FORMS, PATTERNS AND PREDICATORS OF ELDER ABUSE IN MACHAKOS COUNTY, KENYA

RUTH MUENI MULI
C82/23448/2013

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES, KENYATTA UNIVERSITY

JANUARY 2019
DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university or any other award. No part of this thesis should be reproduced without authority of the author or/and Kenyatta University.

Signature____________________  Date____________________

Ruth Mueni Muli
C82/23448/13

We confirm this thesis has been submitted with our approval as university supervisors:

Signature____________________  Date:____________________

Dr. Samuel Mwangi
Department of Sociology
Kenyatta University

Signature____________________  Date____________________

Dr. Parvin Moloo
Department of Sociology
Kenyatta University
DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my dear parents, the late Moses Muli Masesi and Lydia Kaluki Muli who passed away in the course of this study. I wish they had lived to see the completion of this work. They were my source of inspiration and strength.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank God for giving me strength, good health, resources and lifting my countenance when I felt discouraged.

I am grateful to my very able supervisors, Dr. Samuel Mwangi and Dr. Parvin Moloo who diligently worked with me through all stages of this study from the beginning to its completion. I will remain indebted to them for their guidance, insight and patience throughout the writing of this thesis. Their supervision and well thought out criticism helped in shaping the writing of this thesis.

I would like to acknowledge the support I received from the following colleagues: Dr Dennis Muriithi, Prof. Colomba Muriungi and Anne Michura.

I most sincerely want to thank Father Mwololo, Mr J. Kathuli, Mrs Mary Joseph, Mr J.Kivuva, Mr Ben Mwangangi and Jane Mahui for their invaluable support in the course of this work.

I am truly indebted to my son Paul Mwendwa, my daughter Mercy Lewa for their support, the extentended family and friends for their unwavering support.

God bless you all.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION ..............................................................................................................................................i
DEDICATION ................................................................................................................................................ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .......................................................................................................................... iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS .............................................................................................................................iv
LIST OF TABLES ........................................................................................................................................xii
LIST OF FIGURES ....................................................................................................................................xv
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS ...................................................................................................... xvi
OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS ............................................................................................... xvii
ABSTRACT ..................................................................................................................................................xix

## CHAPTER ONE: 1.0 INTRODUCTION .................................................................................................1

1.1 Background of the Study .................................................................................................................. 1
1.2 Statement of the problem ................................................................................................................ 11
1.3 Objectives of the Study .................................................................................................................... 13
1.4 Specific Objectives of the study ...................................................................................................... 14
1.5 Research questions .......................................................................................................................... 14
1.6 Justification of the study ................................................................................................................ 14
1.7 Significance of the study ................................................................................................................ 15
1.8 Scope of the study ............................................................................................................................ 16
1.9 Limitations of the study .................................................................................................................. 17
1.10 Delimitations .................................................................................................................................. 18
1.11 Assumptions of the study .............................................................................................................. 18

## CHAPTER TWO: 2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW ..................................................................................20

2.1 Introduction .......................................................................................................................................20
2.1.1 Conceptualization of Old Age ................................................................................................. 20
2.1.2 Classification of older persons .................................................. 21
2.1.3 Context of Abuse ........................................................................ 23
2.1.4 Overview of population Ageing ................................................... 23
2.2 Forms of Ageing .............................................................................. 25
  2.2.1 Chronological Ageing ................................................................. 25
  2.2.2 Biological Ageing/ physical Ageing ............................................. 27
  2.2.3 Cognitive Ageing ....................................................................... 28
  2.2.4 Psychological Ageing ................................................................. 28
  2.2.5 Social Ageing ........................................................................... 29
  2.2.6 Ageism and Elder Abuse .......................................................... 30
2.3 Patterns of ageing ........................................................................... 30
  2.3.1 Disease ...................................................................................... 30
  2.3.2 Disability .................................................................................. 31
  2.3.3 Leaving the workforce ............................................................... 31
  2.3.4 Older persons and changing family roles ................................... 31
2.4 Trends in Aging ............................................................................... 32
  2.4.1 Increasing number of elderly persons ....................................... 32
  2.4.2 Sex Ratio .................................................................................. 32
2.5 Types of Elder Abuse ....................................................................... 33
  2.5.1 Physical Abuse .......................................................................... 33
  2.5.2 Psychological Abuse/ Emotional Abuse .................................. 34
  2.5.3 Financial /Material Exploitation .............................................. 34
  2.5.4 Sexual Abuse ........................................................................... 35
  2.5.5 Neglect ...................................................................................... 35
  2.5.6 Abandonment .......................................................................... 36
2.6 Risk Factors associated with elder abuse ........................................36
  2.6.1 Gender and Socioeconomic Status........................................37
  2.6.2 Cognitive problems ..........................................................38
  2.6.3 Caregiver burnout .............................................................40
  2.6.4 Dependency ........................................................................40
2.7 Characteristics of Abusers of older persons .................................41
  2.7.1 Sex ..................................................................................41
  2.7.2 Financial Dependency .........................................................42
  2.7.3 Relationship with the victim ................................................42
2.8 Victim’s characteristics that are correlated with elder abuse ..........43
  2.8.1 Social Isolation ..................................................................43
  2.8.2 Behaviour problems of the victim of elder abuse .....................44
2.9 Cultural Risk Factors in Elder Abuse ............................................44
  2.9.1 The existence of culture of violence .......................................45
  2.9.2 Intergenerational competition in the family ............................45
2.10 Intervention measures in protecting older persons from abuse ......46
  2.10.1 The Vienna International Plan of Action on Ageing (VIPAA) ......46
  2.10.2 The Madrid International Plan of Action on Aging ...............46
  2.10.3 The African Union Policy Framework and Plan of Action on Ageing .................................................................47
  2.10.4 The Kenya Constitution (2010) .............................................47
  2.10.5 National Policy on Older Persons and Ageing .....................48
  2.10.6 Laws of Kenya, The Penal Code Chapter 63 ..........................49
2.11 Gaps in Literature .....................................................................49
2.12 Theoretical Framework ..............................................................49
  2.12.1 Social Exchange Theory .....................................................50
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.12.2 Power and Control Theory</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.12.3 Conceptual Framework</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.12.4 Independent Variables</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.12.5 Dependent Variables</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.12.6 Intervening Variables</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.13 Summary</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER THREE : 3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Introduction</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 Study Design</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3 Site of the Study</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4 Study Population</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5 Sampling Design</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6 Sampling Technique</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7 Sample Size Determination</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.8 Response Rate</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.9 Data Collection Methods/Procedure</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.9.1 Participant selection</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.10 Data collection Tools</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.10.1 Semi-structured interview schedule</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.10.2 Focus Group Discussions</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.10.3 Key Informants</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.11 Data Management and Analysis</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.11.1 Quantitative analysis</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.11.3 Data Entry Process</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.11.4 Qualitative Analyses</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.12 Ethical Considerations....................................................................................76

CHAPTER FOUR: 4.0 DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION........................................................................................................79

4.0 Introduction ..................................................................................................... 79

4.1 Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents............................ 79
  4.1.1 Respondent’s marital status ..................................................................... 83
  4.1.2 Number of children of respondents......................................................... 87
  4.1.3 Respondents Religious Affiliation............................................................ 88
  4.1.4 Respondent’s social group belonging across gender.............................. 90
  4.1.5 Living Arrangements .............................................................................. 94
  4.1.6 Respondents’ Employment status across gender .................................... 109
  4.1.7 Respondent’s source of income across gender ....................................... 112
  4.1.8 Respondents’ Income ............................................................................ 114
  4.1.9 Ownership of Land ............................................................................... 116

4.2 Forms, Patterns and Trends of Elder Abuse ................................................. 120
  4.2.1 Physical Abuse ....................................................................................... 121
  4.2.2. Prevalence of Physical Abuse by Intensity .......................................... 122
  4.2.3 Psychological Abuse .............................................................................. 128
  4.2.4 Financial Abuse ..................................................................................... 130
  4.2.5 Sexual Abuse ........................................................................................ 144
  4.2.6 Pattern of Sexual Abuse amongst the Elderly ........................................ 148

4.3 Reasons For Elder Abuse ............................................................................ 156
  4.3.1 Family Strife ........................................................................................ 157
  4.3.2 Land ...................................................................................................... 169

4.4 Factors Predisposing the Elderly Persons to Elder Abuse ......................... 172
  4.4.1 Ownership of Land and its Non-division .............................................. 173
4.4.2 Gender and abuse of the elderly .................................................. 179
4.4.3 Gender and psychological abuse of the elderly ........................ 180
4.4.4 Level of Education and Physical abuse the elderly ................... 181
4.4.5 Level of Education of respondent and Psychological abuse toward elderly people ................................................................. 183
4.4.6 Living Arrangements as a predisposing Factor to Elder Abuse..... 185
4.4.7 Polygamous Marriages as a predisposing Factor to Elder Abuse .... 188
4.4.8 Health Status as predisposing factor in Elder Abuse .................. 190
4.5 Intervention in experience of Elder Abuse .................................... 208
4.5.1 Reporting experience in Physical abuse ..................................... 209
4.5.2 Hierarchical Nature of Reporting Physical Abuse ...................... 211
4.5.3 Reporting Experience of Psychological Abuse .......................... 212
4.6 Elderly abuse and social economic factors .................................... 219
4.7 Focus Group Discussions on Elder Abuse ..................................... 222
  Theme 1: How important are elderly people in the community? .......... 225
  Theme 2: The most common types of Elder Abuse ............................ 227
  Theme 3: Which elderly people are most likely to suffer Elder Abuse? ..... 230
  Theme 4: Who are the people most likely to abuse the elderly people? ..... 230
  Theme 5: Consequences of Elder Abuse: On the elders themselves, families and the community. .............................................................. 231
  Theme 6: Why is Elder Abuse not reported? ................................... 233
  Theme 7: Intervention Measures for the Elderly Abused ................. 237
    Counselling ............................................................................. 238
  The Role of Customary Law and Cultural Practices versus the law of the land in elder abuse intervention ...................................................... 238
  The Role of Education Elder Abuse Intervention ............................ 240
Homes for the Aged .............................................................................. 240

CHAPTER FIVE:  5.0 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ................................................................. 243

5.0 Introduction .................................................................................. 243
5.1 Socio demographic characteristics and abuse toward the elderly people 243
5.2 Age and abuse of the elderly .......................................................... 245
5.3. Gender and Abuse of the elderly ................................................... 246
5.4 Marital Status and Experience of Elder abuse ............................... 246
5.5. Level of Education and Elder Abuse ............................................. 247
5.6 Occupation and Experience of Elder Abuse ................................. 248
5.7 Level of Income and experience of elder abuse .............................. 249
5.8 Religious Affiliation and Elder Abuse ............................................ 250
5.9 Number of Children and elder abuse experience ......................... 251
5.10 Living Arrangements and Experience of Elder Abuse .................. 251
5.11 Forms of Elder abuse Experienced by the Elderly ....................... 252
5.12 Conclusion .................................................................................. 258
5.13 Recommendations of the study .................................................... 259
5.14 Implications for further research and policy ................................. 260

REFERENCES .................................................................................... 262

APPENDICES ...................................................................................... 271

A1 Appendix I: Informed Consent ...................................................... 271
A2 Appendix II: Interview guide for elder abuse ................................. 273
A3 Appendix III: Interview Schedule for Key informants ..................... 284
A5 Appendix V: Elderly Person Living Alone ..................................... 288
A6 Appendix VI: Homestead with Several Households ....................... 289
A7 Appendix VII: Community Based Group .......................................................... 290
A8 Appendix VIII: Map of Machakos ................................................................. 291
A9 Appendix IX: Authorization: Kenyatta University ........................................ 292
A10 Appendix X: Authorization - Ministry of Education, Science and Technology .................................................................................................................. 293
A11 Appendix XI: Authorization: Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government ........................................................................................................... 294
A12 Appendix XII: Authorization: NACOSTI ...................................................... 295
A13 Appendix XIII: Research Clearance Permit from NACOSTI .................. 296
LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1 Percentage of population aged 60+ in the world, 1950-2050 ....24
Table 2.2 Percentage population aged 60+ in Eastern Africa, 1950-2050..24
Table 2.3 Percentage of dependency ratio of the population aged 60+ for Eastern Africa 1950-2050 .................................................................25
Table 2.4 Distribution of elderly persons by gender in Kenya.................33

Table 3.1 Disaggregated Population of people aged 60 years+ in Machakos County .................................................................................62
Table 3.2 Sample size, Mwala and Machakos Town sub-counties ........66
Table 3.3 Number of cases assigned of persons aged 60+ per location disaggregated by gender in Machakos Town and Mwala sub-counties.....67
Table 3.4 Operationalization of Variables ...........................................74

Table 4.1 Gender of the respondents......................................................80
Table 4.2 Age of the respondents............................................................81
Table 4.3 Marital status of Respondents...............................................83
Table 4.4 Respondent’s type of marriage across gender .......................85
Table 4.5 Number of children of respondents ......................................87
Table 4.6 Respondents Religious Affiliation .........................................89
Table 4.7 Membership to Social Group ..............................................90
Table 4.8 Respondents Social Group Types of Activities Involved In....92
Table 4.9 Housing/Living Arrangements .............................................94
Table 4.10 The number of people living with older people in the homestead .........................................................................................99
Table 4.11 House Tenure ......................................................................101
Table 4.12 Perception physical condition of the home lived in by the elderly .......................................................................................103
Table 4.13 Respondent’s level of education across gender....................105
Table 4.14 Respondents’ Employment Status .....................................109
Table 4.15 Respondent’s source of income across gender ....................112
Table 4.16 Respondent’s Level of income across gender ...................... 114
Table 4.17 Ownership of land across gender .................................... 116
Table 4.18 Form of land ownership ..................................................... 118
Table 4.19 Custodian of the Title Deed ................................................. 119
Table 4.20 Physical Abuse ................................................................. 121
Table 4.21 Multiple Abuse ................................................................. 123
Table 4.22 Perpetrators of Physical Abuse ........................................... 124
Table 4.23 Forms of Psychological Abuse experienced by older people 128
Table 4.24 People responsible for Psychological Abuse towards older people ................................................................. 129
Table 4.25 Dimensions of Financial Abuse experienced by older people 130
Table 4.26 Dimensions of Sexual Abuse experienced by older people .... 144
Table 4.27 Dimensions of Neglect experienced by older people.......... 150
Table 4.28 People responsible for Neglect towards older people .......... 155
Table 4.29 Reasons for Elder Abuse across all forms ....................... 157
Table 4.30 Gender of respondent and Physical abuse toward elderly people .................................................................................. 162
Table 4.31 Age of respondent and Physical abuse toward elderly people 163
Table 4.32 Land ownership and Physical abuse toward elderly people... 173
Table 4.33 Land ownership and Psychological abuse toward elderly people .................................................................................. 174
Table 4.34 Land ownership and financial abuse of the elderly.......... 175
Table 4.35 Physical abuse and Gender .................................................. 179
Table 4.36 Gender of respondent and Psychological abuse toward elderly people .................................................................................. 180
Table 4.37 Level of Education and experience of physical abuse ..... 181
Table 4.38 Level of Education and Psychological Abuse ....................... 183
Table 4.39 Level of income and abuse of the elderly ................................ 184
Table 4.40 Housing/Living Arrangements .............................................. 186
Table 4.41 Perception of the Physical and Mental health of older people 190
Table 4.42 Nature of Health Problem .................................................... 192
Table 4.43  Activities of Daily Living (ADL) ................................................. 193
Table 4.44  Perception of Memory Status of the elderly respondents ....... 196
Table 4.45  Form of help needed by older people....................................... 198
Table 4.46  Medical Check up .................................................................. 199
Table 4.47  Person/s responsible medical care of the elderly. .................. 200
Table 4.48  Frequency of Diet eaten by older people ................................. 202
Table 4.49  Do you have trouble buying foods that you like? ............... 206
Table 4.50  Status of the Activities of Daily Living ................................. 207
Table 4.51  Reporting of Physical Abuse.................................................. 209
Table 4.52  Reporting of Psychological Abuse......................................... 212
Table 4.53  Reporting Financial Abuse ..................................................... 215
Table 4.54  Reporting of Sexual Abuse ..................................................... 216
Table 4.55  Reporting of Neglect............................................................... 218
Table 4.56  Association of risk factors and Physical abuse of elderly people ................................................................................................................................. 219
Table 4.57  Association of risk factors and Psychological abuse of elderly people ................................................................................................................................. 220
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework .................................................................57
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADLs</td>
<td>Activities of Daily Living</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AU</td>
<td>African Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUFAA</td>
<td>African Union Framework Plan of Action on Aging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAI</td>
<td>Help Age International</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAK</td>
<td>Help Age Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPNEA</td>
<td>International Network on Prevention of Elder Abuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KDHS</td>
<td>Kenya Demographic Health Survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIPAA</td>
<td>Madrid International Plan of Action on Aging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGEC</td>
<td>National Gender and Equality Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIPAA</td>
<td>Vienna International Plan of Action on Aging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHO</td>
<td>World Health Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNFPA</td>
<td>United Nations Fund for Population Activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDESA</td>
<td>United Nations Department of Social and Economic Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SECASA</td>
<td>South Eastern Centre for Sexual Abuse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

**Elderly person:** A person who is aged 60 years and above

**Elder Abuse:** A single or repeated act or lack of appropriate action occurring within a relationship where there is an expectation of trust which causes harm or distress to the elderly person (World Health Organization, 2002).

**Financial Abuse:** It is also known as material or property abuse involves an unauthorized and improper use of money or property or any other resources of an older person. This may include misusing or using property without knowledge of the elderly person, stealing of money or possessions, forging a signature on pension cheques or legal documents, coercion, or fraud to obtain or to gain control of property, or tricking an older person into selling or giving away his or her money, possessions or property.

**Neglect:** It is a situation where there is the failure of a caregiver not to offer or meet the needs of an older person who is unable to meet those needs alone. Neglect behaviours are manifested in actions like denial of food, water, clothing, medication like giving the incorrect dose of medicine, not keeping the timing of medication, denial of medical treatment, provision of health aids, living away from the
elderly person and not visiting and help in day to day activities of daily living.

**Physical Abuse:** It involves inflicting physical pain on the elderly person. It involves behaviours such as hitting, punching, slapping, kicking, grabbing, bashing against an object like a wall, threatening with a weapon or any other violence meted to an older person by a family member, close friend or non-family member.

**Psychological abuse:** Psychological or emotional abuse erodes the self-worth and diminishes the elderly person’s identity. This is manifested in verbal attacks like name calling, yelling at the elderly person, threats, insults, deprivation of rights, swearing at, or belittling acts that cause mental anguish, pain or distress to an older person. In some instances, psychological abuse might escalate to physical abuse.

**Sexual Abuse** One or more instances where an older person may be forced to have sexual intercourse against their will, talked to in a sexual manner or made to watch pornography or any other act of sexual nature against their will.
ABSTRACT

The thesis addresses itself to an emerging issue, elderly abuse, that is prevalent yet it is hidden in most communities. It is an issue affecting the elderly population who are increasingly marginalized and ignored. Modernization and attendant urbanization has weakened the social bonds that held communities together, bonds that shielded the weak and especially the elderly from neglect or abuse. Elder abuse is an emerging social problem. As the Kenyan elderly population is rising, phenomenon of elder abuse and the underlying factors contributing to elder abuse need to be understood in their totality. The study explored the forms, patterns and patterns of elder abuse, the reasons for abuse and predicting factors of elder abuse in Machakos County, Kenya. The study used two theories, Social Exchange and Power Control Theory. Cross sectional research design was employed to study phenomena of elder abuse at a specific point in time. The study adopted a mixed methods approach. A purposive sampling of two sub-counties, Machakos Town and Mwala were selected. A sample size of 317 (142 male and 175 female) elderly persons aged 60 and above were interviewed on their socio-demographic characteristics (gender, age, marital status, income, occupation, living arrangements, and health status) and their experience of elder abuse. Data yielded by the study were both quantitative and qualitative. Qualitative data was collected through face-to-face interviews as well as three Focus Group Discussions and Key Informant interviews. The data collection tools were semi-structured interview and focus group discussion and Key Informant guide. Data was analysed using descriptive statistics (frequencies, means, standard deviations and percentages) and inferential statistics (Chi square, Pearson’s product-moment correlation) at 0.05 % level of confidence. Results showed the elderly experienced physical, psychological, financial, sexual abuse and neglect. The results further indicated that there was no significant influence of gender, age, income, marital status and occupation on elder abuse. All categories of the elderly experienced elder abuse. Health and living arrangements had a significant influence on the experience of abuse. The key predicting factors for physical, psychological and financial abuse were found to be ownership of land and having not subdivided it as well as family strife. Sexual abuse happened because the elderly person was found living alone as well as violation of customs like in joking relationships. Neglect was found to be caused by the fact of children having moved to live elsewhere and leaving the elderly person on their own. The study findings highlighted the nature and extent that is not clearly understood of the issue of elder abuse and the urgency to inform on policy formulation focusing on the elderly abused. A curriculum on Social Gerontology should be developed to gain the knowledge about the elderly and consequently on elder abuse. The study augments the Social Pillar of Vision 2030 and the Kenya Constitution on Social Security and Social Justice.
CHAPTER ONE: 1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Elder abuse is a pervasive phenomenon that is increasingly acknowledged as a social problem globally in both developing and developed countries. It has devastating effects on the victims in particular, a decreased quality of life. Although there is not one accepted definition of elder abuse, most definitions take into account existence of a relationship between the abuser and the abused. A widely recognized definition of elder abuse is given by the World Health Organization (W.H.O. 2002) that defines elder abuse as “…a single or repeated act or lack of appropriate action occurring within a relationship where there is an expectation of trust which causes harm or distress to the older person”.

This definition contains three aspects: behaviour, relationship and impact. According to the United Nations Population Division (2002) the elderly are people aged sixty and older and it is estimated that by the year 2050, the global population of people aged sixty and older is projected to rise by more than 2 billion up from 760 million in 2010 (United Nations, 2009).

Elder abuse is a social problem that should be eradicated or in need of intervention and society is only beginning to be aware of a long standing problem that was first identified in 1975 by British gerontologists and at that time labelled “granny battering” (Baker, 1975; Burnston, 1977). Elder abuse research was conducted in U.S.A in the 1980s and 1990s as well as in Canada, China, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, India, China, Japan, Israel, Norway and Sweden. South
Africa, Britain and European countries reported research on elder abuse to the U.N in the 1990s (W.H.O/IPNEA, 2002). It is noteworthy at this point already that the phenomenon of ‘elder abuse’ in Africa either has been unreported, unresearched or unknown since the elderly were revered and it was unthinkable to think of abusing the elderly.

Elder abuse commonly goes unnoticed and unreported with only the most severe cases receiving attention. It is a hidden problem that is not discussed much because it occurs within the family structure. There may be discomfort with denial of the problem as well as a culture of secrecy that may be orchestrated by family members, relatives, and professional staff, paid care workers, neighbours, friends and associated people who deliberately abuse vulnerable older people (Kioli, 2013).

The elderly in Africa and Kenya by extension live within family setups that are formed by domestic groups, marriage and kinship networks. The elderly received care and protection from this extended family since the elderly person as an individual was part of this extended family and community. Bujo (2010) observed that “whoever despises the ancestors and elders and rejects the community laws and statutes by them chooses death instead of life not only for the individual person but the entire community”. This statement underlies the moral obligation of the children to care for the elderly. It also reveals the greater impact of elder abuse both for the individual and the society. Traditionally, children were expected to care for the elderly even when they grew up, moved to live
independently. Even though old traditions are being transformed, they have not completely changed.

In the advent of new technology and economic systems children have moved to urban areas in pursuit of education and employment and therefore, this assurance of the care of the elderly is not guaranteed any more. Advent of technology in particular mobile money transfer avail new forms of financial abuse of the elderly.

Elder abuse would be a departure from the tradition of respect and reverence elderly people enjoyed in most Africa societies. The traditional social support system has been eroded by the process of modernization which has broken down the value system and morals leading to neglect, loss of respect, exclusion and abuse of the elderly (Knodel & Ofstedol, 2005).

Researchers have looked at the risk factors for victims of elder abuse and different forms of abuse. Some risk factors include socio-economic status, health, care giver and spouse burn-out. Bigala and Ayinga (2014) noted that the gender factor in elder abuse is important, whereby women are considered to be at a greater risk of suffering elder abuse than older men.

Widows may be deprived of their property and chased away from their homes simply because they are old (Kioli, 2013). Bigala and Ayinga noted financial dependency on or by family member, the older person’s capacity for self-care and sound decision making, alcohol and substance abuse on the part of the
perpetrator, care giver stress; cognitive or physical deficits of the elderly person and those with limited social network support are also susceptible to elder abuse.

Though Sub Saharan African countries have the lowest rate of population ageing, the overall population of older people is on the rise. The absolute numbers of older people are expected to rise from 36 million to 141 million by the year 2050 which is a major shift in population structure in this region. In Kenya, the population aged 60 and above will rise from the current 1.9 million to 3 million by the year 2030. With an ageing population, there is awareness that many older adults are facing abuse (Mba, 2007).

The United Nations declared 1999 as the International Year of the Elder Persons. Issues of physical and emotional abuse against the elderly began to be discussed and addressed as a concern to the world both in developed and developing countries (WHO/IPNEA, 2002). Various forms of elder abuse have been identified by scholars over time. They include physical, psychological, financial, sexual abuse and neglect.

Physical abuse involves inflicting physical pain. It is the act resulting in non-accidental physical injury, including not only intentional assault, but also the results of unreasonable punishment (Morsby Medical Dictionary, 2002). It involves behaviours such as hitting, punching, slapping, kicking, grabbing, bashing against an object like a wall threatening with a weapon or any other violence meted to an older person by a family member, close friend or non-family member. Signs of abuse could include abrasions, welts, rashes, swelling,
lacerations, cringing or acting fearful, weight loss, or agitation. These signs could be reflected in bruises, burns, blisters, confusions, drowsiness, broken or healing bones, and noticeable change in physical well-being. (Aged Rights Advocacy Services, 2017)

Psychological abuse is yet another form of elder abuse. Eckroth-Bucher (2008) refers to psychological abuse as “any knowing, intentional, or negligent act by a care-giver or any other person that causes harm or serious risk of harm to a vulnerable adult over the age of sixty”. Psychological or emotional abuse erodes the self-worth and diminishes the elderly person’s identity. This is manifested in verbal attacks like name calling, yelling at the elderly person, threats, insults, depriving of rights, swearing, or belittling acts that cause mental anguish, pain or distress to an older person perpetrated by someone where the relationship would involve trust like a family member, close friend or a non-family member (Hooyman & Kiyak, 1996).

Financial abuse is yet another form of elder abuse. Nerenberg, (1999) defines financial abuse as taking money or property, getting an older person to sign a deed, will, or power of attorney through deception, coercion or undue influence. It also includes using the older person’s property or possessions without permission. Financial abuse also includes theft, misusing or using property without knowledge of the elderly person, stealing of money or possessions, forging a signature on pension cheques or legal documents, coercion, or fraud to obtain or to gain control, or tricking an older person into selling or giving away his or her money, possessions or property (Hafemeister 2003). When elderly
vulnerable persons are persuaded to enter into financial transactions in which they have not consented to, for example title deed ownership changes, then this can also be referred to as financial abuse (Kioli, 2013).

Evidence of financial abuse is on the rise in Kenya. For instance, the media reported that a man and his wife stole Sh. 639,000, money raised through mobilizing friends and family, which was meant to pay a medical bill for a Mr. George Kilonzo, their 82 year old ailing father. The money had been entrusted to the son Mr. Nicholas Mithuka, a father of 12, by the fund raising committee. The man and his wife denied the charge and were released on cash bail of 100 000 or a Sh.500 000 bond with sureties (Daily Nation, January 23, 2014 p.2).

Another aspect of financial abuse is also emerging related to the cash transfer programme for the elderly. The financial abuse is perpetrated by care givers whom the elderly person has appointed to be taking the money on their behalf and in the institution that is mandated to give the money to the elderly. The care givers might not give the elderly person the money once they get it; and the staff in the institution would collude with others to take the money that has not been collected by using forgery (Ministry of Labour, Security and Social Services, Social Development Division, Machakos County, 2015).

Another common form of elder abuse is sexual abuse. Sexual abuse among the elderly occurs when caregivers or others violate the trust they were given to care for an elderly person and taking advantage of that person sexually through engaging in physical acts of sex. Sexual abuse occurs without the victims consent
or makes the victim feel uncomfortable or afraid. Other forms of sexual abuse include touching the genital parts, forced sexual intercourse, fondling or kissing and suggestive sexual language (SECASA, 2009).

The last form of elder abuse the researcher explored was neglect. Neglect is “a disregard of duty resulting from carelessness, indifference, or wilfulness. It is a failure to provide a person under one’s care with proper food, clothing, shelter, supervision, medical care, or emotional stability (Merriam Webster online dictionary, 2017).

Neglect is a situation where there is the failure of a care giver not to offer or meet the needs of an older who person is unable to meet those needs alone. Neglect behaviour is manifested in actions like denial of food, water, clothing, medication like giving the correct dose of medicine the and timing of medication, medical treatment, provision of health aids and help in day to day activities of daily living (Kurst-Swange & Petcosky, 2003).

An assessment on violence against older persons in Kenya carried out in Muranga, Kisii, Tharaka-Nithi, and Narok revealed existence of psychological, physical, neglect and abandonment, economic and sexual abuse of the elderly and named the key drivers of violence as poverty, deteriorating family and community values, land, migration, idleness and drug abuse (National Gender and Equality Commission (NGEC, 2014). Land is a key resource in deriving livelihood. Its possession gives one both economic and social power. There is
almost a spiritual connection to the possession of land. Depriving the elderly of their land amounts to elder abuse.

Changing family set up, and how family life affects individual elderly person would be an area of interest for future research. The question would be whether family life may be dysfunctional to some family members or the fact that some families have a “darker side” such as in the abuse of the elderly members. Would family be the best to have in terms of fulfilling the range of needs for elderly abused persons.

In the African cultural system, the care of the elderly was primarily the responsibility of their children and other relatives under a life-long co-existence with strong filial obligations. Anderson (1989) argues that families provide support networks that confer psychological benefits they may not be provided by other social institutions. When the support is impacted upon by new values, elder abuse is the result.

Becker (1991) suggested that that families generate ‘psychic income’ for their members- the psychological pleasures people gain from a relationship with those who share a sense of personal commitment, love and affection. African societies including Kenya revered its old and relied on them as repositories of knowledge, wisdom, and regarded them as custodians of culture which accorded them respect and reverence.

The networks of relationships shielded the elderly from emotional abuse, loneliness and poverty especially in rural areas where most elderly live. Kaleli
(1985 : 261) observes: “The matter of the ageing parents was traditionally taken very seriously. Usually while this custom continues to remain predominantly unchanged, yet in the last 20 years we have begun to see children who after they grow and establish their own families have begun to ignore their traditional responsibilities of caring and honouring parents…”

Mbiti (1966) further emphasizes this point when he pointed out that even when children are grown and have established their own families, they still must show great respect to their parents and older members of the society. Apt (1992) emphasizes that prestige of the elderly is preserved through ownership of land, continued productivity and norms that reinforce reciprocity.

The elderly have been the supporters and guide for the young. However, there has been an economic and social shift, which has resulted, in part, from rapid urbanization and modernization, with the young moving to the urban areas in search of work and leaving the elderly in the rural areas with diminished family support.

This rural-urban migration has negatively impacted on the extended family social system structures which provided a form of social security for the elderly (Ferreira, 2005; Mba, 2007). Social network support enhances the visibility and active participation of the elder persons in public affairs. As such they are not isolated and any abuse can easily be identified and possibly the perpetrators reported.
Whereas the proportion of the elderly is currently low in Kenya, pegged at 4 per cent, it is projected that by the year 2050, the Kenya population will increase to 61.2 million persons and the older population will constitute 11.8 per cent. The increase in the proportion of the elderly means that Kenya is going to have a double dependency problem: that is the total dependency ratio of population aged 0-19 and older persons aged 65+ per 100 working persons. The total dependency ratio for Kenya stands at 1:120 (U.N Department of Economic and Social Affairs Division, 2013). As noted earlier dependency of the older person can render them vulnerable to elder abuse.

The National Policy on Older Persons and Ageing in Kenya recognizes the vulnerability of older persons and notes, in particular, forms of elder abuse, and acknowledges the personal and financial security that families provide for the ageing members. Article 57 of the Kenya Constitution legislates support for the elderly. The Cash Transfer Programme targets the most vulnerable elderly persons over 65 years of age where the targeted and enrolled beneficiaries receive 2000 shillings per month, where at the household level, they can meet their basic needs. In this year’s (2015) national budget, 74 billion shillings was allocated for the benefit of the older persons. However, these measures do not focus on the elderly persons who are abused.

The culture of the Akamba community passed down through generations were to value, respect, and revere and venerate the elderly. Hence many elderly people live in extended and multigenerational households and receive informal care from their adult children as well as other family members.
However, from the five forms of elder abuse mentioned above, the researcher sought to explore the situation of elder abuse amongst the Akamba people of Machakos County.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Even though family members are the main providers of informal care, elderly people who are cared for by family members are at risk of elder abuse. Nhongo (2006) observes that there is an increased tension in relation to whether young people will be able to continue to care for older family members because of the decline of the extended family system and increase in nuclear families that leave many elderly people alone as well as the increase in physical distance as young people move to the urban areas.

There has been no focused inquiry into the nature, scope and drivers of elder abuse in Machakos County. However cases reported by elderly persons aged 60-85 years, and documented in the year 2014, revealed physical abuse, related to land issues, psychological abuse, sexual abuse and emerging cases of financial abuse linked to the cash transfer to the elderly in Machakos County (Police records, Machakos Police Divisional Headquarters, 2014). Such information collected by law enforcement agencies remain circumscribed and points to the dearth of systematic research data on elder abuse in Machakos County. Even so, this revealed a growing prevalence of elder abuse and the urgency of investigating the phenomenon of elder abuse in Machakos County and is therefore worthy of further investigation.
Since abuse impacts negatively on the elderly person, it calls for scholarly and policy attention in order to address it. There has been an increase in the awareness of the seriousness of elder abuse as a communal and societal problem. The reason why reliable statistics of the elderly abused persons does not exist could be that either it is not reported or is under reported or the abused elders have nowhere to report, as well as the non-availability of research data because the problem of elder abuse is not widely studied in Kenya. Elderly abused persons may feel embarrassed, ashamed and traumatized such that they may not want to reveal abuse by their relatives, may fear withdrawal of support or may fear further abuse or reprisals.

The problem is compounded by the fact that what happens within the home is considered to be a private matter excluded from scrutiny by the public such that the matter remains a hidden problem and difficult to assess. This secrecy is an important observation as a reason surrounding these abuses. The most frequently abused are those who are over 65 years old and the victims are both male and female with a greater proportion of women suffering abuse.

Few cases of older women who have been sexually abused, molested or raped have been reported. Due to shame, stigma and beliefs, they tend to be hushed. (Social Services and Development Division, Machakos County, 2015). This points to the need to pursue the issue of elder abuse further with the Social Services and development Division of Machakos County.
Given that the aged population in Kenya will increase by 11.8 per cent by the year 2050 (KNBS 2010), it is of fundamental importance to define, describe, classify and explain elder abuse from interrelated perspectives. These perspectives will be demographic, social, economic, and biological. This study therefore, aims to address this knowledge gap.

Few studies have focused on abuse of older persons in rural settings. Rural settings have been identified as having unique economic and social factors among them social and community cohesion, management and inheritance of farm assets, farming and family arrangements and lack of communication. These factors have been identified as factors that place older people at risk of abuse. The intimacy amongst people in rural communities could be a factor with potential for elder abuse. Furthermore, due to local social cohesion, there may be reluctance on the part of older people to report abuse.

