thus, it is clear from the data that the concepts of relationships, ageism and power explain well why different categories of people get involved in abusing elder people in the two communities of Zambia. That is, what is visible in this study is that what determines who participates and who does not participate in elder abuse are the quality of relationships that exist between the

particular elder person and other members of the two communities of Zambia. If the relationship between the particular elder person and other members of the community is poor, any person regardless of their socio-economic status can participate in elder abuse. This is because by participating in elder abuse, perpetrators want to achieve certain goals such as forcing that particular elder person to relate well with other members of society. One area where this is clear is in spiritual abuse of elder people. In this type of abuse, one of the reasons given by the informants as to why people of different socio-economic statuses in their communities participate in spiritual abuse is that the perpetrators want to force that particular elder person to begin to relate well with other members of society by living according to norms, values and beliefs of their communities. For example, informants provide the view that in order to make some elder people stop practicing witchcraft, perpetrators use coercive power (force) such as beatings of that particular person.

In the existing literatures, elder abuse is commonly associated with the youths (see Gofin 2000; World Report on Violence and Health 2002; UN 2005; Nhongo 2009). From this study, it is evident that informants hold the view that besides the youths, adults and fellow elder people also participate in elder abuse in the two communities of Zambia. It is evident from the views provided by the informants that sometimes the youths are just used by adults and elder people by giving them either money or alcohol so that they can embark on elder abuse. This means that as far as the informants are concerned the responsibility for elder abuse in their communities should not be put squarely on the youths but also on the adults and elder people who catalyze the youths to embark on such vices. Thus, the present study concludes that different theoretical models are needed in describing and understanding the perpetrators of elder abuse in the two communities of Zambia. Emphasis on the youths should be reconstructed by including also the adults and elder people in the equation for perpetrators of elder abuse. This is essential in making these 'silent categories' of perpetrators of elder abuse to receive international attention.

Elder abuse as a social issue

The study has established that from the views of the informants, elder abuse is a social issue in their communities because of its power to either weaken or destroy: interpersonal relationships, family relationships, community relationships, intergenerational relationships and disturbing the perpetrators' relationships with the state (Government of Zambia). Thus the findings of this study agree with scientific knowledge on what makes a particular problem to become a social problem. Some of the conditions provided in scientific knowledge include the event's ability to negatively affect social relationships in society, able to create fear in the particular community where it takes place, disturbing smooth transmissions of knowledge from one generation to the other, and if the people affected are able to express it to be a social problem and demand for the concerted effort to be put in place so that that particular problem is addressed (Spector & Kitsuse 1987; Loseke & Best 2011). All these conditions are visible in this study. These are evident in the arrests

and imprisonments of the perpetrators, creation of family and community divisions, and limited participation in community activities among others. It is clear that these disturbances in social relationships happen because elder abuse is socially unaccepted at all levels of the Zambian society.

Interesting conclusions that arise from the present study is that some of the negative consequences of elder abuse on the perpetrators and on the abused elder persons in the two communities of Zambia are the same. This is because from the results, it is clear that the perpetrators of elder abuse suffer stigma, isolation and negative psychological effects such as fear and guilty. When these results are compared with the effects of elder abuse on the abused elder people in the two communities, the effects are the same. In this study, all the informants have reported that the consequences of spiritual, neglect, verbal, material and physical abuses on abused elder people in their communities include isolation, stigma, running away/leaving their communities and other psychological problems like fear and restless. Thus, this study concludes further that if perpetrators of elder abuse are punished by law enforcement agencies and community leaders, the effects of elder abuse on them (perpetrators) are just as painful as on the abused elder people. Because of this, it means that interventions aimed at addressing elder abuse should also target treatments for the perpetrators.

Explanations for elder abuse

From this study, it is clear that from the views of all the informants the factors that explain spiritual, verbal, physical, material, sexual, political and neglect abuses of elder people in the two communities of Zambia fall in four broad categories namely individual older people's factors, perpetrators' factors, local community social factors and national environmental factors. Despite these categorizations, the informants hold the view that the factors are interdependent. Most of the factors that explain elder abuse in the rural community are similar to the ones established in the urban community. This means that in as much as this study appreciate that elder abuse is socially constructed and differs from context to context (Bavel et al. 2010; Manthorpe et al. 2011), the study argues that using the views of the 31 community leaders who participated in this study, similarities in the explanations for elder abuse in different contexts also exist. This is particularly applicable to typologies of elder abuse which so far have been reported by the informants in the rural and urban community of Zambia namely spiritual abuse, verbal abuse, neglect, physical abuse, material abuse and sexual abuse.

By thinking about all the factors that explain elder abuse in each of the two communities, this study concludes that the concepts of power, relationships and ageism are central in describing and understanding elder abuse in the two communities of Zambia. These concepts are visible in this study in different ways. For instance, abuse of elder people in the two communities out of the belief that those older people are witches is a power, relationship and ageism issue. The views of the informants that are dominant throughout this study are that elder people believed to practice witchcraft are constructed by their family and non-family members to possess evil spiritual

powers in the form of witchcraft. This power is believed to cause harm to the wellbeing of individual persons and the whole community. Thus, to force elder people to stop exercising these evil powers on other people, one way chosen by family and non-family members who believe in the existence of witchcraft is to abuse those types of elder people. These powers by the perpetrators are expressed in different ways such as physical abuse, verbal abuse, material abuse and neglect. In other instances, it is clear from the views provided by the informants that the evil spiritual powers believed to be possessed by some elder people in their communities bring about ageism and negative social relationships between those types of elder people and other members of the Zambian society. These are evident through deliberate neglect of some elder people and not willing to relate with them for fear that if they do, those who interact with them may risk either being bewitched or given witchcraft.

In light of the above, another conclusion that can be drawn from this study is that, if the belief in witchcraft is killed in the two communities of Zambia, elder abuse especially spiritual, verbal, physical, sexual and neglect abuses can be reduced to minimal levels. This is because the main root cause of these forms of abuse (belief in witchcraft) would stop to exist. This is because people in the two communities of Zambia would be able to relate well with elder people. From the observations and experiences of the informants, where good relationships exist, people rarely abuse each other.

Views on further actions against elder abuse

This section summarizes the major findings which came out from the second research question which this study sought to answer. The question sought to establish what needed to be done to address elder abuse in the two communities and the whole Zambia. Thus, this section covers two major issues: measures used to address elder abuse and suggested ways to intervene in elder abuse.

This study has established that informants in both communities of Zambia hold the view that, two categories of measures are used to address elder abuse in their communities. These are informal measures and formal measures. The informal measures used are the village courts and the church. On the other hand the common formal measures used are the law enforcement agencies and Government Department of Social Welfare. From the findings of this study, it seems that many elder people resort to using informal measures because they are within their residences. Thus, they are easily accessible as they reduce on the time, expense and hassle that plaintiffs often associate with formal measures. Informants attribute this also to few formal services in many localities where the majority of the [elder] people in their communities live. This means that if there are few formal services available to people, the use of the informal measures become another alternative for the people's welfare. From the current results, it seems that formal measures are usually used by elder people in each of the two communities as the last resort and usually used if conflicting parties fail to address their problems using informal measures. This is because of the reasons that I have given above.

Based on the views provided by the informants, it can be said that the concept of institutional power is useful in describing and understanding why the above measures

are used by the abused elder people in each of the two communities of Zambia. Throughout this study, it is evident that informants hold the view that abused elder people in their communities use formal or formal institutions when faced with abuse due to the powers that these institutions have in addressing violence in the Zambian society. Just to cite one example, informants hold the view that the church and the police are usually used by the abused elder people in their communities because they have demonstrated to have the abilities to use their powers effectively and adequately in harmonizing relationships between the conflicting parties. They can also address ageism. This is visible in this study in that those cases of elder abuse cited by the informants to have been resolved for example by the church, they have been addressed in the manner that makes the conflicting parties to reconcile and begin to relate with each other without any further confrontations. Informants hold the view that this effective and adequate resolution of cases of elder abuse makes elder people in their communities to have trust in the church than in other institutions such as village courts. On the basis of these evidences, this study argues that what makes people to have trust an institution is the institution's ability to address the needs of the people in an effective and adequate manner.

One unfortunate thing which this study has established is that informants hold the view that despite the negative consequences of political abuse of elder people on the Zambian society and on the tenets of democracy being fought for in Zambia, there are no measures that have been put in place either by the Zambian government or other stakeholders such as NGOs to address it. This is because it takes place in a very subtle way and as such it has not received any public attentions like other types of elder abuse such as spiritual, neglect, verbal, physical, material and sexual abuses. Thus, the study agrees with Ray & Bernard & Philips (2009) argument that people only intervene in those types of elder abuse which come out in the public. Those which are not reported to any relevant authorities go without any intervention. This suggests that if political abuse of elder people in the two communities of Zambia is to be fought, there is need to find ways and means to make political abuse of elder people known to the general public at local, national, regional and international levels. Some of the ways on how this can be done are provided below.

Informants in both communities have suggested two broad measures on how to intervene in all the types of elder abuse recorded in their communities. These are empowerment and normative re-educative interventions. Although these interventions are categorized in this manner, the study concludes that the interventions are interdependent. This is because both of them point to one thing – bringing about a just Zambia where every human being living in Zambia is able to enjoy their human rights. Thus in practice, the suggested interventions should be applied simultaneously. The study concludes also that informants are of the view that sustainable ways of addressing elder abuse in the two communities of Zambia as well as throughout the whole Zambia lie in socio-economic empowerments not only of the current generation of elder people but also in the future generations (children and youths). Because young people are the future generations of local, national and international leaders as well as future

older people, the study findings advocate for the need to empower the young people throughout Zambia with appropriate knowledge and skills about life in old age. It is also important to encourage them to put in place measures at individual, family, local community, national and international levels aimed at prevention of elder abuse. In part, this conclusion arises from the ground that from the results of this study, it is evident that almost all the informants hold the view some of the elder people in the two communities of Zambia are suffering abuse because of what they did in the days of productivity. For instance, some of them did not value their family members, others did not invest in their private social protection and some did not put in place good ageing policies and programmes when they were in public offices. As a result when they grow old, they become vulnerable to abuse. This is because they do not have reliable private and public mechanisms to shield them against abuse.

It seems from this study that the informants are in support of preventive measures and not curative measures. This is because from all the suggestions made, informants in both communities are advocating for policy measures that prevent elder abuse now and in future. It looks like the informants' thoughts are guided by the popular adage of 'prevention is better than cure' (Osei-Hwedie & Mwansa & Mufune 1990, 17). This is because informants hold the view that if elder abuse in their communities and the whole Zambia is not prevented, its consequences are huge. As evidenced in this study, despite elder abuse in the two communities of Zambia being targeted at individual elder persons, its effects are felt at different levels of the Zambian society from micro up to macro level. In the views of the informants, the effects could have been minimized if preventive measures were put in place by individual elder persons, family members, local community leaders, civil society organizations, the Government of Zambia and the international community among other Zambia's social development partners before elder abuse took place.

When all the suggestions are brought together, the study concludes that the informants' views revolve around the concepts of power, relationships and ageism. That is, all the suggestions made by the informants are aimed at improving power relations, improving social relationships and addressing ageism in their communities. These ways of thinking are visible in this study in different ways. For instance, throughout this study, it is evident that informants hold the view that if empowerment and normative re-educative interventions are embraced from micro to macro levels in Zambia, the quality of social relationships between elder people and their family and community members can be improved. If good relationships exist, it is rare that people can abuse one another. This conclusion is based on the ground that from the observations and experiences which the informants have, elder people who have good relationships with their family and community members rarely suffer abuse. This is because they are loved and respected by their family and community members. In an event of elder abuse, they quickly receive informal physical and social protection from their family and community members. Similarly, it is visible in this study that informants hold the view that if the whole Zambian society is empowered with appropriate knowledge about ageing, social powers among the majority of the people living in Zambia about

ageing can also be enhanced. This is because knowledge is power. Thus, if people have adequate social power about ageing, they would relate well with elder people. Ageism would also be minimized. This is because family and community members in the two communities of Zambia will have better understanding for example, that some elder people in their communities behave in strange manner such as talking alone because they have dementia and not that they have witchcraft.

The above all are the summary of the major findings of this study.

6.2 Discussion

In this sub-chapter, I discuss the findings of this study in relation to the existing knowledge on elder abuse. It is presented in six (6) parts. These are: elder abuse as a global issue including local ways of knowing and doing; proposed model of elder abuse in Zambia; evaluation of the research; limitations of the research project; reflection on learning and personal developments through research; and ideas for further research. Below are the discussions on each of these sections:

6.2.1 Elder abuse as a global issue including local ways of knowing and doing

In this section, I discuss the findings of this study in relation to the existing global literatures on elder abuse including local ways of knowing and doing. This is intended to show how elder abuse is a global issue and how it differs in conceptions from different parts of the world, and in particular with reference to the two communities of Zambia.

It is evident that this study has generated new knowledges on different facets of elder abuse. This is cutting across all issues covered in the study from elder people as victims of abuse, forms of elder abuse recorded, perpetrators of elder abuse, elder abuse as a social issue, explanations for elder abuse, and suggested measures on how to address each type of abuse. This has been made possible because this study paid particular attention to local ways of knowing and doing when trying to describe and understand the phenomenon of elder abuse. In other words, this is because I listened and respected the voices of the local people who had first hand information about elder abuse in their local communities. (Mertinez 2010). To be more precise, this is evident in the following areas:

To begin with, in this study informants have brought out different forms of elder abuse. These are spiritual abuse, verbal abuse, physical abuse, material abuse, sexual abuse, political abuse and neglect. Psychological/emotional abuse is not mentioned at all. Instead, psychological abuse has come out as a negative effect of elder abuse which affects both the abused elder people and the abusers. This finding adds a new perspective to the international literature especially when compared to the common typology of categorizing elder abuse provided by world institutions such as the WHO. In all the reports for this institution which I reviewed during this study, this institution

reports that elder abuse takes place in the following forms: physical abuse, material abuse, sexual abuse, emotional/psychological abuse, verbal abuse and neglect (see WHO 2002; 2005; 2008; 2013; 2015). The results of this study have established two other forms of elder abuse (spiritual and political abuses) which are not commonly talked about in the world reports. This means that in the current global knowledge, there is underrepresentation of the global problem of elder abuse. By focusing on the WHO, the probable explanation for the underrepresentation of the typologies of elder abuse in its works could be that WHO did not consult the community leaders in the two communities of Zambia who participated in this study about the forms of elder abuse that are common in their communities and the whole Zambia at the time it was writing the world reports. This means that knowledge gaps exist even in global institutions like the WHO about typologies of elder abuse. Important to state here is that, I have come to know the various dynamics that surround the above two types of elder abuse after I listened to the voices of the local community leaders in the two communities of Zambia who knew their local communities better. This underscores the importance of paying particular attention to the local ways of knowing and doing when trying to describe and understand typologies of elder abuse in particular localities (Kendall 2008; Mertinez 2010; Dominelli 2010; Gray & Webb 2013; Hassan 2014).

Although spiritual abuse is not completely a new concept in scientific literature, its construction in the available literature is also different from the construction provided by the informants. In all the existing literatures [to the best of my knowledge], the concept of spiritual abuse is used with reference to the abuse perpetrated by the clergy to their congregants (David & Van Vonderen 1991; Steven 2005; Jeri 2008; O'Brien 2009; Esther 2014). For example, Steven Lambert (1996) reports that the term spiritual abuse was purportedly coined in the late twentieth century to refer to alleged abuse of authority by church leaders. He defines spiritual abuse as a type of psychological predominance that could be rightly termed—religious enslavement (Wright 2001). Similar construction is provided by Aini Linjakumpu (2015). Linjakumpu defines spiritual abuse as the mental or physical intra-group violence which is articulated through one's belief or existence in the religious community. Thus, the available literatures have not constructed the phenomenon of spiritual abuse to refer to abuse suffered by older people *visa viz* witchcraft beliefs. This means that the term spiritual abuse has different meanings to different people in different societies. One deduction that arises from these different constructions is that the usage of the term spiritual abuse should be understood within its own context. However, reflections upon the findings of this study and the literature seem to agree on one thing when talking about spiritual abuse. That is, spiritual abuse is articulated through one's belief or existence in the religious community (Linjakumpu 2015). In the informants' construction, the belief in their communities is to do with witchcraft. Witchcraft belief and practice is a religion of its own with the dominant belief that those who practice witchcraft have evil spiritual powers which can cause harm to the well-being of individuals and society. Because of this belief, it has become a major source of violence against those believed to practice it in both the global north and global south (Farror & Farror 1984; Levack

1995; Hutton 1999; Buckland 2002; Evans 2016). This means that despite different perspectives given about meanings of spiritual abuse, it may not really mean that similarities in constructions can not exist. From what can be seen from the findings of this study and available literature, the informants are from the two communities of Zambia which is part of the global south and Linjakumpu (2015) from the Lapland Region in Finland and Evans (2016) from London in the United Kingdom which form part of the global north (Esping-Andersen 1995; Gough 1999; Mkandawire 2001; Hall & Midley 2004). Despite the different contexts in which the phenomenon of spiritual abuse was constructed from, agreements in all the constructions are also evident.

Regarding prevalence of elder abuse in the two communities of Zambia, the findings of this study agree with the position provided by Oliver Mupila (2008), HelpAge International (2011) and the Senior Citizens Association of Zambia (2013) that elder abuse is a common social problem in Zambia. Besides the majority of the informants reporting that elder abuse in their communities and the whole Zambia was a common problem, the above analysis is also deduced from the ground that notwithstanding that the informants were selected without knowing that they were either victims of abuse or had relatives who suffered abuse, four informants made self-confession that they were victims of abuse and the majority (25) of them disclosed that they had family members who were victims of abuse. The study has also established that in the views of the informants, elder abuse in the two communities does not just take place in the family set up. Rather, it also takes place in public places. This is because the majority of the informants openly and confidently cited examples of cases of elder abuse both within family and public set-ups. Thus, further analysis of the findings of this study implies that the 31 informants hold the view that elder abuse in their communities and the whole Zambia should not only be seen as an issue of domestic violence against elder people but also as an issue of community/public violence against elder people. By reflecting upon this result in relation to the existing literature, it can be seen that the views of the informants are different from the popular views in international literatures which provide the construction that elder abuse is a phenomenon of domestic violence (cf. Steinmertz 1983; Pillemer & Wolf 1986; Reinhartz 1986; Sinclair 2005; Iborra 2009; Bavel et al. 2010). Thus, what this finding entails is that elder abuse is a social construct which may take place or be experienced in different ways in different parts of the world.

Although results of this study have brought in a number of new perspectives in scientific knowledge, they are also instances where the study results are in agreement with the existing scientific knowledge. The agreements are clear in areas such as the negative consequences of verbal, physical, material, sexual and neglect abuses on the abused elder people, risk factors for elder abuse and suggested ways on how to address elder abuse. (see Pillemer & Wolf 1982; Gregorio 1987; Pritchard 1999; WHO 2002; UN 2002; WHO 2005; Iborra 2009; Ray & Bernard & Philips 2009; HelpAge International 2011; Phelan 2013; WHO 2015). Because of the said agreements, it means that that local ways of knowing and doing should not always be seen to be

completely different from what is happening in other parts of the world. In other words, since this study has established a number of similarities on various aspects of elder abuse in connection to elder abuse in other countries which include western countries indicate elder abuse as globalising the local or involving activities that situate local action within the global arena and localising the global by making connections between the local sphere and the global one (Dominelli 1998; 2004; 2010). This means that when thinking about elder abuse, there is also need to see the local and the global as interconnected and in a dialogical relationship with each other. This shows the localization and internationalization of elder abuse (UN 2002; *ibid*).

Interesting also is that when the characteristics of the abused elder people in the two communities of Zambia brought out by the informants are connected to dominant theories of elder abuse notably situational and ecological theories, the findings of this study have somehow gone beyond the tenets of these theories. For example, both theories argue that elder people who suffer abuse are those who are physically and emotionally dependent on caregivers; with poor health; with impaired mental status; with a difficult personality; with economic strains; and those who are socially isolated (Lawton & Nahemow 1973; Pillemer and Wolf 1982; Steinmetz 1983; Pritchard 1999; Ray & Bernard & Philips 2009; Teaster 2013). Whilst these categories of the abused elder people have surfaced from this study, the findings of this study have gone beyond the theorizations contained in the two theories. This is because the informants have brought out additional characteristics of abused elder people in their communities that are not theorized in the above theories. Among them include elder people who are not dependent on any care givers, elder people who are economically rich, those who are educated, those without any health problems, those with large family sizes, those with high designations and those who do not abuse substance at all. This extension of scientific thinking about the characteristics of abused elder people in the two communities of Zambia means that new theorizations which are context specific are needed. This is because theories which may explain elder abuse in certain contexts may not adequately explain elder abuse in other contexts.

With focus on perpetrators of elder abuse in the two communities of Zambia, informants have also provided the perspective which is different from the one provided by situational and ecological theories. These theories argue that perpetrators of elder abuse are caregivers with care burn-outs, with economic stains, those who abuse substances and those with problems of socialization and history of violence (Lawton & Nahemow 1973; Pillemer and Wolf 1982; Ray & Bernard & Philips 2009; Phelan 2013). Whilst these characteristics of perpetrators are also evident in the views provided by the informants, this study has added to the scientific equation of perpetrators new categories of perpetrators. Notable among them include perpetrators who are economically rich, non-care givers and those who do not abuse substance. Because on this aspect of elder abuse the informants have provided the view which shows that theories developed in the global north might not be very relevant in describing and understanding the perpetrators of in the two communities of Zambia, it follows further that context specific theories are needed. In other words, the views

of the informants echo the need to decolonise the existing knowledge on perpetrators of elder abuse (Deepak 2011; Witkinson 2014). This thinking is based on the ground that in scientific knowledge elder abuse theories are dominated by knowledge from the global north. Although few studies have been undertaken even in the global south, dominant elder abuse theories such as situational and ecologies theories have been developed by scientists from the global north. Thus, the theories largely reflect the observations, values, preferences, attitudes, thoughts and environments that surround elder abuse in the global north (Kosberg & Garcia 1995; Midgley 1995; World Report on Violence and Health 2002; Dominelli 2010; Cadmus et al. 2015). This means that in order to have a fair playing ground when it comes to thinking about perpetrators of elder abuse, the voices of the local people in global south should be accommodated in scientific knowledge. The local people in the global south know what happens in their local communities (Hassan 2014). Given an opportunity, they can give new insights about perpetrators of elder abuse in local communities. This is essential in the expansion of scientific knowledge.

By thinking about the politics and complexities involved especially in spiritual, sexual and political abuses of elder people which the informants in the two communities of Zambia have brought out, the views of the informants also bring in scientific knowledge a perspective that is different from the one provided by scientists like Wolf. Wolf (2000) argues that elder abuse is a straight forward phenomenon to understand. However, from the findings of this study, it is evident that the informants in the two communities of Zambia hold the view that in the context of their communities, elder abuse is a complex phenomenon which cannot easily be understood. Thus, the results of this study confirm the social constructionism belief that social reality [elder abuse] is always constructed in different ways. Thus, what can be said about one context might not be said about other contexts. (Bavel et al. 2010; Manthorpe et al. 2011; Phelan 2013; Mysyuk 2015). This is also because there are no absolute truths as every truth is relative and in constant state of flux (Fook 2002; Mullaly 2009; Gray & Webb 2013). Thus, what Wolf (2000) said could explain elder abuse in American or western societies where she did her studies from and at the time she undertook the studies. Such a perspective might not be in agreement with the views of other people such as the community leaders who participated in this study. This social constructionism argument also reinforces postmodernism theory's arguments that social realities should not be generalized regardless of the scientist who generated it. This is because social realities are constructed in relation to the particular context. Thus, what may be experienced or observed in one context may be different from what is experienced or observed in other contexts. (Fook 2002; Mullaly 2009; Gray & Webb 2013).

With regard to the consequences of elder abuse on the perpetrators and in particular arrests, prosecution and imprisonments of the perpetrators, informants' citations of Zambia Witchcraft Act Chapter 90, Defamation Act of 1964 and Moral Justice Act of the Laws of Zambia as some of the legal acts that back arrests, fine and imprisonment of the perpetrators of elder abuse in their communities imply that the legal consequences suffered by the perpetrators of elder abuse in the two communities of Zambia are in

line with the Zambia national legal frameworks on violation of human rights. This means that the informants constructed elder abuse in their communities as violation of elder people's rights. This way of thinking is in line with the way elder abuse is constructed in other countries especially in the global north. In this part of the world, debates on elder abuse are discussed and prevented using human rights perspectives. That is, any form of elder abuse is seen as a violation of human rights (see WHO and INPEA 2002; Kamwengo 2004; Bavel et al. 2010; Manthorpe et al. 2011; UNFPA & HelpAge International & INPEA 2012; Phelan 2013). For example, National Center on Elder Abuse Administration on Ageing (2014) notes that most states in the United States have penalties for those who victimize older adults. This is because such an approach has power to reconstruct the negative attitudes and relationships among the perpetrators of violence. (Heisler 2000). Studies undertaken on why people comply with the law support the above thinking. For instance, studies undertaken by Telep. W. Cody (2010) and Jonaphan Jackson (2012) have established that when punishment is used, people are forced to relate with each other in socially accepted ways. This is essential in bringing about a just society free from violence. Thus, the findings of this study imply further that despite cultural differences in the construction of elder abuse prevention measures, similarities in thinking on how to respond to elder abuse also exist. Notwithstanding this, the findings of this study also show the importance of understanding elder abuse within its context. For example, informants reported that the main act that was being used by legal institutions to punish the perpetrators of spiritual abuse of elder people in their communities was the Zambia Witchcraft Act. This is because in Zambia some people believe in witchcraft and such a belief is recognized at national level by policy and law makers (Fuller 1972; Fry 1990; Phiri 2004; Times of Zambia 2014; Mapoma 2015). Such an act might not be available in other countries especially those where the belief in witchcraft might not be so strong. Finland is one of those countries. (Kamwengo 2004). This means that measures to prevent elder abuse should be informed by the local soils where specific forms of elder abuse take place (Gough 1999).