Issues pertaining to inheritance and succession, importance of family name and family property are pertinent in the study of elder abuse in the context of rural communities. The study explored the interplay of these factors in seeking to determine to what extent they contributed to elder abuse, the forms, patterns and predictors of elder abuse experienced by the elderly people.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the study was to explore the forms, patterns and predisposing factors and extent of elder abuse among elderly people aged 60 years and older in Machakos County.
1.4 Specific Objectives of the study

The following objectives will guide the study:

1. To analyse forms, patterns and trends of elder abuse in Machakos County.

2. To examine reasons that drive elder abuse in Machakos County.

3. To investigate the factors that predispose the elder to abuse in Machakos County.

1.5 Research questions

The study was guided by the following research questions that helped in documenting and understanding the following:

1. What are the various forms, patterns and trends of elder abuse in Machakos County?

2. What are the reasons for elder abuse in Machakos County?

3. What are the predisposing factors that influence elder abuse in Machakos County?

1.6 Justification of the study

Elder abuse is a threat to the elderly persons’ well-being. The abuse of the elderly also threatens the stability of the family and by extension, that of communities. Understanding and recognizing that the elderly suffer abuse, abandonment, isolation and loneliness is crucial to responding effectively to this phenomenon.
The United Nations Principles of Older Persons, the principles of independence, participation, care, self-fulfilment, respect and dignity are espoused. Elder abuse would be an antithesis to the spirit of these principles. Elder abuse is a violation of older people’s rights. For this reason the elderly must be cared for so that they can have security, dignity and self-esteem (United Nations Human Rights, 1991)

Under the Constitution of Kenya (2010), the Bill of rights points to the entitlement of older persons to enjoy all rights and fundamental freedoms hence the need to protect the elderly from abuse is enshrined. The study has the potential of contributing to the implementation of the Constitution of 2010 and therefore the need to formulate policies that protect elderly persons who experience elder abuse.

The study investigated drivers of elder abuse that bring trauma to the elderly person, physically and psychologically. The study findings and recommendations enhanced policy interventions to address the issues of elder abuse and to bring a hidden phenomenon into the limelight. Based on the above reasons, the study is therefore justified due to its ability to contribute to knowledge and an understanding of the emerging phenomenon of elder abuse.

1.7 Significance of the study

With a growing elderly population, there is dearth of information on elder abuse in Kenya and no research data on elder abuse in Machakos County. The findings of this study contribute to addition of new knowledge and raise awareness about elder abuse, not only in Machakos County and Kenya but also elsewhere in sub-
Saharan Africa. It will also help the government and the communities to find solutions to deter, minimize or eliminate elder abuse. The study findings inform on government policies on older persons and bolster its commitment toward addressing the well-being of this vulnerable group of society through comprehensive and coherent institutional, legislative and administrative frameworks that address their plight. The research study findings are useful in providing a base on which other research studies may base future research to further explore elder abuse.

1.8 Scope of the study

The study was carried out in the Machakos County, Kenya, and specifically, in the sub counties of Mwala and Machakos Town. Other sub counties found in Machakos County are Masinga, Yatta, Kangundo, Matungulu, Kathiani and Mavoko.

The study limited itself to elder persons aged 60 years and older. The criteria that informed on the choice of these two counties is that Mwala sub county is purely a rural area while Machakos Town sub county is a mix of an urban and rural area. Any differences in forms, patterns and trends of elder abuse owing to their rural-urban difference would be noted in the study.

The study focused on exploring the forms, patterns and extent of elder abuse, and the risk factors associated with abuse of the elderly in Machakos County. There is no data on elder abuse in Machakos County except bare anecdotal evidence thus the need for this research.
1.9 Limitations of the study

The study was limited to a representative sample of elderly people aged 60 years and older, both men and women, within Machakos County. The study respondents were interviewed face-to-face and assured of confidentiality with a view to increasing confidence amongst the respondents.

There may be recall bias as the elderly person may forget the details of their past experience of abuse. The respondents were asked whether they experienced abuse in the past one year. The participants were allowed enough time to reflect and think through the sequence of events pertaining to the experience of elder abuse.

Hostility from the caregivers may occur as they may want to block access to the elderly persons. The researcher requested to interview the respondent alone and out of earshot from others. Triangulation, the use of several different research methods, was used. For example, apart from the interview schedules, focus group discussions and Key Informant interviews were carried out.

There are barriers to the investigation of elder abuse. Ha and Code (2013) identified cultural barriers, victim shame, physical disability, language difficulties, victim’s fear and mental health issues, not knowing they are being abused and the belief that you cannot talk about your family issues to outsiders. The barriers can prevent exploration, identification and the ways and mechanisms which the abused elderly person develop in order to deal with abuse.

The researcher developed rapport with the respondents using the mother tongue. The researcher being a native speaker of Kikamba and was sensitive to cultural
aspects pertaining to how the elderly are addressed among the Akamba such as when you enter the homestead, for example, you greet them, make small talk tell them where your family is from, your clan and that of your mother and father and their origin. That way, a feeling develops that you ‘belong’. Trust is established that way before one can state their purpose of the visit. One cannot directly state the purpose of the visit before that happens.

1.10 Delimitations

The study is delimited to the study of elder abuse among the elderly people aged 60 and older. This is a deliberate effort to address the gap existing on the absence of data on elder abuse in Machakos County. It is an in-depth focus on the predisposing factors and the social contexts in which abuse may occur; the patterns of elder abuse and the extent of elder abuse with a view of suggesting intervention models to address issues of elder abuse.

1.11 Assumptions of the study

The study assumed that:

Elder abuse is a hidden phenomenon in Machakos County and needs to be unravelled and be understood in its entirety, how it is manifested, the impact it has on the elderly and the possible interventions.

The traditional family safety net that cared for the elderly has been raptured and the elderly are not accorded health care, they lack food and live in poor housing conditions, are dependent and alone.
The respondents had accurate information and were willing to participate in the study and would co-operate, give honest answers as objectively as possible and that they were cognitively intact hence would be able to respond to the interview questions.
CHAPTER TWO: 2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the literature related to elder abuse. It examines the aging process and how advanced age creates vulnerability to old age abuse. The researcher presents the predisposing factors that lead to vulnerability to elder abuse; the patterns and risk factors contributing to elder abuse; the characteristics of the perpetrators of abuse as well as the international, regional and national instruments that protect the rights of older persons. The source of literature review included book reviews, e-journals, research theses, dissertations, periodicals and encyclopaedia. The theoretical and conceptual frameworks for this study were discussed in this chapter.

2.1.1 Conceptualization of Old Age

Ageing refers to the process of growing older based on chronological age. It can also refer to individual’s life span from birth. In conceptualizing ageing, in many people’s minds it is the image of advancement in age or life after retirement, to others, old age is seen as a time when the body undergoes major physical and psychological changes.

Traditional functional definitions of ageing included biological, physiological and cognitive changes that may cause impairments. Objectively, social gerontologists see ageing as something that everyone undergoes from the date of birth (Miller, 2008). Subjectively, ageing is usually associated with being a
member of older adulthood and defined in terms of personal experience and meaning.

### 2.1.2 Classification of older persons

The aged have been classified in the following sub-populations: the young old, 65-74; the old-old; 74-84; the oldest old, aged 85 and above. Lindsey and Beach (2000) contented that the young old (age 65 – 74) had more resources than the old-old (age 74 – 84) and the oldest old (age 85 and above). This decline is associated with changes in sources of income and with marital status. The elderly are also likely to be widows and widowers who experience severe economic consequences after the loss of their spouses. Women aged 85 and above, who are living alone and are functionally impaired, have reduced financial resources. The study demonstrated that age and gender were predictors of elder abuse.

An alternative understanding of ageing is that advanced age is a basis for power in some East African cultures where the most powerful positions are assigned to men upon attaining a certain age bestows power. Among the Akamba, increase in age bestowed social power to the elderly men referred to as *atumia*. The highest rank of *atumia* were those who administer justice of the country, watch over court, were the judging authority and oversaw matters of religion. They were referred to as *atumia ma nzama* (Linblom, 1963).

When age and social class are combined so that property remains in the hands of the oldest males, they can use it to control other family members, especially their sons, and as leverage against being abandoned or mistreated if they become
infirm (Lindsey & Beach, 2000). This may predispose them to elder abuse as the young may want to own the property the elderly hold.

Elder abuse cuts across socioeconomic status from the poorest to the very rich. Some high profile cases of elder abuse have been reported in the media related to property (Ministry of Labour, Security and Social Development, 2015). The majority of elder abuse cases reported at the Machakos Divisional Police involved mostly elderly women aged 60-85.

By extension then, when the aged continue to hold property which the young desire to have, this may result in elder abuse. The study endeavoured to check whether there was elder abuse amongst the elderly persons who had little property or who had already divided their property and whether other forms of abuse could be detected among such cases.

Unpublished reports from Kilifi (HelpAge 2014) show that “grey hair”, that is the older men and women, are susceptible to physical abuse because they possess land and the young want it. Kilifi, a county in the coast of Kenya has been in the limelight as a hotspot for elder abuse. A case is narrated of a wife and husband. In the morning, the husband had been killed but the wife was unharmed. When asked what happened, they say ‘simanya’. “Simanya” is a word which means ‘I do not know’. No one takes responsibility for the death. The police have no complainant, hence no one gets arrested. This illustrates a kind of conspiracy of silence where no one is willing to tell who killed the elderly person and a close
scrutiny of this is needed but it gives a strong impression of the violence that is elder abuse. It is also a pointer to the fact that elder abuse is a hidden phenomenon.

2.1.3 Context of Abuse

An assessment of abuse against the elderly notes that it occurs in their own homes with the main perpetrators being family members and others close to the older persons at community level and institutional settings (National Gender and Equality Commission, 2014).

This assessment further noted that the forms of violence toward the elderly included psychological harm manifested directly or indirectly, hindrance from use and disposal of property, pressure in connection with will and inheritance, social stigma, neglect and abandonment occasioned by rural-urban migration. The assessment also noted the drivers of elderly abuse were: land with regard to inheritance, poverty and related pressure towards care of the elderly and the disintegration of the social fabric.

2.1.4 Overview of population Ageing

A comparative overview on aging trends of the population aged 60 and above in the world, in the more developed countries and in the less developed countries is depicted in Table 2.1. The table shows an increasing trend of older people aged 60 and above by the year 2050. This trend may reveal the implication of why there is need for concern on elder abuse as the percentage of the elderly increases. Since the phenomenon of elder abuse is hidden, we can therefore say that increase in the number of the elderly people increases the risk of elderly abuse.
Table 2.1 Percentage of population aged 60+ in the world, 1950-2050

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2050</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>World</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More Developed Countries</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less Developed Countries</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The table demonstrates an increase in the population of the elderly globally. The table shows that the number of the elderly doubles every fifty years.

Table 2.2 Percentage population aged 60+ in Eastern Africa, 1950-2050

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2050</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Africa</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: United Nations, Population Division, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2015

Table 2.2 demonstrate that in Eastern Africa, and by extension Kenya, the population of the elderly will have increased considerably by the year 2050.

The numbers of the elderly are increasing in Eastern Africa and by extension Kenya, one of the countries in Eastern Africa and will continue to do so. Despite the relatively youthfulness of the population in Kenya reflected in the 2009 Kenya Population and Housing Census, the population of over 60 years is steadily increasing in Kenya. It can be construed that the increase in the number of the elderly raises the increase in vulnerability to elder abuse.
The predicted level of dependency in Eastern Africa by the year 2050 is demonstrated in Table 2.3.

The dependency ratio will increase with the increase of the elderly persons aged 60 and above by the year 2050. Dependency has been shown to be a risk factor in elder abuse, hence the need to conduct research to understand the phenomenon of elder abuse.

### 2.2 Forms of Ageing

Ageing is a lifelong process, a biological sequence of events that begin at conception and ends at death. It also refers to a process of changes that take place in the organism throughout the life span (Hooyman & Kiyak, 2008). Gerontologists view aging in terms of four distinct processes that have a significant social bearing. The particular characteristics of the processes may give rise to elder abuse.

#### 2.2.1 Chronological Ageing

Chronological age is the age of a person based on number of years they have lived from birth (Novak, 2006, Hooyman & Kiyak 2008; Moody & Sasser, 2012). Ageing...
can be used as basis for determining various roles like the age of retirement where an individual acquires the role of a retiree. Chronological age is important in understanding elder abuse. Increase in chronological age correlates with increase in incidence of elder abuse. Positive or negative assumptions about someone may be made simply on the basis of chronological age. Further, it has social implications because many depictions of old age present as a negative experience, something to be avoided and possibly the reason for elder abuse.

Thus rise in chronological age raises the risk of elder abuse. For example, the media in Kenya reported the case of an 82 year old woman who was raped. Clearly, the increase in chronological age and, probably, increased frailty of the older person may increase vulnerability to elder abuse. The serious forms of elder abuse like rape are suffered by elderly women of very advanced age. The study examined whether the risk of sexual abuse increased with advance in chronological age.

Hooyman and Kiyak (2011) observed that chronological age is a poor predictor of a person’s biological, physical, psychological or social age. The knowledge on increase in age is useful in understanding the contexts of elder abuse. An alternative view: would it, for example, be true that those who are elderly and coping well with age are not likely to be abused? The researcher takes the view that being of advanced age may not necessarily give rise to elder abuse. What does ‘coping well mean in relation to elder abuse?
2.2.2 Biological Ageing/physical Ageing

Ageing in general refers to changes that take place in the organism throughout the life span. Young stages are referred to as development or maturation, because the individual develops and matures, both socially and physically, from birth throughout adolescence. After age 30, additional changes occur that reflect normal decline in all organ system a process referred to as senescence (Hooyman & Kiyak, 2011).

Social definition of ageing used by most people focuses on the visible features of biological aging such as: greying, balding, sagging and wrinkled skin, stooped shoulders and slower walking and shuffling gait as well as declining health and physical ability. Whereas biological aspects of aging may not have much to do with elder abuse, it is the social aspects of aging that lead to differential treatment of the elderly and possibly lead to elder abuse.

Even though aging is normal and inevitable, elder abuse is a social phenomenon and hence it has social consequences for the elderly which can make them vulnerable to abuse. For example, an elderly person with impaired mobility may have a higher level of dependency on others for the activities of daily living. The study explored whether there was a correlation between impaired mobility, dependency on others for activities of daily living and the possibility of experiencing elder abuse.
2.2.3 Cognitive Ageing

One of the most important aspects of aging is that of intelligence, learning and memory (Hooyman & Kiyak, 2011). The operational aspects of intelligence involve judging well, to comprehend well and to reason well, problem solving and social competence. Loss of memory, reasoning, speech and other cognitive functions increases with age and doubles every five years of age after age 65. (National Institute on Ageing; WHO 2010). Dong (2011) posited that there was an association between cognitive functioning and elder abuse. He showed that lower levels of cognitive function, episodic memory and perceptual speed are associated with increased risk of elder abuse. For example, an older person may experience financial abuse because they have lost the concept of the value of money. They may also be forced to sign documents whose implication they may not know.

2.2.4 Psychological Ageing

Psychological aging includes the changes that occur in sensory and perceptual processes, cognitive abilities (e.g. memory, learning, and intelligence), adaptive capacity and personality. Cognition has a greater effect than other types of psychological functioning that makes it a critical issue in terms of elder abuse (Dong et. al, 2011). It has an implication on the ability of the elder person to perform activities of daily living (ADLs). Decline in cognitive abilities make older persons vulnerable. Older persons with memory failure may not be able to keep up with needed medications, may lose their judgment, become more
impulsive or make detrimental decisions. For example in spending their money, they may have to rely on someone else which makes them vulnerable to financial abuse.

2.2.5 Social Ageing

A social role is a set of expected activities and responsibilities about how people who occupy a particular position will behave and what they will do, what they should do, what they should not do. Some roles are a reciprocal role, that is, each role is complemented e.g. mother/child. An argument can be advanced that there is a role reversal as a person gets older, it is expected the child takes care of the aged parent. In the contexts of Akamba, social ageing is important because it bestows the elderly person prestige because of the wisdom that is associated with age. Important social roles are performed only by persons of advanced age ; roles as marriage negotiations, settling of land disputes and priestly roles.

Kioli et al (2013) in a study in Western Kenya found that the elderly considered themselves as old when they lost their social roles and saw this as actually elder abuse. Elders are custodians of rituals, hence this gives them powerful positions, such as settling disputes. The loss of this power would be seen as elder abuse. It could be postulated here that those who abuse the elderly might not have the sense that the elderly have knowledge since in the modern world if you wanted to know something all you need to do is “just google it” and elderly person’s knowledge might be seen as outdated. This may lead to mockery of the elderly, a form of elder abuse.
2.2.6 Ageism and Elder Abuse

Ageism refers to negative attitudes towards individuals based on the age which may lead to discrimination. Podnieks (2006) observed that ageism plays a critical role in underreporting of elder mistreatment. For example in Kenya the common mode of public transport is in a form of taxi called “matatu”. Stickers portraying negative attitudes towards the elderly are sometimes displayed in the matatu's: e.g. one saying ‘we don’t give credit to the over 80 years old unless accompanied by their parents; ‘if the music is too loud, you are old’. Thus the aged may be ignored, patronized, deferred to or ridiculed, all of which are negative attitudes. This study can be expected to examine possible links between ageist attitudes and elder abuse. Ageist attitudes can be perceived to lead for example the perpetrator envisions that the elderly person has lived for too long and is not dying. They could plot how to deprive them of their property thus abusing them.

2.3. Patterns of ageing

2.3.1. Disease

There is a noticeable increase of chronic diseases such as diabetes or high blood pressure due to changes in lifestyles. Although such diseases are not necessarily related to ageing, older people develop such and even more so as longevity increases (National Institute on Aging; WHO 2010). The burden of health care for the elderly person might fall on the adult children because the elderly live with others in homesteads that include adult children. This may render the older person vulnerable to elder abuse by being denied health care.
2.3.2 Disability

Disability from disease may result from ageing process. This disability could be physical, visual, or hearing problems. Such disability may limit the older person’s ability to perform activities of daily living, robbing them of their independence due to physical limitations. If the older person then has to depend on someone else due to such physical limitations such as mobility or being frail, this can render them vulnerable to elder abuse. If the elderly person needs long term care, the burden for care may fall on the family. The research explored the way the elderly cope with disability without being dependent on someone else or limiting the dependency.

2.3.3 Leaving the workforce

Leaving workforce is more often associated with older people. There is a perception that this is disengaging from society. But the import of this is that the elderly person has lost regular income and the sense of belonging. This diminished income may render the elderly person depended on adult children thereby being rendered vulnerable to elder abuse such as physical and psychological abuse. This study explored whether older people continue to create jobs for themselves and continue to contribute to society or became isolated and depended, situations that render the elderly vulnerable to elder abuse.

2.3.4 Older persons and changing family roles

There is a bidirectional change of roles in the family. The older person give care to others: spouse, older parents, children, grandchildren and non-family members even as much as the adult children are the primary source of caregiving for the
elderly. The study looked into the dynamics that emanate from this bidirectional relationship. The relationship could be symbiotic, but it could as well set a context in which the elderly person experiences abuse.

2.4 Trends in Aging

2.4.1 Increasing number of elderly persons

Globally, the population of the elderly persons aged 60 and above is increasing. The trend is reflected in the Kenyan population of the elderly which doubled in the last 40 years. In 1969 the population aged 60 and above was 587,983 while in 2009, it was 1,926,051. Machakos County ranks fourth in absolute number of the aged standing at 75,649. (National Council for Population Development 2016; Kenya Population and Housing Census 2009). The study investigated the phenomenon of elder abuse among this elderly population in Machakos County.

2.4.2 Sex Ratio

Women are the majority of older persons because they tend to live longer than men (UN, 2011). The 2009 Kenya Population and Housing Census put persons aged 60 to 80+ as comprising 5% of the total population 53.4% were women and 46.6 % were men. The table below illustrates the distribution of elderly by gender. The ratio of elderly women to elderly men was higher for women than men. The research explored differentials in disability, health problems and the socioeconomic status associated with old age among men and women and the experience of elder abuse in regard to the gender and age. Some of the aspects explored included differentials in income levels, health status and physical care.
### Table 2.4 Distribution of elderly persons by gender in Kenya

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60-63</td>
<td>295,197</td>
<td>298,581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-69</td>
<td>183,151</td>
<td>207,612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-74</td>
<td>160,301</td>
<td>179,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75-79</td>
<td>99,833</td>
<td>118,675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80+</td>
<td>159,125</td>
<td>224,576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>898,607</td>
<td>1,028,444</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Kenya Population and Housing Census (2009)

#### 2.5 Types of Elder Abuse

The preceding section depicted the various ways ageing is defined and the risk factors for ageing under each. This section describes the several categories of elder abuse have been identified in elder abuse literature. The categories are discussed as follows:

##### 2.5.1 Physical Abuse

These can be termed as acts that cause or may cause physical bodily injury, pain or impairment. It may be in form of hitting, shoving, shaking, pushing, slapping, burning, kicking or pinching of the older person. Important details of signs of physical abuse include bruises, broken bones, cuts, wounds, or punctures or sudden changes in the behaviour of the elderly person. Kioli et al, (2013) noted that 7 per cent of the elderly experienced physical abuse. Though this was only in Emuhaya in Western Kenya, this observation is a pointer to research widely on elder abuse in Kenya.
2.5.2 Psychological Abuse/ Emotional Abuse

There are acts or attitudes that may cause psychological harm. They include infliction of pain, cases of being called a witch, not being visited by adult children or even denying the elderly a chance to see the grandchildren. It may include intimidating the older person, isolation from friends and family and infantilizing the elderly person or even patronizing them or even discriminating negative attitudes.

2.5.3 Financial /Material Exploitation

This is the illegal or unauthorized use of an elderly person’s financial resources or property. Financial and material abuse includes anytime someone illegally or improperly uses an older person’s funds, assets or signs property transfers falsely. This type of elder abuse may include forging signatures, stealing an elder person’s money or coercing the older person into signing cheques or other legal documents or being conned out of pensions.

Con artists also target the elderly. Anecdotal evidence of a case where an elderly person whose pension was being paid through a local bank agent was asked to load Ksh.8,000 shillings in his Mpesa (mobile phone money service) then sent it to a certain number and then Ksh 75,000 shillings, which he was told he had won, would be send to him. The elderly person had Ksh 4000 shillings but borrowed another Ksh 4000 shillings from the care giver who was hoping to share the 75,000 shillings from the supposed win, with the older person.
Both the elderly person and the care giver told no one about this transaction. Of course they both lost the money they had ‘invested’ and only then did they share with family members what had transpired. The care giver demanded to be paid her money by the elderly person as she had used her salary for that month in this con game. This was fraud and financial abuse of the elderly by people who take advantage of the vulnerability of the elderly.

2.5.4 Sexual Abuse:

Sexual contact that is forced, tricked, threatened, or otherwise coerced upon another person including anyone who is unable to give consent. Gutman (2004) pointed out that sexual abuse is mainly experienced by women and perpetrated by a family member with whom they share an abode. The research explored the nature of living arrangements as a predisposing factor in sexual abuse of the elderly person. The abuse is perpetrated by a person known, in some way, to the victim and is rarely a stranger. Sexual abuse tends to be experienced by females. The study inquired on sexual abuse amongst the elderly males.

2.5.5 Neglect

This is the refusal or failure to fulfil care giving obligation or provide for vulnerable elder safety, physical or emotional needs. This may or may not involve a conscious or intentional attempt to inflict physical or emotional distress on the older person. Kaleli (1985) noted sons move away from the family home and establish their own homes, which is expected of them. If they decrease contact with the elderly parents, it could lead to neglect. In the African context, even
when sons had moved away, they had an obligation to care for the elderly. In the event that this does not happen, it is viewed as elder abuse.

2.5.6 Abandonment

Joosten, Dow, Blakey (2015) observe of the abandonment of a frail or a vulnerable elderly person by anyone with care giving duty. The elder is simply deserted or isolated. Since most elderly persons in Machakos County live in homesteads with others, the study explored the nature of abandonment in such a context.

2.6 Risk Factors associated with elder abuse

The word risk refers to the probability that an event will take place. In the study, it will mean the probability that certain factors that exist may make an elderly person vulnerable to elder abuse. Schimberg (2011) point out that there are a number of risk factors that may increase the likelihood of elder physical abuse.

He pointed out history and patterns of violent interactions within the family, an on-going discord in the family created by the presence of the older adult. In other instances, the abuse is related to an older adult’s cognitive, psychological and financial situation and his/her dependence on family member’s or relatives for meeting basic needs.

The study explored factors such as gender, age, level income, proximity of living together in a homestead of the older adult that were related to elder abuse. Help Age (2014) identified in Kilifi, part of Kenya, the abuse of the elderly by the sons who wanted land or accused the elderly person of witchcraft.
Leitsch and Waite (2008) point to the individual victim characteristics that correlated with abuse, as the use of assistive devices (e.g. a wheelchair, walking cane) an older person’s limited mobility, limited functional ability, especially in self-care, social isolation, cognitive impairment e.g. dementia, chronic health problems, older adults with multiple physical impairments which may lead to diminished ability to protect themselves and their dependence on care givers. The risk factors were discussed below.

2.6.1 Gender and Socioeconomic Status

The W.H.O (2002) study found that two key factors emerged underpinning all contexts of abuse: gender and socio-economic status. The study emphasized the fact that women, particularly poor women, the childless and the widowed were most affected. Sever (2009) suggested that women are the main victims of elder abuse because they live longer than men.

In the Kenyan context older women have a generational understanding that their role is to keep peace and order in the household (Omoke, 2008). Once married, a woman would not go back to her parents. She belongs and would be buried in her married home.

This could explain in a sense why women among the Akamba could not inherit land from the family she was born in (Vengi, 2016). The study endeavoured to establish reasons why an elderly abused woman would stay even when they are in an abusive relationship. The question could be asked how they could keep their families intact without danger to themselves and their children.
Further, older women may suffer abuse and be unwilling to report their abuse for fear of others not believing them or fear of losing social support if the perpetrator is a relative as well as the fear of being subjected to retaliation. Furthermore, victims of elder abuse and neglect may tend to minimize or deny mistreatment that they are suffering out of fear of rejection and disruption of their lives. For some, it could be out of embarrassment or shame and they believe, whatever the case might be, they cannot abandon their homes. So they might stay put in a context where they experience abuse.

Kioli et al (2013) in their study of elder abuse in Emuhaya, Western Kenya touched on the issue of gender and socioeconomic status of the older abused persons. The study pointed out that displacing men as heads of households and depriving them of their autonomy disengaged the older men from their families. This meant that sometimes, when the elderly man felt discriminated, alienated, isolated and neglected, he would sell some family property secretly and spend the money without the knowledge of the family, thereby turning the whole family against him and leading to elder abuse.

2.6.2 Cognitive problems

Cognitive problems as discussed earlier was seen as a risk factor in elder abuse. According to Dong (2011) abused elders who exhibit cognitive decline such as memory loss may experience problems with money management and hence vulnerable to financial abuse. Burnright and Mosqueda (2011) suggested that elder abuse can be categorized in part by whether the elderly person had cognitive impairment and also the involvement of the trusted other on whom the elderly
person relied, the context in which they were as well as the nature of the relationship.

They further suggested older adults in different stages of cognitive impairment may suffer elder abuse differently. According to them, older adults with mild cognitive impairment suffer more financial and psychological abuse; the ones suffering from moderate cognitive impairment suffer more physical and psychological abuse whilst those suffering from advanced cognitive impairment suffer neglect and psychological abuse.

Anecdotal evidence of a case narrated to the researcher was one of financial abuse. This was a case of a 75 year old widowed retired lady teacher who was suffering from memory loss, and whose oldest son had no job and was a drunkard. Every day he would tell his mother to give him money so he could buy her a soft drink or medicine from the local shopping centre.

He knew that his elderly mother would not remember the details of the purchase at all. He would take the money and, of course, not buy what he said he would, but instead use it for his personal gain. Her daughter intervened when she hired her jobless sister to look after their mother and to make sure she does not handle any monies.

She further went on and arranged with her mother’s bank manager that only the sister, who was caring for her, would be allowed to withdraw money for their mother and even then, only a certain amount of money every month. The research
sought to find out who abused the elderly the most, the type of abuse and the reasons for this abuse.

2.6.3 Caregiver burnout

Non-spouse caregivers who have numerous tasks to carry out may feel overwhelmed or become resentful. For example, in many homes in the rural areas of Kenya, a paid caregiver, normally referred to as house help, may, in addition to taking care of the elderly person, look after the cattle, work in the family farm, cook, fetch water, clean up, buy groceries and so on. These overriding tasks may cause fatigue and the caregiver may end up resenting the elderly person, potentially leading to elder abuse.

2.6.4 Dependency

Dependency has been viewed as factor in elder abuse. Because of the aging process there may be an increased need for assistance for the older person which can foster dependence on others for care (Gibson, 2013). Increased dependency can provide the offender with an opportunity to control and abuse the elderly person. Gibson further noted that there were six different types of dependency: household dependency; personal grooming/health dependency; financial dependency; mobility dependency, mental health dependency and socio-emotional dependency.

Steinmmetz (1998) uses the term generational inversion to describe the process by which parents become dependent on their children. Dependency may involve
provision of food, clothing, shelter and financial support. It may also involve medical care and help with activities of daily living where necessary.

Dependency may also involve protection of the elderly person from others who may harm them and even issues involving legal matters for example involving land matters. The thrust of dependency is the belief that stress leads to abuse which arises from the notion that the elderly persons dependency on the caregiver leads to increased stress on the care giver.

Dependency is seen as a bidirectional, dependency of abuser on the victim and vice versa a dynamic that could lead to elder abuse (Burnight & Mosquenda, 2011). The study sought to establish whether there was dependency for both the victim of abuse and the abuser and the type of dependency that existed.

Kioli et al (2013) pointed out that the older person with no independent means of support and depend on others were likely to suffer elder abuse. The study investigated older persons involvement economic activities, their level of income, the type of assets they had and the level of dependence on family members for sustenance thus at risk of elder abuse. The study looked into the aspect of competent and independent older people and whether they were abused in any way by their adult children.

2.7 Characteristics of Abusers of older persons

2.7.1 Sex

Martin and Walker, 1995; Iborra, 2005; Kioli et.al. 2013; Munoz, 2005) content that sons, grandchildren, and daughter’s in-law were mainly the abusers of the
e
erly. O’Keefe et al (2007) observed that 80% of interpersonal abuse (physical, psychological) was perpetrated by men and 20% by women while financial abuse was split, 53% by men and 47% by women. They further observed that the age profile of perpetrators of financial abuse tended to be younger persons. In terms of living arrangements, they reported that 53% of the perpetrators were living in the respondent’s household including 25% of financial abuse. The research investigated the persons who were most likely to abuse the elderly person, the circumstances for the abuse and the reason for the abuse.

2.7.2 Financial Dependency

(Kosberg & Nahmias, 1996; Wolf & Pillemer, 1989) established that in many instances the perpetrators of financial abuse were financially dependent on the victim for housing, maintenance, transport and other expenditures or other financial needs. The researcher sought to establish whether or not this was true of potential elder abusers were depended on the victims of abuse in Machakos County.

2.7.3 Relationship with the victim

Kioli (2013) found out that in most cases perpetrators were family members: spouse 12.9%; adult children 24.9%; grandchildren 15%; daughters’-in-law 27.4%. Thus two thirds of the abusers are family members. This finding can be illustrated by an extreme case of elder abuse reported in the media where a son and brother of a prominent politician from Nyeri hacked his mother to death. It was not reported on the circumstances or the long term relationship with the family member that could have led to this.
The researcher examined the quality of previous relationship between an abuser and the abused older person and if this relationship did have a bearing on elder abuse. A case that needs exploration can be made here that it is important for Kenyan courtrooms to have sociologists and psychologists to study and document cases like this.

2.8 Victim’s characteristics that are correlated with elder abuse

2.8.1 Social Isolation

On isolation of older persons, Kenyatta (1965) anthropological work “Facing Mount Kenya” made the following observation, reflecting the African moral and political thinking “Nobody is an isolated person. First and foremost, he is several peoples’ relative and several peoples’ contemporaries”.

This observation points to the fact that an older person in the African context belongs to a wide network embedded in the social fabric of the community and that he/she is never alone. Kenyatta envisioned the living arrangements among the Kikuyu community of which his anthropological study was based on. The statement reveals the web of relationships the person had so that they never would be alone. The study examined the nature of living arrangements and their bearing on elder abuse.

Lack of social network with people outside the family puts an older person at risk of being abused and potential perpetrator at the risk of conducting abusive behaviour without being known. For example, elderly people who may belong to several social networks like church group, a cooperative society, and cattle dip
committee, a group of clan leaders or a burial welfare group may not be isolated. He or she must attend group members’ functions. It can be inferred to that if the elderly person is being abused, this can be shared in the safety of the group.

Conversely in the event this elder does not belong to any social welfare group, they would be isolated. Social isolation in the context of this research meant not only living alone in a one person household, but lacking a web of social networks or groups which the individual belongs to. The stronger the web of social networks, the less the likelihood of an elderly person being isolated. The aspect of belonging to social networks was examined in this study. Belonging to a social network means the elderly person has interaction with others, hence is not isolated. Isolation is a risk factor in elder abuse.

### 2.8.2 Behaviour problems of the victim of elder abuse

Tatara (1998) observed that half of the victims who were victims of psychological, physical, financial abuse and abandonment were aged 80 years and above. Psychological and emotional problems may be both a cause and effect of elder abuse when elders behave in disturbing ways. Due to this, it may become more difficult to provide care for them. The study examined if older persons who are difficult, verbally abuse others including members of the family or caregivers could be at risk of elder abuse.

### 2.9 Cultural Risk Factors in Elder Abuse

In addition to victims and perpetrators characteristics, other factors can be of influence to elder abuse.
2.9.1 The existence of culture of violence

Society’s general tolerance of violence manifests itself in such diverse forms such as T.V programmes and films or photographs. This acceptance of violence causes it to pervade everyday activities contributing to possible acceptance of elder abuse. Beard (2005) observed that elderly adults using social media receive photos showing genitals. This could also show the advent of information technology opens new avenues for elder abuse. Such kind of behaviour is a form of sexual abuse of the elderly since in most cases this is unwanted or embarrassing. The research examined such a behaviour as a form of sexual abuse.

2.9.2 Intergenerational competition in the family

The Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1973), may explain violent behaviour associated with elder abuse. Social Learning Theory combines learning principles with cognitive processes perception, thinking, anticipation; plus the effects of observational learning to explain behaviour. Its major thrust is that behaviour is learned hence in applying it to violence, that violence is a learned behaviour passed on through the generations.

In some families then, violence is a habitual behaviour pattern. Family members learn to be violent either through observation or by finding themselves on the receiving end of some type of abuse. After learning to use violence to meet their objectives, they could mete this behaviour to the elderly in their homes. Family members could also have observed differential treatment among the children by the parents. This might have bred jealousy and resentment and on the other hand,
it could lead to family strife. Family strife in this research, was taken as a reason for elder abuse.

2.10 Intervention measures in protecting older persons from abuse

Two major international policy frameworks have guided states in formulating policies to respond to the issues of the elderly. Kenya being a signatory to the instruments discussed below, of putting in place intervention measures in recognizing the rights of the elderly and subsumed they would address the phenomenon of elder abuse though not explicitly stated in these instruments.