Focusing again on the consequences of various forms of elder on the two communities of Zambia and in particular bringing about family and community divisions, this result is also to some extent in agreement with existing scientific knowledge. For instance, in sociological theories such as structural and functional theories, it is theorized that where social hatred exists, social divisions characterize the social organisations of that particular social institution or society. This is because the social glue such as social love, common values and beliefs that are supposed to hold people together weaken and in some instances falter apart. (Merton 1973; Osei-Hwedie & Mwansa & Mufune 1990; Thomas 1995; Giddens 2010). Speaking from sociology of social problems, one of the conditions that make a particular problem to qualify to be a social problem, is that the negative effects of that problem should be felt and expressed by the people in that particular society. (Raab & Setznick 1959; Merton 1973; Spector & Kitsuse 1987; Loseke & Best 2011). This scientific knowledge is in line with the views of the informants who participated in this study. This is

because informants openly expressed their views that elder abuse in their communities negatively affected the social organizations of their communities. Informants' citations of family and community divisions as one of the negative consequences of elder abuse in their communities supports the above argument. When the findings of this study are linked further to the views of the WHO on violence, it agrees with WHO World Report on Violence and Health (2002). In this report it is documented that violence can destroy the families and communities in which it takes place. However, from the results of this study, it is evident that the informants from the two communities of Zambia hold the view that instead of just thinking about the destruction caused by violence in terms of the damage caused to physical infrastructure as the way it is put in the above world report, the consequence of violence should be broadened to include destructions of the social relationships and social glues in the families and communities where violence takes place.

With regard to the belief in witchcraft which all the informants brought out to be one of the main explanatory factors for elder abuse in their communities, the result is in agreement with studies on ageing in Africa undertaken by Fuller (1972); Atchley (1991), Arber & Ginn (1993) and Kamwengo (2001; 2004). One of the findings from all these studies is that during pre-colonial era in Africa in the 1800s, if an individual older person was accused of practicing witchcraft, respect was withdrawn and such a person was subjected to verbal and physical abuses. Thus, the result implies that mistreatment of elder people in the two communities of Zambia emanating from the belief that some elder people are witches should be seen to be anchored within the larger African society's common belief about ageing and witchcraft practices for which the two communities where this study took place from are part of. Unfortunately, those beliefs put elder people at risk of abuse. This is because many people in post-colonial Africa do not accept those believed to practice witchcraft. This is due to the perceived dangers associated with witchcraft. For instance, the informants and the above literature report that people who are believed to possess witchcraft are feared by other members of the Zambian society because such people are believed to have evil spiritual powers to cause harm such as lack of progress in one's life, sickness and death of other community members. Thus, in order to discourage such evil practices, family and community members who believe in the existence of witchcraft respond by subjecting people believed to possess witchcraft to inhuman treatments such as neglect, verbal and physical abuses. (Farror & Farror 1984; Levack 1995; Hutton 1999; Buckland 2002; Times of Zambia 2009; ZWA 2014). This means that the views of the informants are in line with the discourses on ageing and witchcraft practices in Africa which have been going on since time immemorial.

Still on the explanations of elder abuse but with focus on political abuse, this study has established that the 13 informants who brought out political abuse of the elder people in their communities attribute the phenomenon to the introduction of multipartism in Zambia. By thinking about the result in terms of the conceptual frameworks used, the result is in line with ecological and Marxist theories of violence which I used as conceptual frameworks. In ecological theory, it is theorized that in

order to describe and understand any social issue, there is need to always dig deeper into the four levels namely individual, community, relationship and societal levels. This is because these levels are interdependent and shape each other in bringing about the problems that exist at all the above levels. (Lawton & Nahemow 1973; Phelan 2013; Teaster 2013). This is what can be seen from the views provided by the informants. To appreciate this analysis, let me try to dig deeper into the type of politics that exist in Zambia. Since 1991, the Zambian constitution supports plural politics. For instance, at the time of this study, nineteen (19) political parties actively participated in Zambian politics. Because of this, winning an election whether at local government, parliamentary or presidential level is highly competitive and tough. (Sakala 2001; Lewanika 2003; Phiri 2004; Rakner 2004). Thus political contenders do everything possible within their means including using socially unacceptable ways to win an election. One common strategy is political abuse of the minority groups (Mubiana 2015). By thinking further about the results using structural social work theories (Fook 2002; Mullaly 2007; Gray & Webb 2013), it can be seen that the macro level political structure (multi-partism) created by political actors at national and international levels (Mahajan 2003; Hall & Midgley 2004) has brought about the political problems (political abuses) experienced at micro level (elder people). This is also similar to what is theorized in Marxist theory of violence. This theory associates problems at individual level to macro level structures. For example, Marxists argue that political selfishness among political actors at macro level such as the desire to cling on to power can make them to suppress some segments of society such as the powerless (Thomas 1995; Giddens 2010). This is similar to the other explanation given by the informants. Informants in the two communities argue further that political actors in their communities and the whole Zambia abuse some elder people because of the perceived benefits associated with political abuse in Zambia. In the views of the informants, the perceived benefits on the part of the perpetrators include acquisition of political power, monetary benefits and the social status associated with being in political power. Because the findings of this study are more or less the same like the tenets of the above theories, the result entails that what may be considered theoretical knowledge may be realities in other contexts.

Coming to the measures used by elder people when faced with abuse, it is evident that informants hold the view that six (6) main measures are commonly used in their communities. These are the church, Zambia police, village courts, conventional courts of law, CCPUs and Government of Zambia Department of Social Welfare. What is clear from the views of the informants is that in both communities, formal and informal measures are being used. Of interest is in the views of the informants, there are certain formal measures which are effective and others are not effective when addressing elder abuse. The effective measure from their views is Zambia police and the ineffective measures are CCPUs and Department of Social Welfare. In the same vein informants report that there are certain informal measures such as the church which is more effective than others notably the village courts. Infact the church is single out by the majority of the informants to be more effective than even the Zambia police.

According to the informants, some of the reasons for that are that the church addresses elder abuse in more peaceful manner and also monitors the conflicting parties on daily basis. In the views of the informants, the Zambia police do not have these qualities. This is because they are far away from where most of the elder people live and address elder abuse in more confrontational manner. What this means is that the informants are of the view that informal measures in their communities play a vital role in addressing elder abuse just like the formal measures do. Thus, from the informants' views, it means that the viable approach to addressing elder abuse in their communities and the whole Zambia lies in strengthening both informal and formal measures so that they are able to compliment each other.

By connecting the above views to the theories of institutional trust, the results mirror Rothstein and Stolle's theory of institutional trust. In this theory, it is theorized that what makes the people to trust an institution is the institution's ability to respond to the needs of the people adequately and effectively (Rothstein & Stolle 1998). From the results, it is clear that the church and the Zambia police as an institutions in the two communities of Zambia have exhibited the qualities theorized by Rothstein and Stolle. These seem to be the main reasons that have made the informants to construct the church and the police to be effective measures in addressing elder abuse. On the hand, the CCPUs, village courts and Department of Social Welfare are seen by the informants not to possess the qualities theorized in the above theory. Thus, the construction of the institutions by the informants to be ineffective in addressing elder abuse in their communities. From the views of the informants, some of the deductions that can be made are as follows: first, proximity alone is not adequate in making an institution become effective and adequate in addressing elder abuse. As can be seen from the expressions of the informants, CCPUs and village courts are local community structures comprised of local people and found right in the local communities where elder people live. Despite this, CCPUs and village courts are not appreciated by the informants. Second, being formal or informal measure does not guarantee effectiveness and adequacy in addressing elder abuse in the two communities of Zambia. This is because from the views of the informants, Department of Social Welfare and CCPUs despite being formal measures, they are not effective and adequate in addressing elder abuse in their communities. The same inadequacies apply to informal measures like the village courts. This means that the informants are not so much concerned with the measure being formal or informal. Instead they are interested in the institution's ability to attend to their local needs effectively and adequately. In other words, the results suggest that what make an institution be constructed to be effective and adequate are its abilities to provide better services to the clients. If it does not, regardless of how near, formal or informal it might be to the clients, its services cannot be appreciated by the intended beneficiaries. (Rothstein & Stolle 1998).

It is also clear from the views of the informants that the inability of the Department of Social Welfare, village courts and CCPUs to effectively and adequately address elder abuse in the two communities of Zambia is explained by what Romi Khosla (2002) calls as 'the unfreedoms'. Khosla defines 'the unfreedoms' as barriers which exist either

in institutions or society in general, which consequently make people either not to access services from that institution or if they do, it will make the people not to get satisfied with those institutions or the services offered. With reference to the views of the informants, the unfreedoms which are evident in the operations of Department of Social Welfare include inadequate funding, red tape, inadequate institutional homes for the older people and delays in responding to elder people's needs. In the case of the CCPUs and village courts the unfreedoms they have are stigma, lack of objectivity, logistical challenges and confrontational approach. As theorized by Khosla, these unfreedoms have made the Department of Social Welfare, CCPUs and village courts to be constructed by the informants to be ineffective and inadequate institutions in addressing elder abuse in their communities. Although this study was not meant to test the relevancy of the these theories in explaining the effectiveness and adequacy of the measures used in the two communities of Zambia in addressing elder abuse, in a way the results of this study have shown the relevancy of the above theories in describing and understanding elder abuse in the two communities. This is because this study has established that the views of the informants in the two communities of Zambia are not all different from the views provided by Rothstein & Stolle (1998) and Khosla (2002). Resemblances of the views of the informants with the existing theories signify the connections between theory and practice. Perhaps this way of thinking is what has made some scholars like Nigel Parton (2000) to argue that theory and practice are inseparable. For example, theory may guide practice. In the same vein, practice may give birth to new theories (Gentle-Genitty et al. 2007).

Similarly, by supporting the multidimensional approaches to addressing elder abuse which should involve empowerment and normative re-education interventions, the views of the informants agree with suggestions made by various scholars in both the global north and global south on how to address violence in society. For instance, when elder people are financially empowered, the informants argue that elder people in their communities would be able to fend for themselves. They would also be valued by informal care givers and other community members on the ground that the elder people would be seen to be of value and not as burdens to their families and to the whole community. In turn that may reduce on instances of elder abuse. That is because relationships between elder people and other community members would be improved. These views are similar to the tenets of the rights-based and empowerment theories. These theories argue that if elder people are empowered, they assert themselves in order to redress the abuse being experienced and to uphold their own rights and best interests, where possible (WHO 2002; Heydrich & Schiamburg & Chee 2012; Black 2014). The rationale for this is that income gives power to elder people to be independent and to make their own decisions concerning their lives. In this way, economic dependence on other people reduces and elder abuse perpetrated by the care givers which arise from economic stress also reduces. These theorizations are not different at all from the above views given by the informants.

Informants' advocacy for the need to extend economic empowerment measures to all the people living in Zambia means that the negatives associated with low economic

status among many elder people and youths in the two communities of Zambia such as economic dependence and begging on the streets and in the neighbourhoods would be reversed. From the findings of this study, it is evident that the informants think that if mass economic empowerment takes place in Zambia the majority of the people would have good relationships with other members of their communities and the whole Zambian society. This is because from their own daily interactions with their local communities, one of the factors that ignite elder abuse in their communities is economic frustrations among elder people, the youths and other members of the Zambian society. For instance, informants argue that many elder people beg for material things such as food, money, clothes and alcohol from the youths and other community members due to income poverty. Thus, one way the youths and other community members resist those types of elder people is to abuse them either verbally, physically or spiritually. Thus, if empowered such elder people would stop begging from the youths and other people in their neighbourhoods. In this way chances for abuse would be minimized. This way of thinking is in agreement with theories on violence prevention. For example, ecological and Marxist theories which I used as my conceptual frameworks argue that if good economic relationships exist at all levels of society, violence in society can be reduced. This is because most of the people in that particular society would be happy. If people are happy, it is rare for them to get involved in violence (Lawton & Nahemow 1973; Osei-Hwedie & Mwansa & Mufune 1990; Hall & Midgley 2004; Giddens 2010). This is because violence is one indicator which shows that people in the particular setting or society are not happy with certain phenomena and those phenomena should be addressed (Mandela 2002). Informants' views are also in line with the policy measures proposed by many policy makers and researchers globally on how to address elder abuse. For instance, social pension and youth economic empowerments globally are seen as critical in addressing elder abuse and other forms of violence in general. This is because it lessens risk factors for violence such as over-dependence, poverty, inequality, and burnouts among others (World Report on Violence and Health 2002; Devereux & Sabates-Wheeler 2004; Kamwengo 2004; Nhongo 2008; HelpAge International 2011; Global AgeWatch Index 2014; World Report on Ageing and Health 2015).

Focusing on normative re-educative strategies, the views of the informants are in line with the studies undertaken by Jessica .H. Jonsson (2010) in Nordic countries and Virkki (2015) in Finland. Through out this study the informants have suggested that elder abuse in their communities and the whole Zambia can be addressed if the values, beliefs, norms and attitudes of all the people living in Zambia are changed. For instance, informants advocate for the need to re-socialize the whole Zambian society so that everyone understands that problems in their lives and the whole Zambian society do not come because of witchcraft practices by the older people. Informants also argue that all the people living in Zambia should be made to understand that success comes about by hardworking and not by practicing witchcraft. They should also be empowered with appropriate knowledge that old age is not an indication that one is a witch. Rather, old age comes about due to many factors such as living a health life and

due to blessings from God. Equally, informants argue that if some [elder] people truly practice witchcraft in their communities and across Zambia, they should be helped to understand the dangers associated with such practices so that they stop those ways of living. If these values and beliefs are inculcated in the Zambian society, the informants think that negative attitudes that some people in their communities have about the elder people would be changed. That may help in preventing violence against the elder people. Some scientists like Bennis & Benne & Chin (1985), Thomas (1995), Giddens (2010) and Afrikanus (2015) argue that perceptions of individuals are often affected by institutionalized ways of thinking and by existing societal structures. This means that if normative re-education takes place at micro, meso and macro levels of the Zambian society and start immediately after the Zambian children are born, when they are in pre-schools up to high school and continue throughout their lifespans as suggested by the informants, people at different levels of the Zambian society could develop positive attitudes and thinking about elder people. This may help to reduce abuse of elder people. This is because of the positive relationships that would exist at all levels of the Zambian society with the older people.

The above ways of thinking are similar to the views provided by Jonsson (2010) and Virkki (2015). One policy proposal established by these researchers on how to address violence in nordic countries is the need to raise victims' awareness and increasing their level of understanding of the the factors that cause abuse and what they needed to do to avoid abuse. In Virkki's study, discourse on empowerment means locating the victim's resources and strengths and increasing their ability to act and take control over their lives. The informants' views are also in line with the views provided by Noel Busch and Deborah Valentine (2000) on how women can prevent violence against them. Busch & Valentine advise that battered women are not victims by choice and that given adequate support, they will choose violence-free lives for themselves. For instance, if empowered with appropriate knowledge on what causes violence and how violence can be prevented, Busch & Valentine argue that women would begin to take responsibility for their future by actively attempting to change the situations that bring about abuse. Concentrating on why it is important to change the norms, values and beliefs of the perpetrators of elder abuse, the views of the informants are line with the thoughts provided by Scott & Wolfe (2000) on how to address IPV. In their studies, Scott & Wolfe support the notion that successful process of violence prevention presupposes that the abuser realizes that abuse is not right. This brings in the idea of a responsible agent which includes the ability to feel compassion and achieve ethical understanding that abuse is not right and, based on these, a genuine motivation and desire to change by the perpetrators of violence (Virkki 2015). Achieving this level of thinking among societal members is not so easy. This is because it requires changing the normative and value systems of the whole society. (Bennis & Benne & Chin 1985; Hall & Midgley 2004). This is why the informants from the two communities of Zambia hold the view that sustainable elder abuse prevention in their communities and the whole Zambia lies in socializing all the children living in Zambia with the appropriate knowledge about

ageing. This is because if children are brought up with the thinking that elder abuse is a wrong thing to do, they will desist from such vices when they become youths or adults.

In light of the aforesaid, it seems that whether it is in global north or global south, different people are of the view that one possible strategy to address elder abuse lies in changing the values, norms and customs of all the people and institutions on how to relate with the older people. In other words, the proposed measures center on improving human relationships, improving power dynamics and addressing ageism at all levels of human society. By reflecting upon all the above suggestions, it seems that in both empowerment and normative re-educatives strategies, informants are advocating for the need to bring about social justice in their communities and throughout Zambia. This is because in a just society every human being is valued. As a result, mistreatment of one person by the other is rarely experienced. (Rawl 1972; Freire 1979; Mandela 2002; Mahajan 2003; Virkki 2015; Mikkonen 2016). Informants' advocacy for a just Zambia is particularly evident when they make calls on the need to empower everyone in Zambia, reduce inequality and poverty so that everyone living in Zambia is happy. In their views, where people are happy it is rare for them to abuse each other. The demands made by the informants are the characteristics of any just society (*ibid*). Their views on how their communities and the whole Zambia should be reconstructed are similar to the tenets theorized in ecological and Marxist theories of violence on how to address violence in society (Lawton & Nahemow 1973; Crouter 1978; Thomas 1995; Giddens 2010). These theories argue that violence in human society can be addressed if injustices that fuel abuse are addressed at all levels of society. Some of the injustices advocated against by these theories include inequality, poverty, and insecurity. This means that the views advanced by the informants are in line with the global discourses on how to bring about a just society where no human being is discriminated against or abused (Hall & Midgley 2004; WHO 2015).

The above similarities in thinking on how to address elder abuse in both the global north and global south show that elder abuse is also an issue across and about borders. That is, it can also be described and understood well by looking at what is being done in different contexts on how to address it. In this way common grounds and divergences for addressing elder abuse can be established. In postmodern world, knowledge sharing is important because there is no knowledge that is superior to the other. (Mullaly 2007; Brydon 2011; Jonsson 2013; Wehbi 2014; Mikkonen 2016). Thus, by learning from each other on how to address elder abuse, knowledge can be enhanced (WHO 2002).

In addition, by using local ways of knowing and doing, this study has addressed gaps in the existing scientific knowledge identified in the chapter for review of available literature. Notable among the gaps addressed include the types of poverty which cause elder abuse in the two communities of Zambia, the consequences of elder abuse on the perpetrators, the intended and unintended consequences of elder abuse and the measures which are effective and ineffective in addressing specific types of elder abuse. That is, by learning from the community leaders from the two communities of Zambia about elder abuse in their local communities, I have learnt that material/monetary and knowledge poverties are the major types of poverty that ignite different types of elder

abuse in their communities. It is also clear from the views of the informants that when negative sanctions are imposed on the perpetrators, elder abuse negatively affects the perpetrators. For instance, informants report that in their communities elder abuse had brought about arrests, imprisonments and stigmatization of the perpetrators of elder abuse among other negative effects. From the views of the informants, it is also clear that forcing elder people to live in socially accepted ways, harming and killing of elder people, and winning elections are some of the intended consequences of elder abuse in the two communities of Zambia. On the other hand, informants have disclosed that creating social problems such as disturbing community solidarity, creating family divisions, arrests and imprisonments of perpetrators of elder abuse, creating low participation in community developmental programmes and creating generational hatred are some of the unintended effects of elder abuse in their communities. When it comes to measures which are effective and ineffective in addressing elder abuse, informants hold the view that the use of the church and the police are the most effective measures in addressing different types of elder abuse in their communities. On the other hand, informants think that the use of the village courts, CCPUs and Department of Social Welfare are ineffective in addressing different types of elder abuse. These results suggest that knowledge of the local people who know their local environments better can help in addressing gaps in scientific knowledge. Whether the sources of knowledge are not scientists, the knowledge of the local people about social reality in their local communities should always be valued. This is because local people are seasoned experts of social realities in their own local communities. (Martinez 2010).

Furthermore, the results of this study have also exposed gaps in the scientific knowledge. Among them include common categorization of elder abuse into five typologies namely verbal, physical, material, sexual and neglect (see WHO 2002; 2005; 2008; 2013; 2015). In the views of the informants from the two communities of Zambia, this categorization leaves out two typologies of elder abuse. These are spiritual and political abuses of elder people in the two communities and the whole Zambia. Other gaps include characteristics of the abused elder people, and characteristics of the perpetrators of elder abuse. In situational and ecological theories, it is theorized that elder people who suffer abuse are those who are mentally impaired, with economic strains, those who are isolated and those who depend on care givers. On the other hand, the perpetrators of elder abuse are theorized to be caregivers who abuse substance, with burn-outs, with history of violence and socialization problems. (Lawton & Nahemow 1973; Pillemer & Wolf 1986; WHO 2002). Whilst this study appreciates these theorizations, the views of the informants in the two communities of Zambia have indicated that the above theories have not captured all the categories of elder people that suffer abuse in the context of the two communities. For instance, the above theories have left out elder people without any economic strains and those who do not depend on the care givers. The theories have also left out perpetrators who are not care-givers to elder people. This means that the knowledge generated in this study using local ways of knowing and doing have shown that there is still much more to think and know about elder abuse. This is because the results have shown that the existing

scientific knowledges have not covered the phenomenon of elder abuse holistically. By making these arguments, one key point is worthy re-emphasizing on. That is, the study results underscore postmodernism arguments that all knowledge whether theoretical or empirical, and regardless of who originated it or where it originated from and how it emerged and no matter how powerfully they are embedded in social, political, economic, academic and individual ways of viewing the world, they should be opened up for critical questioning. (Fook 2002; Mullaly 2007; Gray & Webb).

In light of the above all, this study agrees with notes by Lena Dominelli (2010) and Dennis Martinez (2010) that local ways of knowing and doing have been particularly important in challenging dominant social discourses. That is, local ways of knowing and doing have played a key role in initiating alternative discourses. This is because as Ngugi Wa Thiong'o (1986); Arja Schutte (1999); and Tuihawai Smith (2002) have established, the foundation of all knowledge systems is local. In other words, this is because different cultures have different ways and experiences of social reality which encompass sophisticated arrays of information, understanding, and interpretation that guide interactions with social reality which may be different from same realities in other contexts. These in turn act as foundations for challenging and/or changing dominant knowledge (Lander 2002; Kante 2004; Horsthemke 2004; Matike 2008). For example, because the informants from the two communities of Zambia have reported that in the context of their communities and the whole Zambia, spiritual and political abuses of some elder people are also experienced, these views have potential to initiate alternative discourses on the typologies of elder abuse even at global level. This is because once people across the world read the findings of this study, they will develop new ways of thinking about the forms of elder abuse recorded in the two communities of Zambia. In that way even the knowledge disseminated by the 'buzz' institutions like WHO (2002; 2005; 2008; 2013; 2015) and UN (2005; 2008; 2012) where it is consistently reported that the common forms of elder abuse at global level are neglect, verbal, material, sexual and physical abuses can be challenged and/or broadened. In showing why it is important to respect local ways of knowing and doing, Catherine .A. Odoro-Hoppers (2002) argues that in scientific community, there is an increasing emphasis that intercultural learning should be based on local experiences. This is because local experiences are a necessary prerequisite and a first step towards intercultural dialogue of knowledge systems. This is also essential in the contributions to the global pool of knowledge.

The above ways of thinking are also supported by other scientists. For example, Schutte (1999) and Martinez (2010) argue that local ways of knowing and doing can influence other contexts because they act as eye-openers to other contexts. For example, one of the findings of this study is political abuse of elder people in the two communities of Zambia. Since the desire to acquire political power which is behind political abuse of some elder people in the two communities of Zambia exists in all the nations across the world, this study may motivate other researchers across the world to try to ascertain whether political abuse of elder people also exists in their nations. Ben Orlove (2010) and Muxe .N. Nkondo (2012) also support the above social thoughts. They state

that, in spite of the various contentions on the effectiveness of the indicators used by indigenous communities around the world in detecting and addressing community problems, indigenous knowledge systems have increasingly attracted the attention of many observers in both developed and developing countries. Scientists, researchers and practitioners are starting to realize the importance of recognizing and working with indigenous knowledge systems which builds on generations of experience. This is because indigenous knowledge systems generate new insights of thinking about social realities. Because of the uniqueness of local ways of knowing and doing, Kaya Hassan (2014) advises that indigenous knowledge can be proper sources for social theory and research development. For example, going back to spiritual and political abuses of some elder people reported by the informants in the two communities of Zambia, these new insights have given new directions to scientists about theory generation and theory development in the context of the two communities and the whole Zambia.

Lastly, because of some differences in constructions of elder abuse established in this study and in international literature which is dominated by literature from the global north (WHO 2002; Phelan 2013; Cadmus & Theodora & Oladapo 2015), the study argues that in order to have wider pool of knowledge on elder abuse, there is need to bridge the gaps between the epistemologies from the global south and global north, centers and margins, practice and theorization, as well as spirituality and rationality. This leads towards holistic inclusion and respect for diversities in constructions of elder abuse and in decolonization of scientific knowledge. This is because locally relevant and culturally sensitive analysis whether it is from global north or global south transgresses the epistemological borders and contributes to the ethical scrutiny of social realities within those locales. (Deepak 2011; Wehbi 2014; Mikkonen 2016). Thus, by using local ways of knowing and doing, this study has also raised the need among scientists in both global north and global south to find ways to co-operate within different borderlands when trying to describe and understand the global problem of elder abuse, including the questions and contradictions of culturally and contextually defined epistemologies and social dynamics that surround the social constructions of different aspects of elder abuse (Brydon 2011; Jonsson 2013). This is essential in decolonizing and broadening scientific knowledge on elder abuse. This is because knowledge from all parts of the world will be brought into the mainstream elder abuse discourses.

6.2.2 Proposed Model of Elder Abuse in Zambia

As a way of contributing to social scientific community calls on the need to have context specific theories on social issues such as elder abuse (Martinez 2010; Anetzberger 2012; Hassan 2014), in this section, I offer this model as an alternative model to use in describing and understanding the phenomenon of elder abuse in the rural and urban communities of Zambia. I also provide a summary of selected major contributions that this study has added to scientific knowledge.

In the proposed Model of Elder Abuse in Zambia, I argue that elder abuse in Zambia exists in many forms which include spiritual abuse, neglect, verbal abuse, physical

abuse, material abuse, political abuse, and sexual abuse. Any elder person is a potential victim of abuse. This is because elder abuse is determined by the relationships that the particular elder person has with the perpetrators. That is, if they do not relate well with other people, any elder person regardless of their socio-economic status can suffer abuse. This is most likely to happen in cases of spiritual abuse, verbal abuse, physical abuse and material abuse. Political abuse is most likely to happen to elder people who are illiterate, with poor eye sights, and those living in material poverty. Sexual abuse is likely to happen mostly to elder people (both men and women) who abuse substance (alcohol) and those who live in isolation. Neglect is likely to happen to elder people who are suspected to be practicing witchcraft and those who are materially poor. When it comes to the characteristics of the perpetrators, this model argues that depending on circumstances, people of different characteristics can get involved in elder abuse. This is because what determines participation in elder abuse is the quality of relationships that members of society have with the particular elder person. If the relationship is poor and or if there is ageism, any person can participate in elder abuse. When elder abuse takes place, it negatively affects not only the abused elder people, but also negatively affect the perpetrators of elder abuse, families, local communities in which it takes place as well as the whole Zambia. This is because as theorized in ecological and Marxist theories of violence, all these levels in Zambia are interdependent. As such what happens at one level directly or indirectly affect the other (Lawton & Nahemow 1973; Crouter 1978; Thomas 1995; Giddens 2010; Teaster 2013; Phelan 2013).