2.10.1 The Vienna International Plan of Action on Ageing (VIPAA)

The Vienna International Plan of Action on Ageing (VIPAA) was the first international plan adopted to guide policy formulation and programmatic interventions on ageing, formulated within the contexts of the rights contained in the International Bill of Rights. The VIPAA includes 62 recommendations for action addressing research, data collection and analysis, training and education in relation to older persons. These include: health and nutrition; protection of elderly consumers; housing and environment; family protection; social welfare; income security and employment and education.

2.10.2 The Madrid International Plan of Action on Aging

The Madrid International Plan of Action on Aging (MIPAA) adopted in 2002 by all countries, is a key global policy document. It encourages governments to incorporate its principles in their national programmes and recognizes the importance of elder abuse and puts it in the framework of universal human rights.
WHO (2002) further pointed out the absence of legal frameworks to deal with cases of elder abuse urging for the need of member states to domesticate specific legislation addressing the issues of elder abuse.

2.10.3 The African Union Policy Framework and Plan of Action on Ageing

The African Union (AU) Framework and Plan of Action on Ageing received the final seal of approval during the 38th ordinary session of the Assembly of heads of State and Government in Durban, South Africa in July 2002. The policy framework provides guidelines and binds all AU member states to the designing, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of appropriate integrated national policies and programmes to meet individual and collective needs of older persons in Africa. Kenya has been able to entrench a legal framework by enacting the Sessional Paper on National Policy on Older and Ageing Persons (2009).

2.10.4 The Kenya Constitution (2010)

In an effort to domesticate the international legal frameworks on rights, the Kenya Constitution (2010) outlines in Chapter Six the Bill of Rights, the rights and points to the entitlement of the older members of society, that they enjoy all rights and fundamental freedoms. It does point out to policy and legislative measures to ensure the rights of the older persons which include: participating fully in the affairs of society; pursuing personal development; be free from all forms of discrimination and abuse; live in dignity and respect, retain their social, economic and political autonomy and receive reasonable care and assistance from their family and the state.
2.10.5 National Policy on Older Persons and Ageing

The Kenya National Policy on Older Persons and Ageing is the domestication by the Kenya government of the international instruments on aging. The policy recognizes the disruption of the traditional mechanisms that cared for the elderly and explicitly recognizes their vulnerability and promised to strengthen social security for the elderly. This is therefore taken as an intervening measure for the phenomenon of elder abuse in this research. One of the key outcomes of this policy is the recognition that older persons are being increasingly abandoned by their families and joining destitute population in urban and in rural areas.

The policy notes that neglect, abuse, and violence against older persons have become common occurrences and take many forms - physical, sexual, psychological, emotional, financial and material forms of elder abuse. One outcome of this policy is Cash Transfer Programme targeting the most vulnerable elderly.

The policy further recognizes families and households as sources of social protection of the older persons. It notes that the personal and financial security that families provided for their aging members is no longer guaranteed. It may decline due to changes in family size, social attitudes and economic circumstances. The Cash Transfer Programme does not target the elderly abused and in fact there is evidence that it is actually a source of financial abuse of the elderly in some cases.
2.10.6 Laws of Kenya, The Penal Code Chapter 63

The Penal Code Chapter 63 of the Laws of Kenya would be an important intervention measure in cases in elder abuse. The code recognizes what in this research is construed as elder abuse such as failure to take responsibility of person in charge of another (part 216), threats to kill (part 233) causing grievous bodily (234), failure to supply necessities (239) or obtain consent and offences related to property. The study looked into the aspect of whether the elderly report abuse and if they do, whether the perpetrators were prosecuted. This would prevent elder abuse.

2.11 Gaps in Literature

Research studies conducted in various parts of the world indicate elder abuse is a phenomenon that occurs in the family and victims suffer traumatic consequences (Friedman & Avila, 2011). There is very little known on elder abuse in Kenya since fewer studies have specifically focused on the predisposing factors, the patterns and the extent of elder abuse. In addition, the National Policy on Older Persons and Ageing (2014) is quiet on the phenomenon of elder abuse in particular. Thus, this research focused on unearthing the phenomenon of elder abuse, the various forms of elder abuse, the reasons why the abuse takes place and the perpetrators of elder abuse. Once identified, this research then filled gap.

2.12 Theoretical Framework

This research was guided by Social Exchange and Power and Control Theories in understanding the phenomenon of elder abuse. The theories explained the
phenomenon of elder abuse and its ramifications on the elderly abused themselves.

2.12.1 Social Exchange Theory

Social Exchange theory is a sociological theory. It is based on the notion that interactions between people are a process of “negotiated exchanges” involving costs and reward (Dowd, 1975). Social behaviour is considered an exchange of material and non-material goods. Rewards can include material goods such as money, living arrangements, inheritance and non-material things such as approval, prestige and status. Within these exchanges, individuals try to maximize rewards (material and non-material) and minimize costs with significant other (Blau, 1964; Homans, 1961; Thibault and Kelly, 1959). In some relationships things are not equal. Some individuals have greater access to resources including money, status, esteem and prestige. A primary assumption of social exchange theory is that various “actors” such as an elderly parent and an adult child, that each brings resources to the interaction or exchange and those exchanges are directed by the norms of reciprocity - the obligation to pay assets, services, or sentiments which one has received and now owes another. An adult child may repay during his adulthood when the parent is older and now dependent in terms of care of the elderly person, thus reciprocating (Dowd, 1975).

Sociologists define power as the ability of a person to make others do what he wants even against their will Weber (1968/1922). The person who is perceived as contributing most to the relationship has the power advantage. The person with the power advantage is able to manipulate the behaviour of the dependent person.
Elder abuse literature documents that abusers are often depended on the victim (Wolf & Pillemer, 1997). Persons who receive a lot from others are under pressure to give much to them in return (Homans, 1958). The social exchange theory is the starting point for appreciating parent-adult child relationship which are characterized by multifaceted resources such as benefits and emotional and financial exchange and can explain ageing family dynamics and more specifically, elder abuse.

Homans (1961) emphasizes that the individual behaviour of actors in the interaction with one another, is explained in a dyadic relationship. Each actor has something of value to each other and they have to decide whether to exchange and in what amounts, thus it is a combination of economic and psychological needs. According to Stafford (2008) social exchange involves a connection with another person; it involves trust and legal obligations, is more flexible and rarely involves explicit bargaining. Costs are elements of relational life that have a negative value to a person, such as the effort put into a relationship; costs can be time, money, effort or companionship. Rewards are elements of a relationship that have a positive value. Rewards can be a sense of acceptance, support or companionship.

A central assumption of Social Exchange Theory is that the various actors e.g. parent and adult child bring resources to the interaction exchange and that resources need not be material and that they will most likely be unequal. A second assumption is that actors will only engage in exchanges for as long as the benefits are greater than the costs and while there are no better alternatives. A third
assumption is that the exchanges are governed by norms of reciprocity, that when we give something of value, we trust that something of equal value will be reciprocated. Thus the social exchange theory did address the norms of reciprocity and dependence between the abused and the perpetrator.

In applying the key concepts in Social Exchange Theory namely: social costs and benefits, social resources, social interaction or contact, reciprocity norms, social power and altruism to elder abuse, this perspective attempts to account for exchange of behaviour between individuals of advanced ages that result in shift in roles, skills and resources that accompanies advancing age (Silverstein, 2002). The theory also offers an explanation of the balance or lack of it in what is received and given by the elderly abused and would be abusers.

The theory gave insight into why elderly abused persons would withdraw from interactions with some people and increase interaction with others or persist in staying in relationships that could be abusive. As long as the elderly held that persons were in positions of power by their control of valuable resources (Kendall, 2002) such as land, then the exchange could be defined by animosity as the son would want this land thereby the elderly would be vulnerable to abuse.

For example, an elderly abused woman might refuse to move from her home even though she is being abused because she rationalizes that she cannot leave her home, property or her children. She may not want to move from her marital home because she has no place in the home where she was born. If she moves she loses her identity as a married woman. And if she moves back to her family, the Kamba
use a derogatory word for her which is “mwinzyoka” loosely translated as ‘she who returned’ and no woman wants to carry that label on her. In this case she may not wish to move from her home even though abused. The sociological concept identified here must be seen as a powerful drive for toleration of abuse by elderly women.

The theory would seek to understand how exchange behaviours reflect the changing circumstances of the elderly abused and those with whom they interact, such as family members and others who are in their social support network. Additionally, the social exchange paradigm might help conceptualize and explain an older adult’s decision to report or not report abuse. The elderly person may rationalize that he/she would lose the company of other, the symbiotic relationship with grandchildren, his/her home and identity.

The researcher was told of an elderly man who had died of “nzaa”, that is hunger in the Kikamba dialect, yet the man’s sons are well to do. The old man had been neglected. This point, though anecdotal, runs counter to the exchange theory. The question begs why a family of well to do adult sons neglected their father. These scenarios were explored in the study.

Social exchange theory could explain this relationship from the perspective of the early parent child relationship which could have been strained, and now when the elderly person expected to be cared for, this was not reciprocated in spite of the adult sons’ material wellbeing. Something which need to be added here is that this family was polygamous and hence there could have been a differential
treatment of the different households by the old man in earlier times. Hence reciprocity in terms of care for the old man did not happen.

**2.12.2 Power and Control Theory**

Power and control theory provides a model relevant to the study of elder abuse by focusing on the understanding of the relational dynamics in elder abuse (Burnright & Mosqueda, 2011). The theory is based on the concept that many conflicts result from an individual’s need to maintain power and control within a relationship(s). The motivation underlying the abusers’ behaviour is the power and control he/she is able to exert over members of the family. The theory highlights the abusers use of the pattern of coercive tactics such as threats, intimidation, economic abuse, isolation from social contacts to gain, maintain and obtain compliance, power and control in the relationship and establishing a demand for “desirable” behaviours to occur.

Feminist researchers have argued that power and control dynamics are found in nearly all forms of elder abuse and therefore the importance of understanding the relational dynamics of power and control and consider elder abuse to stem from unequal and oppressive power relations. Hence, from this perspective can be explained the power differentials between the abused elderly person and the abuser. The abusers have an entitlement pattern of something, that is, they believe in having a special status which affords them exclusive rights and privileges that do not apply to others (Bancroft, 2002).
Butler coined the term ageism. Ageism is a tendency to dismiss older people as less competent and diminished by age. Stemming in part from ageism, in power and control theory, perpetrators often believe they have exclusive rights entitling them to mistreat and/or neglect the older adult perhaps explained by the role reversal, the abuser has the power. Pillemer (2004) argues that, from the perspective of power and control theory, elder abuse does not result from increased needs of the victim, but from the “deviance and dependence” of the abusers.

Many issues lend themselves to analysis using the power and control theory and explaining who has the power and control in a relationship and whether this may lead to elder abuse: elderly mother-daughter conflict; the inequality in power between elderly males and females, fathers and sons; older men and women’s economic independence and whether this may decrease or increase abuse of the elderly.

For instance, in the case noted above, it is obvious that the sons neglected their father, while they treated their mother as royalty when she passed on. Though, like it was pointed out that this is anecdotal evidence it does point to the differential treatment of the elderly and hence leads to the acceptance of power and control theory as an explanatory framework of elder abuse, where the relational dynamics, the nature of power within relationships between the elderly abused and the abuser can be explained. Questions were sought as to what kind of relationship the sons had with their father that afforded them the power to treat him differently from the mother.
The theory could also explain powerlessness as a critical barrier to seeking from justice system and community agencies. The theory explained how the abused amongst the elderly choose to stay in an abusive relationship and the result of this choice. Power is also related to gender. In African contexts, power is vested on the male gender with the female gender having less power. This power enables the male to control resources like land and cattle. In elder abuse relations, the abuser may want to overturn this power by wanting to wrestle it from the elderly and thus possessing the resources the elderly person owns which may lead to elder abuse.

Feminist researchers contend that by failing to appreciate the relational dynamics of power and control, signs of elder abuse may go undetected, misinterpreted, and in worst situations lead to fatality. Straka and Montgomery (2008) posit that power and control is the foundation from which all forms of abuse especially psychological are born hence a focus on power and control theory which shed light on relational dynamics on elder abuse. This in turn informed the research on prevention, detection and intervention methods that could be employed to deal with elder abuse. Power and control theory informed this research in analysing power relations for example who owns land and other resources and whether the power of holding the resources had a bearing on elder abuse.
2.12.3 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework for the study was developed based on the literature review. The various key variables were operationalised based on the objectives of the study. The conceptual framework shows the independent and dependent variables and the intervening variables as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework

2.12.4 Independent Variables

An independent variable is often referred to as the cause, assumed to be the variable influencing changes in the dependent variable (David & Sutton, 2011). In the case of this study the independent variables were analysed in the light of how they led to physical, psychological, financial, sexual abuse and neglect of the elderly persons. The key independent variables are: predisposing factors
operationalized as advanced age, being male or female of advanced age, marital status, social isolation, and dependency; family structure, socio-economic status, health status and social cultural related factors; patterns of abuse will be operationalized as the types of abuse; the trend as the types of abuse over a period time and the frequency with which it occurs.

2.12.5 Dependent Variables

Dependent variable is that variable that a researcher predicts will be affected by the variation of another variable called the independent variable (David & Sutton, 2011). The dependent variable was elder abuse. This was operationalised as the types of abuse in the form of physical, psychological, sexual, financial abuse and neglect.

Physical abuse was measured for example if the elderly person was hit, slapped or threatened to be killed; psychological abuse indicators were whether the elderly person was undermined, insulted, belittled while sexual abuse was measured by whether the elderly experiences such sexual overt acts such as being forced to have sex against their will. Financial abuse was measured by such factors as whether the elderly person had something stolen from them or being forced to give their possessions against their will; Neglect was measured by such acts as the person being abandoned or denied care, for example, in the activities of daily living.
2.12.6 Intervening Variables

Intervening variable is a term used to account for internal and indirectly unobservable processes that in turn account for behaviour (Kerlinger 1973). The intervening variables are other factors that may occur to change the influence of the variables mentioned earlier, in this case, measures that could be taken to prevent elder abuse. For example, if the abused victim reports the abuse to the police or the clan elders and action is taken to punish the abuser, this can be seen as an intervention which can reduce elder abuse. In this research, one of the intervening variables can be taken, for example, the traditional justice system carried by “mbai” meaning clan in Kikamba dialect led by clan elders called “atumia ma nzama” When an elder reports an abuse, the clan elders may punish the perpetrator thereby dealing with elder abuse. The police could arrest the abuser and take him to court and eventually be sentenced.

2.13 Summary

The literature so far reviewed focused the ageing process, the biological, psychological, and social ageing. The ramifications of these processes were tied to the objectives of the study to find out whether the processes were the predisposing factors the typologies of elder abuse, the physical, psychological, financial, sexual abuse and neglect as well as the international and national legislation frameworks that address the issue of aging. The researcher proceeded to collect data to fill the identified gaps of the predisposing factors, the patterns and the extent of elder abuse in Machakos County of which there were no available data.
CHAPTER THREE : 3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methods that were used in the study. In particular, it discusses the research design, description of the study location, target population, inclusion and exclusion criteria, sample size determination, sampling procedure, research instruments, validity and reliability of the research instruments, data management and the ethical considerations of the research.

3.2 Study Design

In order to answer the research questions, a cross-sectional design was used. Cross-sectional studies are the type of observational study that involves data collection from a population to study a phenomenon or phenomena at a specific point in time. It is concerned with collecting data on more than one case at a single point in time (David & Sutton, 2011; Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2000). In cross-sectional design, the researcher is concerned with selecting cases on the basis of geographical areas identified.

Data was collected from the respondents in the actual natural surrounding they were living in, which was the home in each case and was used to describe and explore relationships through the detecting of associations between the characteristics. For example, by recording the respondent’s age and income, the association between age and income and the experience of elder abuse was described and analysed using a variety of statistical techniques. The phenomenon of elder abuse of those aged 60 years and above was the focus of study. The unit
of analysis which is also the unit of observation was the individual older person at the household level. This design was appropriate for the study because the respondents were observed in their natural setting and their responses recorded as they were.

3.3 Site of the Study

The study was carried out in Machakos County, one of the 47 counties in Kenya. It is located in the former Eastern Province. The total area of Machakos County is 6,208 square kilometers and it has a population of 1,098,584 (KNBS 2009). The major town is Machakos town which is the administrative centre and headquarter of the county. The county has eight sub-counties namely Mwala, Yatta, Masinga, Kangundo, Matungulu, Kathiani Machakos Town and Mavoko (Government of Machakos, 2015)

The county is rural in nature, with an urbanization level of 50%. (KNBS, 2009). Although the county is mainly inhabited by the Akamba, considering that it is 50% urbanized, many other Kenyan communities other than the Akamba also reside in the county making it somehow cosmopolitan.

The Kamba or Akamba people are bantu ethnic group or tribe who live in the semi-arid formerly Eastern Province of Kenya, stretching east from Nairobi to Tsavo and north up to Embu, Kenya. This land is called Ukambani which constitutes Makueni County, Kitui County and Machakos County. They make up to 11 percent of Kenya's population. They speak the Kikamba language as their mother tongue. The total
population of the Kamba stands at approximately 4.1 million. The Kamba are also called Akamba or Wakamba” (Kioko, 2012).

Machakos County has a semi-arid climate with hilly terrain in some parts of the county. Agriculture is practiced involving keeping of livestock, growing of maize, beans and such drought resistant crops as sorghum, millet and cassava. Coffee is grown in hilly areas such as Kangundo and Matungulu. Poverty is widespread and the main factors attributed to the poverty are listed as poor livestock marketing, inappropriate land tenure, and frequent drought (KNBS & Society for International Development, 2013). The Kenya Population and Housing Census (2009) showed that the number of the population aged 60 and older in Machakos County stood at 76,317 (KNBS, 2009) as shown in Table 3.1.

3.4 Study Population

Table 3.1 Disaggregated Population of people aged 60 years+ in Machakos County

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUB-COUNTY</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Machakos Town/Athi River/Kathiani</td>
<td>11304</td>
<td>13906</td>
<td>25210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwala</td>
<td>6231</td>
<td>8339</td>
<td>14660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yatta/Masinga</td>
<td>8406</td>
<td>10682</td>
<td>19088</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kangundo/Matungulu</td>
<td>7690</td>
<td>9759</td>
<td>17449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>33,631</td>
<td>42,686</td>
<td>76,317</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The target was 36,284 which was the population of the elderly aged 60 and above found in the sub-counties of Machakos Town and Mwala from which a sample of 381 respondents were selected.

3.5 Sampling Design

Sampling is the process of selecting cases that allow a researcher to make relatively few observations and generalize from those observations to a much wider population (David & Sutton, 2011). The major features of sample design include calculation of sample size. The sample design used the probability sampling approach where each case in the population has an equal chance of being included in the sample (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2000).

3.6 Sampling Technique

Purposive Sampling was used to determine the number of sub counties for the study. Machakos County has eight sub counties. The sample was drawn by use of multi-stage sampling design. The first stage involved selection one urban sub county. Machakos Town was chosen purposively because it is the only sub county predominantly urban and semi urban. Mwala Sub County was chosen because it was predominantly a rural one. Machakos Town has 13 locations and Mwala has 15 locations. Using systematic sampling, 6 locations were sampled from Machakos Town Sub County and 7 locations from Mwala sub county. In the third stage, the number of respondents from each of the selected locations was calculated and assigned.
By selecting urban sub-counties, differences between urban and rural areas in the experience of elder abuse could be investigated. The urban way of life had been noted by Wirth (1938:55) for its social structure based on impersonal, transitory and secondary relationships and social contacts that are distant unlike in rural areas described by Tonnies as having relationships that are small, self-sufficient, face-to-face interaction which produces a highly integrated community (Lindsey & Beach, 2000). The researcher posits that there is an urgent need to study urban life in Kenya and see whether Wirth’s proposition of an impersonal, transitory nature of urban life impacts on elder abuse.

Machakos County was ranked number four in terms of the number of elderly persons aged 60 years and above (Kenya Population Census and Housing, 2009). It yielded then, an adequate number of respondents for the study.

3.7 Sample Size Determination

The accessible population of older persons aged 60 and above in Machakos Town and Mwala sub-counties is 36,284 (KNBS, 2009). For this size of population, a sample of 381 is recommended at 95% level of confidence. The sample size was determined from Krejcie and Morgan (1970) formula for determining sample size. The formula is specified thus:

$$S = \frac{x^2NP(1-P)}{d^2(N-1) + x^2(1-P)}$$

where: $S =$ required sample size; $x^2 =$ the table value of Chi-square for 1 degree of freedom at the desired confidence level (3.841); $N =$ population size;
P= population proportion (assumed to be 0.5 since this would provide the maximum sample size); d = degree of accuracy (5%); Calculated Sample size= 381

Machakos Town sub county has 13 locations; Mwala has 15 locations (KNBS, 2009). The sampling fraction was determined by dividing the actual sample size by the total population. This determined the interval at which cases are selected from the sampling frame. Each case was numbered. The first case was numbered 0, the second 1 and so on. A sample of relevant discrete cases is selected at intervals. The sampling fraction was 1/2. The study then employed systematic random sampling whereby an interval was set to select every 2nd case in the sampling frame. The total number of locations in Machakos Town =; desired sample is 13/2=6; Mwala=15. Desired sample 15/2=7

3.8 Response Rate

The sample size was 381 respondents. The researcher interviewed 317 respondents on a face to face basis. This translated to into a response rate of 85%. This was considered acceptable for the study purposes of analysis and reporting. Barbie (2010) contends that a response rate of 65% would be sufficient as a representative sample of the population of study in which case it was the elderly persons aged 60+. Additionally, three Focus Group Discussions and Five Key Informants were interviewed.
In light of the fact that there was no source of documentation available with the exact population sizes in each location/ward, the researcher chose to use proportionate sampling. The sample distribution arrived at is therefore presented in Table 3.3 below.
### Table 3.3  Number of cases assigned of persons aged 60+ per location disaggregated by gender in Machakos Town and Mwala sub-counties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-County</th>
<th>Wards</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Sample Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mwala</td>
<td>Mbiuni</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mwala</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Muthetheni</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wamunyu</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Masii</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ikalaasa</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kibaoni</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machakos</td>
<td>Mua Hills</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town</td>
<td>Mutituni</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mumbuni</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Township</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kiima</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kimwe</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kimutwa</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total sample size</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>381</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.9 Data Collection Methods/Procedure

#### 3.9.1 Participant selection

The entry point was the location, which filtered down to sub location and household level. Through the chief and the sub chiefs and the village managers were the individual in touch with the households in the area of their jurisdiction and therefore able to identify households that had older people aged 60 years and
above. The village managers led the researcher to the households that had elderly people aged 60 years and above. Once the individuals who fitted the inclusion criteria were identified, a face-to-face interview was conducted. This was applied until the number of elderly individuals for that particular sub county was fulfilled. Once identified, the participants were informed about the study and consent to participate obtained from them.

Unique cases were discovered from the face-to-face interviews. A unique case was revealed in a large family where there was differential treatment of the elderly person by each of the adult children. This availed a chance to interview and understand how differential treatment led to some adult children to abusing the elderly while others were supportive.

Such unique cases were interviewed at length to reveal particular aspects of the variables under study for example a case of differential treatment in the large family that revealed differential abuse from the various adult children. Analysing such a case revealed particular dynamics in the family interaction and particular forms of elder abuse that emanated from the large family. This therefore formed a case study.

Key Informants were individuals who came in direct contact with the elderly persons by virtue of their jobs or leadership positions in the community. These were government officers, religious leaders and community leaders who had knowledge pertaining to elder abuse.
Constitution of the Focus Group Discussion was impacted by a particular characteristic of rural areas: dispersed settlement patterns. In human geography, rural people live in scattered homesteads surrounded by their land as opposed to clustered or nucleated settlements where households are in one place and the farm areas are outside the village. This living arrangement of dispersed houses poses a particular challenge in constituting Focus Group Discussions: that of identifying which homes have respondents who fit the criteria. In dispersed settlements, land ownership is family oriented and hence there is a distance from one homestead to another and bringing them to one place for interview would be a challenge.

The difficulty of forming Focus Group Discussions was resolved. The institution of religion and the market place was the nexus that informed on naturally occurring groups. These naturally occurring groups were formed for a purpose. These groups included retired professionals, support groups of elderly widows, which also doubled up as table banking groups and merry-go-round and prayer groups referred to as ‘Jumuiya’ in the Catholic Church. These naturally occurring groups were treated as Focus Group Discussions.

They were interviewed in the particular place where they met for their activities, at the time they met and on the days that they met hence the researcher did not have to disrupt their activities but they allowed for the discussion to take place after they had concluded their scheduled activities. Since they were from the local community, they had knowledge of elder abuse. They were used in exploring elder abuse and highlighted the understanding of same, the indicators,
the risk factors of elder abuse and the impact of abuse on elderly persons themselves, the family and the community.

3.10 Data collection Tools

3.10.1 Semi-structured interview schedule

The interviews were conducted on a face-to-face basis. The interviews explored the area of research interest. After establishing rapport with the interviewees, the interviewer requested the interviewee for a one-on-one discussion. The researcher probed and recorded the exact responses. The researcher collected primary data by recording the actual responses given by the elderly persons. Primary data was collected from a sample of 381 elderly respondents, aged 60 years and above who were guided through the interview schedule in a similar manner for all the respondents.

Case(s) that were unique arising from the interaction in the interview were explored in depth and treated as cases that shed more light on particular aspects of the study objective(s). From each sampled location, 22 persons and 38 persons from Mwala and Machakos Town, respectively, were interviewed, totalling 154 for Mwala and 227 for Machakos Town. The interviews focused on the specific objectives regarding forms of elder abuse, the reasons for abuse, the perpetrators of elder abuse and the predisposing factors of elder abuse.

3.10.2 Focus Group Discussions

The researcher conducted three Focus Group Discussions (FGD). The groups were taken as they were in their natural composition. The first group consisted
of 17 widows whose age ranged from 65 years to 85 years. They were a support
group but they also engaged in table banking. The second group consisted of 14
men and one woman, all retired professionals and with ages ranging from 63
years to 78 years. This group was also a community action group in their church,
were members of a merry-go-round and regularly visited vulnerable elderly
persons in the community, providing food and clothing. Many of them had also
undergone schooling together. The third group was a prayer support group of 22
members, both men and women, with ages ranging from 35 years to 84 years.
They all lived in the same neighbourhood.

The interview guide comprised of open ended questions which enabled the
researcher to probe. The guide was conducted in Kikamba, the local language.
This enabled the participants to communicate competently in the language they
knew and hence the researcher was able to capture the meanings and all
innuendos intended by the respondents. The responses were translated into
English, retaining the original meanings that was intended. The researcher was
competent in both Kikamba, Kiswahili and English languages.

Prior to the group discussions, the participants were informed about the nature
of the study, were assured of confidentiality and their consent was obtained. Each
discussion took 90 to 120 minutes. The discussions were recorded verbatim as
they occurred.

The interviews focused on what they regard as elder abuse, the risk factors
associated with elder abuse, the consequences of the abuse to the elderly and
suggestions for interventions in elder abuse. Consent to record the discussions was sought from the members.

Focus Group Discussion (FGD) questions were objective and obtained the reactions, opinions and ideas relevant to the research questions. FGDs had the advantage of stimulating and making participants talk freely to express their beliefs, feelings and perceptions in the safety of a group (Silverman, 2006).

The researcher assessed the knowledge, attitudes and beliefs and gained insights about the issue of elder abuse. Providing refreshments in the course of the discussions made the participants feel welcome, continued sustaining the discussions, established rapport and built trust. This should not be viewed as influencing the respondents to answer questions in a certain way. In the culture of the Akamba, if you share or provide something to eat, then, you are to be trusted and hence you can share a conversation. This is an important point to note for other potential researchers on the Akamba.

3.10.3 Key Informants

Key Informants were individuals who came into direct contact with the elderly abused persons by virtue of their jobs, like government officers and community leaders who might have come into contact with abused elderly persons hence possessed this knowledge pertaining to elder abuse. Key Informant interview schedule was used and the responses recorded as they were given to bring out their encounter with elderly abused persons.
3.11 Data Management and Analysis

3.11.1 Quantitative analysis

SPSS Version 21 was used for data analysis. Data cleaning was done through cross checking the responses ticked in the close-ended questions and for open-ended questions, variables emerging were coded to ensure that only those codes assigned to particular attributes appear in the data files. This was expected to minimize data processing errors.

Data for quantitative analysis that was collected and subsequently coded at different levels of numerical measurement (David & Sutton, 2011). The socio demographic characteristics of the entire sample in respect to age, gender, income, marital status, level of education and socioeconomic status and forms of elder abuse, reasons for elder abuse, the perpetrators of elder abuse and whether the elderly person reported the abuse or not. Descriptive statistics were used to describe the socio demographic and socio economic status of the elderly abused persons disaggregated by gender and presented in frequency distributions. Chi square was the inferential statistics that were used to find associations among variables.

3.11.3 Data Entry Process

The data was directly keyed in for analysis using SPSS Version 21. Data cleaning was done through cross checking the responses ticked in the close-ended questions and given/recorded for open-ended questions during and after the data collection to ensure that only those codes assigned to particular attributes appear in the data files. This was expected to minimize data processing errors.
Table 3.4 Operationalization of Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Question</th>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>Data Sources</th>
<th>Type of data</th>
<th>Statistics for analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What are the predisposing factors to elder abuse in Machakos county?</td>
<td>Risk Factors in Elder Abuse: Age and gender; Health status of the elderly; economic status of the elderly; Social-cultural factors</td>
<td>Primary data collected from 381 respondents in Mwala and Machakos Town sub counties</td>
<td>Interval</td>
<td>Frequencies, percentages Cross Tabulation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are the forms and extent of elder abuse in Machakos County?</td>
<td>Forms of elder abuse</td>
<td>As above</td>
<td>Interval</td>
<td>Frequencies percentages Cross tabulation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the extent of elder abuse in Machakos County?</td>
<td>Extent of elder abuse Frequency of cases of abuse</td>
<td>As above</td>
<td>Interval</td>
<td>Frequencies percentages Cross tabulation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.11.4 Qualitative Analyses

Qualitative data is based on meanings expressed through words (David & Sutton, 2011). It results in the collection of no-standardized data which require classification and are analysed through the use of conceptualization. The following activities were used to analyse qualitative data.
3.11.4.1 Transcription

The dictionary meaning of transcribe is to “record thoughts, speech or data in a written form or in a different form from the original” (Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary, 2010). In the context of this research, meaning given to elder abuse by the participants, how they represent the act of elder abuse, what they believed it was, understood from the transcription of the data gathered from participant’s naturally occurring talk from the focus group discussions as well as the key informants. It enabled the study of interrelationships between variables and the themes that emerged from the stream of the narratives the respondents engaged in and that were recorded verbatim by the researcher.

3.11.4.2 Themes

Themes that emerge from the data based on the actual terms used by the participants were categorized. The themes reflected the thematic areas identified for discussion for the focus group discussions and key informants. The themes include understanding of elder abuse, indicators of elder abuse, consequences of elder abuse, reporting of elder abuse and interventions.

3.11.4.3 Coding

Coding is the process whereby raw data are transformed into standardized form suitable for machine processing and analysis. Coding in qualitative data analysis involved the identification of common themes within the data being analysed.

Codes are key words, themes or phrases that enable data reduction. Those chunks of text where themes seem to occur and identifying whether there are patterns to
be coded for particular themes enabled the researcher to test the strength of potential accounts, descriptions and or explanations for the study of elder abuse (David & Sutton 2011; Silverman, 2006).

The researcher identified and analysed all the emerging themes according to the thematic areas identified in the FGD research instrument.

3.11.4. Thematic Analysis

Themes emerging from the discussions were analysed. Occurrences. Examples of themes that emerged were elder abuse perceptions, indicators or risk factors in elder abuse, the impact of elder abuse on the individual and the community as well as intervention measures for elder abuse.

3.12 Ethical Considerations

The term ethics refers to the systematic study of formalization of rules concerning the separation of good conduct from bad (David & Sutton, 2011). The researcher applied the standards of conducting research of human subjects in social scientific research. Social scientists agree on principles that guide social scientific research involving human subjects. The principle of informed consent is agreed to be the ideal mode of operation (Israel & Hay, 2006). Informed consent means the knowing consent of individuals to participate as an exercise of their choice, free from any element of fraud, deceit, duress, or similar unfair inducement or manipulation (David & Sutton, 2011:43). Research should not harm those that participate in it, unless they willingly and knowingly accept the risks of harm. Permission is needed of those being researched to “invade” their privacy and that
their privacy should be protected. In addition, the privacy of the storage and use of the data collected is essential.

Anonymity was assured by the researcher by not identifying specific information, not recording the personal details of those being researched. Confidentiality refers to the situation where the researcher, although knowing which data describes which subjects, agreed to keep that information confidential.

The principle of protection from harm underpins damaging the participant’s sense of self. The harm may be physical, emotional or otherwise. The research subject then has a right to withdraw from the research situation.

The researcher sought informed consent from all participants, through an attachment to the interview schedule, after explaining to them the nature and purpose of the study. Confidentiality and privacy of the information generated by the researcher was observed. Participation was voluntary and participants were free to withdraw from the research at any point (Israel & Hay, 2006; David & Sutton, 2011). Raw data and computer data was stored in a secure location. Thereafter, all of the data, including completed interview schedules were destroyed through shredding and computer data archived in a password protected folder.

The researcher ensured that as far as possible the physical, social and psychological well-being of the research participants was not detrimentally affected by the research and the research relationship was characterized by trust. The respondents were debriefed after the interviews. The aim and nature of
research was explained to the participants in terms that were meaningful to them; why the research was undertaken, and how the results were to be disseminated.

Authorization to carry out research was obtained from Kenyatta University ethics committee. Authorization was further sought from National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI). Further authorization was sought from the Office of the County Commissioner and the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, and the office of the County Director of Education in Machakos County.
CHAPTER FOUR: 4.0 DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, analysis of the data and the findings of the study are presented. The chapter contains the socio-demographic information of the respondents which included gender, age, level of education and their professions. This is then followed by a presentation of the descriptive statistics used to present the characteristics of the study sample according to the objectives of the study. The inferential statistics were presented with chi-square tests presented to show the significant relationship between the variables.

The sample size was 381. The researcher interviewed 317 respondents on a face-to-face basis. This translated to into a response rate of 85%. This was considered acceptable for the study purposes of analysis and reporting. Barbie (2010) contends that a response rate of 65% would be sufficient as a representative sample of the population of study in which case it was the elderly persons aged 60 years and above. Additionally, three Focus Group Discussions and Five Key Informants were interviewed.

4.1 Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

This chapter presents the findings, analysis and interpretations of the data collected. The first part of the presentation covers the sociodemographic characteristics of the respondents, the forms and patterns of elder abuse, the reasons for elder abuse, the predisposing factors and intervention of elder abuse. These data were presented in two forms; quantitative and qualitative. Themes
emanating from the Focus Group Discussions and the Key Informants were also presented.

**Table 4.1 Gender of the respondents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>44.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>55.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of males in the sample was 142 (44.8%) and 175 (52.2%) were female. The findings reveal that elderly women outnumber the elderly men in Machakos County. The possible explanation to this trend is that there is higher mortality among men as compared to women. This reflects WHO (2005) observation that women live longer than men. This has an implication for abuse of elderly women since as they increase in chronological age, they need care which could render them vulnerable to elder abuse, in particular, neglect. Lachs et al. (1997) showed that age and gender were risk factors in elder abuse. This study concurs in that there was no gender difference in experience of elder abuse. Elderly men and women were victims of elder abuse across all categories of the elderly.