The model argues that there are many explanations for elder abuse in Zambia. However, all the explanations can be grouped into four categories. These are: individual elder people's factors, perpetrators factors, local community social factors and national/international environmental factors. Depending on circumstances, the factors can be interdependent. As theorized in ecological and Marxist theories of violence, the model argues further that the factors that explain elder abuse in Zambia exist at three broad levels. These are micro, meso and macro levels. These levels are intertwined. Thus, when trying to explain elder abuse, there is need to dig deeper into each of the levels as well as across all the levels. This should be done simultaneously. (Ibid.)

In order to address elder abuse in Zambia, the model suggests two broad measures namely empowerment measures and normative re-educative measures. Both measures should be targeted simultaneously at all levels of the Zambian society just as theorized in ecological and Marxist theories of violence as well as in critical and structural social work theories and practice (Fook 2002; Mullaly 2007; Gray & Webb 2013; Black 2014). If these measures are effectively and adequately implemented, they can bring about good relationships, address power imbalances and address ageism among people in Zambia. These in turn may bring about what social workers and Marxists call a just society. That is, a society where everyone is valued. (Rawl 1972). This way of organizing Zambian society may lead to the prevention of elder abuse. This is because where there are good relationships, positive attitudes toward one other and power equality, abuse rarely exists. (Antonucci 2001; Mandela 2002).

Note of acknowledgement: The proposed model has been developed with assistance of the local knowledge provided by 31 community leaders involved in addressing the social problem of elder abuse in the two communities of Zambia who were the informants of this study, ecological and Marxist's theories of violence which were the conceptual frameworks of this study, the three concepts (that is, relationship, power and ageism) used as analytical tools for interpreting data as well as various social sciences literatures on elder abuse. The academic and practical combinations of these ideas in formulation of the model provide a multidimensional way of thinking about elder abuse in Zambia. The model also offers suggestions on what can be done at all levels of the Zambian society if the problem of elder abuse is to be eradicated. In so doing, the model commit with the very core value of international social work which is bringing about a just society where no human being is abused or discriminated against (IFSW & IASSW 1994; Rawl 1999; Tyrkko 2010; Mikkonen 2016). Figure 9 is the summary of the model:

Typologies of elder abuse recorded
Spiritual abuse, verbal abuse, physical abuse, material abuse, sexual abuse, political abuse and Neglect



Characteristics of Abused Elder People

<i>Characteristics of elder people who suffer spiritual, verbal, physical and material abuses</i>	<i>Characteristics of elder people who suffer neglect</i>	<i>Characteristics of elder people who suffer sexual abuse</i>	<i>Characteristics of elder people who suffer political abuse</i>
Any elder person suspected to be practicing witchcraft	Those suspected to be practicing witchcraft; and those who are materially poor	Those who abuse substance (alcohol); and who live in isolation	Those who are: illiterate; with poor eye sights; and who are materially poor



Characteristics of perpetrators of elder abuse
People of different characteristics can get involved in elder abuse



Consequences of elder abuse

<i>Consequences on abused elder people</i>	<i>Consequences on the perpetrators</i>	<i>Consequences on the family/local community</i>	<i>Consequences on the nation</i>
Injury, death, fear, low self-esteem, isolation, low productivity, running away from homes/communities	Arrests, imprisonments, fine, stigmatized, fear, isolation, low productivity, running away from communities	Family/community divisions, low participation in family/community affairs, poor family/community governance, generational hatred	Retard national development through diversion of national resources towards addressing elder abuse; poor family governance and poor local community governance



Factors that explain elder abuse

<i>Individual elder people's factors</i>	<i>Perpetrators' factors</i>	<i>Local community environmental factors</i>	<i>National/international environmental factors</i>
Material poverty, knowledge poverty, poor eye sights, elder people's own behavior and previous lifestyles	Belief in witchcraft, Material poverty, knowledge poverty, perceived benefits of elder abuse, selfishness, jealous	Belief in witchcraft, material poverty, knowledge poverty, insecurity, changes in traditional ways of living, few institutions promoting elder people's welfare	Inadequate/poor policies and programmes on ageing; Inadequate implementation of policies and programmes on ageing; monetary poverty; multi-party democracy; flaws in electoral system



Suggested measures on how to address elder abuse

Empowerment measures – economic and social empowerments (target all levels of society). Need to use both informal and formal measures.	Normative re-educative measures – change values, beliefs, norms and customs about ageing and elder abuse (target all levels of society). Need to use both informal and formal measures.
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Figure 9 Proposed model of elder abuse in Zambia

By using knowledge of the community leaders from the two communities of Zambia as primary base for coming up with above model, the study has also contributed to culturally relevant, contextually specific practices and conceptualizations of elder abuse in local communities of the nation Zambia which is less visible in international literature where the phenomenon of elder abuse is concerned (Mupila 2008; Draft Zambia National Ageing Policy 2013; SCAZ 2013). In light of this, the model is also a contribution to social work theory and research. This is because it aligns itself with international social work which aims at bringing the peripherals into the mainstream development discourses (Midgley 2006; Dominelli 2014; Healy 2014) and decolonizing methods (Spivak 1998; Gray & Hetherington 2013; Motta 2015). Thus this study takes international elder abuse discourses to higher levels. This is because it has shown that there is still much more to think about and debate among the scientists in both global north and global south about elder abuse. Given similarities in ways Africans live (African Charter on Human and People's Rights 2005; Nhongo 2009; Draft Zambia National Ageing Policy 2013), the model might also be of relevance in describing and understanding elder abuse in the African region.

Last but not the least, when all the new insights provided in this model are brought together, one deduction that arises is that on the overall, the findings of this study have broken various scientific boundaries that engulfed scientific knowledge on elder abuse. This is because new ways of thinking about elder abuse have been generated. According to Creswell (2007), one of the greatest contributions of any piece of scientific research to scientific knowledge is changing people's thinking about a particular phenomenon. In light of this piece of advice, the author argues that although the model is based on fieldwork in specific contexts with unique elements and cannot be generalized across the world, the knowledge gained through this study has broadened scientific knowledge on elder abuse. Thus, it is my hope that the results of this study will spark intense scientific debates among scientists and non-scientists on elder abuse.

6.2.3 Evaluation of the research

In this section, I evaluate social constructionism and qualitative research as methodological commitments that guided this study. Although evaluation covers both pros and cons of the phenomenon being evaluated (Creswell 2007), this section will largely cover the methodological contributions of social constructionism and qualitative research to this study and briefly the weaknesses associated with the methods used to collect data. Detailed information about the limitations of this study is provided separately in the section for limitations of the research project. This is meant to ease visibility of these sections.

To begin with, the knowledge generated in this study has been made possible with the use of social constructionism and qualitative research. That is, by allowing the philosophical foundation and research methodology that allow the local people to freely unfold social issues in their local communities using their own cultural connotations, thinking, experiences, observations and in their own words (Berger & Luckmann 1991;

Mason 2002; Creswell 2007), detailed descriptions and understandings of elder abuse from the views of the 31 community leaders in the two communities of Zambia have been captured. The use of these methodological commitments allowed me to capture the nuances surrounding various aspects of elder abuse in the two communities from the views of the informants. Individual interviews were very useful in exploring subject areas that seemed too controversial or sensitive for a focus group atmosphere. For example, sensitive information about individual elder persons who suffered abuse. That was because interviewees felt more comfortable to discuss with me the details about either themselves or other elder people who suffered abuse. More detailed information was collected during individual interviews because informants had enough time to talk about the phenomenon of elder abuse without any interruptions. That was because individuals were the only source of information. Although detailed information was also collected during group interviews due to the small number of informants who participated in focus group discussions, individual views were sometimes thwarted by other informants during group interviews. For instance, some informants talked more than others. Thus, not every group participant had an equal chance to freely express themselves. It also seemed that during group interviews sensitive issues such as detailed information about individual elder persons who suffered abuse could not be explored in detail as compared to the way it was in individual interviews. Informants in group interviews seemed somehow not very comfortable to do that. Perhaps, that was due to ethical issues that surround talking about the lives of other people in a group environment. Despite these weaknesses, focus group discussions proved very useful in generating new topics that facilitated further discussions. That was because individual participants provided either counter views to what other informants said or supplemented the views of other informants by bringing in additional information from other incidences of elder abuse that they encountered. For example, that was evident when discussing spiritual and sexual abuses of elder people. Informants challenged each other's views and at the same time brought to the discussions new insights about elder abuse from other cases of elder abuse that they participated in addressing. These interactions generated debates and consequently more nuances about elder abuse were unearthed. That did not happen during individual interviews. That was because individual informants had no other informants to either challenge their views or bring in supplementary information about the issues raised. In addition, through group interviews, it was also easier to establish common understandings among group members about different facets of elder abuse in their communities. For instance, all the informants agreed about the various dynamics that surrounded spiritual, neglect, verbal, and physical abuses of the elder people in their communities.

Due to the flexible nature of the methodological commitments that I used, I overcame the above weaknesses associated with individual and group interviews by combining both types of interviews in the same study. For example, since I did not explore sensitive topics during focus group discussions, in order to get detailed information about sensitive issues highlighted during group interviews, I did follow-up individual interviews with either the particular individual who raised it or with

institutions or informants who had that information. For example, I did that with spiritual abuse, political abuse, and operations of CCPUs. These issues were raised in brief by individual participants during focus group discussions. However, due to time limitations associated with group interviews, I could not explore in detail the dynamics that surrounded the above issues. Instead I made follow-up individual interviews with the specific individuals who raised those issues. For instance, in the case of the CCPUs, although most of the informants discussed the operations of CCPUs, most of them had no technical information such as the actual government documents that explain how CCPUs are supposed to operate. Thus, in order to get technical information, informants referred me to other institutions that they felt had the information that I was looking for. The same thing happened when looking for the specific legal documents that were used by courts of law, the police, village courts and CCPUs to arrest and prosecute perpetrators of elder abuse. For example, the majority of the informants only reported that there was the witchcraft act that was being used but could not give me the full details about the act. Thus, in order for me to have reliable information about the act and other legal documents used in addressing elder abuse, informants referred me to other institutions and individuals whom they felt were well placed to answer my questions. Because I wanted to read and quote the specific documents so that they back the interview data, I had no option but to go to those institutions and individuals. This indicates that during this fieldwork, I interacted with various institutions and individuals who were not in my research plans at all. Whilst that made my fieldwork more stressful and expensive, from these examples, it is clear that the use of social constructionism and qualitative research in this study opened new avenues for me to collect comprehensive information that has brought about better descriptions and understandings of elder abuse in the two communities of Zambia. This is because these methodological commitments did not confine me to one approach for data collection. Rather, they allowed me to use all the avenues available at my disposal provided I was convinced as a researcher that those avenues would enable me to answer better the research questions which this study sought to answer.

The combination of individual and group interviews as well as specific documents recommended to me by the informants allowed triangulation of the data to be done. That made me to make sound conclusions on how different aspects of elder abuse were constructed by individual and group members. For example, after triangulating the data, it is evident most of the informants in both individual and group interviews and from both rural community and urban community constructed different aspects of elder abuse in their communities such as on typologies of elder abuse, explanations of elder abuse, consequences of elder abuse, measures which are effective and ineffective in addressing elder abuse and suggestions on how to address different forms of elder abuse in similar ways. The data from the informants and specifically on spiritual abuse were triangulated with the Zambia Witchcraft Act (ZWC). On the overall, it is evident that what the informants from both communities shared with me were in line with the ZWC. This made me to have more confidence in the data. That was because I felt the informants knew what they were talking about during the interviews.

These examples also highlight additional strengths which social constructionism and qualitative research have brought to this study. That is, because these methodological commitments allowed me to collect data from several sources, it has established some foundation for descriptions and understandings of elder abuse richer in the two communities of Zambia.

Another contribution made by these methodological commitments is the platform created for this study to generate new ideas about elder abuse and consequently leading to the extension of scientific knowledge. Because these methodological commitments freely allowed the informants to share with me their views about elder abuse in their communities by drawing knowledge from any form of elder abuse that they knew, several new ideas about elder abuse in their communities have been established by this study. For example, before I started this study, I thought that elder abuse in the two communities of Zambia took place in five main forms (neglect, verbal, material, sexual and physical abuses) as documented in many world reports such as those published by WHO (2002; 2005; 2008; 2013; 2015). Thus, even if embarked on this study, I did expect to collect information about the typologies of elder abuse in the two communities which were completely different from what is documented in WHO reports. This is because I assumed that the WHO being a world body and composed of highly dignified scientists (Hall & Midgley 2004; Cornwall & Brock 2005), everything reported by the WHO was a reflection of what was going in every corner of the world. After undertaking this study, the informants informed me that in the context of their communities, spiritual abuse and political abuse also exist. Similarly, before I started this study, I did not come across in the literature that I reviewed that the church is one of the measures that can be used to address elder abuse. To my surprise, from the views of the informants, the church is constructed to be the most effective measure used to address different forms of elder abuse in their communities. These views provided by the informants have extended scientific knowledge. This is because new ways of thinking about elder abuse have generated. Thus, this study has made me to appreciate the arguments by social constructionists and qualitative researchers that the use of social constructionism and qualitative research is the time to generate new knowledge and broaden scientific thinking (Berger & Luckmann 1991; Mason 2002; Creswell 2007; Berger 2015).