Gender distribution would unveil whether forms of elder abuse differ by gender. It could unveil whether the reasons for elder abuse were the same for both elderly men and women as well as the particular factors that predispose elderly men and women to abuse.
Table 4.2 Age of the respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of the Respondents</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>36.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-79</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>70.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-89</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>94.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90-99</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>99.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-109</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The respondents’ age ranged from 60 years to 101 years. Data revealed that the majority of elderly persons (36.3%) were aged 60-69 years while 109 persons (34.4%) were aged 70-79. Those aged 80-89 years were 74 in number (23.3%) and 19 persons (5.0%) were aged 90-99 years and 3 people (0.9%) were aged between 100-109 years.

The Kenya Constitution does not categorize the aged but simply states old age starts from 60 years and above. Moody and Sasser (2012) on the aspects of the stages of life, categorized the aged from 65 years thus putting 65 to 74 years as the young old, and 75 to 84 years as the old old while the oldest old were categorized as ages 85 years and over. Thus according to the research findings the majority were in the young old, followed by old old and the oldest old. This also reveals that as chronological age increases, so does the mortality of the aged thus accounting for fewer numbers in the higher age categories of 90 years and over, of which the oldest was 101 years.
The data also revealed that the elderly in Machakos live to a great age. Three of
the respondents 3(0.9%) were over 100 years. This is an interesting finding in
that the life expectancy in Kenya for males was 61.1 years while for females it
was 65.8 years (W.H.O, 2015) which rose to 62.6 for males and 65.5 for females
(CIA World Fact book, 2017). The three respondents were actively engaged in
life, two of them working in their farms and one of them practicing divination
which earned her an income. The three of them were cognitively intact and
responded to the interview questions coherently. This category goes contrary to
the present statistics on life expectancy of Kenyans.

Moody and Sasser’s (2012) categorization of the elderly could be said to have
policy bearing for Kenya in terms of social protection where the Kenyan
government recently decided to be giving those aged 70 years and above, Ksh
4000 thousand through money transfer, the thinking here being that those who
are in this age category are the most vulnerable. This thinking concurs with
research on elder abuse which established that the elder abuse was prevalent at a
rate of 1.6% of the elderly aged 65 years and above (Lachs et al., 1997)

This study found that age was a factor in elder abuse. The Cash Transfer was
found to be rendering the elderly vulnerable to elder abuse. Some of the elderly
persons interviewed in this research have been rendered vulnerable to financial
abuse when those who would be designated to collect the money for the elderly
persons did not forward the money to them. Some other data on Cash Transfer
showed there was a symbiotic relationship between the Cash Transfer and care
of the elderly.
The case was that the elderly person would be taken to collect the money by the son and daughter in law. They would then budget it as they saw fit. The elderly lady took care of their children when they went out to work. Cash transfer was not the focus of this study, nevertheless, future research needs to find out how far the Cash Transfer could have rendered the elderly vulnerable to financial abuse.

4.1.1 Respondent’s marital status

The study sought to find out the marital status of the respondents. The findings are presented in Table 4.7 below.

Table 4.3  Marital status of Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never married</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>44.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>44.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the findings, a majority of the respondents 142 (44.8%) were widowed. This was followed by those in the category of married who were 140 (44.2%). Those who had never been never married, were divorced or were separated were 25 (7.9%), 7 (2.2. %) and 3 (0.9 %) respectively. The majority of the respondents were widowed because of the effect of mortality with increase in chronological age (Sever, 2009). The category that follows closely is that of the married because among the Akamba community, marriage is a life-long union.
This also explains the minority representation of the unmarried, separated and divorced persons.

Yeung, et al (2015) showed that having a marriage partner offers “protection function” for women. In the context of this research, women who have spouses could suffer less abuse because the partner is able to protect them from abuse. The converse is also true, that women suffer abuse from their spouses and hence more elderly women report elder abuse.

Divorce carries stigma among the Akamba. Elderly women who have been divorced may suffer abuse if they return to their parents, a fact supported by this research. The derogatory term used for a divorced woman who has returned to her parents is ‘mwinzyoka’ loosely translated as ‘she who returned’. The research also showed that being elderly, a woman and never having been married, rendered this category of elderly vulnerable to abuse because other family members saw her as a contender for property, especially land. This study found that men who had never married suffered isolation and loneliness and were more likely to be seen not to deserve a share of family land since they had no children to care for.

A derogatory for a never married man is ‘ndewa’ loosely translated as ‘castrated bull’ a euphemism for being impotent.

The implications for widowhood are different for men and women (Yeung, 2015). Her research found that those men who lost a spouse were likely to have a decline in life satisfaction and were likely to marry sooner. This study found that elderly men who were polygamous continued to live with other living spouse(s).
On the other hand, widowed elderly men who never remarried were found to suffer elder abuse especially neglect, when the adult children never visited. This research found contradictory results in experience of elder abuse among widowed elderly men and women. Some of the women who were widowed especially in polygamous marriages suffered abuse because of land. It is also particularly harder for older women to remarry.

The study sought to know the types of marriage among the respondents and the findings were tabulated as illustrated below:

### Table 4.4 Respondent’s type of marriage across gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of marriage</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monogamous</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>47.7%</td>
<td>52.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polygamous</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28.6%</td>
<td>71.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman husband</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>45.6%</td>
<td>54.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The type of marriage of the elderly varied as summarized in Table 4.8. The data showed that 132 (47.7%) while 145 (52.3%) female respondents were in monogamous marriages. Those who were in polygamous marriages comprised of
8 (28.6%) male and 20 (71.4) female. There were 2 (0.7%) cases of woman husband.

In interpreting the data, the majority of the respondents (277) were in monogamous marriages. This can be attributed to widespread Christian faith which advocates for one man one woman marriage. There were those in polygamous marriages (28), the majority being female and the minority (8) being males. The culture of the Akamba allows polygamous marriages. Kyalo (2011) stated that polygamy was a sign of social prestige among the wealthy.

Data from the present research showed that, whereas this could have been a prestige, in later years, this could create vulnerability for abuse as it created family strife. This would result in elder abuse when the husband died and the widows and their children contend over the property, especially land. The first wife who assumed authority over property can be viewed to want to dispossess the children of the younger wife and hence, she is vulnerable to abuse.

The case of woman husband and its implication for elder abuse needs to be explained here. It is a form of marriage that involved another woman who was childless paying dowry for another woman who became the “wife”. The “wife is referred to as Iweto (singular), Maweto (plural) She chose a male partner who would father her children and the children thus born, belonged to the family group and the sons would inherit the property of the woman husband.

It is very important to note there is absolutely no sexual relationship between the two women and it was not a gay or lesbian marriage. It was a cultural practice
among the Akamba that restored dignity to a childless woman and that she would be cared for her in her old age and the family name continued.

The woman husband marriage also revealed the currency placed on children. It could further show how women who did not have children or had one gender children only usually female children could be vulnerable to elder abuse in old age, since there were no sons to protect the elderly person. When girls got married, they had no portion in their place of birth but male children were seen as “security” or “pension” for the elderly. Data from the research revealed that the woman husband was just a victim of elder abuse like those in other forms of marriage.

4.1.2 Number of children of respondents

The study sought to document the number of children of the respondents. The findings are presented in Table 4.5 below.

**Table 4.5 Number of children of respondents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No of children</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>2.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 to 3</td>
<td>56.0</td>
<td>17.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 to 6</td>
<td>161.0</td>
<td>50.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 to 10</td>
<td>84.0</td>
<td>26.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 to 14</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>2.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.9 showed that 8 (2.52%) had no children whereas those who had between 1 and 3 children were 56 (17.67%). Those who had between 4 and 6 children were 161 in number (50.79%). Those who had 7 between and 10 children were 84 (26.20%) while those who had between 11 and 14 children were 8 (2.52%). This showed that majority of the respondents had between 4 to 14 children. These findings are consistent with African families where households are large. These findings were consistent with African families where households are large and in these households the elderly live.

Specific cases were analysed that revealed that having many children increased the propensity of family strife in a case of differential treatment of the elderly, with some in the family supporting the elderly person and others psychologically abusing the elderly person. Further, data supported cases where the elderly, despite having a large number of adult children, was not frequently visited, thus causing psychological stress to the elderly person and a perception of being neglected.

4.1.3 Respondents Religious Affiliation

The researcher sought to find the religious affiliation of the respondents who participated in the study. A summary of their responses were presented in table below.
Table 4.6 Respondents Religious Affiliation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>16.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>80.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islam/Muslim</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>315</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the findings presented in the table above, the religious affiliations of the elderly varied. The study found that the majority of the elderly, 255 (80.9%), were protestants, with 53 (16.83%) being Catholic and 7 (2.22%) being Muslim. The unanimity in religious affiliation as per the findings of the study are in tandem with what Kaleli (1985:268) posited that the Akamba were very religious. The study found that religious affiliation was the nexus from which the majority of social networks were formed among the studied respondents.

In interpreting the above data, the institution of religion plays a big role in the lives of the elderly persons in Machakos County and the researcher found out that most of the social networks emanate from the church. Garrow (2017: 643) points out the power of the church in mobilising communities:

“….in such areas, churches often were the only “institutions that are still cohesive enough and bring people together” and “the most successful community development organizations…….”

This meant that religious bodies, the church in this case were the nexus institutions that connected the elderly persons in building personal networks. In
connection with elder abuse, Focus Group 1 participants observed that those adult children who abused their elderly parents had no fear of God thus implying having religious conviction was a deterrence to elder abuse. It can further be argued here that the church could form an important link in the community to identify and respond to elder abuse.

4.1.4 Respondent’s social group belonging across gender

The respondents were asked whether they belonged to any social group as shown in Table 4.7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>48.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>51.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of respondents who said they belonged to a social group was 154 (48.6 %) while those respondents who said they did not belong to any social group were 163(51.4%) This data indicates that belonging to a social network other than the elderly person’s family members is important for both male and female elderly persons.

This means the elderly have more social interactions in and outside their immediate families. The data does support the observation by Kenyatta (1965) that “nobody is an isolated person”. Therefore, as the elderly advance in age, they
remain in contact with members of the family and larger community. The research found that elder abuse happened in the context of the home where the elderly live.

Belonging to social networks affirms Erikson’s (1997) concept of the seventh development stage crisis of stagnation versus generativity experienced by the aged. Verbraak (2000) advances the concept of gerotranscendence. The idea is that where there should be despair in old age, there is a renewal of being a part of larger society. Data in this research affirms that instead of stagnating, the elderly form new friendships, find social support networks which include income generating activities, enjoy and empower themselves economically and get psychological support. It can be advanced in this research that any intervention measures for alleviating elder abuse, the social networks would be an entry point in finding solutions to elder abuse issues.

This research argues that social networks are part of generativity, the reimagining of the elderly themselves, the economic empowerment of the elderly, and lessening of dependency which is a risk factor in elder abuse. The research found that retired elderly men and women were deeply involved in community work identifying and supporting the vulnerable elderly.

Once they left their formal employment, they were involved in farming activities. Some said they even earned more money in retirement than their formal jobs gave them as evidenced by a retired school teacher who would get more than 10,000 Kenya shillings from the proceeds of milk from his dairy farm. This can be seen
as a powerful way to reduce dependency and rendering themselves less vulnerable to elder abuse.

Table 4.8 Respondents Social Group Types of Activities Involved In

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activities of Social Groups</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Support for widows</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>26.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burial Welfare Group</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>20.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table Banking</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charity Work</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired professionals group</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The respondents were asked about the kind of activities they engaged in in the social group they belonged. These activities were grouped into six categories as shown in the table above. The respondents who derive social support were 84 (26.5%). Social support included psychological support for widowhood, dowry negotiations, fundraising for education of children in school or the grandchildren the elderly were looking after. The majority who had such support were 64 (20.2%) in burial welfare groups, 53(16.7%) belonged to table banking, 53 (16.7%) were in Charity Work while those in the Retired Profession group numbered 34(10.7). Others belonged to groups that engaged in income generating activities, leadership roles and coffee co-operatives, totalling 29 (9.1%). Only one respondent did not engage in income generating activities. The social networks groups were found to be mostly church-related, for both males and females; the burial welfare group comprised mostly of men and were community based.
The findings imply that the both elderly men and women participate in social networks which are quite strong. It can be said that having social support through extensive friendship and familial networks keeps the elderly engaged in the community and therefore not isolated.

The elderly men belong to burial welfare groups while the elderly women do not. Women belonged to burial welfare groups through their husbands or fathers and paid their subscriptions through them. Women do not attend burial welfare groups, only the men do. The implication is that one expects a decent burial from the community where people are expected to attend. Burial welfare groups also alleviate the cost of the funeral for the members who are grieved.

The patriarchal aspect of this community is revealed in the sense that the women do not attend burial welfare groups, but their men are expected to give them a decent burial hence their payment of subscriptions. The importance of a decent burial was stressed by MN, an 82 old male respondent who was also the head of the burial welfare group in the community. Not having a decent burial was viewed as elder abuse. The folk wisdom supports this notion of a decent burial. MN stated:

“Mundu ndethikaa”. Translation: “No one can bury himself”

Having social support network also helps to alleviate the stress that is experienced during widowhood. More women belong to such groups offering psychological support, financial support and income generating activities. GW (74 years old female respondent) explained it this way:
Nina kikundi kya aka ndiwa, na kya nzangule, na niona kikundi kya andu ma musyi na kingi

Translation: “I belong to a group of widows, a merry-go-round group, a group for family members and another group where we make soap”.

Thus the data supports the fact that belonging to a social group serves more than one purpose for the elderly respondents. Lucumi, et al. (2015) states that neighbourhood socio-economic status influence social interaction and inherently strengthen cognitive social capital, attitudes and norms including trust, shared values and reciprocity; they posit that social capital is a determinant of successful aging and higher quality of life of the older person. The findings show that these social networks reduce isolation, a risk factor in sexual elder abuse that data in the study supported. Some of the elderly women, who were sexually abused, were living alone in their own household.

4.1.5 Living Arrangements

Table 4.9 Housing/Living Arrangements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Living Arrangement</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alone</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With other people</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>91.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No fixed abode</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The research sought to find out the housing and living arrangements of the elderly men and women, whether they lived with a spouse alone or with other relatives or non-relatives. Data showed that 23 (7.3%) lived alone. The majority 291 (91.3%) lived with other people, while 3 (0.9%) did not respond to the question.

In interpreting the data, the majority of the elderly people did not live alone. They lived in family setups. Data showed that they lived in homesteads with several households in close proximity or “calling distance” meaning if you called someone from your house, person in another household would hear. The households belonged to adult sons and their families; in some cases the household comprised a daughter who never married, the elderly person in his or her own household, living alone or with a spouse, grandchildren and in some cases, caretaker.

This aspect of not in reality living alone can be aptly illustrated by PMM, an 85 year old female. She lived in her own house which was the family house with her husband. Just beside her house was the house of an unmarried daughter; next to it was her youngest sons house in which his widow and her three children lived, about thirty meters away was her eldest son’s house, a teacher in a local primary school who lived with his family. Next to the teacher’s house were the houses of two sons, each living with their wives and children.

All in all, in that homestead, were six households (Appendix VII, photograph of homestead). This shows the elderly person can live independently within the
family setup. Data showed that it was within this context, the proximity the elderly person had with others in the homesteads, that they were abused. In the above homestead, the elder son had threatened his mother with a machete because she had refused him to farm her land even though he had been given his own. She refused to allow him farm her land because he apparently does not support her with medical bills because she is asthmatic.

The Social Exchange Theory might not explain the above case. It was not true that the parent held more resources than the son. She did not depend on him for upkeep though she expected it. The researcher found out that this particular son has bought large chunks of land elsewhere, but still insisted on using the mother’s land to farm even though he has been given his own.

The Power Control Theory best explains the relationship between the mother and the son. The mother had the power over land. This power emanated from her usufruct rights as a married woman (Vengi, 2012). So she had the power to make decisions on how the land should be used. Due to this power, she had given her son his part to farm. He, on the other hand, wanted to wrestle this power from her by insisting on cultivating on her farm in spite of her objections. In the process of trying to wrestle this power, he physically and psychologically abused his mother.

By refusing to bow to her son’s demands to farm her land, she retained her power but was observed that they were at loggerheads. Her daughter in law was not talking to her, her grandchildren avoided coming to her house, a scenario which
did not please her and her husband. It is informative that other sons in the homestead did not abuse their parents. They too had been given their portions of land. The abusing son was the eldest in the family. It is possible that as the eldest, he felt an entitlement to a bigger portion of the land.

Those who lived alone meant that they had a one person household with no other family member living in the homestead. But although living alone, the elderly person had contact with other members of the extended family living nearby. This living arrangement meant the elderly had frequent contact with family members and neighbours.

This living arrangement was aptly illustrated by the unique case of FK, an 85 old respondent. She was a Kikuyu by tribe and explained to the researcher how she got married to her late Mukamba husband in the 1957. Despite living alone in her house, her extended family members lived nearby and would come and fetch water for her while the members of her church would check on her frequently since she was unable to made it to church (Photograph, Appendix VII, posing with the researcher). Although physically living alone, she was not isolated the fact of reciprocity meant that she was cared for by the extended family and was still connected to the community institutions. Still on another level, she felt alone and vulnerable. She had quipped to the researcher:

“*Nuu ukunungamia, ni Mwikuyu*”:

*Translation: Who can stand for me, I am a Kikuyu***

*(FW, 85+ year old female elderly woman).*
This was expressed in connection with the information she gave that because her own biological children lived very far and did not visit, she felt unsecure. By talking of being a Kikuyu, it could also have meant that she felt isolated because of her ethnicity, subconsciously feeling she had not been integrated in the Kamba Community. The implication of the above statement is the perception from the respondent that being not of the Kamba ethnic group, being widowed and her children who should have protected her having moved away, she felt a sense of loneliness and being neglected which she viewed as abuse. The researcher observed that her farm was well weeded with thriving maize, and legumes and when asked whether she did not feel afraid living alone, she answered in the negative.

This one case further points to some difficulties of inter-tribal marriage when one is old, feeble, widowed, and living alone, with children who have moved, the sense of vulnerability, isolation, a feeling of being abandoned becomes overwhelming. To express her lonely situation, she quipped,

“Nineenaa na matelembu na mbia”.

*Translation:* “I talk to lizards and rats.

The above statement could use to delve into her psychological state of mind and show the despondency the respondent felt and the impact on her psychological wellbeing by virtue of neglect by her children.
Data also showed that the elderly live in the same place home for several decades or even longer, well exemplified by RMM who is 85 and LKM who is 80 years old who had lived in the same house since 1956 and 1958 respectively. For RMM, four of his sons live in close proximity and for LKM, two of her younger sons live in close proximity while the older sons had moved to another place which is expected of sons and for the daughters to have been married.

This data suggests that because of living in one place for a long time, the elders have a strong emotional attachment to the home for this is where most important history of the family had taken place in terms of marriage, child rearing and grand parenting, extended family, association with and strong neighbourhood and friendship ties as well as other rural institutions like the church and the market. Research data for this study showed that this close proximity to family members and close ties with others provides the context within which elder abuse takes place for the elderly cannot think of leaving their own homes.

**Table 4.10** The number of people living with older people in the homestead

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No of people</th>
<th>Frequency (n)</th>
<th>Percent (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>57.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>39.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not clear whom they lived with</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Mean** 4.49

**Standard deviation** 2.454
The study sought to find out the number of people the elderly respondents lived with. Data revealed that those who were living with between 0-4 people comprised of 182 (57.41%); those who lived amongst 5-10 people were 124 (39.11%) and those who lived with between 10-14 people were 5 comprising 1.57%. On average, the elderly person lives with five people in a homestead.

The above data showed that the majority of the elderly people do not live alone but with other people. In this case they are not isolated. Data revealed that they lived with members of the family which was revealed as spouse, sons, daughter, and daughters-in-law, grandchildren, and sister in law, co wife’s children and in a few cases a caretaker. Further the analysis shows that the composition of homesteads show several generations of family members living together.

Data revealed that this living with other family members created a context in which abuse of the elderly took place. This is illustrated by the following quote from GWM, 69 year old female respondent:

“I live in my own house. I have built my own house. My husband stays with son; we stay in the same homestead but not in the same house. My husband is violent. My son takes my property. My husband was mistreating his mother so he mistreats me. I have not had sexual relations with him for 20 years. My husband and my son say I have HIV/AIDS. My son insults me just like his father. He does not warn him. He refused school. He takes bhang (cannabis sativa) and chews miraa. Because they do not have enough money, they steal from me.
The data further reveal the context of abuse could arise from tension that is inherent in the family setup. The Social Exchange Theory would explain why GWM would not leave the homestead where the son and spouse abuse her. She explained she could not leave her home and go back to her parent’s home as she would not be wanted. Her identity as a married woman would only be if she stayed in her husband’s compound even if living in her own house.

This has connotation as a cultural barrier, where a woman’s status as a married woman, and retaining this status, becomes more important than her need for complete independence by staying away from abusive family members. Despite her being economically independent, and having built her own house, her need to retain her married status was more important, even though she was suffering abuse from the spouse and the son, thus she found ways of adapting to the situation.

A question could be asked, ‘why she does not divorce and return to her parents. As long as the man has not returned her dowry, she was still married to him a fact observed by Lindblom (1920) on divorce among the Akamba.

**Table 4.11 House Tenure**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rent</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>95.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither owned or rented</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The research sought to find out if the respondents owned or rented the houses they lived in. Those who owned the houses they lived in were the majority, comprising of 301 (95%). Those who rented the house they lived in comprised of 10 (3.2%) while 6 (1.9%).

The older people live in their own houses. This could be explained by the fact that the elderly who were studied lived in a rural area, most lived in the community and built their own homes on their own land or family land. This has an important implication in that the elderly have resided in the same place for many years where they derive their livelihood from the land, in agriculture, beekeeping or any other economic activity related to the land. It would be unlikely that they would move in future, hence they age in the same place being in close proximity with others. Data showed that was the context that rendered the elderly to elder abuse. Those who were renting houses mostly lived in the urban area. A small minority neither owned nor rented a house. In one case, the elderly person was housed by the sister; in the other case, the elderly man had no fixed abode and in the final four cases, they lived in houses that belonged to their adult children.

Data revealed mixed results of the relation between house tenure and elder abuse. The case of the elderly being housed reported mistreatment from the sister who she claimed saw her as a failure because she had no children of her own neither did she have investments though she said she was a retired hospital attendant.

Having their own house did not shield the elderly from abuse. Those who lived in houses belonging to their children did not report abuse, a sign that they were
cared for. The cases of elderly persons with no fixed abode merited further research. However, one respondent, who worked as a watchman in a nearby primary school where he said he slept, told the researcher that he had been dispossessed of his land by his step brother. He did not disclose the circumstances that led them to dispossessing him even when the researcher tried to probe further.

Table 4.12 Perception physical condition of the home lived in by the elderly

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Physical Condition of Home</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Excellent</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very good</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>22.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>50.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very poor</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>97.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response given</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Mean                      | 3.02      |
| Standard Deviation        | 1.052     |

During the study, 6 item Likert type question ranging from excellent to very poor was posed to the interviewees on how they viewed the physical condition of their houses. A total of 14 (4.4%) stated that their houses were excellent; 71 (22.4%) perceived the physical condition of their houses to be very good, while 161(50.8%) viewed them as good. The number of respondents who viewed their
houses as being in a fair state were 37 (11.7%). Those who viewed them as poor and very poor were 13 (4.1%) and 14(4.4%) respectively. Those who refrained from expressing their views were 7 which accounted for 2.2% of the total respondents.

From the study, it showed that the mean perception of physical condition of their houses was 3.02, SD of 1.052 indicating that the perception about their houses was perceived as good. These are rural houses and the respondents view them as good if they were built using bricks and iron sheets. A poor quality home meant grass thatched mud houses that leaked during the rains or were run down. The implication of living in a poor house is that the elderly person is neglected, a form of elder abuse. To avail a good house for the elderly is regarded as care for them. An adult son can be mocked if his elderly parents’ house is in bad condition implying that he does not care for them.

Data from the research showed that those whose houses were in poor conditions also reported incidences of elder abuse. In one case, the son had sworn he would never come home until his father died and in another case the sons having moved to live elsewhere. Thus the condition of the house also implied neglect as a form of elder abuse.
Table 4.13 Respondent’s level of education across gender

The table below shows the level of educational attainment across gender.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Gender of the Respondent</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No formal education</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>32.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary education</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>45.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary education</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>72.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College/Polytechnic</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University degree</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>44.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In examining educational attainment across gender of the elderly studied in Machakos County, it was found that those who had no formal education were 30 (32.6%) males while females were the majority 62 (67.4%). Those who had achieved primary education were 84 (45.6%) and 99 (54.6%) female being in the majority. Majority of the elderly completed primary school education. A total of 26 (72.2%) males had secondary education while females with secondary education were 10 (27.8%). Those who had higher levels of education were in the minority; college/polytechnic education were 2 (50%) males and 2 (50%)
female. For those who had university education were 1(50%) male and 1(50%) female.

In all categories of level of education attained by the elderly, females were in the majority. Higher level educational attainment numbers were too few to generalise. However, this could point to the fact that future elders, both men and women will be better educated. Overall, the majority of elderly respondents had low levels of education while the minority had attained a higher level of education in Machakos County.

Sociologists have pointed to the association between education, occupation and income with those with higher levels of educational attainment, high school and college education earning more in their lifetimes, have pensions and resources to invest. This would be viewed as reducing dependency and vulnerability to elder abuse. Some of the respondents who were retirees had invested in rental houses before retirement. Investment in rental houses had differential impact for the elderly. Some elderly studied received high income from their rental property. Two respondents from the study experienced financial abuse when one of the daughters who depended on her wanted to be the one collecting the rent while the other respondents step children wanted her rental houses claiming they were theirs.

In explaining the data, the elderly were born at a time when girls’ education was not important. Even if they were allowed to go to school, it was just to learn to
read and write. What was important was for a girl to get married and raise a family. One female respondent, KM, 100 years old had this to say regarding why she derived her income from divination:

“My father said he can’t educate a girl. She will be a prostitute. A girl’s job was to get married and raise a family. Those girls who went to school were regarded as prostitutes or if they were taken to school, it was to learn to read and write a letter so that no one can read for them or do not have to dictate a letter to someone and reveal secrets.”

Skirbekk (2014) found that the lack of formal education was related to a greater risk of elder abuse and the findings of this study agree to this. The cases of elder abuse cited below point to the relationship between the of level of education and strands of financial abuse. Data from this research showed that lack of formal education was a risk factor in financial abuse. Whereas education should have a protective factor in elder abuse, data showed higher level educated elderly were not immune to physical abuse from dependent sons, thus research revealed that abuse happened across gender regardless of the level of education.

This can be illustrated by the case of a 75 year old retired, widowed, female university lecturer respondent living in fear of her 40 year old son who had threatened her with a knife and eventually he had to be taken into custody. He was living with her, had refused to work, was abusing drugs and was dependent on her for financial support.
Advanced age and lack of education combined to put the elderly at the risk of financial abuse. The case of a 93 year old male respondent is an illustrative case where he was coerced into signing (he put a thumb print) documents with regard to transfer of land. He did not know the implications of that as he was made to believe that they were regularizing land ownership.

Thus, the elderly person could not respond effectively to the situation where he should have understood the documentation process involved in land transactions but did not as a result of never having gone to school. Thus, gender, advanced age and level of education are important determiners of particular forms of elder abuse namely physical and financial abuse of the elderly persons studied in Machakos County.
### 4.1.6 Respondents’ Employment status across gender

**Table 4.14 Respondents’ Employment Status**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment status</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired from paid work</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>71.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looking after home and family</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>45.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanently unable to work due to injury or sickness</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>31.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed/looking for work</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>43.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>41.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>44.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The employment statuses of the elderly respondents were varied according to gender during the study as summarized in Table 4.18. Of 37(71.2%) male and 15(28.8%) female stated they were retired from work while 30(33.3%) male and 60(66.7%) female stated that they were looking after home and family. Majority of the respondents, 32(45.7% male) and 38(54.3%) females stated that they were self-employed. Those said they were unable to work due to injury or sickness, 7(31.8%) were male and 15(68.2%) were female; 23(41.1%) male and 33(58.9%)
female stated that they were engaged in farming, while 10(43.5%) male and 13(56.5%) female said they were unemployed.

The data revealed all categories of the elderly practiced farming in spite of what they stated was their employment status. A respondent might state that they were retired from paid work but were farming and doing other business but when asked their source of income they would state it is from farm produce. This shows that at one level, farming is seen as non-work, while at another level, there is a taken-for-granted notion that farming is a way of life and not as work. So farming must be viewed from multiple perspectives; as a source of income, employment and a way of life. Asked whether they had any other form of employment, the majority (69) stated farming as their other form of employment. Those who said they do business were 19, those who said they do casual jobs were 23 and those who said they have a business were 4 while 8 respondents said they received the money through cash transfer and two respondents stated practiced divination. Of those two who practiced divination, one was a female aged 100 years old, who lived with son and daughter in law and two grandchildren of school going age.

Further analysis of the above data shows that the elderly create jobs for themselves and do not stay idle even when the physical body limits movement as in the case of the respondent on a wheel chair who worked on her business whilst on wheel chair. It can be inferred that by creating jobs for themselves, the elderly do reduce dependency which is a predisposing factor for elder abuse.
Further interpretation of the data revealed various strands of the nature of employment. RM, an 89 year elderly male respondent exemplified this aspect of looking after his home and family when he stated that he had not worked for 20 years since he left employment in Mombasa to look after his wife.

PMM was an 86 year old respondent. She lives with her husband and a grandchild. Her daughter is living with HIV/AIDS and now is very weak. Her husband is sickly too. She is the one who cooks for them, looks after her livestock and works in the farm. These two cases illustrate that the elderly person carry the burden of taking care of the sick as well as grandchildren, whilst also working.

The respondents who said they were self-employed were illustrative of the elderly people’s innovativeness in creating jobs for themselves thereby lessening dependency on others and even creating jobs for others.

“Sometimes I sell cassava in the market. I usually buy them from the shambas. Other times, I do casual labour”. (JK, 65 years old female respondent)

“I cannot walk far. I have a butchery. I have rented it to my daughter-in-law and grandson. They run it and give me the money”. (TN, 87 years old female respondent)

“I am sick, but I do business when I can. I buy and sell chicken. My customers bring the chicken here in my home and the buyers also come here. I cannot reach the market because it’s difficult to make it because of this wheelchair”. (MKLA, 80 years old female respondent who is also wheelchair bound.)
4.1.7 Respondent’s source of income across gender

The study also sought to find out the sources of income of the respondents. They were therefore asked to avail this information. It is important to note that some of the respondents gave more than one response. Thus a respondent would say they have a pension, yet they also get income from their farm produce as well as support from adult children. One respondent received Cash Transfer for the elderly, farmed and got support from the adult children. The findings are presented in Table 4.19 below.

Table 4.15  Respondent’s source of income across gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of income</th>
<th>Gender of the Respondent</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pension</td>
<td>N 29</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>65.9%</td>
<td>34.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent</td>
<td>N 13</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40.6%</td>
<td>59.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support from own adult children</td>
<td>N 44</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>37.3%</td>
<td>62.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>N 29</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42.0%</td>
<td>58.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casual job/Divination</td>
<td>N 4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>57.1%</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash Transfer</td>
<td>N 4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>44.4%</td>
<td>55.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>N 123</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>44.1%</td>
<td>55.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the responses given, those who stated they received pension were 44 (15.7%) with less females having pension. Those who said they were receiving rent were 32 (11.4%). Those who stated they were receiving help from their adult children were 118 (42.1%) in total with females being the majority. Those who said they carried out business were 69 (24.6%) in total and women were the majority. Those who received Cash Transfer were 9 (100%). 2 (0.6%) respondents stated that they practiced divination and this was their source of income. The results further points to several sources of income for both male and female.

The data showed that majority of the respondents 118, received support from their adult children. This pointed to the fact that adult children still took the filial duty of supporting their elderly parents. Those who get income from rent point to the fact that these elderly invested in rental houses when they were working and in the case of women being in the majority, property left to them by their late husbands.

The respondents who were receiving income from business allude to the fact that the elderly create jobs for themselves both as a source of income and an activity to be involved in so that they are not idle. Both men and women had more than one source of income, were more likely to receive support from their adult children, and were more likely to get involved in business.

AKM, an 89 year old widowed female respondent stated that she would sell the property her husband left her whenever she needed money and stated that she had complete control over the property. She also receives support from her adult
children, did farming, and belongs to a social group of widows, and within this group, they do table banking. So, the social groups serve both as a social support and an economic support. The data could further be interpreted to mean the elderly minimise dependency on others and in a sense reduce the risk of elder abuse.

In two cases of female respondents who got rent from property, one of their step children wanted to take the rental property from her while in the other case, the daughter of the elderly woman had beaten her because she wanted to be the one collecting the rent. This shows that the source of income for the elderly could also be a source of elder abuse.

4.1.8 Respondents’ Income

The level of income among elderly men and women is presented in Table 4.20.

Table 4.16 Respondent’s Level of income across gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average monthly income</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below 1,000</td>
<td>N 20</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 37.0%</td>
<td>63.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,001 - 5,000</td>
<td>N 78</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 40.6%</td>
<td>59.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,001 - 10,000</td>
<td>N 20</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 64.5%</td>
<td>35.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 10,000</td>
<td>N 23</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 62.2%</td>
<td>37.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>N 141</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 44.9%</td>
<td>55.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The respondents were asked to state their monthly income. Data in Table 4.20 show that 20(37.0 %) of the male respondents and 34((63%) of the female respondents received less than 1000 shillings a month. The respondents who received between 1001 – 5000 shillings were 78(49.6%) male and 11(59.4%) of the female. The respondents who received an income of over 10, 000 Kenya Shilling and above were 23(62.2%) were male and 14(37.8%) female.

Looking into all categories of the level of income, elderly women had lower incomes than elderly men. The data at one level, concurs with Wu (2003) findings in America that elderly women had lower incomes at every age after age 65. Explanations for the differentials in income could be that the women had lower level of education compared to men (Table 4.12), were less likely to have been in formal employment compared to men (Table 4.14) so could not have had any income from pensions.

Another explanation for differentials in income would be women’s role in as carers of the children and not getting employed or working part time. This could further be interpreted using the “feminization of poverty” concept. This concept means that women experience poverty at rates higher than that of men. The implication here would be that older women have less income and therefore may not access health care, access nutritious food, have less property and therefore be prone to dependency on others rendering them vulnerable to elder abuse.
4.1.9 Ownership of Land

Table 4.17 Ownership of land across gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Do you own land or engage in farming</th>
<th>Gender of the Respondent</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>45.4%</td>
<td>54.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>37.5%</td>
<td>62.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>44.4%</td>
<td>55.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The respondents were asked whether they owned land or were engaged in farming. The table shows 127 (45.4%) male while 153 (54.6%) female stated they possessed land. Those who stated they did not own land were 12(37.5%) male and 21(62.5%) female.

The findings presented above can be explained by the fact that in the Akamba community, land in predominantly owned by men. Vengi (2016) observed that land inheritance was matri-segmentation which meant a married woman had absolute right to use her land having usufructuary right to it. The circumstances that allowed women to own land were in cases of a husband’s death where a woman was given custody of the land. Equally, in polygamous marriages, every woman and her children were apportioned land to cultivate for themselves. She kept in trust for her own household. In some rare cases, women actually bought land or could be given as a gift by a father-in-law or a grandmother.
Data showed there were some women who said they possess land, but someone else cultivates it. MK, 84 years old had this to say: “I have given my son land to farm.”;

Among the male respondents, some said they owned land but in actual fact it belonged to someone else. The following statements allude to this fact “Kitheka ni kya nau”. Translation: “The land belongs to my father”. DM, 63 year old male respondent. This would mean that the elderly, in holding the title to the land meant that he held power over the members of the family. Data showed ownership of land as a factor in elder abuse.