In light of the above evaluations, the findings of this study provide strong support for the importance of calibrating the philosophical and methodological approach with the underlying aims of the study. Particularly in instances where research is intended to develop a deeper description and understanding of the particular phenomenon, social constructionism and qualitative research become the best alternatives. (Naysmith 2015). By employing these methodological commitments, I have achieved the aims of my study. Due to the advantages that I have experienced as a result of using these methodological commitments in this study, I highly recommend it to other scientists who want to explore certain social phenomena in detail and those who want to expand scientific knowledge.

6.2.4 Limitations of the Research Project

In this sub-chapter which is an extension of the section for evaluation of the research, I discuss the limitations of this study. Despite the contributions made to scientific knowledge, this study has the following limitations:

To begin with, the findings of this study are based on qualitative data collected from 19 community leaders from one rural community and 12 community leaders from one urban community of Zambia. Although most of them were community leaders representing not only the two communities but the whole Zambia and as such have provided useful insights in describing and understanding elder abuse not only in the two communities but throughout Zambia, the established findings they should not be generalized to other rural and urban communities of the world. They cannot also be generalized to all the community leaders scattered across Zambia. For example, Zambia has over 80 districts which represent over 13 million Zambian people. In all these districts they are thousands of community leaders and some of them participate in addressing elder abuse in their communities. (SCAZ 2013; Draft Zambia National Ageing Policy 2013). Because the informants were not randomly selected from among all the community leaders in Zambia that had participated in addressing elder abuse in their communities (Saks & Allsop 2007; Teddlie & Tashokkori 2008; Yin 2011), their views cannot be generalized to all the community leaders across Zambia. This is because what may be said by one or few people may not be said by other people even in the same community. This is also because what may be happening in one setting may not be happening in other settings. (Pope & Loeffler & Ferrell 2013). This is important to consider because elder abuse is socially constructed and differs from person to person as well as from society to society (Phelan 2013). Thus, the findings presented in this study should be seen to be the views of the 31 community leaders who participated in this study and not the views of all the people of Zambia.

In addition, there was also some bias in the recruitment of the community leaders in both individual and group interviews. For instance, the informants were purposively and conveniently selected. In addition, only community leaders in the two communities who were recommended to me by the local leaders (elderly people's representatives, the Zambia Police and community development workers) were included in the study. Unfortunately some of them refused to participate in the study and those who were too busy with their own programmes such as local community political leaders from the ruling party and representatives of the youth could not participate in the study. Equally those leaders in the two communities who were not recommended to me were not contacted to participate in this study. The views of these leaders are not captured in this study. Thus, it is beyond this study to assess the extent to which the community leaders who did not participate in this study agree or disagree with those who participated in this study. Another bias was in the recruitment of the participants in focus group discussions. Although all the participants in the focus group discussions were those who had participated in addressing elder abuse in their communities, the primary participants just invited the people whom they thought had also vital information about elder abuse. Thus, there is possibility that the primary participants

could have invited only their own friends, workmates or family members. This has also some limitations on the conclusions and the policy implications made. This is because the participants were in a way a homogenous group. Thus, there was an existence of some kind of hegemonic beliefs, perceptions and attitudes about elder abuse in their communities and the whole Zambia.

This research project is also limited in that it has produced quite similar knowledge on all aspects of elder abuse. Despite the informants being drawn from one rural community and one urban community as well as from different institutions and people of different ages, and some even with direct experiences of elder abuse, their views about elder abuse in their communities are quite similar. Only a minority have given different views. Thus, the study seems a somewhat to have produced surprising findings. For example, one common belief among many social constructionists is that individuals tend to see things differently and thus it is theorized that studies that use social constructionism as their philosophical foundation should bring different views about the phenomenon under study (Berger & Luckmann 1991; Mason 2002; Creswell 2007; Bergen 2015). Thus, being guided by this philosophical foundation, I was expecting that informants will give some distinctive views about elder abuse in their communities. To my surprise similar views have dominated this study. This means that this study is limited in that it is biased towards one side of the coin. That is, it has largely established the similarities in constructions of elder abuse by the informants. The other side of the coin (divergent views about elder abuse in the two communities of Zambia) is less visible. In a way, this means that divergent views about elder abuse in the study sites are still unknown. Perhaps, one of the reasons for this is because of the major criterion used in the selection of the informants. In this study, the main criterion used to select the community leaders was their participation in addressing elder abuse in their communities. Apparently all of them participated in addressing spiritual abuse which in their views was the main form of abuse since it gave birth to other types of abuse such as neglect, verbal, physical, sexual and somehow material abuse. From another lens, it means that this research project has a limitation in that it included in the project a homogenous group of the participants. (Saks & Allsop 2007; Teddlie & Tashokkori 2008; Yin 2011). This is because all the community leaders had similar exposures. In my own view, the similarities in the findings entail that in those instances where informants are exposed to the same phenomenon under investigation, their constructions of the particular phenomenon may be similar. Another meaning could be that, I did not reach informants with other kinds of views. Again this is a surprising result and raises questions as to why community leaders with different views about elder abuse could not be reached out to. However, it was not my choice to only select informants with hegemonic beliefs, perceptions and attitudes about elder abuse. Thus, it is beyond me to adequately explain the similarities in the results established by this study.

Given its limitations, however, few previous studies have been undertaken in rural and urban communities of Zambia and in the African region in general (WHO 2002; Mupila 2008; Cadmus & Theodora & Oladapo 2015). This study has filled up these and

other gaps that existed in scientific knowledge. It has also generated new knowledge on different aspects of elder abuse in the two communities of Zambia which can transform world outlooks about elder abuse. These represent some of the major strengths of this study.

6.2.5 Reflection on learning and personal developments through research

Throughout the process of doing the research I wrote some reflective thoughts in my learning journal. In this section I want to document a few reflective thoughts which I feel have made me to develop as a researcher, social gerontologist and social worker.

To begin with, throughout the study, I reviewed a lot of literature on elder abuse and research methodology. My supervisors advised that for me to identify gaps in scientific knowledge and have better understandings of the phenomenon of elder abuse, I needed to read different documents especially peer reviewed scientific articles. In response to this piece of advice, I endured hard to read as many publications and other documents as possible. Because from the very beginning I was told by my supervisors that the phenomenon of elder abuse which I was researching on was a social construct which differed from society to society and from context to context (Bavel et.al 2010; Manthorpe et.al 2011; Phelan 2013), I chose to read some literature at least from every part of the world. For instance, I read some literature on elder abuse in Europe, elder abuse in North America and Oceania, elder abuse in Latin America and the Caribbean, elder abuse in Asia and elder abuse in Africa (UNDESA 2012). This multifaceted approach to reviewing the literature has been beneficial to me in different ways. For instance, it has enhanced my level of thinking about elder abuse and research methodologies in different parts of the world. For instance, I have learnt that there no one way of understanding and researching elder abuse. This is because it is a social construct which mean different things to different people across the world. Thus, even researching it can be done using different research methodologies depending on the motivations and aims of the study.

Doing the whole fieldwork alone has also provided a unique learning moment for me. For instance, in my academic life, this was the first time to use social constructionism and qualitative research as my methodological commitments. That was because my background was in quantitative research. Thus, I had serious challenges to move away from quantitative research approach to qualitative research. However, through this process I have acquired several new knowledges and skills in qualitative research. Notable among them include how to conduct the qualitative interview, how to use tape recorders, how to transcribe an audio interview, the softwares used to transcribe qualitative data, and how to analyse, present and interpret qualitative data. This fieldwork further made me to translate theory into practice. For instance, one of advantages of social constructionism and qualitative research which I read in several literature was its flexibility nature which permeate the researcher to even adopt other data collection methods whilst collecting data even if they did not plan for those methods when designing their research (Berger & Luckman 1991; Mason 2002; Creswell 2007;

Saks & Allsop 2007; Yin 2011). I experienced this nature of qualitative research. For instance, when I designed my study plan at the University of Lapland, I did not want to do FGDs. This is because of the reasons given in the chapter for research process. However, informants in the field decided that we hold also FGDs and themselves invited their fellow community leaders whom they felt had reliable information about elder abuse in their communities because they also participated in addressing elder abuse. By accommodating FGDs even if I did not plan for it, the findings of this study have been made richer. For instance data from FGDs were compared with the study findings from individual interviews (Naysmith 2015). In that way convergences and divergences about different aspects of elder abuse in the two communities of Zambia have been enhanced.

The challenges that I faced when collecting my data also gave me also some reflective thoughts and personal development. I encountered some difficulties to collect data in both communities, though it was more difficult in the urban community than in the rural community. That was evident that despite some informants willing to participate in my study, they failed to show up for the study. For the others, I had to hold interviews with them at very awkward at hours such as around 6am and around 6pm. Some even demanded for payments in order for them to give me information. The lessons that I learnt from this experience are as follows: first, in order to reduce on the above challenges, the researcher needs a large pool of potential informants so that in an event where some potential informants fail to show up for the interviews or demand for payments, the researcher should rely on other informants. Failure to do so may make the researcher fail to collect data needed for their research. Second, the researcher needs enough time to collect data. For instance, I planned to collect my data for two months. However, due to the above challenges, I took me six months to complete my fieldwork. These depressive environments enable to acquire elements of of patience, tolerance, and humility. That is, the reduce on the stress associated with the above challenges, the researcher should be ready to fit into the informants' work schedule; should have flexible data collection schedule; and should develop the abilities to accept situations at hand. In my own thinking, these qualities are helpful in stress management during data collection. That was because despite the above challenges, I did not take it so personal. Instead, I chose to be flexible and decided to fit in the informants' work schedules, and to collect my data at the pace of the informants and not at my own pace. That helped me not to be stressed up.

In addition, the stress associated with qualitative data analysis is another issue that I reflected upon. During data analysis I was so overwhelmed with the data that I collected and summarizing it to essentials was very difficult. I had to read several PhD theses and text books on qualitative data analysis for me to understand how best to analyse my data This made me to appreciate the popular qualitative research argument that qualitative data analysis is usually messy and analysis goes into analytical cycles and not in linear process (Reinharz & Rowles 1988; Mason 2002; Punch 2005; Creswell 2007; Shaw & Holland 2014; Roller & Lavrakas 2015). When compared with my background in quantitative research, I feel that qualitative data analysis is

more challenging than qualitative data analysis. I argue this way because in all the quantitative studies that I have undertaken so far I have never experienced the stress that I encountered when analyzing my qualitative data. From this experience, I have also learned that in qualitative research what matters also are the researcher's abilities to endure and get determined to overcome the stress associated with data analysis. Without these qualities, one can give up the studies.

I also want to note some of the most confusing stages in the process of this research. I had two confusing moments which shook my brain. That was arriving at the philosophical foundation to guide my study and arriving at the concepts to interpret my data. I remember very well during these moments, I sweated. For me to calm down, I had to pray to God for revelation knowledge, read several PhD theses and consulted my supervisors several times. That was because in my academic life, I had never heard about philosophical foundation and its importance in academic studies. I did not know also the difference between data analysis and data interpretation. Thus, when my supervisors asked me to include in the methodological chapter the philosophical foundation that guided my study and the concepts used to interpret my data, I was completely confused. This resulted in giving me a lot of mental stress. However, with the guidance of my supervisors, I managed to find answers to the above depressive concerns. As a way of trying to understand whether I was the only one who struggled to arrive at the philosophical foundation and concepts to interpret my data, in 2015 when I went to China to participate in an intensive graduate school for doctoral students and to Ireland to participate in the 8th Congress of the International Association of Gerontology and Geriatrics – European Region (IAGG-ER), I asked more than 40 participating doctoral candidates drawn from different universities across the world about the philosophical foundation they used for their studies and the concepts used to interpret their qualitative data. I asked similar questions in 2017 to over 100 doctoral candidates from across the world who came to participate in the Africa Joint Conference on Social Work Education and Social Development hosted by Zambia. All the candidates struggled to answer the questions and no one gave a convincing answer. That made me to think that it is not so easy for some doctoral candidates across the world to arrive at the philosophical foundations to guide their studies and concepts to interpret their qualitative data. Thus, despite the stress that I went through, I am happy with what that experience. This is because those moments opened up my mind and changed my ways of thinking. For instance, when I compare the way I used to think when I just started my doctoral studies in September 2013 with the way I am, there is big difference. For example, when expressing my ideas, I always used to argue that, that way of thinking is wrong and that way of thinking is right. However, from the time my supervisors introduced me to social constructionism as the philosophical foundation of my study in February 2014, I am being transformed to think that there is nothing like right and wrong answers. Rather, there are just different perspectives. This is because human beings tend to look at social realities in different ways depending on their own cultures, observations, encounters and experiences. (Berger & Luckmann 1991; Mason 2002; Crsewell 2007). Thus, this research has given me an opportunity

to get transformed in the way I think and look at things in general. Thus, I have not regretted at all for having done my doctoral studies at the University of Lapland.