“Nduite kithekani kya nau: Translation: “I live on my father’s land”. RNK, 64 year old male respondent.

Data showed that having no land among some of the male respondents meant that the land they lived on was family land which had not been subdivided. Data showed that the elderly owning the land, made them vulnerable to elder abuse especially in situations where they sold their own land. The following is an example of this phenomenon:

MM , 78 year old male respondent was interviewed by the researcher at the market where he resides at the present moment.

“I sold my land to my neighbour. My sons quarrelled and beat me up. My tooth was knocked off. I ran away from home and now I live here in the market now in this rented room.” (MM, 78 years old)
### Table 4.18  Form of land ownership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status of Land</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>With title deed</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>41.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Without title deed</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>26.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family land</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>25.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not know</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>317</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the study, the respondents were asked about the ownership of the land. Majority of the respondents 131(41.3%) stated that their land had a title deed. Those who stated that the land had no title deed were 83(26.2%). The respondents who stated that that land was family land were 80(25.2%) and those who did not know about the deed of the land were 6 (1.9%) while those who did not respond to this question were 17 (5.4%).

The data shows that majority of the elderly do have an official document for their land which is a title deed. However others did not have a title deed for the land. The reason for this is where land is collectively owned by the family in most cases referred to as family land or customary land which means the land was passed on from a grandfather, to son and ideally the present occupants should also pass it on to the next generation. Again, where land had no title deed, the respondents stated that the title deed had not been issued and they were waiting for it to be...
issued. In other cases, respondents stated that the land had not been subdivided among the family members hence there was no title deed.

This interface between having official documents for land ownership and ancestral land ownership, data revealed potential conflict between the elderly respondents and the other family members. Some of the elderly persons were abused when the adult sons demanded division of the land. Others suffered abuse when they were tricked into signing for land transfer. Other respondents were dispossessed when other people came with a title deed claiming land is theirs and in the process disposed the elderly who had lived in the same land for a long time. Land ownership was a source of elder abuse.

Table 4.19  Custodian of the Title Deed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Custodian</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter in law</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stepson</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co wife</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family land</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field data 2016
The respondents who had title deeds for their land were asked to state the person who kept the title deed. Majority of the respondents 82(41 %) stated that they kept it themselves. Those who stated it was family land were 80(40%), women who stated husbands kept the title were 20(10%), while sons were 11(5.5%); brother-in-law, step son, daughter-in-law, wife, co-wife and father contributed 1(0.5%) each.

In interpreting the above, it is clear that title deeds are mainly kept by the male members of the family. Vengi (2016) from his research in Masinga sub county on land tenure, observed that women were not absolute owners of land with titles mostly registered in the name of the house hold head who is the man and that women’s right to access to land could be isolated from right of ownership. He further observed that the women respondents seemed to agree that they were men’s property just as much as the land was. Data from the research showed that men were victims of elder abuse from sons most of the times because the sons wanted the land. The head of family had the right of occupation and transmission of land. If this did not happen, and the sons wanted the land, then the elderly men became vulnerable to elder abuse.

4.2 Forms, Patterns and Trends of Elder Abuse

The data discussed below was in line with objective one, the forms of elder abuse, meant the types of abuse experienced. The patterns showed the number of regular occurrences of the act of elderly abuse.
4.2.1 Physical Abuse

The table below enumerates the form of physical abuse that the respondents experienced. A close look at the types show a pattern that is not life threatening to a pattern that becomes life threatening. The threat to kill and actually taking up weapons that can kill, is the highest intensity of physical abuse.

Table 4.20 Physical Abuse

The table below shows the number of respondents who experienced forms of physical abuse.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form of physical Abuse</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beating</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>88.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arm Twisting</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>98.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choking</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>98.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kicking</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>98.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened to cut with knife or a panga (machete)</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>81.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened to kill</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>91.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>99.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punching</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>99.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biting</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>99.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slapping</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>98.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slammed against a wall</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>98.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.24 shows that 140 elderly persons experienced elder abuse at various levels of intensity as shown by the tabulations. The respondents were asked
whether they had experienced physical abuse in the last one year, 2015. Those who said that they were beaten were 36(11%); those that had their arms twisted were 3(0.9%), those who said they were choked were 4(1.3%), 3(0.9%) indicated they were kicked, those who were threatened with a knife or panga were the majority being 56 (17.7%), while those threatened to be killed were 27(8.5%)

4.2.2. Prevalence of Physical Abuse by Intensity

The above Table 4.20 revealed the prevalence of physical abuse by taking the seriousness and intensity of physical abuse. Three forms were the most prevalent. A total of 56 of the elders were threatened with a knife or panga (machete) while 36 cases were beaten and 27 were threatened with death. Data revealed that physical abuse moved from low level to high level life threatening physical abuse. Data revealed that an elderly could experience multiple physical abuses at the same time starting with a low level physical abuse like pushing, punching or choking to life threatening physical abuse, threat using a weapon, to beating and threat to kill. The following cases aptly illustrate this phenomenon:

“My neighbour threatened to beat me up. She knocked out my three teeth. She picked a knife to cut me but she was disarmed by my husband (KM, 60 year old female respondent business lady. Apparently there had been a long standing grudge about the land which he claimed a part of my land was his.”

“MN says she is married with 12 children and is a farmer. She said: “My son M attacked me following a series of domestic differences over land issues. He armed himself with a piece of wood with a nail and hit me severally until I fell unconscious. I was taken
to Kitui Hospital. I signed a P3 form. (MN 75 year old female respondent)

The above cases are illustrative of serious form of physical abuse whose overarching reason was land. Notice how a low level physical abuse graduates to a more intense form of physical abuse: threat to beat, serious assault( knocking out of teeth) arming self with a knife to cut to pieces then in the second case domestic differences, arming self with a weapon and serious assault of knocking one till he fell unconscious.

4.2.2.1 Multiple Abuse suffered by the elderly

Multiple abuse and multiple perpetrators here means the elderly person was a victim of more than one form of abuse and by more than one perpetrator as shown below:

The following Table 4.21 shows the number of the elderly who experienced multiple forms of abuse and from multiple perpetrators.

**Table 4.21 Multiple Abuse**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form of Abuse</th>
<th>Number of cases</th>
<th>Perpetrator(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physical/Psychological/Financial</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Son, Husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical/Psychological/Sexual/Financial</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Grandson, neighbour, son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological/Financial</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Spouse, son, grandson, caretaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical/Psychological/Financial/Neglect</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Son, daughter-in-law, grandson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The above 36 cases are unique in that the elderly suffered multiple abuse and from multiple perpetrators who were all family members. This can be interpreted as arising from living with other people in the same homestead where various members of the family abuse the elderly persons. It also illustrates reasons for the multiple abuse from multiple perpetrators could be for different for different reasons.

**Table 4.22 Perpetrators of Physical Abuse**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perpetrators of physical abuse</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbour</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandson</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother in law</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nephew</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter in law</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbour’s grandson</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Care taker</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife and sons</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son in law</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stepson</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step brother</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The researcher sought to know the persons responsible for physical abuse of the elderly. The overwhelming majority were close family members. The majority, 24 (25.8%) were the sons followed by husbands, 11(11.8%) neighbour 13(14%),
grandson, 11(11.8%). Thus this data supports Kioli (2013) findings that that 2/3 of perpetrators of elder abuse were the family members.

In interpreting the data, sons are the majority in physically abusing the elderly. This can be attributed to the fact they have the greatest stake in inheritance of the land. The sons and stepsons were also cited in polygamous marriages as abusers. In incidences where one woman had no sons, was a widow and therefore a custodian of her husband’s land, she ended up suffering abuse since the step sons felt they needed to inherit her land. Clearly, land tenure system and the change in land tenure emerged as a key issue leading to elder abuse in this research.

4.2.2.2 Characteristics of the perpetrators of physical abuse

A pattern emerged where the perpetrators were middle aged. Their victim’s age was also of the upper age as well as being female. It also emerged that the perpetrators were abusing drugs like alcohol and bhang. It also reveals that they used serious form of physical abuse and the reason for this abuse was land. The following statements reveal the characteristics of the perpetrators of elder abuse and their victims and even the reason for abuse.

*FKM, 84 years female respondent. Her 57 year old son came home drunk, threatened her with a panga (machete) and said he will kill her and drink her blood.*

*NN, 70 year old female respondent. Her 34 year old son came home drunk and with a panga and threatened to cut her into pieces because of land*

*My son, who is 34 years threatened to cut me with a panga (machete) because of land. (NK, 70 year old female respondent)*
A 53 year old son who armed himself with a stick threatened to beat his 78 year old mother after damaging the glass panes of her house.

57 year old son, who armed himself with a panga (machete) threatened his 84 year old mother and damaged her household goods. (JM, female respondent.)

My son who is 57 years old took a panga and threatened to kill me because he wanted my land.”(KK, 85 year old female respondent who is also widowed)

In interpreting the above data, the age of the perpetrators shows their average age is 45 that is middle aged. It also indicates that they were under the influence of alcohol. Further analysis showed that they used violence on their elderly. Land was a common demand. Further, the average age of the victims was 77.2 years elderly women in the category of the old old. The fact that the perpetrators were demanding land, points to the fact that the elderly owned resources which made them vulnerable to physical elder abuse.

Another possible interpretation is that the perpetrators, being middle aged, were feeling their advancement in years and feeling what Erik Eriksson (1963) referred to as stagnation and wanted property assuming they want to be productive. Their victims, being their mothers in the old old category, it could be that may be they thought they were not dying soon enough for them to inherit land, for which they had power over them.

Even though Article 57 of the 2010 Kenya Constitution posits that the elderly need to receive reasonable care and assistance from both the state and family, the
paradox is that it is the family members that abuse the elderly person. That means the place that is supposed to be safe is the very place where elder abuse takes place. That then, should leave the state to respond to elder abuse.

One of the premises from Social Exchange Theory by Homans (1961) can be used further to interpret the data. The premise is this:

“When one individual is dependent on another, the latter accrues power. In other words, power is derived from the imbalances in the social exchange, with the individual who values the rewards more highly losing power as the other participant gains power”.

Thus the elderly have valued resources in form of land. This makes them exert power in their social relationships for example with sons who would the heirs to the land. By the sons abusing the elderly person, the balance of power would be tipped, putting the elderly in a vulnerable position when they lose the power and consequently get abused.
4.2.3 Psychological Abuse

Table 4.23 Forms of Psychological Abuse experienced by older people

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form of Psychological Abuse</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shouted at or yelled at you</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>77.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Called you a witch</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>86.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The person wished you were dead</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>92.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Told you they can do anything to you and no one can stop them</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>96.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened to hit or throw something at you</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>96.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destroyed something belonging to you</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>91.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened to take you to an old peoples’ home</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>98.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The research sought to find out whether the elderly experienced psychological abuse. Table 4.27 lists the forms of psychological abuse that they experienced. If the forms of psychological abuse were to be listed from those experienced the most to those experienced the least, the majority, 68 (21.5%) indicated that they were yelled at while 41 (12.9%) were called a witch and 25 (7.9%) had something belonging to them that was destroyed, while 22 (6.9) were wished dead. Those who were told that someone could do something to them without anyone stopping them and those threatened with being hit or throwing something at them were 10 (3.2%) respectively. Those that were threatened to be taken to an old people’s home were 2 (0.6%).
In interpreting this data, it can be seen that 178 respondents experienced psychological abuse. It may start with a lesser form of abuse like yelling. There were fewer cases that experienced a more serious form of psychological abuse such destroying property belonging to the elderly. Psychological abuse could also point to simmering family conflict that may erupt into a more serious physical abuse like the threat to kill the elderly person.

Table 4.24 People responsible for Psychological Abuse towards older people

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perpetrators of psychological abuse</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brother</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother in law</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister in law</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter in law</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandson</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbour</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nephew</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>74.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son in law</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father in law</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stepson</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step brother</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-wife</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step daughter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisters</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbour’s wife</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The data reveals that the perpetrators of elder abuse are mainly close members of the family with sons being in the lead, followed by daughters-in-law, neighbours and grandsons and brothers. This can be attributed to living in close proximity to each other in the same homestead. This proximity is the context within which elder abuse occurs. It also shows elderly could suffer abuse from multiple perpetrators such as son and wife.

### 4.2.4 Financial Abuse

The research sought to know the dimensions of financial abuse of the elderly as tabulated below in Table 4.29.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensions of Financial Abuse</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stealing money or possessions</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>77.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced you to sign a cheque or property transfer document against your will</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>98.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced you to give money or possessions to them</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>96.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced you to give them title deeds for your land or house</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>98.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Took your money without your knowledge</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>97.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced you to buy things you felt you did not need</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>99.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The dimensions of financial abuse are listed in the Table 4.29. Cumulatively, data shows that 97 (30.39%) of the total number of respondents suffered financial abuse. The data also shows that the majority, 70(22.1%) of the respondents had their money stolen and 26(77.6%) did not have their money stolen. Of those interviewed, 5 (1.6%) were forced to sign a cheque or a document to transfer property while 9(2.8%) elderly were forced to give money or possessions; 4 (1.3%) were forced to give title deed for the land or house; while 8(2.5%) had their money taken without their knowledge and 1 (0.3%) were forced to buy things they did not need.

4.2.4.1 Financial abuse involving stealing and Destruction of elder person’s property

The following representative statements reveal the financial abuse of the elderly as regards stealing of money or possessions. The possessions include food stuff, money, household goods, livestock, and clothing, cutting trees from the elderly persons land.

“He entered into my house through the window and stole my 18,000 shillings.” (MM, 84 year old widowed female respondent).

“My grandson stole a sack of maize and beans and sold it in the local market. He is always stealing from me.” (VLK, 76 year old female respondent).

“He stole my household goods and sold them. He has refused to work and wants me to give him food and money.” (PMM, 80 year old female respondent).

“My grandson age, 30 demanded food from me. He ransacked the house, took my kettle, and burned my plastic cups. He threatened to burn me like the cups. He destroyed equipment meant to assist me
The data shows that financial abuse involving theft and destruction of property is committed on female respondents of advanced age. The average age of the elderly female respondents was 80 years. The financial abuse is perpetrated by younger relations involving grandchildren who most likely live with them in the same homestead, who depend on her as evidenced by perpetrator demanding food and who most likely had no gainful employment as evidenced by those stealing and selling the stolen property.

4.2.4.2 Technology and financial abuse

One of the good aspects of advent of technology has been the ways in which financial transactions are done through the use of mobile money. This research had shown that the elderly receive support from their adult children (Table 4.12). It can be assumed that this help could be monies send through mobile money. Thus technology is a good thing in itself for it has transformed ways elderly manage monies they receive, deposit and withdraw. Conversely, this technology creativity has resulted in an increase in ways that the elderly experience financial abuse as well as being defrauded and taken advantage of. This research showed this technology had impacted adversely on the lives of the elderly. The case below illustrates the use money technology as a source of financial abuse of the elderly.
“My son came home while drunk. He demanded my M-Pesa pin so he may go and withdraw money from my phone. When I refused, he became violent and threatened to beat me up.” (CN, 70 year old female respondent)

This case illustrates the advent of technology appears as a new frontier for elder abuse. This is illustrated by the perpetrator demanding the pin (personal identification number) to access mobile money from the elderly person’s phone. The case also illustrates the perpetrator as an abuser of drugs which could mean that he is dependent on the elderly. The elderly person is more vulnerable to financial abuse due to advanced age.

4.2.4.3 National Identity Card - potential for financial abuse of the elderly

The Kenya Identity Card is one of the most important legal documents for all Kenyan citizens. The ID has a key role to play in many areas such as security, socio economic issues and is used in the voting process. Theft or unlawful acquisition of identity card can render older adults susceptible to elder abuse. The case below illustrates this potential for elder abuse.

“My son came from where he does casual work. He picked a quarrel with me. He demanded his late father’s Identity Card saying he knows what he wants to do with it. When I refused, he burned my granary and grains worth 20,000 shillings were burned.” (MN, 61 year old widowed female respondent).

In interpreting the case above the demand for the Identity card of the parent by the son could be said he had intent to defraud the elderly person. This is against the Penal Code Cap 63 section 257 of the laws of Kenya. It is possible that the
elderly parent had assets or cash that the son knew of and could access by getting the identity card. The fury that he unleashed on the elderly person after being denied it by burning her grains attests to the fact that knew the importance of acquiring the father’s Identity Card. Thus deprivation of the ID can be for the older adult devastating as much as it is a criminal act.

**4.2.4.4 Financial Abuse Involving Deception**

A unique case of financial abuse which can be seen as fraud visited upon an elderly person by a trusted person was revealed.

“My neighbour’s grandson told me he will help me get documents to visit my children in America. I gave him 30,000 shillings but he never gave me the documents.” VK, 86 year old widowed female respondent.

The case above revealed financial abuse involving fraud of the elderly who have children working and living outside the country. The elderly person is likely supported by her adult children through remittances made by her children, a fact that is known by neighbours. It could be that she has desired to visit them and the possibility that she does not know the process of obtaining legal travel documents makes her trust a neighbours grandson hence made her vulnerable to financial fraud from this trusted neighbour.

**4.2.4.5 Financial abuse and Land Tenure**

Further statements from the data below gave insight into a pattern of financial abuse in the way the elderly were coerced to sign cheques or property transfer
documents and title deeds. Each of the statements reveals a unique strand of financial abuse of the elderly. It can be argued here changing forms of property ownership make the elderly vulnerable to elder abuse. Vengi (2016) showed that new forms of land ownership emerged, one of them being having a title deed for land as opposed to customary law where a man’s word was enough in terms of giving land. This research revealed that this form of land tenure became a risk factor in financial elder abuse. Each of the cases below are unique in lending credence to financial abuse due to land tenure.

“He sold 40 acres of his mother’s land without her knowledge. She came to learn about it when the buyer was bringing the balance of the money.” Key Informant, on the issue of a 74 year widowed woman.

This case could imply that the title deed was acquired fraudulently and used to deprive the elderly person of their land without their knowledge. The Key Informant did not have the details on how the son accessed the title deed, nor how the land transaction was done without the owners consent. This research would suggest for a closer scrutiny of how land transactions are done at the relevant institutions dealing with land, as clearly, from the case above, there are institutional failures that render the elderly vulnerable to financial abuse.

“He took a loan using his mother’s land. He never paid the loan. She was evicted from the land. She now lives with her married daughter in the town.” (Key Informant, on the issue of a widowed 72 year old woman. (NB. The town she went to live in was named but cannot be written here for purposes of confidentiality).
This case shows the importance of a title deed as a collateral for obtaining loans from banks where a title deed is used as security for the loan. Perhaps be the son never intended to pay the loan. But that very action amounted to financial abuse because the mother was rendered homeless. Further interpretation of the above case would be that the mother gave the son the title deed and never thought he would default on the loan.

“‘She changed the title deed of her land to her son’s name. The son sold the land. (Key Informant about the case of an 84 year old female who was dispossessed of her land).’

“I am not poor. I have two sons. One of them is a teacher. My son came home drunk and said we need to go to the advocate to agree to divide land. He sold his piece of land and bought a Mercedes. He says he wants my land before I die’. (participant in FGD 2)"

The interpretation of the above case was that the elderly person did the right thing by passing the land on to her son in the knowledge she would be cared for. By acquiring the title, this gave him absolute ownership of land of which he could rightly sell. But then he forgot his filial obligation to care for his aged mother. His action led to dispossession and elder abuse.

The second strand of financial abuse reveals a respondent who by his admission is well off. Nevertheless her son’s behaviour in buying a luxury car could have fuelled his desire to get more of the land hence wanting to deprive his mother of her land.
In interpreting the data further, it reveals the hedonistic tendencies of the perpetrator who do not value possession of the land as a good thing in itself (*he bought a Mercedes*, a luxury car) but he sold his inheritance to buy luxury goods. This could also mean the young do not value land as much as the elderly do and in depriving the elderly the land, they abuse them.

*I was persuaded to sign documents. I can’t read or write. I put my thumb on it. PK, 91 year old respondent*

The above case could be interpreted that the elderly person of advanced age who had no education suffered financial abuse because of not knowing the implication of putting his thumb print to documents whose implication he did not know hence suffering financial abuse. The case also points to the relationship between low levels of education and advanced age.

“*My step daughter was forcing me to sign a paper for land I own with my co-wife which was left to us by our husband.*” MM, 72 year old respondent.

The above case shows the interplay between ownership of land that is in custody of a widow, the conflict inherent in polygamous marriages in terms of inheritance and the power of possessing of documents pertaining to land. Thus the step daughter could force the step mother to relinquish her land.

“*They divided the land with his brother. His nephew took advantage of his age and sold his land. He does not hear well. He does not know. He was taken from home. He was forced to sign a transfer letter for the land. He did so*...
unknowingly.” (Key Informant, on the case of a 90 year old, widowed elderly man).

The above unique case illustrates the interplay between advanced age of the elderly person, his health status, his gender and his lack of education and the family member wanting the title to the land so much so that he forces him to sign transfer letter for the land thereby depriving him of the power to own land and at the same time committing financial abuse on the elderly person.

“He sold land to me and refused to surrender the title deed. Then he sold it to someone else.” (MV, 67 year old female respondent).

The case above illustrates the import of owning a title deed. It is used to transact land buying and selling. But it also personifies the greed an individual has for wanting to get more money from the same land. The import of it is that the elderly person suffers financial abuse because they do not get the title deed as required in these transactions.

4.2.4.6 Gender and financial abuse

The statements a reveal a trend that both male and female of elderly persons suffer financial abuse. The elderly women of advanced age are the majority who suffer financial abuse. The statements further reveal a trend in manipulation of the elderly into signing documents. It further shows that a lack of education, as evidenced by respondents signing documents using thumb print, and lack of knowledge in the legal process involving sale of land, point to the vulnerability of the elderly to financial abuse. The following statement shows a strand of an a case of advanced age female and financial abuse:
“He is my only son. I gave him the land title. He is my son he can take care of me in my old age.” SKK, 84 year old female respondent.

“This woman was 100 years old. She lived alone. Her grandson tore the iron sheets of the roof of her house, passed through the roof and raped her. The following day she was found lying on the floor dead. The grandson was arrested and imprisoned.” (Participant, FGD 3)

“The woman is 100 years old and has one acre of land. Her son sold the land and he chased his mother away threatening to beat her. She fled to stay with her married daughter in ....”. (FGD 2)

“The children sell property or livestock of their parents. They use their mobile phone to borrow credit without their permission”. (FGD 2)

The above cases reveal various strands of financial abuse of gender, advanced age, financial abuse, sexual abuse and use of technology as form of financial abuse.

The interpretation of the above case shows that the aged female value sons and expect to be cared for by their sons and so entrust them with property. The Power and Control theory can explain this case because the elderly person relinquishes the power they have of owning property with the expectation that they will be taken care of. In this case they render themselves vulnerable to abuse.

On the other hand, the case negates Social Exchange Theory in that the elderly person does not get equal benefits after relinquishing property but instead incurs a cost, because the trust she had invested did not bring a benefit. Instead, it brought about abuse, an unequal exchange which is being deprived of the land and rendered dependent so she had to move away from her home and stay with
her married daughter. The case also could be said to be an indictment of traditional relationship of trust where filial duty was expected of a son to take care of the aged parent.

4.2.4.7 Financial Abuse at family level

The following statements reveal a unique case of elder abuse from a 62 year old widow perpetrated by a member of the family...

(a) “My husband was working with …..company. When he died, his brother went to the company and was given his pension money without my knowledge”

b) “I was in Nairobi. I lost my account book. When I went to withdraw money, I found there was no money. They told me to sign some papers so that they can pay me. I stayed in the bank until 6 p.m. It was then they chased me away. So, I lost 50,000 shillings without knowing. I still keep the account book. If anyone asks for it, I can give them.

(c) “My relatives were forcing me to leave my house and land, but I refused. The chief helped me a lot. The land has no title.” (Statements a, b, and c are from PM, 65 year old widowed respondent).

The brother-in-law went to pick the final dues of her deceased brother from the company. Though the respondent did not reveal whether the brother in law was listed as the next of kin, the interpretation is that he took advantage of the situation to get the dues. Ideally, he should have been the one taking care her as the widow of his deceased brother. It is also possible that the wife of the deceased did not
know her rights as a beneficiary of her deceased husband’s final dues thereby became vulnerable to financial abuse. Her vulnerability could also be attributed to widowhood and the fact that she only had primary education.

The case could also pointed to the nature of a patriarchal society like the Akamba, where men regard employment as their own matter and the woman may never be told what the employment entails and the benefits thereof. Hence the victim of financial abuse did not know the details her husband’s employment.

4.2.4.8 Financial abuse at institutional level

The respondent, though she lost the bank book, did not understand how her money was lost and did not seem to know what action she could take. It also points to institutional failure in the case where the husband was employed not contacting her personally as the beneficiary of her deceased husband’s final dues. Being a widow, it can be inferred that her brother in law could do her no harm.

In the Akamba Community, a brother takes responsibility for the deceased brother’s family matters, becoming the guardian of his property and securing the inheritance for the children (Lindblom, 1963). From the foregoing case, the brother violates the trust traditionally vested on him being the very instrument of financial abuse of his deceased brother’s widow. The above is also a classic example of changing cultural norms where men play an instrumental role geared towards providing for the family. In the above case, the norms have been violated, and an elder widow is a victim of financial abuse.
4.2.4.9 Age of the perpetrator and the victim of financial abuse

The young old suffer financial abuse from coercion while the oldest old suffer financial abuse both from coercion and fraud that is the young old (60-69 years), the old old (70-79 years) and the oldest old (80+ years) and in poor health, are vulnerable to financial abuse.

The following statements reveal the characteristics of perpetrators of financial abuse and the victims of financial abuse in terms of age differential of the perpetrators and advanced age of the victims. The financial abuse perpetrators range in age from teenagers and young adults to middle aged. The statements below show this pattern of age differential.

The perpetrators of financial abuse of the older persons tend to be concerned with both movable property (money, personal goods) as well as immovable property (land in this case). The perpetrators age is not confined to the young ages and it does reveal that personal property and land is the driver of financial abuse. It further reveals the old old respondents who are female are the recipients of abuse both from the younger and older perpetrators, sons and other family members. In all the cases the sons were described as having been drunk.

“My neighbour, damaged the windows of my house, it was an issue of a borrowed ox.” 60 year old female respondent about a neighbour who is 17 years old

“He stole my blankets.” 73 year old female respondent of a son, 28 years old.
“He entered the house through the window and stole my 22,000 shillings. (TK, 79 year old female respondent of a grandson who is 23 years old).

53 year old son who armed himself with a stick threatened to beat his 78 year old mother after damaging the glass panes of her house.

57 year old son, who armed himself with a panga (machete) threatened his 84 year old mother and damaged her household goods. (JM, female respondent.)

A sociologically relevant issue in the above cases may also be the case that most of the financially abused are females of advanced age and their abusers are mostly male. This then gives a gender dimension in financial abuse. Thus older women may be seen as vulnerable and helpless, compared to men. It also interesting that older perpetrators use violence even as they damage the older persons property while the younger ones used methods of breaking in.

4.2.4.10 Violence intertwined with financial abuse

The case below illustrates violence on the elderly person by the perpetrator that precedes financial abuse. The family strife consists of violence intertwined with financial abuse and meted out on the elderly person.

“My son came home shouting and threatening abusive words. He beat me on the head with his fists. He broke the windows of my house and with the wood ran towards me”. (AK, 73 year old female respondent, has seven children and grandchildren)
4.2.4.11 Polygamous marriage and financial abuse

SA is a 63 year old widowed female respondent who is the second wife in a polygamous marriage. SA owns rental houses. The rental houses are a contentious property. “My step children want to take the property.” she said. The children claim that I got more of their late father’s property than their own mother and hence they are entitled to collect the rent from the property.

In interpreting the above case, polygamous marriage brings rivalry and exacerbates family strife even when property was divided. This happens if one of the wives is perceived to have favoured by the dead spouse hence in the above case leading to financial abuse.

4.2.5 Sexual Abuse

Table 4.26 Dimensions of Sexual Abuse experienced by older people

The table below used the questionnaire to document another form of abuse namely sexual abuse.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensions of Sexual harassment</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talked to you in a sexual way that made you feel</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feel uncomfortable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Touched you in a sexual way that made you feel</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feel uncomfortable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had sexual intercourse with you against your will</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Showed you pornographic material against</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.025</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data in the above table reveals that 8 (2.53%) of the respondents suffered sexual abuse ranging from being spoken to in a sexual way 5(1.6%), to being inappropriately touched 2(0.6%) and actual sexual inter course against ones will 2(0.6%), to being shown pornographic material 1(0.3%).

In interpreting the above data, sexual abuse cases are the least unveiled in the research in relation to the total sample of the respondents interviewed, a pointer to the fact that sexual abuse among the elderly does actually happen. Being talked to in a sexual way is the form of abuse with the highest occurrence with neighbours, who are most likely known to the elderly person, committing this offence. The two cases of serious forms of sexual abuse, which include rape, are committed by neighbours and/or a family member.

The researcher contends this data on rape is sensitive and believe that some respondents might have hidden this kind of information. For those who volunteered the information on sexual abuse, circumstances require further studies for family social relations and psychological support from Machakos County Social Services.

The following statements iners the contexts in which the sexual abuse of the elderly took place:

“He asked me to go to the shops with him. He was touching me.”

FKN, 69 year old female respondent.

“I was coming from the shop at night and I met my neighbour who forced me to have sex with him. I just found myself on the ground. I never reported
or talked to anybody about it” BMM, 69 year old respondent

“He came to visit me and forced me and raped me”. (KT, 86 year old female respondent.

( The neighbour was a 14 year old whom she described as never having gone to school and from a poor family).

“My grandson, who is 22 years old, came to visit me. He is my “husband”. He came to my bed at night and forced me to have sex. (NZK, 74 year old female respondent).

The above four cases illuminate the characteristics of the perpetrators, as young males and family members as well as neighbours. The average age of their victims was 74.5 years, the category of the old old. The contexts in which sexual abuse took place were the homes of the elderly and the neighbourhood probably an isolated place. The first case illustrates sexual abuse taking place in the course of interactions with the elderly person. The second case illustrates forced rape/forced sex without consent from a person known to the elderly person.

The third case depicts a young person known to the elderly person who might have visited many other times and whom we can infer as a neighbour. He was trusted but actually raped the elderly person in her own house.

The fourth case stands out because it was interpreted in the context of “joking relationships”. In Sociology and Anthropology, regarding joking relationships, two individuals or groups have relationship characterized by an interaction that
involves free verbal or physical interaction. This can be characterized by teasing, chastisement, verbal abuse, sexual ribaldry or horseplay.

In the case quoted above, the joking relationship is between two people of different generations, grandmother and grandson. Among the Akamba, grandsons have a joking relationship with their grandmothers where the grandsons are teased by their grandmothers as their “husband” (muume wakwa). It was never meant to be an actual husband with conjugal rights. In the light of this, the elderly person viewed the act as rape as narrated in the interview with the researcher.

The fourth case stands out because the young man is not actually her husband. It illustrated what happened when “joking relationships” were taken literally. The grandson in the context of joking relationships is her “husband”. Since he is referred as a “husband” he took the relationship literally and actually raped her. To him, he was the “husband”. In this case, custom ends up making the elderly person vulnerable to sexual abuse. The case also shows the erosion of cultural norms that define “joking relationships”.

The foregoing then shows that elder women of advanced age are at risk of sexual abuse. The fact that their abusers are young males, who are strong and the victims, to infer, are weak. The data shows that the elderly are likely to suffer sexual abuse from persons known and trusted by them the majority being neighbours and close family members.
4.2.6 Pattern of Sexual Abuse amongst the Elderly

4.2.6.1 Age of the Perpetrator

The first two cases did not mention the age of the perpetrator. But the other case shows extremely young age of the perpetrator, one a teenager and the other a young adult, 14 and 22 years respectively. The victim described the 14 year old as a person who was not going to school and from a poor background. It could be inferred that the teenager interacted with her frequently, being a neighbour, and she was providing him some form of assistance. It was then not unusual for him to come to her house. In this case, he raped her.

The act of rape is criminal in law. But then again in the context of this study, it shows an erosion of culture that revered the old.

4.2.6.2 Age of the Victim

The respondents who experienced sexual abuse were increasingly of higher age bracket ranging the ranging between 69-86 years of age. This shows increase in age laid the women vulnerable to sexual abuse.

4.2.6.3 Gender of the Victim

The data showed women were the ones who got sexually abused. No case of male sexual abuse was reported in the population sample studied. The data also raises the gender issue. It may also be the case that elderly men have been victims of sexual abuse but will not report. This has to do with esteem and cultural notions of masculinity where men are supposed to be stoic, aggressive and as the impregnator of women (Gilmore, 1990). Gilmore further describes masculinity
as “the approved way of being an adult male in any given society”. Therefore, in the context of this research, it was improbable that men could report being victims of sexual abuse.

4.2.6.4 Isolation, advanced age and vulnerability to Sexual Abuse

The case narrated here reveals sexual abuse of the elderly exists in the case of the woman who was of an advanced age, what is categorized as the oldest old, living alone and taken advantage of by a close relative. The shock of this killed her. In the one-on-one interviews, the researcher unveiled sexual abuse among this category of the elderly. In most cases, they were raped in their households.

“If the person lives alone and they have money they can be raped”.
(FGD 2)

4.2.7 Neglect

Neglect in the context of this research will be seen to be a result of another person failing to meet the physical and emotional needs of another person in this case an elderly person. Active neglect in the research was the actual behaviour and passive neglect was not availing ones presence to interact with the elderly person which caused the elderly person emotional distress.
The researcher explored the aspect of neglect of the elderly people as an aspect of elder abuse. The data showed that 20(6.3%) said they were neglected by being left alone for a long time when they needed help; 13(4.1%) said they were denied food, water and comfortable clothing while 12(3.8%) said they were not treated when ill; 6(1.9%) and 2(0.6%) were left unwashed and not given medication respectively. The data reveals an average of 10(3.25%) elderly people suffer neglect. The majority who suffer neglect are male.
The following particular cases were interviewed at length and thus revealed the nature of the neglect, the characteristic of the neglected person, the reasons for neglect, the perception of the respondent on the nature of neglect, the power of the clan to compel, and the role of the church as social structures that gives intervention in elder abuse such as neglect.

**Case 1:** SMM is an 83 year old retired army officer, is widowed and has 10 children, who were described as well educated, and receives a pension. He owns land and lives alone in a homestead with other three houses belonging to the sons who only use the houses on the rare occasion that they visit.

The homestead, the researcher observed, was very beautiful and was surrounded by fruit trees. He described his health as very good and got food which was made by the caretaker. He told this researcher that he got his pension every month. The researcher observed that he was not very effusive with answers to the research questions posed to him and actually dismissed the researcher. The researcher observed he was very clean, his clothes were not tattered and he was in good health.

The details of his neglect were given by the Key Informant. The Key Informant said the children are well off and do not visit since their mother died. The key Informant said that when he was in the army, he was away most times and could be the children do not feel any obligation towards him because they had spent most of the time with their mother.
The case illustrates a respondent who is not in want materially. But the fact that his children rarely visited was perceived by him as neglect. Even though he was away most times during his army days, clearly, he was able to take care of his children’s educational needs. This then meant that he never formed a close bond with them and consequently, it could be construed they do not feel an overwhelming need to visit him now that their mother, his wife, is dead. This case further reveals that it is not enough to have enough material goods, but the most important in the mental health of the elderly would be close emotional bonds.