Besides the above reflective thoughts, I would like also to draw some implications for social work education and practice from this research. Social workers are change agents. As such, even if they are trained or they are nationalities from global north or global south, if need arises, they can find themselves in any part of the world in an attempt to bring about positive change in those particular parts of the world. Given that social workers are among the frontline workers dealing with the problem of elder abuse in any part of the world (WHO 2002; Bavel et.al 2010; Manthorpe et.al 2011; Phelan 2013), it becomes important for social workers to get knowledge about elder abuse from different contexts across the global. (Noyoo 2000; Dominelli 2010). This is why researchers like Enni Mikkonen (2016) advise that knowledge production from multiple sources across borders deconstructs the biases. This is only possible if social workers are willing to learn from what is happening in different contexts across the world. In part, this means that they should be willing to move out of their comfort zones. That is, willing to move away from what they are used to in terms of knowing and doing, and learning from others. (Tyrkko 2010; Jonsson 2013; Wehbi 2014). Thus, as a social worker who has undertaken this research, I would like to share knowledge which I consider important with my fellow social workers in both global north and global south about elder abuse. The findings of this study when narrowed down to social work education, practice and research with elder people raise the following messages for social workers worldwide:

To start with, since the present study has indicated that elder abuse is a socially constructed phenomenon meaning different things to different people across the global north and global south (Phelan 2013), it implies that social workers should never think that elder abuse is a monolithic phenomenon. Instead, they should always think that it is a multifaceted phenomenon which takes place in many forms. In other words, social workers should know that there are variate ways of constructing elder abuse and there is no construction which is superior to the other (Brydon 2011; Deepak 2011; Jonsson 2013). This is because people of different cultures may experience and understand it in different ways. The differences in construction may be distinct between the global north and the global south or even within the same region, nation or culture (Gray and Boddy 2010; Wehbi 2014). This means that when trying to describe and understand the typologies of elder abuse in the global north and global south, social workers should lean on the knowledge of the local people. Existing theories should just compliment local ways of knowing and doing. Taking this approach will make social workers relevant in the contexts where they are. This is because they will respond to social realities according to the way it obtains on the ground in those contexts. This is also essential in decolonializing knowledge on elder abuse. This is because whether the knowledge is from the global north or global south, it will be valued. (Desai 2002; Ahmad 2009; Deepak 2011; Mikkonen 2016). For example, before I undertook this study, I thought that elder abuse exists only in five main typologies (neglect, verbal, physical, material and sexual abuses) documented in world reports (see WHO 2002; 2005; 2008; 2013;

2015). However, from the views of the informants who participated in this study, they indicated that two more forms of elder abuse exist in their communities namely spiritual and political abuses, with spiritual abuse being the main form of elder abuse.

In light of the above, it means that even if social workers for instance, do not believe in spiritual abuse, from the views of the informants it exists in their communities. Thus, to become relevant to the informants, the social worker has to find ways and means to address spiritual abuse of elder people in the two communities of Zambia. If social workers ignore the above suggestion, they may not be appreciated by the informants. This is because social workers will be doing things which are not compatible with the desires of the informants. Moon (2000) and Podnieks (2008) advise that when cultural factors are not taken into consideration, practitioners may fail to intercede when action is necessary, the interventions may not be responsive to the needs of the abused elder and ethnocultural which can, in turn, lead to unsuccessful outcomes. For instance, while elder abuse crosses all sociocultural barriers, it may be experienced differently depending on cultural understanding. A social worker with a different cultural lens may fail to identify the significant distress experienced as a result of disrespect by family members and may thus neglect to work to identify means for rectifying the situation. (Donovan & Regehr 2010). This raises the importance among the social workers to work with the local people who know the local contexts where elder abuse takes place.

By reflecting further on the findings of this study, I am also made to think that social workers dealing with elder abuse issues should be open-minded. They should not approach any elder abuse situation with already preconceived or predetermined interventions. Rather, they have to look at any elder abuse situation as new and unique which requires new ways of thinking if the situation is to be well addressed. For example, from the views of the informants, neglect of some elder people in the two communities of Zambia is one indication that the particular elder person is constructed by some family or community members to be a witch. As such, some family and community members are punishing that elder person so that he/she should stop practising witchcraft. If he/she does not stop they should die so that there is peace in the local community. Thus, if the social workers does not understand the dynamics surrounding the neglect of that particular person and intervenes in the plight of that particular person in the same way they intervened in the case of neglect for elder person in another village say in the Lapland Region of Finland, their intervention is likely to be counterproductive. This is because the factors that explain elder neglect in the two communities of Zambia and in the Lapland Region may be totally different. For example, if the social worker intervenes in the neglect situation of an elder person that the local people in the two communities of Zambia think he or she is a witch by providing for that person say with material things such as a house, food, money, beddings and clothes and the livelihood of that person improves, informants have reported that abuse of that elder person will not end. Instead, it will take different twists which may include verbal, material and physical abuses. This is because what the abusers want is either to force that elder person to do away with practising witchcraft or just to kill that person. Thus, in the views of the informants, the appropriate intervention that the social worker should take is

to address the belief in witchcraft. For instance, if the particular elder person accepts that he or she practices witchcraft, they should be helped to stop it and then find ways to make the family and community members to accept that person. If he or she does not practice witchcraft, the social worker should find ways and means to convince the family and community members that the particular elder person is not a witch. In that way informants think that the problem of neglect of that particular elder person can be addressed. In this regard, the principle of local ways of knowing and doing becomes important to social workers. That is, social work theory and practice should also be informed by the knowledge of the local people. This is because local people are experts of social realities in their own local settings. Thus, knowledge of the local people should not be devalued by social workers (Kendall 2008; Mertinez 2010; Watkison 2014; Wehbi 2014). This suggests further that 'one size fits all' explanations or interventions are not relevant when dealing with the social problem of elder abuse (Gough, 1999; Fook, 2002; Gray and Webb, 2013). Elder abuse is a cultural issue which takes place in different forms and culture is never the same (Phelan 2013). As such even ways of describing and understanding different facets of elder abuse can be done in different ways according to the local ways of knowing and doing (Marsha 2003; Imoh 2012; Hassan 2014; Wehbi 2014).

6.2.6 Ideas for further research

This study has generated several new insights about the phenomenon of elder abuse in the two communities of Zambia using the views of the 31 community leaders. However, given the limited number of informants who participated in the study and the nature of this social constructionism qualitative research which cannot allow the study findings to be generalized, further research on a number of issues generated by study is needed. Among the issues that need further investigations are:

First, the evidence established in this study has suggested that from the views of the 13 informants, some elder people in their communities suffer political abuse. However, very little is known about political abuse of the elder people in the scientific knowledge that is available both in Zambia and at international level. Because it was beyond the scope of this study to establish the wide spread of political abuse of elder people in the two communities and throughout Zambia, more intensive and extensive studies on the phenomenon of political abuse of the elder people in the two communities and the whole Zambia are needed. Since the informants reported that political abuse of the elder people in their communities is a very sophisticated type of abuse, future investigators should undertake ethnographic studies during times of elections in families and communities where elder people live, in political institutions and in election venues. In order for the investigators to hide their identity as researchers (Creswell 2007; Yin 2011), they should for example join dominant political parties in Zambia such as the ruling party and main opposition parties, and also find some closer collaborations with election management institutions such as the Electoral Commission of Zambia and election monitoring bodies such as grassroots civil society organizations involved in

electoral and governance issues in Zambia like Southern Africa Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes (SACCORD) and Forum for Democratic Process (FODEP), Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), African Union (AU), European Union (EU) and United Nations (UN). During the time of elections, the researchers should strive hard to join political party election campaign teams and participate in election management either as election presiding officers, or as election observers. In this way, researchers might be in better positions to observe how elder people in the two communities and the whole Zambia are treated. If there is any evidence from ethnographic studies that political abuse of elder people exists, more qualitative studies with the local people involved in the vice should be undertaken. To delve deeper into the issue, both individual interviews and focus group discussions should be undertaken. In this way, deeper information about political abuse of elder people might be unearthed. In order to establish the wide spread of the problem, quantitative studies involving large samples can also be undertaken (Saks & Allsop 2007). This can be done, for instance, by carrying out community and national surveys on the views of the local people about political abuse of elder people in their communities and the whole Zambia. Because any form of elder abuse is a violation of older people's human rights and it should be fought at all the costs (Vienna International Plan of Action on Ageing 1982; Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing 2002; UN 2012), the studies should also focus on finding strategies for addressing political abuse of elder people. To ascertain whether political abuse of elder people exists or does not exist in other countries, such studies can be extended to other countries both in the global north and global south.

Second, since the study findings have shown that the belief in witchcraft is the main factor that brings about different forms of elder abuse in the two communities of Zambia, further research should assess the realities of witchcraft in Zambia in relation to older people and whether there is the gender dimension attached to it among the abused elder people. From what has been reported by the informants, there is evidence that issues of witchcraft in the two communities are usually handled by the churches, village courts and conventional courts of law. Thus, in order to assess realities of witchcraft, attending church services and court sessions when cases of witchcraft involving elder people are addressed can be good research approach to be undertaken. Such studies can be accomplished through the use of ethnography, narratives, and other qualitative approaches to data collection. This is because these approaches elicit data essential to getting the story behind the story. (Kinsel 2004). Hearing the stories of the parties involved in confrontations such as the abused elder person(s) and the abuser(s) and the problem solvers such as the clergy and court judges can facilitate understanding of the events, situating the findings in context and consequently making conclusions as to whether witchcraft is real or not and whether there is a gender aspect attached to it. This is critical because such approaches bring about a holistic study of the phenomenon under investigation. For example, the personal, environmental, and socio-cultural forces that lead to witchcraft practice, identification of who is a witch and who is not a witch, and the conditions under which elder abuse either due to witchcraft practices

or mere suspicions of an elder person of being a witch can be collectively considered. In that way, better descriptions and understandings of the realities of witchcraft can be enhanced and appropriate interventions can be generated.

Third, the evidence from this study has also suggested that dementia among some elder people in the two communities of Zambia could be playing a role in fueling elder abuse. However, very little is known about how dementia is constructed in Zambia, its possible conflation with witchcraft practices and possibilities of igniting elder abuse. For instance, dementia may make the [elder] person living with it to exhibit strange behavior such as talking alone, having difficult personality, getting lost and finding themselves in other people's homes, and being forgetful among other behavioral changes (Ray & Bernard, & Phillips 2009; Moniz-Cook 2011; Alzheimer's Society 2012; World Alzheimer Report 2013). Since the findings of this study have been overwhelmed by the belief in witchcraft, further research should explore the views of the Zambians on how they think about elder people found talking alone, found naked in the night and early in the morning either in the neighbourhood or in their own yards; how they distinguish between a [elder] person who is a witch and who is not a witch; and how they distinguish between a [elder] person living with dementia and who does not have dementia. To delve deeper into each of these concerns, individual and group interviews can be undertaken in various communities of Zambia especially in those communities where elder abuses have taken place out of the belief in witchcraft. To assess the extent to which the views of the people who will participate in the individual and group interviews are spread in the Zambian society, the findings from these qualitative studies should inform large scale surveys. For example, more large scale quantitative studies should be undertaken across Zambia among different age groups such as among the children, youths, adults and older people themselves. Equally, because it was beyond the scope of this study to conclude whether abused elder people in the two communities of Zambia had dementia or not, future research should study the linkages between dementia and vulnerability of elder people to different forms of elder abuse. For this to be established, social workers for example should partner with medical doctors and psychologists so that jointly they can undertake medical, psychological and social research which should include medical tests of all the abused elder people across Zambia to assess whether the abused elder people had dementia at the time of abuse. This is because, dementia affects the brain of the person and one way through which it can be detected is to undertake medical and psychological laboratory tests (ibid). Since social scientists like social workers do not undertake such tests, it becomes important for them to partner with other scientists with the abilities to undertake laboratory tests. The role of the social scientists in those studies would be to study in detail the social aspects of dementia such as the above behavioural changes, the beliefs and attitudes of the local people towards those behaviours and how they lead to suspicion of the person living with dementia to be a witch and finally leading to elder abuse. This means that further research should involve a combined team of researchers drawn from different disciplines to undertake joint research on the correlations between dementia and elder abuse in the two communities of Zambia

and the whole Zambia. The results from these studies may help in suggesting policy and programmatic measures to be used in the reconstructing of the Zambian society if elder abuse is to be addressed. This is because scientific knowledge on the factors that lead to elder abuse and how those factors can be addressed would be established. For instance, if the studies establish that one of the risk factors is knowledge poverty about dementia and ageing, one of the policy and programmatic measures to be introduced could be to educate the whole Zambian society which should include the children, youths, elder people themselves and institutions of care such as the family and the local communities about the potential for [elder] people to develop dementia. This measure has the potential to change the poor relationships and ageist attitudes that some people in Zambia have towards people living with dementia.

Fourth, the evidence from this study has also attributed elder abuse to the changes in the Zambian economy and modernization of Zambia especially at family and village levels. Because this study could not go very much in details of the implications of economic changes in Zambia and modernization on the lives of village and family structures, in order to get more information on these changes, further research should be undertaken. For example, studies should explore the implications of economic growth in Zambia and modernization on village life and family life. From the information provided by the Government of Zambia and the World Bank, it is reported that Zambia is one of the countries with the fastest growing economy in the Sub-saharan Africa (Zambia MDGs Progress Report, 2013). Despite this, monetary poverty especially in rural Zambia is still high. For example, at the time of this study, monetary poverty was reported to stand at about 78% (ibid; Zambia Central Statistics Office 2014). Consequently, from the views of some informants, some of the factors leading to the disintegration of villages in Zambia are the underdevelopment of rural villages which is forcing some of the village members to migrate from villages to urban areas and also to remove some of their older parents from villages to townships. Thus, this paradox should be investigated into detail. For example, there is need to adequately study about what should be done in the Zambian economy in order to salvage rural village life and family life. Given that the informants reported that there are few institutional homes for the older people in Zambia especially in rural areas (rural community) and the Government of Zambia seems not to support the idea of constructing more institutional homes for the older people (Draft Zambia National Ageing Policy 2013), ways on how to strengthen the extended families in both rural and urban communities as well as villages should also be prioritized. Findings from these studies are important in informing policy and programmatic measures on how to strengthen the villages and families so that they take up their traditional roles of looking after the aged in more responsive manner (Fuller 1972; Jaeger 1982; Kamwengo 2004; Mapoma 2013).