**Case 2:** FW, 86 year old female respondent living alone who has been abandoned by her children who lived elsewhere and never visited her. She viewed their moving away and not communicating with her as neglect.

The adult children have moved away and bought land elsewhere but do not visit or call their mother on phone. This also shows both physical and emotional neglect. The respondent did not state clearly why the children do not stay with her. The researcher observed that though very old, she worked in her farm daily and there was a healthy crop of maize, beans and other legumes. She did not indicate she lacked food.

**Case 3:** DM retired 75 year old respondent who received a one-off as pension. He has five children. He lives with his spouse and three of his adult children in the same homestead. He has land but does not cultivate it. His children cultivate it. They demand money from him which he does not have. They do not give him food or even wash his clothes. He describes his health as very poor. His spouse
and children abuse him telling him he should go and work. It was reported to the clan who told them to give him food, at the very least.

The above case illustrates active and emotional abuse in terms of provision for his physical needs and taunts from his spouse and children. When he no longer had an income, he was vulnerable to elder abuse. The fact that it is the family who taunt him would be an inference that there existed strained family relations. The wife and daughters were reported to the clan and the clan compelled them to give him food. This power of the clan to compel the wife of the man to give him provisions arise from the entrenched belief among the Akamba tribe that to refuse to give a husband food brings a curse to the woman and her children. This arises from the belief that whatever mistake the head of the household had done, he is should never be denied food, as related by FGD 2.

**Case 4:** MN is an 84 year old, widowed male respondent and has five children. He practices divination and is the secretary to the clan and the community funeral welfare group. He owns a one and half acre piece of land. He says he is not able to farm. He describes his health as poor which the researcher observed was true. His clothes are tattered. He looks unwashed. He also looks weak. He is living in a one room house built for him by the church. He says he scavenges food from the market. Sometimes he is given food by his sister in law, the younger brother’s wife but not always. He says his sons have deserted him and do not visit, neither do they take him to hospital when sick.
He said to the researcher:

“My son said he will come home when I am dead.”

Ironically, the younger brother who is 74 years old, who lives in the same compound is well off. The researcher observed that the younger brother has a nice house, keeps poultry and his farm has a healthy crop of maize, beans and other legumes and a variety of fruit trees. It was this younger brother’s wife who gave him food. The above cases illustrate what the respondents perceived as neglect and points to various strands of neglect.

The fourth case illustrates physical and emotional neglect of the elderly person. He told the researcher if his wife were alive, he would not be suffering. Neglect here is in the form of not getting food, clothing, and no treatment when ill and depending on his younger brother to give him food which he often did not get. The neglect then arises out of his particular circumstances: advanced in age, widowed, very little income, frail, and no support from sons, living alone in the household but ironically very connected to the community from his role as a leader of burial welfare group. The researcher did not establish why the son had such strong negative feelings towards his father by saying that he will only come home when he was dead for the respondent was not willing to reveal the details of their relationship nor why he got no support from him but this could point to deeper family problems.

The above case also points to syncretism as a coping mechanism to elder abuse. Syncretism is defined as “the amalgamation or attempted amalgamation of different religious cultures or schools of thought”. The respondent practiced
divination which he said was work yet it is the Christian church that builds him a house to alleviate his destitution.

The respondent’s involvement in leadership position showed how he was connected to social networks. This dimension of inclusiveness creates social capital. How people are connected to social networks and the implication these have on “norms of reciprocity” (Livessey, 2014). Because of these norms of reciprocity (co-operation, trust) the church then, was an effective institution in using power of social capital, it could be inferred, as a tool for alleviating neglect as a form of elder abuse as evidenced by them building him a house.

Table 4.28 People responsible for Neglect towards older people

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perpetrators of neglect</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brother</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister in law</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter in law</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>20.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caretaker</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My wife</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>60</strong></td>
<td><strong>18.93</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The above data reveals that the 20(20.83%) of those who neglect the elderly are the sons, followed by daughters-in-law 16(16.67%), daughter 6(6.25%) and other family members. The study confirms Kioli (2013) study that members of the family neglect the elderly especially daughters in law. But this study points overwhelmingly to sons as the ones who neglect.

In interpreting the above data, sons neglect their elderly parents, closely followed by the daughter-in-law and the other members of the family. There is a generational understanding that when a woman is married in a home, one of her duties is to take care of the parents-in-law. If she neglects them, this is also a reflection of neglect on the part of the sons whose filial duty it is to take care of their elderly parents. So the neglect by the sons is closely intertwined with that of the daughters-in-law who of course in all the cases are their spouses. The case below aptly illustrates this point

“M is 91 years old. His wife died. He has five sons and one acre of land. Daughter in law refuses to neither fetch water nor wash his clothes and she calls herself a pastor. He is told he is eating and yet he just sits and does nothing. Even when he is sick, he is not asked how he is feeling.” (Participant in FGD 2)

### 4.3 Reasons For Elder Abuse

The second objective of the study explored the reasons for elder abuse in Machakos County. The research data was analysed for reasons why the elderly experienced physical, psychological, financial, sexual abuse and neglect. The table below shows the proportion of the reasons for elder abuse for each form of
abuse across the sample of the respondents interviewed. Each reason is further
analysed by using actual cases from the data that reason for the abuse illustrates.

Table 4.29 Reasons for Elder Abuse across all forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for Abuse</th>
<th>Forms of Abuse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Physical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Strife</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Issues</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perpetrator Under Influence of Drugs</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coercion &amp; Fraud</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Familiarity with the Perpetrator</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violation of Cultural Norms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficult Actions by the Elderly Person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.1 Family Strife

Table 4.29 above shows that except for sexual abuse, Family Strife contribute the
critical reason for elder abuse (64.66%) while land issues (57.72%) is the second
critical reason for elder abuse, while 14.19% of cases were under the influence
of drugs across physical, psychological and financial abuse; while 0.3% of the perpetrators of sexual abuse were known to their victim and 0.6% of the respondents experienced abuse because of their own actions.

Family Strife emerged as the major reason. Data showed that the strife was intertwined with land issues, abuse of drugs by the perpetrator and the tensions emanating from the family. The abuse cut across all categories of the elderly even those with who had high income as revealed by the following statements from the elderly respondents. The cases reveal the interface variables of family interaction, issues of inheritance, the elderly person’s socioeconomic status and failure to divide land.

“He claimed I had cursed his child and slapped me”. (Mother slapped by her son)

“My husband said I was having an affair with another man”

“He was beating his wife, I intervened. He insulted me and took a bow and arrows to shoot at me”. (NMN, 79 year old female respondent).

“My son was insulting his mother telling her she made his wife go away. When I tried to stop him he threatened me with a rungu “(club)

I was trying to counsel in matters concerning our family but she got annoyed and called me a witch.” (GW, female respondent, 74 years old.)

“My co wife’s son was asking when I would die”. (DK 65 year old widowed female respondent.)
“My son has given me trouble. He is my only son and I live with him. He is a criminal. He was in jail. He comes home at night, breaks the windows of the house. The other day, He urinated on the seats while the children were watching. He once burned my house. He gets drunk and I have to pay for it. I am considering giving my land to my grandchildren”. (EM, 85 year old widowed male respondent who is quite wealthy with a monthly income of over 10000 shillings plus assets.)

“He demanded that I subdivide the land. I said that he should go and buy his since I had worked for mine”. (SDK, female respondent, 70 years old).

“He wanted money from the proceeds of the land I had sold”. I could not give him because he does not help me”. KK 89 year old female respondent.

“They want me to give them the rental houses my dead husband left me”. (FN, 60 year old widowed female respondent in a polygamous marriage)

“My eldest son insults me continuously. He fenced my land without my permission. He is bullying his brother’s. He called me Satan, I was very unhappy.” (MM, 87 year old male respondent.)

The data revealed that family strife as a result of interactions within the family. Leach (1967) arguing from Critical Theory perspective, argued that “the close-knit family group is a source of social and psychological conflicts that damages peoples lives”. The statements highlight the ‘darker social and psychological’ side to family life (Laing and Easterson,1970). The “dark side” here is revealed by what the actors do and say, namely shouting, getting annoyed and desiring one’s property interface to bring about elder abuse in several forms: physical, psychological and financial abuse which would be the damage in this case.
In interpreting the data in the foregoing cases, family strife is manifested when a mother is accused of pronouncing a curse. Lindblom (1963) elucidates situations in which a mother or father could curse for example, due to disobedience by the children. Family strife is further exacerbated by a son’s criminal behaviour and disrespect to the extent the elderly person considers not giving his son land. Lindblom contents that such behaviour could have elicited a curse from the father.

Further interpretation reveal the inherent conflict in marriages. The co wife’s son in a polygamous marriage would wish the other one dead. There could be many reasons for this conflict but going from previous data in this study, the contention could be due to land.

4.3.1.1 Multifaceted Nature of Family Strife and Elder Abuse

The multifaceted nature of family strife can aptly be illustrated by the following narration from a Key Informant about a case he had handled of a 90 year old female.

She is blind. She is widowed. She has two children one of them a retired teacher. She stays with her daughter-in-law. She is the registered owner of the land. The clan subdivided the land among the children. The children did not want to follow the legal channel, they preferred to consult the clan. When the clan divided the land, the retired teacher who has problems with his own children divided his portion among his children. He forced his mother to sign land transfer documents. But the mother had cursed him. When the retired teacher was young he found his mother with another man in bed and he cut her bed into pieces. The mother was widowed when she was very young.”
The above case reveal an interface of many factors in the family setting that illustrated the multifaceted nature of family strife as a reason for elder abuse.

Several interconnected variables emerge from this one case:

**Heath status of the elderly**: She is blind and she was taken advantage by being forced to sign documents for her land.

**Nature of employment**: (retired teacher)

**Living Arrangement**: (Lives with daughter in law)

**Power of clan**: (to help divide land)

**Long standing family conflict**: She had cursed her son.

**Financial Abuse**: The son forced mother to sign land transfer document of her own portion of land. Since she was blind, he took advantage of her health condition.
Table 4.30 Gender of respondent and Physical abuse toward elderly people

The below Table 4.30 illustrates the key variable gender and the experience of physical abuse.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensions of Physical Abuse</th>
<th>Gender of the Respondent</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beating</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arm Twisting</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choking</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kicking</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened with knife, or a panga</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened to kill you</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punching</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biting</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slapping</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slammed you against a wall</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Chi-Square</td>
<td>11.976</td>
<td>df=10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table illustrates that more elderly females were likely to experience elder abuse than the males. The calculated Chi –square value 0.287<p 0.05. This was significant in that gender was a factor in the experience of elder abuse. The case under analysis then shows that being an elderly woman, she was more likely to experience abuse. The results are in tandem with Yeung(2015) that gender is an important factor associated with elder abuse and with Acierno (2007) that elderly women are more likely to experience elder abuse.
4.3.1.2 Age of Respondent and Abuse

The case under analysis shows the elderly woman was at an advanced in the category of the oldest old (90 years). Table 4.35 below shows a comparison of the age of the respondent and experience of elder abuse in the population studied.

Table 4.31 Age of respondent and Physical abuse toward elderly people

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensions of Physical Abuse</th>
<th>Age of the Respondent</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>70-79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beating</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arm Twisting</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choking</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kicking</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened with knife, or a panga</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened to kill you</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushing</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punching</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biting</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slapping</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slammed you against a wall</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of the respondents (52) were in the category of the young old 60-69; while 47 were in the category of the old old (70-79). The category of the oldest old is 80 years and above with 33 being 80-89 and 7 in the category of 90-99, with 1 case in the category of 100-109 years. The calculated Chi-square 0.455<.05 was significant. The implication is age as a factor in elder abuse. In the
case being analysed, gender (Table 4.31), combined with advanced age render the elderly person vulnerable to financial elder abuse.

The son could have wanted the mother’s piece of land for himself because she is of advanced age and maybe he was thinking she did not have long to live and because the son was retired, her portion of land could cushion him in his retirement. The case also illustrated the aspect of living for long –something viewed as a blessing, in that there are two elderly persons over 60 years of age in a family whose interests clearly differ.

4.3.1.3 The Curse of a Mother

The mother had cursed her son after he cut her bed into pieces when he found her in the bed with another man. The action of cutting the bed is a serious offence and made the mother curse him. This shows long standing bad feelings between mother and son because, in a sense, the son had seen his mother’s nakedness, which in itself is a curse among the Akamba.

4.3.1.4 Vulnerability of being widowed young:

Had the mother not been found with another man, the son would not have cut up her bed, she would not have cursed him and a long standing curse would not have caused her to suffer financial abuse in the latter part of her life.

In interpreting the data, family strife has been identified as a reason for elder abuse. In the case described above, a long standing family strife in the form of a curse is perceived to be the reason why the mother is always at logger heads with her son. The case here was a son who is in the category of the young old, whose
mother is in the category of the oldest old and because he needed to give his sons land, then he tried to dispossess his mother. Land and the curse are important issues in this particular case of psychological and financial abuse.

During the research, cases were found where the elderly person brought abuse upon themselves. A case is recorded where NM aged 68 and the eldest son has been selling land, thereby dispossessing his siblings and in trying to block him, there has been a long standing family dispute. Among the Kamba the eldest son takes some of the responsibilities of the father but in this case, he is the very person who disinheriting his siblings. The data revealed family strife itself does not stand alone as a reason for elder abuse, but family strife is interfaced with other reasons like issues of land, financial abuse, and issues of inheritance.

An important revelation of the above case is that the indigenous systems of dispute resolution (the clan’s power to arbitrate and resolve land disputes) could have “collapsed” or weakened and overtaken by a new form of land tenure: the possession of a title deed which becomes a source of financial abuse of the elderly. Vengi (2016) contention that ‘customary law was held in ransom by modern laws of land and its security’ point to this “collapse”.

4.3.1.5 Elder Persons interactions with family members, the increase and decrease in interaction with others, fomenting of family strife and elder abuse

The research revealed family strife and elder abuse link with differential interaction with adult children by the elderly parents. The researcher sought to know how LMM interacted with her adult children after she revealed in the course
of the interview that her eldest son insulted her many times and does not support her and her husband. The researcher sought to know how LMM 81 year old female respondent who had ten children interacted with her other adult children from the first born to the last born as shown in the following narration from her:

The first born daughter aged 57 is working, has a university education, but is not married: she gives her money every month, pays for her diabetes medication and visits every month and calls her on phone at least three times a week.

The second born son aged 56, has a university education, is married and working. He is detached, antagonizes the elderly parents. He visits occasionally. He gives her financial help occasionally if at all. She described her relationship with him as strained. Says he abuses her as well as his elderly father who is 87 years old.

The third born son is 54 years old, divorced and working. He visits every weekend, avails her financial help, pays the caretaker, phone calls almost daily, provides food as well as livestock to enable ploughing and to provide milk, has employed security guard for her, wards off abusive grandchildren and daughter-in-law.

The fourth born daughter, 52 years old widowed and living with her family. She occasionally calls her on phone but neither provides financial help nor visits. She derives income from rental houses her husband left her.

The fifth born son, 50 years old, working, divorced and remarried. The children of the first wife are being taken care of by the elderly female respondent. He gives her financial help but not all the time. She describes the relationship with him as
strained. She says he once called her a witch and he claims that she does not like him but treats others differently. His children who live with her and whom she takes care of, abuse her and steal things from her including stealing her livestock and calling her a witch.

The sixth born daughter 49 years old, divorced, doing casual jobs. She occasionally calls her on phone and occasionally visits.

The seventh born daughter, 46 years old, divorced, running a business. She occasionally calls her on phone, and she hardly visits.

The eighth born daughter, 45 years old, married, runs a business. She gives her financial help on a monthly basis, and calls her on phone almost daily. The elderly mother visits her and she can stay with her and her family for a month.

The ninth born son, 40 years old lives with his family in an urban area. Their relationship is cordial. He calls her and occasionally offers financial help but she said his wife once slapped her and called her a witch. The other sons chased her from home but they reunited and now live in an urban area.

The tenth born daughter 35 years old, married and lives with her family in an urban area, is employed and runs a business as well. She supports her by buying clothes, food, pays for medical bills, pays the house help, frequently calls her and provides financial help. She described their relationship as very close.

In interpreting the above case, the elderly person has differential interaction and relationships with all the adult children. It is clear that she has a very close relationship with the first, third, seventh and tenth born and not a very strong
relationship with others. The first born son psychologically abuses her. It was not very clear from the research why the first born does so as she declined to give reasons for this. (NB: He is not exactly the first born child but since he was the first son to be born to the couple, he is regarded as the first born son).

Schiamberg, et al (2012) contends that family relations may play an important role in physical abuse and even dysfunctional family relations as well as ongoing discord in the family created by the older person’s presence. Sometimes the abuse is a continuation of a long-standing pattern of physical and emotional abuse. This could be the case why the above elderly person increased her relation with some of the adult children and decreased her relation with others fomenting family strife which it could be inferred arose from sibling rivalry, ultimately leading to psychological abuse of this elderly parent.

Social Exchange Theory, can explain differential interaction between the elderly and the adult children. The exchange is for the elderly, emotional and for the adult children, altruistic, because the adult children have their own resources. Therefore on their part, it can be seen as filial duty to care for elderly parents. The power the elderly person holds over the children is social power. The adult children may fear a curse.

The power of the curse is only held by mother and father (Lindblom, 1963, Ndambuki (2010). Use of Bourdieu’s notion of symbolic power described as “invisible power” which presupposes a kind of “active complicity” on the part of those subjected to it can be used here to emphasise the potency of the power
of a curse held by mother. This statement from the elderly persons in FGD 1 illustrates this social power:

“Asyai maku niukumania indi we ndumaumania.”
“Your parents can curse you but you cannot curse them.”

This is further explained by the Social Exchange Theory which posits that individuals who may possess greater resources that provide advantage in the social exchange. Hence the filial duty of adult children to care for parents because the parents possess this “resource” – the power to curse, while the children do not. The data though, does not fully explain why the adult children who do not have greater interaction with their elderly parent and the one who abuses emotionally do not fear the power of a curse. The elderly person declined to discuss the circumstances of her relationship with the abusive son even with the researcher’s probing.

The above case may also allude to the issue of having a large family, a norm in this community, may result in differential attention given to each of the children. Each child seeking attention from the parent may breed jealousy, probably resulting in differential treatment of the elderly as the above unique case reveals. It can also be inferred from the data that this differential interaction and treatment caused family strife which led to elder abuse.

4.3.2 Land

Land emerged as the second major reason for elder abuse across physical, psychological and financial abuse and as depicted in Table 4.21. The following
statements from the respondents reinforce this fact and they are some of the representative statements. These statements reveal a complex web of reasons for ownership of land which lead to abuse of the elderly. Land is the central issue here but different strands of abuse are illustrated by each unique case.

These reasons reveal an elderly person who has not divided his land among his adult son(s), sons from a previous marriage, whom custom demands can inherit land, adult sons wanting to be given and land that has not been divided and unmarried and widowed women being dispossessed of land because among the Akamba, women do not inherit land (Vengi, 2016)

“He found people on his land. Upon inquiring what they were doing on his land he was, he was beaten. He had not divided the land” MM 72 year old male respondent.

“My brother told me to move from where I live. He claimed that I had no land since I had sold my portion after our father divided the land among us” MK, 73 year old male respondent.

“There was a quarrel about the land. My son armed himself with a piece of wood that had a nail and hit me. I collapsed bleeding”

“We were quarrelling about dividing our ancestral land because now my grown children want it. My brother-in-law wants the land left by my dead husband”.

“My brothers in law want the land my father-in-law left me. They say I have I was given a bigger portion. But he gave me a bigger portion because I took care for him. The clan ruled that they cannot take the land because it’s legally mine because I
took care of my father-in-law”. (KK, 93 year old widowed respondent)

“My son picked a panga and an axe to cut me into pieces. He lives in the same compound as me and has refused to move to where he was allocated land”

“The first wife kept the title deed of the land saying that the land is hers. The first wife has no children but the second wife has four children. The second wife and her children are demanding to be given land (Statement from Key Informant in relation to a 72 year old abused woman)

“The sons of my co-wife want the land. My stepson had come to demand the title deed for the land”. (NK, 81 old female respondent who is the senior wife in a polygamous marriage)

In interpreting the data, the elderly are at a risk of abuse because of possessing land which the sons need. The Power and Control Theory can explain this phenomenon because, by holding on to the land and not subdividing it, the elderly hold economic power and hence becomes a reason of physical abuse. Holding on to land which the sons want can also be explained by the fact that the elderly person may not want to have nothing to fall back to if they needed financial help and become dependent as some had stated earlier that they sell a part of their land if they needed finances.

In further interpretation of the land as a reason for elder abuse, polygamous marriages contributed to the physical abuse of the elderly women because of abuse by step children where land is co-owned but the senior wife has more say
in the ownership of the land in this case the stepsons turn against the woman who is not their biological mother. Being in a polygamous marriage and being childless revealed a reason for physical abuse because the senior wife has authority over land but the second wife who has children would claim land for her children.

Data also reveals that being single, widowed, advanced in age and possessing land was also a factor for physical abuse for the elderly women for having been a beneficiary in the subdividing of the land.

Data showed that an elderly person can precipitate his own abuse because of the way he handles the land issue. This is aptly illustrated by the following narration from Key Informant who handled the case:

*The old man has 20 acres of land. He has 8 children. They do casual jobs. The land is ancestral land. He does not want his children to use the land. One son bought land from him without the consent of the family. The old man wants the land back. He does not want to divide it”*

Power and Control Theory explains the import of the above statement in that the elderly person having sold the land ceded his power in terms of ownership of land. Also this case revealed that differential treatment of the family by the elderly person brings his own abuse by the adult children.

4.4 Factors Predisposing the Elderly Persons to Elder Abuse

The third objective of the research was to investigate the factors predisposing the elderly to elder abuse. The research data revealed factors that predisposed the
elderly persons to physical, psychological, financial, sexual abuse and neglect. The following predisposing factors were identified:

4.4.1 Ownership of Land and its Non-division

The table 4.36 below shows the respondents who experienced physical abuse and owned land.

Table 4.32 Land ownership and Physical abuse toward elderly people

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Physical Abuse</th>
<th>Do you own land or do farming</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beating</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arm Twisting</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choking</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kicking</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened with knife, or a panga (machete)</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened to kill you</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punching</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biting</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slapping</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slammed you against a wall</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>139</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Chi-Square</td>
<td>7.481&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt; df=10 sig=0.67936</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In analysing the responses, in total, 134 respondents experienced physical abuse and also owned land. The majority of these (53) experienced the most serious aspect of physical abuse, the threat to kill. Having land was revealed to predispose the elderly persons to elder abuse. The p 0.67936 < p 0.05 showing that ownership of land is a significant as a predisposing factor of elder abuse.
Power and Control Theory can explain land as a predisposing factor in elder abuse. Elderly men have property rights and control in regard to land (Vengi, 2016). When land remains in the hands of the elderly male, they use it to control family members as a leverage against being destitute or being mistreated. This possession of the land predisposes them to elder abuse when the sons want it and the elderly divided it and gave them their inheritance.

**Table 4.33 Land ownership and Psychological abuse toward elderly people**

The data in Table 4.33 below demonstrates the experience of psychological abuse and ownership of land.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Psychological abuse</th>
<th>Do you own land or do farming</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shouted at you</td>
<td>Yes 65</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 95.6%</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Called a witch</td>
<td>N 35</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 89.7%</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wished death</td>
<td>N 17</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 77.3%</td>
<td>22.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can do anything and no one can stop them</td>
<td>N 10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 100.0%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened to hit you or throw something at you</td>
<td>N 9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 90.0%</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destroyed something</td>
<td>N 23</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 92.0%</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened to be taken to old peoples home</td>
<td>N 2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 100.0%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>N 161</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 91.5%</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Chi-Square</td>
<td>8.473</td>
<td>df=6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A total of 161 respondents experienced psychological abuse because of the owning land. The majority 65(95.6%) were shouted at while 35 (85.7%) were called a witch. Another 17(77.7%) were wished death. Of these 10(100%), 9(90%) and 2(100%) were threatened that they could be done anything, threatened to be hit and threatened to be taken to an old people’s home respectively. The p .205 < 0.05 means that it is not significant.

### 4.23 Land ownership and financial abuse of elderly people

The table below shows the aspect of land ownership and financial abuse towards the elderly.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Financial Abuse</th>
<th>Do you own land</th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stealing money or possessions</td>
<td>N 63</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 90.0%</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced you to sign a cheque or property transfer document against your will</td>
<td>N 4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 80.0%</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced you to give money or possessions to them</td>
<td>N 7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 77.8%</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced you to give them title deeds for your land or house</td>
<td>N 4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 100.0%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Took your money without your knowledge</td>
<td>N 8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 100.0%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced you to buy things you felt you did not need</td>
<td>N 1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 100.0%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>N 87</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 89.7%</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Chi-Square</td>
<td>3.391</td>
<td>df=5</td>
<td>sig=0.639</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The table shows that 87 respondents who owned land experienced financial abuse. The majority 63(90%) had their possessions stolen while 4(80%) were forced to sign a cheque or property transfer document; of these 7(77.8%) were forced to give money or possessions and 4(100%) were forced to give title deeds for the land. Another 87(100%), 1(100%) had their money stolen and forced to buy things respectively. The calculated Chi-square value was 0.639 < p 0.05. That means ownership of land was a significant factor in the financial abuse of the elderly persons. The following unique cases were selected to reveal unique strands of land ownership which predisposed the elderly to abuse.

NK aged 94, widowed female respondent and lives with her five grandchildren out of whom one is disabled. Her children want to take the land without her permission. They have been abusing her. They are against the daughter thinking she will take the land.

The above case reveals three aspects of the respondent that predispose her to financial abuse: ownership of land, being female, widowed and being of advanced and as a carer for grandchildren dependent on her. The case further reveals that the conflict that ensued was because of the perception that the daughter wanted to take land. Women were not allowed to own land.

“**My brothers in law want to take my land. My land is three acres. I was given the land by my father-in-law. I am the one who cared for him. My brothers in law are claiming that I was given the biggest portion. The clan intervened and clarified the matter of what took place and ruled that I was given the land legally because I cared for my father in law**”. (KK, 93 years old female respondent)
“The land is in our father’s name. Our eldest brother changed the title deed of the land and sold it. He bought a vehicle. We don’t know where he got the title deed from so he could change it.” (MN, 61 year old male respondent and a retired teacher)

“My son refused to relocate to the land he was given by my late husband. He stays in the same compound with me. He picked an axe and threatened to kill me.” (KM, 75 year old female respondent)

In interpreting the above unique strands of how land ownership predisposed the elderly to abuse, in the first case, land has not been divided among the adult children. Hence her power and authority in holding the land is challenged because the sons want to use the land without her permission.

She is therefore predisposed to elder abuse for having land and not having divided it. The second thing is fear of the daughter being given the land. Land ownership is male dominated in the Akamba community. These acts predisposed her to elder abuse.

In the second case, land was divided, but the contention is unequal distribution. The power of an elderly man to gift land to his daughter in law because she had cared for him comes into play here. However, it is in this very act that the elderly man predisposed her to elder abuse in later life as is happening when she is 93 years old. Further analysis of case two reveals the power of the clan in matters concerning land division where they had knowledge of what took place and why the lady got a bigger portion of land. The clan served a counter measure role in
upholding the decision of the father in law thereby, it can be inferred the elder abuse was reduced.

In the third case, an elderly person had passed on without dividing the land, ownership of the land was his because the title was still in his name. The lack of sub-division predisposed his other children to financial abuse. The eldest son, who among the Akamba community, is vested with more power, does not live up to his responsibility and dispossesses his siblings by selling off the land. Ideally, he should have, as the first born, divided it amongst the children...

The fourth case shows a unique strand of land ownership and division thereof. Land was divided; the son refusing to relocate to his own land predisposes the elderly to abuse. It is possible that the son refused to relocate to his own piece of land because he could have been harbouring the notion that he could inherit his mother’s piece of land.
4.4.2 Gender and abuse of the elderly

Table 4.35 Physical abuse and Gender

The table below shows gender differences and elderly physical abuse

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensions of Physical Abuse</th>
<th>Gender of the Respondent</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beating</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arm Twisting</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choking</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kicking</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened with knife, or a panga (machete)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened to kill you</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punching</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biting</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slapping</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slammed you against a wall</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Chi-Square</td>
<td>11.976</td>
<td>df=10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table shows that more females (78) than males (62) experienced physical abuse. It further reveals more females than males experienced serious forms of physical abuse - threat to kill, threatened with a knife or a panga (machete) and beating. The calculated Chi square 0.287 <p 0.05 was significant.

Pillemer, et al (2016) found physical abuse as the most prevalent form of elder abuse. The data shows physical abuse as the most experienced form of abuse with females experiencing more of it. Interpreting the data from a feminist
perspective, it can be inferred that issues of power and control predispose the elderly females to abuse. Data from this study had shown that sons were abusers of the elderly and therefore it can be said their physical strength as opposed to the elderly gave them power while daughters were the most likely to psychologically abuse the elderly.

4.4.3 Gender and psychological abuse of the elderly

Table 4.36  Gender of respondent and Psychological abuse toward elderly people

The table below shows gender differences in psychological abuse of the elderly.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Psychological abuse forms</th>
<th>Respondents’Gender</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shouted at you</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>32.4%</td>
<td>67.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Called a witch</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>39.0%</td>
<td>61.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wished death</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>45.5%</td>
<td>54.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can do anything and no one can stop them</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>90.0%</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened with hit or throw something</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destroyed something</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>44.0%</td>
<td>56.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened to be taken to old people home</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41.6%</td>
<td>58.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Chi-Square</td>
<td>12.692</td>
<td>df=6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The data showed that more females 104(58.4%) than males 74(41.6%) experienced psychological abuse. This shows a strong potential for gendered psychological abuse of the elderly. The calculated p value of 0.04819<0.05 shows that gender is significant in psychological abuse of the elderly.

4.4.4 Level of Education and Physical abuse the elderly

The table below illustrates the link between educational attainment the experience of physical abuse.

Table 4.37 Level of Education and experience of physical abuse

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Forms of physical abuse</th>
<th>The level of education and experience of physical abuse</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No formal education</td>
<td>Primary education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beating</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arm Twisting</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choking</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kicking</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened with knife, or a panga</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened to kill you</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punching</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biting</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slapping</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slammed you against a wall</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Chi-Square</td>
<td>Value=3</td>
<td>3.601</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The data suggests a relationship between physical abuse and the level of education. Those who had only attained primary education (82) and those who had no education (41) were the majority amongst those who also experienced the most serious form of elder abuse, that of being threatened with a weapon and to be killed. Physical abuse appears to reduce with the increase in the level of educational attainment. The lowest levels of physical abuse were found among the respondents with the higher level of education, namely university. The present research agrees with Skirbekk et al (2014) where he found a positive relationship between levels of education and the experience of abuse in India. He postulated that education had a protective function decreasing the levels of elder abuse.

The lower levels of abuse amongst the respondents with the highest level of education could be explained from John Dewey’s (1953) view about schooling. Education fosters physical, emotional, spiritual talent and intellectual abilities. Thus this study postulates that those with higher education have the knowledge and skills to earn a living and therefore would not be dependent. They also could be more aware of the rights of the elderly person and have the capacity to take action in case of abuse. The calculated Chi square value $0.753 < p .05$ is significant. The import is that the level of education is related to experience of elder abuse.
4.4.5 Level of Education of respondent and Psychological abuse toward elderly people

The the table below shows the relationship of the level of education and psychological abuse of elderly persons.

Table 4.38 Level of Education and Psychological Abuse

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Psychological abuse</th>
<th>No formal education</th>
<th>Primary education</th>
<th>Secondary education</th>
<th>College/ Polytechnic</th>
<th>University degree</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shouted at you</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>28.4%</td>
<td>59.7%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Called a witch</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>24.4%</td>
<td>61.0%</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wished death</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
<td>59.1%</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can do anything and no one can stop them</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened with hit</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>80.0%</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destroyed something</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>56.0%</td>
<td>32.0%</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened to be taken to old people home</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>29.9%</td>
<td>55.9%</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>.6%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Chi-Square</td>
<td>df=24</td>
<td>sig=0.072</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The table showed 53 (29.9%) of the respondents who also had no formal education experienced elder abuse while 99 (55.9%) who had primary education experienced psychological abuse.

**Table 4.39  Level of income and abuse of the elderly**

The table below shows the respondents who experienced psychological abuse and their level of income.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Psychological abuse</th>
<th>Average monthly income of the respondent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Below 1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shouted at you</td>
<td>N 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>23.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Called a witch</td>
<td>N 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wished death</td>
<td>N 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can do anything and no one can stop them</td>
<td>N 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened to hit or throw something at you</td>
<td>N 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destroyed something</td>
<td>N 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>28.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened to be taken to old peoples home</td>
<td>N 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>N 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>18.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Chi-Square</td>
<td>50.56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The results showed that 32 (18.1%) of the respondents with an income of below 1000 Kenya shillings experienced psychological abuse, while the majority 104 (58.8%) with an income of between KSh 1001- 5000 experienced psychological abuse. The respondents with an income of Ksh 5000-10000 and over 10000 were 21 (11.9%) and 20 (11.3%) respectfully. The calculated Chi square is $0.00 < p < 0.05$. This means that the respondent’s level of income was a strong factor in elder abuse. The data supports the findings of El Gammal (2010). In their study using a logistic regression analysis, determined that income insufficiency was statistically important as a factor affecting abuse among the studied variables. The data suggests a strong evidence of level of income and psychological elder abuse for those with lower levels of income as well as higher levels of income. Pillemer, et al, (2016) identifies level of income as a risk factor in elder abuse. The findings of the study support that level of income is a factor in elder abuse.

4.4.6 Living Arrangements as a predisposing Factor to Elder Abuse

The majority of the respondents lived in their own household within a homestead. A homestead could have several households belonging to adult sons and their families. The elderly persons were then in constant contact with their immediate family members who included children and grandchildren. The increased contact enhances the opportunity for conflict and tension to develop. Data from the research revealed living arrangement as a risk factor in physical, psychological, financial abuse and neglect of the elderly person.
4.4.6.1 Paradox of Living with Others and Predisposition to Elder Abuse

Table 4.40  Housing/Living Arrangements

The table below show the status of the living arrangements of the elderly people in Machakos County.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Living Arrangement</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Living Alone</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living With other people</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>91.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>317</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority 291(91.8%) live with others while 23(7.3%) live alone and 3(0.9%) did not respond. Data revealed that it is in the context of living with others that the elderly were predisposed to elder abuse.

4.4.6.2 Living with others and elder abuse.

“My daughter in law insulted me calling me a witch. She says I have bewitched her children. She collected clothes which she had washed and one peg was missing. She started insulting me. I was so distressed that I wanted to commit suicide. The insults have continued and I was going to “kuinga kithitu” (Kithitu is a dreaded Kamba oath.) The family was called and they agreed she goes back to her parents. My son now is saying he is going to kill himself if she goes away” (MM, 68 year old widowed female respondent)

“My son is married. The other day they went drinking with his wife. When they came home, they started fighting. I tried to separate them. My son slammed me on the wall and I lost a tooth. My
daughter in law was insulting me.” (FM, 65 year old male respondent)

“My daughter lives with me. I look after her children. She is a drunkard. She does not like to work but depends on me. She assaulted me a week ago. I had stopped her from collecting her rent money from my rental houses”. (AM, 75 year old widowed female respondent)

The above cases reveal that the elderly do not live alone but with others meaning there is continuous contact. The living arrangement predisposed the elderly to abuse. The first case shows continuous psychological abuse because of this close proximity. The proximity of living together in one homestead, though not in the same house, does not exclude the elderly from abuse.