Fifth, since ageing issues are still under-researched in Zambia (Draft Zambia National Ageing Policy 2013) and it was beyond this study to study in detail every aspect of ageing in the rural and urban community of Zambia, further research aimed at understanding ageing and the life course in Zambian society should be undertaken. The studies should involve talking to the older people themselves, older people's caregivers [both formal

and informal] and traditional community leaders such as paramount chiefs, senior chiefs, senior headmen, village headmen and the clergy such as church elders. The older people should be consulted about ageing because they have first hand information and experiences about life stages and life in old age. Because of the experiences of the life stages that they have gone through, their experiences can help in thinking about the challenges associated with old age. For example, as the informants disclosed some elder people in their communities suffered abuse because of their own lifestyles during their days of productivity. Thus, it is important to explore further the experiences of the elder people themselves about their previous lifestyles especially during their days of productivity and their life experiences in old age. The above categories of traditional leaders and the clergy should be consulted about ageing because they live on daily basis with the older people in the same local communities and neighbourhoods. Thus, they are also in a better position to share valuable information about the dynamics surrounding ageing and life course in Zambian local communities and families. These studies are particularly important due to the phenomenon of population ageing which is taking place in every corner of the world which includes Zambia (UNDESA 2013; Draft Zambia National Ageing Policy 2013; Mapoma 2013; Global AgeWatch Index 2014; World Report on Ageing and Health 2015). Thus, the results from such studies are essential in suggesting ways on how to reconstruct the Zambian society in order to address the challenges associated with old age such as elder abuse among others.

Sixth, given that findings from this study are mostly consistent among all the informants in the rural community and among all the informants in the urban community suggest that certain beliefs, constructions of different aspects of elder abuse, and associated practices may be common among the 31 community leaders who participated in this study, a supposition that could be investigated further in future research. This is because this study employed social constructionism as the philosophical foundation and as such I was expecting different views from the informants (Berger & Luckmann 1991; Mason 2002; Creswell 2007; Naysmith 2015). To my surprise almost all the informants construct every aspect of elder abuse covered during this study in similar ways. Thus, the results are beyond me as the researcher to adequately explain. Thus, in order to assess whether divergent views exist or do not exist among community leaders involved in addressing elder abuse in Zambia, further research should target a large pool of community leaders involved in addressing elder abuse in the majority of the rural and urban communities of Zambia. Making sure that all different categories of community leaders involved in addressing elder abuse participate in the study may also help in addressing the limitation faced by this study. One way through which this can be done is by having community meetings with all the community leaders involved in addressing elder abuse. In the context of the two communities and the whole Zambia, the term community meeting means that all people or at least representatives of all the people living together in one geographical area should come together and give their views about the particular problem in their communities (Kamwengo 2004; Draft Zambia National Ageing Policy 2013). This is because from the views of the informants, the term community refers to a group of

people living together in one geographical area. As such when there is a social problem, the whole community gets affected either directly or indirectly. Thus, getting detailed information about social problems that have taken place in the whole community usually requires bringing all the community members together so that each member gives their view and then after listening to everyone, communal decisions are made on how to go about addressing that particular problem. Holding community meetings on elder abuse is important in that it can eliminate bias which this study encountered in the selection of the participants. This is because every community leader will be given at least an equal chance to give their views on elder abuse.

Last but not the least, future research should focus on finding ways to convince world institutions fighting elder abuse like the UN and WHO among others to consider adding spiritual abuse and political abuse brought out by the community leaders who participated in this study to all their documents on elder abuse. Adding the two types of abuse to UN and WHO documents is essential in making the two types of abuse receive international attention and spark global debates which are essential in the fight against elder abuse (Phelan 2013). This is because the knowledge disseminated by these 'buzz' institutions have a lot of influence in the construction, reconstruction and deconstruction of global knowledges. For instance, the knowledges disseminated by these insitutions are usually seen by the local, national and international leaders as credible given that researchers who contribute knowledge to these institutions are usually distinguished scientists. As such their knowledges are easily accepted, trusted, obeyed and respected by the majority of the people in every corner of the world. Thus, these institutions have power to initiate change in the whole world. (Hall & Midgley 2004; Cornwall & Brock 2005).

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Appendices

Appendix.1 Consent form

Dear participant,

I am a student studying for Doctor of Social Sciences Degree (Doc.Soc.Sc) at the University of Lapland in Finland, with Social Work as a major subject. I am also a Zambian citizen and working as lecturer at the University of Zambia in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Department of Social Development Studies. I am carrying out a research titled: Elder Abuse in rural and urban Zambia: Interview-study with community leaders. The study is being undertaken towards the fulfillment of the requirements for the Doc.Soc.Sc Degree.

The following information is provided for you to guide you in your decision to participate in this study. You are free to decide whether to participate in this study as well as to withdraw from the study at any time if you wish, and that will not affect your relationship with me in any way or the universities where I am coming from.

The aim of this study is to describe and understand elder abuse from the conceptions of community leaders involved in addressing elder abuse in Zambia with focus on one rural community and one urban community where incidences of elder abuse have been recorded. The examples of the community leaders included in the study are the chiefs, village headmen, ward councilors, youths and women leaders, church (religious) leaders, the police, court judges, community neighborhood security watch representatives, area development community members, head teachers, nurses, clinical officers, doctors, elder people's representatives and social workers among others.

You are being selected to participate in this study because you are one of the community leaders involved in addressing elder abuse issues in your community, and I would like you to share with me your own conceptions about elder abuse in this community.

Data is going to be collected using one-on-one indepth interviews and focus group discussions and will be tape recorded. This is meant to allow me to collect detailed and comprehensive information in order to bring about a better description and understanding of elder abuse in Zambia and to inform policy makers and practitioners both in Zambia and outside Zambia on what they should do in order to address the problem of elder abuse in Zambia. So this study is very relevant to you, to me and to everyone in this society because elder abuse can occur to every person regardless of their

Appendix.2 Study guide used in data collection

Research title: Elder Abuse in rural and urban Zambia: Interview-study with community leaders

Interview summary

Community's name:

Date of interview:.....

Starting time:

Ending time:

Special remarks:

.....

.....

Interviewer's name and signature:

Section. A Demographic characteristics of the informants

1. Age.....

2. Gender

(i) Male

(ii) Female

3. Educational attainment

(i) Never went to school

(ii) Grade 7

(iii) Grade 9

(iv) Form three

(v) Grade twelve/form five

(vi) College education

(vii) University education

(viii) Other, specify

4. Designation

(i) Ward counselor

(ii) Area Development Committee member

(iii) Community Neighborhood Security Watch

(iv) Village headman

(v) Clinical officer/nurse

(vi) Court judge

(vii) Police officer

(viii) Elder people's representative

(ix) Religious leader

(x) Youth leader representative

(xi) Women leader representative

- (xii) Social Worker
- (xiii) Other, specify.....

Section. B Manifestation of elder abuse

5. How often do you record incidences of elder abuse in this community?
6. How many cases have you recorded in the past five years?.....
7. What types/forms of elder abuse have you recorded so far?
8. Of the above types of elder abuse which one would you say is the most common, second most common, third most common and least common?
 - (i) Most common.....
 - (ii) Second most common.....
 - (iii) Third most common.....
 - (iv) Least common.....

Section.C Characteristics of older people who suffer abuse

9. What are the characteristics of older people who suffer the above types of elder abuse in this community? (probe in terms of each type of abuse mentioned in Question. 8)

Section. D Characteristics of abusers/perpetrators of elder abuse

10. What are the characteristics of people who abuse older people in this community? (probe in terms of each type of abuse mentioned in Question. 8)

Section. E Circumstances/conditions under which elder abuse takes place

11. Under what circumstances/conditions does each of the types of elder abuse take place? (Probe in detail by looking at each type of elder abuse mentioned in Question. 8)

Section. F Explanations for elder abuse

12. What do you think are the main causes of each of the following types of elder abuse in this community? (Probe in detail by looking at each type of elder abuse mentioned in Question. 8).
13. What are some of the reasons that abusers give for abusing elder people in this community?

Section.G Consequences of elder abuse

14. From your own experiences, what have been the negative consequences of abusing older people in this community on:
 - (i) Abused older people and their families?

- (ii) Abuser and their families?
- (iii) Relationships between abused older people and their families, and abusers and their families?
- (iv) Community level?
- (v) National level?

Section.F Measures used to address elder abuse

15. How do the abused elder people protect themselves when faced with abuse?

16. What measures are commonly used in addressing each of the following types of elder abuse in this community? (Probe in detail by looking at each type of elder abuse mentioned above in question. 8)

17. Of the above measures, which ones would say are more effective in addressing elder abuse: (Probe on each measure mentioned)

18. Of the above measures which ones would say are least effective in addressing elder abuse? (Probe on each measure mentioned)

Section.G Recommendations on how to address elder abuse

19. What do you think the following should do in order to address each of the above types of elder abuse?
 - (i) Government of Zambia (Probe in terms of each type of elder abuse mentioned above)

.....

.....

 - (ii) NGOs (Probe in terms of each type of elder abuse mentioned above)

.....

.....

 - (iii) Religious leaders (Probe in terms of each type of elder abuse mentioned above)

.....

.....

 - (iv) Local community leaders (Probe in terms of each type of elder abuse mentioned above)

.....

.....

(v) Elder people themselves (Probe in terms of each type of elder abuse mentioned above)

.....
.....

(v) Young people (Probe in terms of each type of elder abuse mentioned above)

.....
.....

Section.H: Additional information

20. Are there any other important things that you would like to say or re-emphasize on about elder abuse in this community and Zambia in general which we have not talked about in our interview?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Thank you very much for participating in this interview. In case of any additional information or clarifications on certain issues that we have talked about, I will get back to you!

Appendix.3 Introductory letters used during fieldwork

University of Lapland
Faculty of Social Sciences
Department of Social Work
PO BOX 122, FIN-96101,
ROVANIEMI, FINLAND.

19 May 2014

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: Research introductory letter for Isaac Kabelenga (PhD Student Number – 0390671)

The above subject refers.

I write to introduce to you Mr. Isaac Kabelenga for your assistance. Isaac is a fully registered PhD student in this university. He is doing a Doctor of Social Sciences Degree with Social Work as his major. His thesis research proposal has been accepted as it has met all the bench marks for a good scientific research plan. It is on elder abuse in Zambia. He is doing this in partial fulfillment of his doctorate degree. However, the study has significant policy implications on how elder abuse can be addressed not only in Zambia but globally. This is because elder abuse is a global problem. He is currently collecting data for his research.

I therefore recommend him unreservedly to you for any assistance that he needs.

In case of any additional information about Isaac, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Yours sincerely,

Prof. Marjaana Seppanen
(Isaac's supervisor)
E-mail: marjaana.seppanen@ulapland.fi
Phone: +358 (0)40 4844 207



**THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA
SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT STUDIES**

Telephone: 290020/291777
Telegrams: UNZA LUSAKA
Telex: UNZALU ZA 44370
Fax: 260-1- 290 020

P.O BOX 32379
Lusaka, Zambia

Your Ref:

26th August, 2014

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: INTRODUCTORY LETTER FOR MR ISAAC KABELENGA

The above mentioned person is a Special Research Fellow, and Lecturer in the Department of Social Development Studies at the University of Zambia. He is pursuing a PhD in Social Sciences with Social Work as the major subject of Zambia at Lapland University in Finland. He is in the country for data collection for his dissertation on 'Elder Abuse in Zambia'.

Kindly assist him gather information for his research.

Yours faithfully,

Mazuba W. Muchindu
HEAD OF DEPARTMENT

Appendix.4 Abbreviations

AU: African Union

BP: Blood Pressure

CCPUs: Community Crime Prevention Units

CHIN: Children in Need Network

CSOs: Civil Society Organizations

CSO: Central Statistical Office (Zambia)

FGD: Focus Group Discussion

HIV/AIDS: Human Immuno Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

IASSW: International Association of Schools of Social Work

ICSW: International Council for Social Work

IFSW: International Federation of Social Work

IG: Inspector General of Police (Zambia)

INPEA: International Network for the Prevention of Elder Abuse

MDGs: Millennium Development Goals

MMD: Movement for Multi-Party Democracy

NGOs: Non-Governmental Organizations

OHCHR: Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights

OECD: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

PF: Patriot Front

SADC: Southern Africa Development Community

TENK: The Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity

TV: Television

UK: The United Kingdom

UN: The United Nations

UNECE: United Nations Economic Commission for Europe

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNICEF: United Nations Children Fund

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

UNFPA: United Nation Population Fund for Africa

UNUDHR: United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UPND: United Party for National Development

USA: The United States of America

ZANIS: Zambia National Informational Services