The case further illustrates the stress of experiencing elder abuse by the elderly person, until she contemplates suicide. Because of the continuous psychological abuse, the reaction is that the elderly respondent wanted to “kuinga kithitu” a dreaded Akamba oath which must be avoided at all costs because it is believed family members will die for generations to come and will not only affect the one who was cursed. This “kithitu” must be appeased.

The second case illustrates the elderly person caught up in the family conflict because of living within the same homestead.

The last case illustrated multiple aspects of living together, a dependent adult child who wants to commit financial abuse on her elderly parent.
In interpreting the above data, living arrangements predispose the elderly persons to psychological abuse. The adult children are either single or married. The study agrees with Splinter (2009) study in South Africa who stated that prime problems in terms of psychological (emotional) arose out of the living arrangements between elderly parents and their children who live in the same household as their abusers.

The present study however differs in the nature of living arrangements in that the majority of the elderly lived in their own house but in a larger homestead with several households. In both cases, the living arrangements predisposed the elderly person to abuse.

### 4.4.7 Polygamous Marriages as a predisposing Factor to Elder Abuse

Among the studied respondents polygamous marriage were found to exist (Table 4.4). Though the cases of elder abuse were too few to generalize, cases were found which underpinned the impact of such marriages as a factor predisposing the elderly to elder abuse. The following case illustrated this fact. The information was provided by Key Informant:

*LK is 83 years old. She is the first wife. She has no children. The second wife has 7 children. They want to divide the land but the second wife has refused the division. She is waiting for the first wife to die. The second wife thinks that if the first wife gets the land, she will sell it.*

*MK 75 and KN, 67 years old are co-wives. Their husband died. The senior wife wanted to divide the land. She says she acquired it with her husband. The younger wife does not want this. She says the land belonged to their husband. Eventually, it was subdivided. The older wife got 10 acres and the younger wife got 7 acres*.
In interpreting the above data, various variables arise in polygamous marriages that would predispose the elderly to elder abuse. In polygamous marriages, every woman had her own hut, field and cows (Vendi, 2016). The first wife (*kiveti kikuu*) was accorded a superior position which included control of land.

The first wife was accorded a superior position which included control of land. The cases demonstrate an interplay of various factors that would predispose to elder abuse: land, family identity/family name and procreation. She is childless, although among the Akamba, barreness was not a reason for divorce for a man could marry another wife, Lindblom (1963). It meant she has no sons to pass on the land. This could explain the co wife’s reluctance to have the land divided as the family name/identity would pass on to her sons with the senior wife having no children. The young wife on the other hand violates the senior wife’s right to use resources as she deems fit. The fact that she is of advanced age may explain the underlying antagonism of the cowife waiting for her to die to have the land. The fact of waiting for her to die pointed to deeply divided strife family because of land.

The second case points to another dimension of polygamous marriages where the senior wife did not recognize that the second wife had a stake in the land just as much as she had. She wanted to cling to her power as a senior wife to dispossess the younger wife justifying by saying she got the property with her husband. Possibly, the second wife was perceived as an interloper. Hence this brewed family strife, resolved only when land was subdivided. In both cases, the strife exacerbated when the husband died and can be argued that polygamous marriages predisposed elderly women to elder abuse.
4.4.8 Health Status as predisposing factor in Elder Abuse

The World Health Organization (1947) defined health as a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being. Thus, health implies an interaction of body, mind and spirit (Hooyman and Kiyak, 1996). The research endeavoured to establish whether the health status of the elderly was a predisposing factor in elder abuse.

Table 4.41 Perception of the Physical and Mental health of older people

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Excellent</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very good</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>38.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very poor</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean 2.6

Standard deviation 0.832

The researcher sought to know how the elderly rated their state of health from their own perception. A Likert like scale from excellent, very good, fair, poor and very poor was used. Data gathered showed that 16(5.0%) perceived their health as excellent while those who perceived their health as very good were 139
(43.8%). Those who said their health was fair were 123 (38.8%). Those who rated their health as poor and very poor were 28 (8.8%) and 11 (3.4%) respectively and 2 (0.6%) did not state their health status.

The study showed that majority of the elderly rate their health as fair to excellent which points to the fact the elderly perceive themselves as relatively in good health with a mean of 2.6 and SD of 0.832. This study can postulate that the status of the health of the elderly, associated with aging to a great extent, had not reduced their competence in dealing with their environment.

Previous studies have pointed to the various health problems associated with old age. On this basis, the respondents were asked whether they experience health problems. From the table below 138 (43.53%) answered yes while 179 (56.46%) answered no.

4.4.8.1 Health Problems experienced by the elderly

Previous studies have pointed to the various health problems associated with old age. On this basis, the respondents were asked whether they experienced health problems. From the table below 138 (43.53%) answered ‘yes’ while 179 (56.46%) answered ‘no.’ The table shows that 138 (43.53%) said they experienced health problems while the majority 179 (56.46) said they had no health problems.
Table 4.42 Nature of Health Problem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Health Problem</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Experience of pain when walking</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>49.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypertension</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diabetes</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cancer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eye problems</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trouble hearing</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arthritis</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asthmatic</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIV/AIDS</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goitre</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kidney problem</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teeth problems</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>138</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In analysing the health problems experienced by the elderly, the health problems are typically associated with aging. Data show these health problems include physical deterioration such as difficulty in walking which can be attributed to decline in strength and stamina, loss of or weakening of teeth, chronic conditions such as high blood pressure and diabetes, cancer, asthma and HIV/AIDS, problems with hearing and vision. Reporting of these diseases was consistent with
the most frequent reported disorders among the elderly (Aganiba, et al 2015; Hooyman and Kiyak (1996).

4.4.8.2 Status of the Activities of Daily Living (ADLs)

Table 4.43 Activities of Daily Living (ADL)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Do it without Difficulty</th>
<th>Do it with some difficulty</th>
<th>Someone has to help me</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walking</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washing and bathing</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eating</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get from a bed to a chair</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use the toilet</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use the telephone without help</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shop for food by yourself</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prepare own meals</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take your own prescription medicine</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table shows the status of the Activities of Daily Living among the studied respondents. The analysis showed the majority of the elderly were competent in the Activities of Daily Living.

The commonly used measure of functional health is termed the Activities of Daily Living (ADL) which summarises an individual’s performance in personal care tasks such as bathing dressing, using the toilet, eating, getting in or out of the bed
or chair, self-management in money matters (Moody & Sasser 2012; Novak 2006; Hooyman & Kiyak, 1996). Limitations in Activities of Daily Living predispose the elderly to elder abuse.

On being asked how the particular health problem affected the individual elderly person, the cases below point to the socio-psychological consequences of poor health. The cases point to the difficulties the elderly person experiences in managing their environment in terms of the level of functioning in aspects that require good sight, hearing, mobility and earning a livelihood. The activities older people do are indicators of how healthy they are and the services and environmental changes they need in order to cope with their impairments (Kane and Kane, 1981). Some of the respondents experience more than one health problem. The consequences predispose the elderly to various forms of abuse.

“I cannot read properly”

“I am sometimes hard of hearing”

“Sometimes I do not understand what people are saying”

“I have to take daily medication”

“I have pain on my legs and cannot walk far distances”

“I have to sit on this wheel chair and so I do not go anywhere, I just stay at home.”

Some of the respondents have more than one health condition as illustrated by the following which may also limit some of their social activities and personal competency.
“I have High Blood pressure, Diabetes for 29 years, I am confined to a wheel chair, and my heart beats very fast” (KKM, 80 year old female respondent)

“I have asthma and High Blood Pressure. I cannot do my business anymore. My son and daughter in law manage my butchery for me.” (PK, 88 year old female respondent)

“Now I have cancer. I had a stroke and now I am on this wheel chair. I just stay home the whole day” (MKM, 86 year old retired police officer)

“I have lost some teeth, others are strong, I need false teeth, my feet and my chest hurt.” MMK (85 year old male respondent)

The above statements illustrate some of the social- psychological consequences related to poor health: dependency, a sense of helplessness, impact on activities of daily living like eating. The following statement illustrates the fact that increase in age is not necessarily associated with debilitating poor health.

“Maeo makwa ni maseo. Vai ona yimwe ikuku. Ona isyo niniisa. Ndyonaa nesa ona ndyiwaa nesa mavinda angi” Translation: My teeth are strong, not even one is lost. I can even eat isyo( a mixture of maize and beans). But my sight is poor and sometimes I do not hear very well. (MMM, 84 year old female respondent)

Novak (2006) notes that most people notice hearing loss when they have trouble hearing low frequency tones which starts on average between ages 60 and 70 and the data shows that 4 respondents expressed difficulties in hearing though they didn’t have total hearing loss.
Table 4.44  Perception of Memory Status of the elderly respondents

The respondent’s perception of their memory is summarised in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Excellent</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very good</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>58.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean  

Standard deviation  

When the respondents were asked to give the state of their memory how their memory was, 62 (19.5%) they stated that their memory was excellent and 185 (58.4%) stated that their memory was very good while 55 (17%) stated that their memory was good and only 8 (2.5%) and 7 (2.2%) stated that their memory was fair and poor respectively. The mean for perceived memory status was 2.09 with SD of 0.813.

Hooyman and Kiyak (1996) point to age related deficiencies in memory in the areas of recall. In as much as respondents reported good perception of their memory, two cases reported memory problems. The following statements
support this decline in age related memory and the respondent also related it to other deficiencies at the same time.

“Sometimes I am very forgetful. My memory is not good. I require glasses, I can’t read, one of my ears can’t hear well although there is no pain. My teeth are all rotten and only few teeth remain on one side” (ANW, 70 year old female respondent).

“I find sometimes I return more money to my customer (meaning giving back change) (TN, 85+ old female respondent who owns butchery)

“With my blood pressure too high, my memory loss, I can’t coordinate well “PM, 64 year old female respondent.

These statements from three respondents point to differential health problems because of the ageing process and that the ageing process is not linear but points to differences in the abilities of the aged. Data showed that some of the elderly who experienced financial abuse had memory problems.

Moody & Sasser (2012) showed that most people aged 65 and over do not suffer from memory loss or dementia but one out of five have mild or moderate mental impairment. Data from the research does not contradict this though it does point to older people losing some thinking abilities. The fact that respondents answered the interview questions attests to that.
Table 4.45  Form of help needed by older people

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assistive devised needed by the elderly</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eyes glasses</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>33.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearing Aid</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>False teeth (dentures)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cane and crutches</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheel chair</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The respondents were asked whether they required any form of assistive devices to help them. 102 (33.8%) said they needed eye glasses while 209 (65.9) said they did not need eye glasses. Those who responded that they need hearing aid were 7 (2.2%) while 309 (97.5%) answered that they did not require hearing aids. 18 (5.7%) said they wanted false teeth(dentures) and 298 (94%) did not require them. 37 (11.7%) responded that they needed a cane or crutches while 278 said (87.7%) they did not require them. 3 (0.9%) required wheel chairs while 311 (98.1%) did not require any.

In interpreting the above data, it shows that even though the elderly have health problems related to age, the majority live without limitations of the Activities of Daily Living. Apt (2002), in her research of the elderly in Ghana pointed out that the chronic conditions do not always turn into functional disability and that many
elderly people live with their conditions and take care of themselves and the data supports this view.

The data further shows that being old does not suggest that an elderly person becomes frail and this is well illustrated by two respondents who were both over 100 years old and still active, one doing divination and the other one still works on his farm.

The fact that the majority of the respondents said they needed eye glasses points to the changes in vision that accompany increase in age. Having eye glasses would enable them to cope with the environment. None of the respondents were incapacitated by decline in vision.

The respondents who reported hearing problems did not mean their hearing ability was gone since they responded to the interview questions cogently which suggested the researcher did not find those who reported hearing difficulties having reduced intellectual functioning in communication or speech.

Table 4.46 Medical Check up

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medical checkup</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Frequency</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>17.24</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>17.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>82.76</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The respondents were asked if they had had medical check-up in the previous year. Fifty (17.24%) answered in the affirmative while the majority, 240 (82.76%) answered in the negative. It is not usual for many people to go for a medical check-up when they are not actually sick and this was true of the elderly in Machakos County. Also, many of the elderly might self-medicate and not go to hospital per se but when asked whether they sought medical help, they would answer in the positive.

Table 4.47 Person/s responsible medical care of the elderly.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>46.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult children pay medical bills</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>28.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Going to the government hospital</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having a National Health Insurance Fund (N.H.I.F.) Card</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (eg). Herbal medicine, waiting for the sickness to go</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data shows that the majority 146 (46.3%) of the elderly take care of their medical bills while those who said they go to the government hospital were 52(16.5%). It is important to note that medical services are paid for in government hospitals. They are cheaper than the private ones. The respondents who said that their adult children took the responsibility for their medical bills were 91(28.9), while 6(1.9%) cases had a medical insurance cover from the National Hospital
Insurance Fund were 6(1.9%) and 20(6.3%) cases said they took herbal medicine or the spouse settled the bill, respectively. Other respondents stated they used their resources to get medical care.

In interpreting the data, the majority of respondents who said they take responsibility for their medical care did not state whether they actually go to a medical facility. This could mean they self medicate or simply stay put when sick, hoping that the sickness would go away or seek treatment from traditional healers. Difficulty in accessing health care can be interpreted as elder abuse.

“Most people first try the healer. When they do not get better is when they go to hospital. It is very risky to mix traditional medicines with modern medicines.” (Male Misyani Hospital)

I have never been to hospital in 14 years. It is too expensive. I get most of my medicines from the healer. His prices are lower and payment terms are negotiable. (Male, Misyani hospital)


Further interpretation show that the elderly having resources enable them to access health care. It would mean reduced dependency which is a risk factor in elder abuse. The statement illustrate the elderly having control of their own resources and being of advanced age empowers them to access vital services like health care.

“I sell a piece of my land to take myself to hospital.” (PKK, 89 year old widowed respondent)

The case below illustrates in a unique way the prioritization of the elderly. The case statement underpins the fact that when it comes to medical care, priority is
given to food and paying dues in the social group and treatment may come last. The elderly prioritize food and social connection. Focus Group Discussions 1, in discussing what they considered elder abuse said that not being taken to hospital when they were sick was elder abuse.

“I don’t have money for treatment. The little I get I buy food for my family and pay in my merry go round social group. If I do not pay for the merry go round, I will not get anything when my turn comes.”

4.4.8.2 Diet and nutrition

Nutritional status contributes significantly to the physical and mental health of the all ages (W.H.O. 2000). This is more critical for the elderly as their bodies’ age, which increases concerns for health and susceptibility to degenerative diseases. The health status of the elderly is a risk factor in elder abuse.

Table 4.48 Frequency of Diet eaten by older people

Table 4.48 below show the frequency of the elderly people’s consumption of food.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How often do you eat the following diet?</th>
<th>Almost every day</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Almost never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maize and beans</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>91.2</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meat including beef, goat meat, pork, chicken, fish, eggs, beans, nuts</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>48.6</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruits or fruit juices including mangoes, oranges, bananas, pineapples, paw paws</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vegetables including sukuma, spinach, kunde, carrots, cabbages</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>59.3</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Data, 2016
The researcher asked about their nutrition. The aim of this question was to elicit information on whether the elderly respondents accessed a balanced diet of carbohydrates, proteins and vitamins in their daily meals. Data revealed that almost the majority 289 (91.2%), consumed maize and beans almost every day 27 (8.5%) sometimes and 0 almost never. Maize and beans is the staple food of this community and it is called *isyo*. Access to proteins in form of meats was eaten by 154 (48.6%) almost every day and 157 (49.5%) ate sometimes and 5 (1.6%) said almost never. Respondents who consumed fruits on everyday basis were 184 (58%) those who said sometimes were 125 (39.4%) while 6 (1.9%) said almost never did. Those who consumed vegetables on almost on a daily basis were 188 (59.9%) while those who said sometimes were 124 (39.1%) and those who said never were 4 (1.3%). Overall, the status of the elder people’s access and consumption of is quite good from the data above. This could be explained by the fact that the elderly studied were rural farming communities and most and accessed food from their farms.

The data of accessing and consumption of food is in tandem with Mugo (2015) research among institutionalised and non-institutionalised elderly who had access to food. She observed that institutionalised elderly consumed more food per day which could be explained by the structured nature of institutions. The respondents in the study consumed food but the question could be asked about the quantity of each of the categories-carbohydrates, proteins, vitamins and vegetables as (important sources of macro and micro-nutrients) were available to them.
The question could be raised on differential access to food for some of the elderly people. (Aganiba, et al 2015) in her study in Northern Ghana pointed to poor nutritional status of the elderly. Mwenda (2010) also pointed to prevalence of malnutrition among the elderly in Kenya. Wagah, et al (2000) found higher levels of malnutrition among the elderly in rural Machakos compared to urban Kibera in Nairobi.

This study contradicts their findings since the elderly in Machakos access food and their own perception of health and memory is good. The majority agreed they had no trouble buying food (Table 4.47). However, the researcher posits that an exhaustive study should be carried out to determine the nutritional status of the elderly in Machakos County and their experience of elder abuse as the study pointed to not being given food as a risk factor in elder abuse. Other researchers identified nutrition risk factors in elder abuse as cognitive dysfunction, inadequate funds, functional limitations, poor dentition and restricted diet.

The majority of the elderly respondents reported low proportions of disease (Table 4.47). This could be attributed to high involvement in activities of walking as given not many of the elderly owned vehicles. This is mostly walking to the market, church, and to attend social gatherings. Since the majority are farmers and engage in farm work, mainly manual labour, this could be said to strengthen them as well.

It can be inferred from this research that the these physical activities could have reduced some of the prominent features of aging such as bone loss, loss of muscle
and strength termed as scarpena (Aganiba, 2015) and explain as well the high competence on the Activities of Daily Living among the majority of the elderly studied with a minority having disability and functional dependence. Even though very few have National Health Insurance Fund, they still sought medical care.

The role of provision of food and elder abuse was underpinned by Focus Group Discussion No. 1 which consisted of women ranging in age from 68 to 85 years of age when asked what they considered as elder abuse. The following statements from them pinpointed provision of food as weapon of elder abuse.

“Kulea kunewa liu” : To be denied food
“Nzaa ya mundu mukuu nota ya kana” : An elderly person’s hunger is like a that of a child”

(The implication here is that the elderly get hungry so fast so not being given food when they ask for it becomes a form elder abuse).

“Andu akuu nimatetaw’a nundu nimeetya liu” The elderly are quarreled when they ask for food.

“Ivinda ya yua, andu akuu mainengawa liu, Meawa liu ula wivo ni wa syana”: When there is famine, the old people are not given food. They are told the only food there was was for the children”. (FGD 2)

From the above statements, not being given food is seen as elder abuse. The last statement that during famine the elderly are not given food underpin the aspect of scarcity of food during famine (famine frequently occurs in the county studied) the elderly may not be a priority in being given food at the household level. The
statement again alludes to the elderly not being seen as vulnerable during the time of food scarcity.

Table 4.49  Do you have trouble buying foods that you like?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Do you have trouble buying food that you like?</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>81.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>99.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The respondents were asked whether they have trouble buying the foods they like. 51 (16.1%) responded that they did have trouble while the majority 259 (81.1%) responded that they did not have trouble buying foods they liked and 6 (1.9%) responded they sometimes had trouble buying foods they liked. The case can be made here that the elderly access food in Machakos County. Though the majority of the respondents had monthly income of less than Ksh 5000 (Table 4.20) it can be inferred that the income could be spent on buying foods. This income is not high and so it can be inferred that the elderly may not buy enough amounts of food that they need for every day consumption.
4.4.8.3 Everyday Activities by older people

Table 4.50  Status of the Activities of Daily Living

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Do it without Difficulty</th>
<th>Do it with some difficulty</th>
<th>Someone has to help me</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walking</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washing and bathing</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eating</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get from a bed to a chair</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use the toilet</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use the telephone without help</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shop for food by yourself</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prepare own meals</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take your own prescription medicine</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The research sought to know the level at which the elderly were competent in their Activities of Daily Living by rating from” Do it without difficulty”, “Do it with some difficulty” to “Someone has to help me”. The data reveals that the majority of the respondents rate their competency positively in that only 2
respondents stated they required help with their Activities of Daily Living, in particular walking, washing, use of toilet, getting in and out of bed.

It should be noted in the interpretation of this data that men do not undertake activities such as cooking, preparing their own meals and shopping for food. In most cases it is an activity for the women. The fact that the elderly men say they can do these activities is implied in that if they are put in a situation where they will be forced to do such activities, they will be able to do them.

4.5 Intervention in experience of Elder Abuse

The researcher sought to find out if the elderly report their experience of abuse. This arose from the taken-for-granted notion that abuse is a hidden phenomenon, never reported and never known. The table below documents the results.
### 4.5.1 Reporting experience in Physical abuse

#### Table 4.51 Reporting of Physical Abuse

The table below shows the forms of physical abuse experienced by the elderly and whether they reported the abuse.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incidence reported/talked to somebody</th>
<th>Reporting of Incidence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being beaten?</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being arm twisted?</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being choked?</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being kicked?</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being threatened with a knife or panga (machete)?</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A threat to kill you?</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being pushed?</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being punched?</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being bitten?</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being slapped?</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being slammed against the wall?</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The researcher sought to know if the respondents reported the act of physical abuse. Table 4.55 shows the status of reporting of physical abuse by the elderly. Cumulatively, 126(37.44%) of respondents who experienced physical abuse reported the abuse.

A pattern of reporting emerged showing that the more serious the life threatening forms of physical abuse were, the more the elderly reported them. The less the life threatening forms of physical abuse, the less the elderly reported the cases. The majority 53 (16.7%) and were threatened with a knife or a panga (matchete). Those who reported being beaten were 32(10.1%) while 24(7.6%) received a threat to kill. Those who reported being choked were 4(1.3%) while those who were punched, arm twisted, slammed against a wall were 3(0.9%) respectively while the fewest cases were kicking, biting 2(0.6%) respectively and only one case of pushing was reported.

The data shows that the more life threatening a form of physical abuse is, the more likely it was to be reported. Further, data revealed that the physical abuse would start off with the lesser form like pushing and later progress to a more serious form of physical abuse like being threatened with a weapon and a threat to kill.

**Case 1:**

RK is a 70 year old never married woman who lives with her brothers. She was given land by her grandmother but the brothers want it. The brother beat her up and she reported the matter to the Chairman of the clan of *Akitutu*. The brother
threatened her again with a panga and she reported the matter to the chief. The case of the land is still going on and has not been resolved.

“My hand was once twisted by my husband; even now it is very painful. I reported the matter to the village elder and to the sub chief. The sub chief summoned him but he refused to go. Once he pushed me and I fell down. Another time he threatened me with a knife.”

The above two cases show the interplay of traditional authority vis-a-vis government authority. It is clear that the elderly report to the traditional authority who should resolve the issue, but as the physical abuse gets more serious, it is reported to the government authorities represented by the sub-chief and the chief. Linblom (1963) showed the Akamba judicial system in which the council of elders resolved both criminal and civil cases and the power of the elders to preside in the administration of law including corporal punishment. He further observed that corporal punishment was forbidden by the government and it can be argued here, this reduced traditional authority. The fact the first place to report is to the head of the clan still attests to the potency of the traditional judicial system to intervene in elder abuse. Again, physical abuse is more visible and that could explain why it is being reported.

4.5.2 Hierarchical Nature of Reporting Physical Abuse

An analysis of particular cases of experience of physical abuse revealed an hierarchical nature of reporting of physical abuse. The cases also revealed the fact that an elderly person could suffer lesser form of physical abuse which graduates to a more serious one and the nature of reporting.
4.5.3 Reporting Experience of Psychological Abuse

Table 4.52 Reporting of Psychological Abuse

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incidence reported/talked to somebody</th>
<th>Reporting of Incidence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did you report or talk to somebody about:</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being shouted/yelled at?</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being called a witch?</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being wished dead?</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being told that they can do anything to you?</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being threatened to be hit or throw something at you?</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Something belonging to you destroyed?</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being threatened to be taken to an old peoples home?</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above data reveals that majority of the respondents did not report psychological abuse incidents. Cumulatively 122(38.7%) respondents reported the experience of psychological elder abuse. The most reported was being yelled at, being called a witch and being wished dead. These three forms seem to be more serious forms of psychological abuse.
4.6.4 Reasons not reporting psychological abuse

Reporting elder abuse would help in intervening in elder abuse. However, majority of abused elders do not report abuse. The following cases reveal reasons for not reporting elder abuse.

“It is shameful to report. You cannot expose your home”. When she insults me, I just keep quiet. (RNK, 63 year old male respondent whom he said the daughter in law does not like his mother).

“My wife continuously insults me. She tells me never to come to her funeral if ever she dies. I have not reported her anywhere. I cannot report because the clan might think that my wife has sat on me. If it were not for her I would not have a home for I used to be away most times working”. (MMM, 89 year old male respondent who cannot walk uses a wheelchair).

“My grandchildren insult me. Their mother tells them I am a witch, she threatens me. I cannot tell my son because if she is chased away by my son I cannot take care of my son like she does.” (PM 87 year old female respondent)

“I am saved. I don’t like fighting “TM, 70 old female respondent who is the second wife in a polygamous marriage.

“I don’t have the strength to report. If I accuse him he will be in trouble and his family will suffer.” TK, 66 old female respondent.

“Ni kawaida. Neetiwe muoi na naumangwa. Naumawa mundu wa kitheka. Ndyaatavya mundu” DKK, 80 year female respondent Translation: It’s normal (meaning to be insulted). I was called a witch and insulted. It was about the land. It was my neighbour. I did not report the matter.

The cases reveal psychological, family relations, spiritual disposition. Masculinity and a sense of resignation to being and a gender dimension for being psychologically abused. From the data above, a pattern of none reporting of
psychological abuse had emerged which showed reluctance to let others know what is happening for abuse is seen as a shameful. This agrees with elder abuse research that abuse is not reported because it is hushed in the family setting.

In the second case, therefore, family relations exacerbate elder abuse because if the daughter in law is sent away, the elderly of course cannot take her role and non reporting of elder abuse.

The case also reveal a gender dimension in that female respondents suffered abuse and were also not reporting. Women have a tendency to protect their family and not likely to report abuse as emphasised by the statement ‘if I report him, he will get into trouble and his family will suffer’. This shows a sympathetic attitude of the victim to the perpetrator. Social Exchange Theory would probably explain that the benefit the victim derived from non-reporting is the ‘unity’ of her family where she also lives.

The third case is spousal abuse. Reporting a spouse for a man is an emasculation of his masculinity as a culturally, a man is supposed to control his wife. To be ‘sat on’ by his wife is a very shameful thing in a patriarchal society. It is also a sense of loyalty where the elderly feels if it were not for the wife he would not have a family. This case also reveals the case of men working away from the family for a long time. It could be inferred that the men lose close contact with the family and after retirement, they may be vulnerable to elder abuse. Not reporting abuse in this case would be because of a sense of loyalty to the family affirming in a sense the woman’s role in keeping the family together in the absence of the husband.
In some of the cases, the elders can only report to family members or confidants hence break down in family relations brings another issue whereby the elderly have fewer options of reporting.

Religious conviction seems to play a role here in not reporting for the elderly person feels it’s her duty not to tell others about her family which appears as a rationalization for not reporting elder abuse. The case could also prove Marx’s assertion that religion as ‘the opiate of the masses’ because it ‘dulled the pain of oppression’. Interpreted from this perspective, non-reporting of elder abuse because of ‘being saved’ could be said to exacerbate elder abuse in the family context where the abused person would not seek help or speak up. We can then assert that elder abuse would continue unreported.

### 4.6.4 Reporting Financial Abuse

**Table 4.53 Reporting Financial Abuse**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incidence reported/talked to somebody</th>
<th>Reporting of Incidence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Did you report or talk to somebody about:</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Your money or possession/s being stolen?</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being forced to sign a cheque or property transfer document against your will?</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being forced to give money or possessions to them?</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being forced to give them title deed/s for your land or house?</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Your money being taken without your knowledge?</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being forced to buy things you felt you did not need?</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The table above reveals those who were financially abused. Cumulatively, 74(24.4%) respondents reported financial abuse, showing that majority 51 (16.1%) reported of their money or possessions being stolen; 5 (1.6%) reported being forced to sign a cheque or property transfer against their will, while 9(2.8%) were forced to give money or possessions; 2(0.6%) were forced to give their title deeds of the land, while 6(1.9%) money or possessions being taken without their knowledge and 1(0.3) had things bought that they did not fell they needed.

4.6.5 Reporting of Sexual Abuse.

The table below shows the state of reporting of sexual abuse among the elderly studied.

Table 4. 54 Reporting of Sexual Abuse

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incidence reported/talked to somebody</th>
<th>Reporting of Incidence of Sexual Abuse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did you report or talk to somebody about talked to in a sexual way that made you feels uncomfortable?</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did you report or talk to somebody about touched to in a sexual way that made you feels uncomfortable?</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did you report or talk to somebody about having intercourse against your will?</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did you report or talk to somebody about having been shown pornographic material against your will?</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data reveal that four of the respondents reported the case of sexual abuse to somebody while four did not report the matter to anyone. The data also reveals
differential reporting and reaction to the sexual abuse as illustrated by the following:

Case 1: “I told his aunt that he should never visit me again. I never revealed to my daughter why my grandson should never ever visit me again.” (From 74 year old female respondent raped by her 22 year old grandson).

Case 2: I reported to the police. He was arrested and jailed.” From the 86 years old respondent raped by her 14 year old neighbour.

Case 3: “I kept quiet about it”. (From the 69 year old respondent about her daughter in law who showed her pornographic material).

Case 4: I never talk to him now.” From the 69 year old respondent whose neighbour tricked her into going to buy meat and sexually harassed her.

The cases reveal differential reporting. In the first case, the reactions to rape by a family member may be seen to be very shameful. The explanation could be that being a grandson and it being known that there is a joking relationship of him being her “husband” may not be taken seriously.

In the second case, the rape by a neighbour is serious enough to be reported and the offender convicted. The cases also reveal very young people sexually abusing elderly women.

In the last two cases, the sexual abuse does not have the same magnitude as the first two and the reaction are behavioural from the victims: keeping quiet and not talking to the perpetrator. The victim and daughter in law may have had a cordial
relationship with the mother-in-law and she may not have perceived showing her pornographic material as sexual abuse until the researcher asked the question.

4.6.5 Reporting of Neglect

Table 4.55 Reporting of Neglect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incidence reported/talked to somebody</th>
<th>Reporting of Incidence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did you report or talk to somebody about having been left alone for a long time when you needed help?</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did you report or talk to somebody about having not treated when you were ill?</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did you report or talk to somebody about having been denied food, water, and comfortable clothing?</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did you report or talk to somebody about having been left unwashed for a long time?</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did you report or talk to somebody about having been not given prescription medication?</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did you report or talk to somebody about having been refused care?</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table revealed neglect is reported. Data revealed most of the reporting of neglect to clan or a senior family member but not to the authorities. The clan compelled to give her husband food. Further analysis shows the power of the clan to compel individuals who are abusing to stop the abuse of the family member. In this case, reporting had a positive outcome because the family who were abusing the elderly by neglecting to give him food, who was a father and a husband reduced the abuse.
4.6 Elderly abuse and social economic factors

Table 4.56 Association of risk factors and Physical abuse of elderly people

The table below shows the socioeconomic factors associated with physical elder abuse.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Risk factors</th>
<th>Chi-square</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>P-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>11.976</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>0.353</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0.455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital status</td>
<td>36.627</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0.623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>33.601</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0.075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>11.798</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0.923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>23.572</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0.791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social group</td>
<td>14.612</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land ownership</td>
<td>7.481</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.679</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Condition Of Home</td>
<td>51.973</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0.397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>76.196</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0.010</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the research, cross tabulation was used to determine whether the age of the respondent influenced the experience of physical abuse of the elderly people. The result showed that there was a significant influence of health status on physical abuse (\( \text{Chi square} = 76.196, \text{df}=50 \) and \( p < 0.05 \) at 5% level of significance. Hooyman & Kiyak (1996) found that an increase in chronological age increases
the vulnerability for elder abuse. This study also agrees with Bigala & Ayinga (2014) study that showed that both men and women of advanced age experience physical abuse. This could probably be explained by cognitive decline and increase in chronic diseases may affect the decision making capacity of the elderly person making them vulnerable to financial abuse.

Table 4.57 Association of risk factors and Psychological abuse of elderly people

The table below shows variables that were significant risk factors in psychological elder abuse.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Risk factors</th>
<th>Chi-square</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>P-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>12.692</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>37.22</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0.042</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital status</td>
<td>19.64</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0.717</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>34.763</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0.072</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>17.912</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>50.566</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social group</td>
<td>3.862</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.695</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land ownership</td>
<td>8.472</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living arrangement</td>
<td>49.788</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0.013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical health</td>
<td>53.11</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0.007</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The research examined the risk factors associated with psychological abuse. A cross tabulation was to determine these risk factors. The result showed that there was a significant influence of income on psychological abuse of the elderly
people Chi Square = 50.566, df=18, p= 0.00<0.05  at 5% level of significance. Since the P value is less than 0.05 this showed that the level of income influences psychological abuse of the elderly.

Cadmus, et al. (2014) from their study posits that the elderly suffer increased economic hardship due to high level of unemployment. El Gammal et al. (2010) using logistic regression was able to show that the only statistically significant risk factor affecting elder abuse was insufficient income.

This contrasts with the findings of this research which found that the level of income of the elderly in Machakos ranged from low to very high. Those with low income were just as likely to be psychologically and financially abused as those with high incomes. The elderly are involved in economic activity which gave them a measure of income but ironically, this lay them vulnerable to psychological elder abuse.

Similarly the result showed that the health status of the elderly, Chi square= 53.11, df=30, p =0.007<0.05. Since the P-value is less than 0.05 %, a significant risk factor in elder abuse. Ayinga and Bingala (2014) in their research on elder abuse in South Africa showed that elder abuse is more likely among men and women whose perception of health was poor than in men and women who are in good health, given the fact that the former are dependent on other people.

The cross tabulation further revealed that living arrangements was a significant factor associated with psychological abuse, (Chi Square =49.788, df=30, P-value=0.013<0.05 at 5% level of significance. Since the P - value was less than
0.05, this showed that living arrangements influenced the psychological abuse of the elderly. Splinter (2009), Ayinga and Bingala (2014) in their research on Elder abuse in South Africa were able to show that living with other members of the extended family in the same household increased the risk of psychological abuse. The current study findings support this in that the elderly live with others and they get abused in this context. However living with others offers security from isolation of the elderly person.

Age was a significant risk factor in elder abuse, Chi –square 37.2. df=18, p=0.042<0.05. In all forms of elder abuse, physical, psychological, financial, sexual abuse and neglect, increase in chronological age was found to be a risk factor in elder abuse.

4.7 Focus Group Discussions on Elder Abuse

Data from three Focus Group discussions was transcribed. The researcher first read all the responses from the groups in order to internalize the data and get the sense of the emergent patterns of themes. The discussions followed the Focus Group Discussion Questionnaire which had seven themes that guided the discussions. Open coding of themes that emerged from the main theme and was elicited from the data. Interviews were conducted in mother tongue Kikamba and translated into English.

Recruitment of the participants was done through the convenience of the naturally occurring groups in the community. The church is the focus point from which these groups emanated. The researcher looked for similarities and differences in
the thematic areas that emerged. Themes that were similar in all the three FGDs were integrated. The subthemes were coded.

The demographic characteristics of the group are described below:

FGD 1 group consisted of 17 female respondents whose age ranged from 65 to 85 years. The mean age was 72.46 years. All the women in the group were widowed and that is why they had come together in the first place. They had come together as a support group of widows. They were also a financial support group who were doing Table Banking.

In Table Banking, members literally put their money on the table and it is lent to other members at an interest. Members can borrow any amount they wish. The majority of the respondents had never gone to school or had only primary education. They met every Monday of the week at a nursery school grounds area and hence the researcher was able to access them.

FGD 2 was a group that consisted of 14 male respondents and one woman whose age ranged from 63 to 78 years with a mean age of 70.2 years. All the men were married but the woman in the group had never married. They were a mixed group of retirees and community members.

Their level of education ranged from primary education through to university level. They had formed the group from the church where they attended. Their major focus was to do community work and support each other. They showed the researcher the structure of a building whose construction they were spearheading, as an old people’s home in the compound of the church they were attending. This
is an interesting project which showed they were concerned with the issues and could mobilise resources to respond to a need in the community. They met every Tuesday of the week, a market day, from 1 o’clock to 3 o’clock. The setting was a room in one of the rental houses owned by one of the participants (Photograph, Appendix VII).

FGD 3 was a group of 22 members of both men and women whose age ranged from 35 years to 84 years. The group comprised 14 women and 8 men. Their defining characteristic was that they were a prayer group who lived in the same neighbourhood. They were also a financial support group using the merry-go-round method. In merry go round, every member contributes an amount of money which is then given to one or more person(s) and in the following week other persons.

They met every Monday between 12 and 2 o’clock in the home of the particular person where prayers were to be held for that week and it is in this home setting where the researcher met the group. The researcher could not isolate the group aged 60 and above as it would have appeared she is favouring some by focusing attention on them so they all participated in the discussions.

The questions in the interview schedule were analysed in the order they appeared by analysing and interpreting representative responses from the three FGDs. The researcher would invite all to respond individually until the question was, in the opinion of researcher, exhausted.
Theme 1: How important are elderly people in the community?

The question was asked: Who is an old person?

“An old person is someone who is 50-100 years old, has no strength, forgets easily, who is sick, and eyes are paining, legs are paining, if you have grandchildren, those who have finished all their work”. (FGD 2, 3)

The group had an idea of the characteristic of an old person. Though they stated a younger age of 50 than the targeted sample, this could be explained by the fact that as soon as grey hairs appear, the person gets a status of being an old person.

The question asked of the participants in the Focus Group Discussion was in establishing the perception of the importance of the elderly people in the community. The following verbatim quotes are presented translated from the Kikamba language into English.

“The elderly do counselling.”
“Look after their grandchildren”

“She counsels their daughter in law because they may not understand each other”.

“An old person is like a key of the home. When at home, they care for the chickens. They care for land and cattle and even if all your children die, one will child will remain.” (FGD 1 and FGD 3)

“They advise young people, the community, they have ideas on how to behave well they have experience, knowledge, they have passed all the steps as child, adult, marriage, work, bringing up children, they know all the customs, they can see far”. (FGD 2)

Elderly people are seen as hopeless, useless, deserve to die, don’t deserve to live any more” (FGD 3)
The young disrespect you. The young tell you ‘umekula chumvi nyingi’ (you have eaten too much salt, a euphemism for you are too old, you do not deserve to live)

In interpreting the above data, subthemes emerge and are interpreted below:

The elderly as repository of knowledge

The elderly, having gone through the life cycle and gained the statuses and roles of wife/husband, parenthood and work have gained knowledge and experience which makes them play a role in the community. This is in contrast to the somewhat negative description of who an old person is because here the old person is seen as playing a role in society. The statement runs counter to ageism attitudes about older people’s physical and cognitive abilities, and prejudices about the elderly being senile, unattractive asexual, weak and useless (Butler, 1969 Hooyman and Kiyak, 1996). Such negative attitudes contribute to elder abuse. The statement agrees with the research findings where the elderly continually create new roles for themselves such as child caring role, community mobilisers and so on.

The elderly as participants in the economic life of community

The elderly participate in the economic life of the Community and they are custodians of family property emphasized by the statement “care for land and cattle”. The elderly also are conscious of their role in the continuity of the family (they see far). They are also seen as visionary. Murdock (1949) shows that the role of the family as an institution is to add new members to the society.
Theme 2: The most common types of Elder Abuse

The researcher explored this theme by encouraging the participants to relate any types of abuse they themselves have witnessed of people known to them by narrating what had happened in the particular case. This strategy was appropriate in the particular context because the participants were known to each other and could be said to have intimate knowledge of matters happening in the community and any case of abuse narrated could be corroborated by another participant.

In addition, the participants themselves narrated their own experience(s) of suffering abuse. The researcher selected cases that illustrate a particular form of elder abuse. The following cases stand out in the minds of the participants because of their intensity and sometimes horror and aversion that the participants expressed. The cases below illustrate show the elderly experience financial, psychological abuse and neglect.

“The woman is a retired teacher. When her husband died, she divided the property with her sons. She put .... Million shillings in her account for herself.

Her son, M, persuaded his mother to sign a document. M went to the bank to do a transfer of money. He was told to bring his mother. The mother is sick. He told her to put a signature on some documents because, he, M wanted to secure a loan. She put her signature and the money was transferred. When she came to withdraw money later, she found nothing. She was shown a form with her signature and all the money was gone. She went mad. The woman got lost. She was taken to ....... (Town) by her son to be prayed for, but she never came back. (Participant from FGD 3, Key Informant 2)

A Key Informant who knew the family well corroborated the story. He showed this researcher the home of this woman. The above narration reveals older women
as targets of financial abuse from family members and in particular sons (MetLife, 2009). It also showed the trust the elderly would put on sons. Though she is well educated, she signed documents that made her suffer financial abuse. The case also illustrates the perpetrators skill in persuasion to the extent that the mother is deceived into thinking she is helping her son get a loan but instead she is suffers financial abuse. The case alluded to the cognitive competence if the elderly person in making a decision to sign documents. The case could put forward that the elderly persons should be protected from making decisions that are detrimental to them. It may be argued that violating their human rights of independence would be of greater good if the final outcome is to prevent elder abuse.

Financial Abuse and cognitive competence of the elderly abused person

The case illustrates multiple abuses, financial and psychological of a well off retired, widowed elderly female who did the right thing and divided her property. Ironically, the son who should care for her is the one who takes advantage of her cognitive incapacity to understand to defraud her of her property. It can be said that the woman trusted her son, but this trust was betrayed and she ended up being abused.

Level of Income and Vulnerability to Financial Abuse

The case further illustrates that the very aspect of having a high level of income renders the elderly vulnerable to financial abuse. It could also be interpreted as fuelling the son’s greed for his mother’s property. The case can further be
interacted in the sense that the elderly in Machakos were abused regardless of whether they had high or low incomes.

**Institutional Abuse**

There is also the fact that there is institutional abuse. This is alluded by the fact that the bank did not carry out due diligence in allowing the transfer of such a large sum of money from their customer to someone else even though they were mother and son which is not a characteristic of any bank.

(NB: The case narrated would need further investigation as this could be the participants own interpretation of the situation. It is not normal for banks not to do due diligence in protecting customers’ accounts. On the other hand, the participants were aware of the case which was corroborated by a Key Informant who was not in the group)

There is no clarity where the old lady went to. This may allude to the elderly woman being a victim of crime. Neither the participant who narrated the case nor the Key Informant had information where the elderly lady went to.

**Isolation, advanced age and vulnerability to Sexual Abuse**

The case narrated here reveals sexual abuse of the elderly exists. In the case of the woman, she was of an advanced age, what is categorized as the oldest old, living alone and taken advantage of by a close relative. The shock of this killed her. In the one-on-one interviews, the researcher unveiled sexual abuse among this category of the elderly. In most cases, they were raped in their own household.
Theme 3: Which elderly people are most likely to suffer Elder Abuse?

“People most likely with no resource, no cattle, and no chickens.”

“Those who have retired and the wealth is finished”. (FGD 2)

In interpreting the above it emerges that those who have no resources are most likely to be abused a fact supported by research data. It further points to the fact that that livestock is wealth and its possession empowers the elderly person. Conversely, lack of it is seen as being poor and conversely predisposed to elder abuse because you have no resources to care for self.

Further interpretation can be seen in the idea of what is perceived as being poor in this community. If one does not have a chicken or even one goat or sheep let alone a cow, one is really seen as poor indeed.

Theme 4: Who are the people most likely to abuse the elderly people?

“Adult sons because they want land. They team up with their mothers and discriminate the old man. The mother moves to the city to live with the sons and leave the old man alone”. (FGD, 1, 2, 3, KI 6)

Daughters-in-law.” They are rude because they are not circumcised. “That’s why the beat their mothers in law and refuse them food. They should be circumcised”. (FGD 3)

“Daughters who are unmarried.” (FGD 1)

“Daughters in law, because at school they learned about nuclear family, not the extended family. If they divide a kilogram of meat it will not be enough for the extended family. With this mind-set, they disregard their in-laws. FGD 3
All the FGDs stated that those who abuse are adult sons followed by daughters in law and one’s own daughter’s clearly family members. The researcher asked the participant in FGD 3 to elaborate why daughters in law being uncircumcised abused them, she explained that since they themselves were circumcised, it was their duty to care, and respect their in laws and a curse would fall upon them and their children if they did not. Though this case was mentioned only in FGD 3 the participants in FGD 2 emphasized this point since one of their suggestions was to restore customary law to curb elder abuse. KI 6 said sons were mostly the abusers of their parents.

**Theme 5: Consequences of Elder Abuse: On the elders themselves, families and the community.**

The researcher explored the aspect of the consequences of elder abuse and it emerged that the consequences are at individual, family and community level illustrated by the following comments:

> “They go begging for food, finance, and clothes. Even if you give them the clothes, they will not be washed”. (FGD 2)

> “Many parents feel bad because of those actions against them”. (i.e. experience of abuse)” (FGD 1, 2)

> “Kuinga kithitu”. (To perform the dreaded Kamba curse/oath against the abusing person). This is done as a last resort when the abuse has been too much

**Consequences at individual level**

The above illustrates the stress that that the elderly experience because of abuse. The stress would involve such actions as cursing the abuser. The abuser who gets
cursed, it is believed will never have a good life and any misfortune that may befall him/her would be attributed to having abused his parents. FGD I respondents explained that that was why the Kamba customary law was so harsh on perpetrators. They explained that by killing the perpetrator, customary law punishment removed the curse that would have passed from generation to generation.

**Consequences at family level**

What happens to the families who abuse elder?

“They are cursed. The curse goes to “nzyawa syoo” (the curse goes from generation after generation) FGD 1.

“Some of their children (i.e. the abusers) will become thieves, murderers and some will become jailbirds”. FGD 2

“Those who beat their parents will also be beaten by their own children”. FGD 2

“Some of the people who abuse their parents are jobless and they do not have respect for their parents”. FGD 1

In interpreting the above, clearly the elderly see consequences for the family of those who abuse the elderly. This is an interesting observation. From the folk wisdom of the Akamba, any misfortune that happen to families is attributed to having abused the elderly parent in the past. Bujo (2010) observed that the elderly had a priestly role - “God’s messengers. They connected men to God” hence any abuse of the elderly cannot go unpunished from the children of the children (through generations). The conversations also may suggest those children who
abuse their elderly parents observed the same abuse of their parents to their own parents. This also strengthens Bandura’s Social Learning Theory that abuse of the elderly is a learned behaviour. The question is whether the abusers observed their parents abusing their grandparents. Conversely, such behaviour can be unlearned and hence reduce elder abuse.

Consequences of Elder Abuse for the Community

What happens to the communities where elders are abused?

“The community is not respected. Even their daughters are feared by other communities who refuse to marry them. They lose their customs that govern the aged. A curse enters the community”. FGD 2, 3

The statement shows that the elderly were keenly aware that there were consequences for communities were the elderly are abused. It is seen that this affects the social relations within and outside the community. From this perspective, it behoves the community to accord the elderly care, respect as a sacred obligation.

Theme 6: Why is Elder Abuse not reported?

The researcher explored why elder abuse is not reported. All the three FGDs responded and the following statements are representations from them.

“A parents hides abuse because they are afraid of their child” (referring to adult children) because most of them want money to take drugs and drink alcohol and they can beat us”. 
“Parents do not want to tell because they want to keep family secrets. They have secrets of the heart” FGD 1

“If you report, they will tell you told go to and stay with the one who is fighting for you, so you keep quiet (meaning the one who it was reported to)

“Though annoyed sometimes, but the elderly must live with someone”. FGD 3

“If they report, they are refused food”. They are told to find where they will go home to. FGD 2

“They don’t report because they fear retaliation” FGD 3

“I don’t want my child to be bothered by the police. If I report to the police, they become worse” (Participant in FGD 3)

The statements above underlie the fact that elder abuse is not reported and that it remains a family secret. It also shows that there are consequences for the elderly person who reports abuse, psychological abuse and neglect-pointing to further abuse and denial of care. The research data from one-on-one interviews point to mixed results.

There is differential reporting: Serious forms of physical, financial and sexual abuse are reported. When the abuse might not be obvious like psychological abuse or neglect, the elderly may not report. The characteristic of the perpetrator is also revealed here that those who abuse the elderly abuse drugs. Not reporting abuse was emphasized by a KI who said this:
“Many old people do not report abuse, if they report, there is more trouble. Old people are told they should die because they are useless”.

The statement reveals that the elderly do not want to live alone, isolated, but with others, as one participant put it, to have someone to send for water. For this reason, they will not expose abuse in the family. Support for fear of living alone can be illustrated from one of female 74 year old respondent who had never married, had bought her own land and built a house of her own and at the time of the interview was taking care of an eight year old girl whom she lived within her own house in the homestead. The idea here was not to live alone in her own house, but have someone to stay with so this was a symbiotic relationship. This can be explained by Social Exchange Theory that the elderly benefit from staying with others even though they experience abuse. The benefit is emotional.

The Hierarchical Nature of reporting Abuse

When asked whom they could report to when they are abused, a hierarchical nature of reporting emerged. The first step is to report to a senior member of the family, like an uncle, aunt, respected village elder. If the perpetrator does not cease the abuse, he/she is reported to the clan; if the clan members do not stop the abuse, then it is reported to the chief and then the police. The Key Informants confirmed that elder abuse did in fact exist in the community. The elder abuse was physical abuse: threatening, threat to kill.

The reasons given for the abuse was money concerns as well as land. One KI reiterated that since the advent of the County Government land dispossession had increased in his particular location. He narrated the case of a widow who owned
rental houses at the market on land left to her by her deceased husband. She had been collecting rent for many years. He said that a rich neighbour came with a title deed from the County Government claiming that the land was his and that the widow should move. He attributed this phenomenon to the land not having had a clear title deed. They also reported that cases of abuse had been reported to them.

The kind of reporting was underpinned KI who stated the steps he takes when a person is abused. He stated that he refers the case to the family elders and if the case continues, he refers it to the clan and when they are threatening; he takes it to the police for further action.

When asked if they were aware of any act that prohibits elder abuse they stated an act in reference to Human Rights, which says every human has a right to live in peace.

Their conversations can be interpreted the research objective of finding out if elder abuse exists in Machakos County and data from the research supported this. Although KI 8 stated a chapter in human rights, he did not particularly mention what older people’s rights are violated in elder abuse cases he had handled. This could point to need to train on human rights and the elder abuse at all levels of government.

The fact that those cases have been reported to them points to the fact supported by the research data that elder abuse is reported to the authorities when it is perceived to be very serious, especially where there are death threats.
Theme 7: Intervention Measures for the Elderly Abused

The researcher wanted to explore the nature of interventions that the elderly thought should be accorded to the elders who have been abused. All the three FGDs gave their view as to what they considered intervention.

“That children should be counselled in the presence of elders who know the traditions or the government to avail people to counsel the children and the daughters in law in the community and these people should give a report to the council that has been appointed for such matters. Many children do that because they have no respect for their parents. Many take drugs and alcohol. The youth should also be provided with jobs. Parents should be loved.” FGD 1

“A long time ago, families had groups that settled such matters. The clan was so powerful. It could kill the person abusing the elderly parent and compensate him with twelve head of cattle and the matter would be settled. Others would fear to do it. Customs have been destroyed. Homes have been broken. The clan had power to punish was diminished after independence, we follow the constitution now. The government is part of the destruction of customs and has destroyed clan power. If the clan punishes, the government will punish you. When customary law was applied, there was no elder abuse because punishment was instant. Clan power has been destroyed. We are writing a memorandum to send to the County Government to tell them about the customary law. The County Government should restore customary law. The government should be told not to interfere with punishment from the clan. We will restore elderly as elders. Clan power should be strengthened to identify elder abusers and punish them. You build homes for the elderly and when they are completely helpless and neglected, they elderly can be taken there with the consent of their families.” FGD 2, 3

(NB: They invited the researcher to be part of the proposed delegation and to help draft the proposed Memoranda to the County Government of Machakos). At this juncture, the researcher asked what would happen if the family of the elderly
person refused the person to be taken to an elderly people’s home. They responded:

“The government should take them by force.”
“The Clan must take an active role in this matter.”
FGD 2

“The subject of the elderly should be introduced in the school syllabus and should be taught from primary school to the university.” FGD 1, 2, 3

“Build old people’s homes, so when the elderly are very old and helpless, the government can take care of them.”
“There should be family support for the elderly.”
FGD 1, 2, 3

In analysing the participants’ conversations, a certain pattern of intervention emerged that ranged from unstructured intervention to a more structured intervention from the community level to the government.

Counselling
In terms of intervention, the participants saw traditional counselling the intergenerational conversations between elders and the youth followed by a structured government system. Their position is that traditional role in intervention in elder abuse was much more effective. They also pointed to unemployment as the cause of elder abuse.

The Role of Customary Law and Cultural Practices versus the law of the land in elder abuse intervention
The Participants in two FGD 2 and 3 made a strong assertion for the intervention for elder abuse by reverting to customary law methods of punishment which were instant, clear cut and elicited compliance and there was no elder abuse (killing the abusers, circumcising the women) but they were also conscious of the clash between customary law and the provisions of the law where the law would punish and circumcision of women is forbidden by law. Support for this view is data from one-on-one interviews where reporting abuse was first to the senior member of the family, then the clan and then eventually to the government authorities. Clearly traditional customs are revered and appear to be the first line of defines in intervention for elderly abused individuals. There is also the perception that customary law is more effective than formal law in dealing with elder abuse.

It is clear here then that one underlying problem is a clash of values occasioned by change. The young and the old have conflicting perception of what they value. This, in the researcher’s view provides the underlying cause to the problem of elder abuse.

From a modernization perspective advanced by Cowgill and Holmes (1972) quoted in Hooyman and Kiyak, 1996:

“As society becomes more advanced older people lose their political and social power, influence and leadership... in addition younger and older generations become increasingly separated socially, morally, and intellectually”.
This could offer the explanation for the elder abuse as the elderly acquire a low status in society. Data from the research showed a link between the elderly socioeconomic status and an increase in elder abuse.

**The Role of Education Elder Abuse Intervention**

The participants expressed the idea that education syllabus should socialize the young in learning about the aged right from the lowest level to tertiary level. They felt the education did not pass the correct knowledge on the aged. Children in class are taught the family is father, mother and the children. It does not include other members of the extended family. This, the participants felt children did not see the elderly as part of the family and that laid a basis for elder abuse in later life when they were grown.

**Homes for the Aged**

The participants expressed mixed feelings about old people’s homes as an intervention measure. On one hand, they advocated for building them, but for one to be taken there when they are really too old and frail. This suggests that as long as the elderly are capable of independent living, going to an old people’s home was not viewed positively but elder abuse. Data from the research found that the elderly are living independently within the family set up and many of them are engaged in the community.

At another level, FGD 2 participants had already taken the initiative to build an old people’s home in the compound of their church an indication that they were conscious of the elderly abused cases but put a caveat that the elderly person
could only go there with the consent of the family and government to only intervene if the family refused to let the elderly person go there.

It can then be seen that their views about old people’s home is dichotomous. This community holds the view that taking an elderly person to an old people’s home is actually viewed as elder abuse, because it is the responsibility of the adult children to take care of their elderly parents because to take them to a new environment, it would be difficult to adjust. Taking elderly people to a home is then viewed as elder abuse for the elderly person.

The statement that if the family refused to let the elderly person be taken to an old people’s home and the government should force them could be interpreted to mean that the family has admitted to abuse. It could also seem to point to the supremacy of government law to elicit compliance and may be its supremacy to the stated instant punishment of customary nature of the perpetrators of elder abuse.

But there is an allusion to the low pace of the criminal justice system in dispensing justice contrasted with what they said of them in customary: immediate and total compliance. When Lindblom (1963) was writing about the Akamba and punishment, he acknowledged that the council of elders dispensed punishment but the government forbade some of the forms of these punishments. This could be said to be the genesis of the clash between customary law and modern law in punishing perpetrators of elder abuse.
The third view came from participants in FGD 3 who expressed the view that the government should build old people’s homes and some said they would not mind going there when they are too old to do anything for themselves. This third view could further be interpreted that the elderly in Machakos value their independence. Data from the research supports this because the elderly in Machakos County were actively engaged in the community, created jobs for themselves and were deeply ingrained in the fabric of the community even those over 100 years old.
CHAPTER FIVE: 5.0 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research findings of the study, draws conclusions from the findings and suggests areas of further research. The major objective of the study was to explore the predisposing factors, the patterns and the extent of elder abuse in Machakos County. Three hundred and seventeen (317) elderly persons aged 60 years and above were interviewed to explore their experience of elder abuse. The findings are summarised here below:

5.1 Socio demographic characteristics and abuse toward the elderly people

The major objective of this study was to explore the extent of elder abuse among the elderly by examining the socio-demographic characteristics and elder abuse. Of the 317 respondents studied, 142 were male and 175 were female. The majority of the elderly in Machakos County were aged between 60 to 89 years of age, indicating that the elderly lived to a ripe old age.

The elderly lived in extended family setups, in households consisting of four or more people of different generations, emphasizing the strength of family ties and the context within which the elderly persons live and age, a family system that predominates in most Africa setting and was and still is true of Machakos County. This context of living within the family countered the detrimental effects of social isolation and enhanced the physical, mental and emotional wellbeing, decreasing
the rate of morbidity and mortality among the elderly. Further, the strong family ties embed the elderly within the community such that the elderly do not become isolated as they age.

The family system is designed such that the elderly are taken care in terms of protection, material support and psychological support in this family system. For example, among the Akamba, the youngest son was the one who ideally was left to take care of the elderly parents. Other studies notably Chompound et al (2014) indicate that family structures have changed from extended to nuclear family. This study established a pattern of extended family living together in a homestead where the sons moved to work in urban areas but their families still stayed in the family homestead thereby leaving the extended family set up still intact. Close family ties function and the elderly people still live within this setup, thus they are not isolated but closely connected to the larger family.

The findings from the study, however found the paradox of living in the extended multi-generational homestead on one hand provided care and protection for the elderly, a mutual interdependence, but on the other hand, fermented tensions within the family that led to abuse of the elderly persons. There was a relationship between the numbers of people the elderly person lived with and experience of elder abuse. The more the people, the more was the potential for elder abuse from various persons within the homestead, thus the elderly suffered multiple abuse, perpetrated by different persons and for different reasons.
5.2 Age and abuse of the elderly

Although the abuse rates of the elderly varied by type in this study, the analyses of data and interpretation discovered that there existed a significant relationship between the present age of the elderly person and the forms of abuse they experienced. Empirical studies support the notion that increase in chronological age increase potential of vulnerability to elder abuse.

The study findings do not support this as all categories of age groups in the study experienced elder abuse. The study was and was consistent with Bigala and Ayinga (2014) study in South Africa whereby both elderly men and women experienced elder abuse regardless of the age. This study differs though in terms of the form of abuse associated with increase in chronological age. The study found out that those who suffered financial abuse were in the category of the old old and the oldest old.

Studies on Life Span Development (Santrock, 2002) observe that late adulthood begins in the 60’s and extends to 120 years being the longest span on any period of human development, being 50-60 years. The study concurs with this observation because the oldest respondent in Machakos was 101 years old. The study found that among those who experienced financial abuse were respondents over 90 years old.

Moody and Sasser (2012) categorization could be said to have policy bearing for Kenya in terms of social protection where the Kenyan government recently
decided to be giving those aged 70 and above Cash Transfer, the thinking here being that those who are the most vulnerable are the oldest among them.

5.3. Gender and Abuse of the elderly

Studies from some African countries such (Cadmus, et al 2014) study in South Western Nigeria revealed that elder abuse victims are more often women. The present study data, analyses and interpretation contradicts these studies and revealed that both elderly men and women experienced elder abuse. Sexual abuse was gender specific and all the respondents who were identified as having suffered sexual abuse were elderly women. The study revealed aged women of over 80 years suffered sexual and financial abuse and none of the elderly men in the study reported any sexual abuse. It can be construed that men would never talk about sexual abuse because it is too shameful and in conventional terms, whenever sexual abuse is mentioned, women automatically come to mind.

5.4 Marital Status and Experience of Elder abuse

This study revealed that that the majority of the respondents were married. There was a gender disparity in that majority of elderly women lived in widowhood and experienced multiple forms of elder abuse. The same case applied to the single and those who had never married. The findings were consistent with Novak (2006) observation that older women aged 75 years and were likely to live in widowhood. The study findings differed from Lindsey and Beach (2000) whose observation was that widowhood increased social isolation, decreased prestige and financial security in many cultures. The study demonstrated the resilience of elder widowed women to deal with their vulnerability to social, economic and
health problems in that they formed networks for psychological support and economic empowerment which increased their social networks hence were not isolated.

Data did not support the loss of prestige among widowed women but only on those who never married. The explanation for this would be that even when one is widowed, they still had that honour of having been previously married. However, when one had never been married, the perception was that something was wrong. Not having ever been married had a social implication. As a woman, never having married, you were perceived as not fit for an elective political post. The study data showed that the elderly persons who had never married, though very few in the studied sample, experienced elder abuse. The abuse was mainly dispossession of land by family members especially if they lived in the family home.

**5.5. Level of Education and Elder Abuse**

Data from the research revealed that the majority of the respondents had low levels of education, no schooling and primary level as compared to those who attained higher education, high school, college or university. The explanation for this would be that the studied population, 60 years and above belonged, to age cohorts who were born when universal education was not mandatory, so persons from these cohorts may have less education.

Research data revealed that the education level did not influence experience of elder abuse in general among the elderly in Machakos County. All categories in the level of education experienced abuse. Nevertheless some cases of financial
abuse could be attributed to the low level of education in cases where respondents signed documents whose implication they had not understood, especially legal documents involving land transfer, thereby ending up being financially abused.

5.6 Occupation and Experience of Elder Abuse

Data revealed the majority of the respondents were looking after home and the family, followed by the self-employed, farming, retired from paid employment, unable to work and unemployed, in that order. Analyses of the employment revealed a complex interface of the responses given. A respondent would state that they are looking after home and family, yet they do farming but do not see farming as a form of employment; a respondent would say they are retired from paid work but they do farming both for crops and livestock keeping and have assets like rental houses where they derive income from; a respondent might say they do business, yet they do farming.

Data showed that there was a linkage between elder abuse and the occupation of the elderly. There were the elderly who were abused because the son wanted to farm the land belonging to the elderly, thus competing for the same land that the elderly also farmed. It was interesting to note that farming was not seen as a job by the majority but as an activity taken for granted which is normal for a rural community. However, for those retired from work, farming becomes a job creation activity, a new way of life, a paradigm shift, some said they earned more from farming than they ever did from formal employment.

The elderly showed remarkable innovativeness because they created jobs for themselves, for example, the case of the elderly person who traded in chicken
from a wheel chair. Her rationale was that you cannot stay idle because you will die early if you are doing nothing. This implied that elderly people abhor idleness. Further analyses showed that the elderly except for a small minority did not have pension. This could be explained by the fact that many had never had a formal employment.

5.7 Level of Income and experience of elder abuse

Data analyses in this study revealed that the majority of the elderly respondents had a monthly income of between KS 1000-5000 accounting for 61% of the sampled respondents and while 20% had an income of between Ksh 5000-10000 or even higher while only 17% reported having an income of below Ksh 1000.

The level of income revealed a complex web of sources of income. Sources of income for the elderly were revealed to be coming from pensions for a small group, assets, like land and rental houses for some and small businesses for others, as well income derived from belonging to table banking groups. Whereas the majority reported support from the adult children, they could equally state, they sold farm produce which could be derived from their own land, had a small business as well as belonging to a social group where they did table banking and even belonging to an income generating group and a very small minority were enrolled in the government Cash Transfer Programme. So in the perception of the respondents, income level was stated taking all the above factors into consideration.
Interpretation of the data revealed that the level of income had no significant bearing on elder abuse. Those who had low incomes were just as likely to be abused as those who had higher incomes.

On another level, data from the study did not reveal the elderly were an economic burden as such, but majority of them had resources that they used to derive income. Ironically, it was the possession of the resources that put them in a vulnerable position i.e., experiencing elder abuse.

5.8 Religious Affiliation and Elder Abuse

Data analyses and interpretation revealed that the majority of the respondents in Machakos County belonged to the Christian faith, followed by the Muslim faith. The connection between religious affiliations was revealed in that the respondents perceived that those who abused the elderly had no fear of God. Further analyses revealed the radically transforming nature of religion energised the Community Based Groups consisting of the elderly responded to elder abuse. For example one such group was building a multipurpose building that would provide a home facility for the elderly persons in the community who were in serious need of protection. The same group, through the church, pooled resources to get food to deliver to those elderly who clearly were in need of food. This meant that the community respondent to to the actual felt needs of the community.

Social networks among the elderly studied emanated from the church hence the elderly were not isolated in the sense of that word. Many of the abused respondents were identified through these groups. The interpretation of such a
community action revealed the deep consciousness of the needs of the elderly who were vulnerable and likely experiencing elder abuse.

5.9 Number of Children and elder abuse experience

Research revealed that Machakos County majority of the respondents had large number of children typical of most African families. Data analyses revealed mixed results. The elderly were supported by the children. Conversely, they would be abused in this context where there was differential interaction between the elderly and the adult children, some abusing and some supporting the elderly. A phenomenon that emerged out of the data was that even though sons would care for their elderly as their obligation, some of the dispossessed elderly respondents sought refuge from their married daughters (Field data, 2016)

5.10 Living Arrangements and Experience of Elder Abuse

The research data revealed that the majority of the elderly lived with others and not alone. The elderly lived in homesteads with several generations of extended family. Data revealed that, within this extended family, the close proximity ironically fomented tensions which led to the elderly being abused.

Majority of the respondents stated they owned the houses they lived and they perceived them to be in good condition. The fact that that the respondents lived in their own houses could be explained by the fact that they lived in rural area and owned land on which they could build own houses.
5.11 Forms of Elder abuse Experienced by the Elderly

Data from the study revealed that the elderly experience elder abuse. The study found that the elderly in Machakos County experienced five forms of abuse. The first one was physical abuse in which the majority of the respondents were threatened to be killed. Those who threatened them were mainly sons in the age bracket of between 17-57 years of age. Men and women suffered physical abuse with more women of advanced age experiencing it.

Psychological abuse was also suffered by the elderly. The majority of the respondents were yelled at. Those who psychologically abused the elderly majority were the daughters-in-law. This can be explained by the fact that the daughters in law had more contact with the elderly and in any case it is assumed that they care for the burden of care for the elderly would usually fall on them.

Financial abuse was also suffered by the elderly. Data showed that the elderly were defrauded of their property and as well as being coerced into signing documents especially in relation to land. The majority of the perpetrators of financial abuse were found to be sons. Both elderly men and women were targets of financial abuse.

Data showed a small minority of the respondents experienced sexual abuse. This was among the elderly women with more of them in the category of the oldest old. There were no cases of sexual abuse among the men of the studied respondents. This put sexual abuse as the least prevalent of the elder abuse forms found in Machakos County.
Data showed a small minority of the elderly respondents perceived themselves as having been neglected. The researcher termed their form of neglect as passive neglect because the respondents were not exactly denied physical things. Their neglect was more expressed in terms of not being visited or called on the phone.

One of the respondents stated that his three adult children lived outside the country and did not take his calls, neither did they call him which he viewed as neglect. The interpretation of this could be that previously, the family interaction was full of strife and no close bonds were formed. Future researchers could focus on what happens in the family life cycle so that the family continues to be conducive for the elderly person to age in without abuse.

The second objective of the study sought to establish the reasons for elder abuse. The foremost reason why the elderly suffer abuse was precipitated by family strife. Data supported the fact that family strife rose out of the relations among the family members and intertwined with the issues of the property the elderly person owned. Family strife led to multiple abuses of the elderly because strife could start as psychological and escalate to physical abuse.

The second major reason for abuse was possession of land. Analyses of the data showed that land was at the centre of abuse. Land presented a complex web of physical, psychological and financial abuse of the elderly. Not having divided the land among the children was a unique characteristic of possession of land that led to abuse.
The interpretation of possession of land as a key aspect in elder abuse is the value placed on land as a resource.

Objective three explored the predisposing factors to elder abuse. Ownership of land was found to be a predisposing factor to elder abuse. Both elderly men and women were abused because they possessed land and in some cases the land had not been divided.

Living arrangements were found to be a predisposing factor in elder abuse. Living together in a larger homestead was found to generate tension between the elderly and other family members. But even so this tension may be precipitated by family interaction and fuelled by land issues.

The health status of the elderly was found to be a predisposing factor to elder abuse. Numerous health problems associated with aging were unveiled in the study which showed that the elderly in Machakos County had numerous health issues associated with aging. The interpretation is that the risk of disease increases with age. The top five health conditions stated by the respondents were in the following order: pain in legs whilst walking, hypertension, diabetes, eye problems and teeth problems.

These health conditions were experienced differentially. The study found that these health conditions were not debilitating to the elderly as showed by the fact that the majority of the elderly did not need help with Activities of Daily Living. Even the oldest of the respondents aged 101 years was found working in his farm and was cognitively intact.
Studies in elder abuse have pointed to care giver stress as a precipitating factor in the abuse (Acierno, et al 2010). A care giver in the context of Machakos County, in the context of the community and family was someone employed by the family for general work in addition to taking care of the elderly and other family members. The research data contradicts care giver stress as a precipitating factor in elder abuse because the majority of the respondents were competent in the Activities of Daily Living.

The caregiver stress is not supported by the findings of this study. This study does not support that the caregiver was burdened by the care of the elderly person precipitating abuse because to a large extent the elderly were not limited in Activities of Daily Living.

Elder Abuse was found to be a result of a mixture of the perpetrator demanding something from the victim or trying to wrestle something from the elderly person which the abuser needed.

Family interactions of those who live with the elderly coupled with other factors were the contributing factors of elder abuse rather than caregiver stress. Some of the elderly who were supported by a care giver usually a member of the family appeared well looked after. It was more of a symbiotic relationship in which the care giver used the Cash Transfer Money from the elderly and the elderly person was cared for. So dependence of the elder person on the care giver in some cases did not lead to elder abuse.
Nevertheless a number of cases were found to have suffered physical abuse because of their health status, the elderly whose wheel chair was tipped and he fell out of it, being left for a long time in one place because they could not move about easily and the cancer suffering individual who was overdosed by the care giver and coerced into entering a lottery which was none existent.

Elderly men and women suffered financial abuse by being made to sign on documents whose implication they had no idea.

The study found that the majority of elderly had not reached a crisis point where they were totally dependent on others for care because of their health condition. The study revealed the elderly utilized government health services. This could be attributed to the fact that government health care services are cheaper than private while others could not afford even the government health care.

The study found that the perception of their memory status was rated as good among the studied respondents. Only a few respondents expressed the fact that they were forgetful, but did not report any feelings of frustration of memory failure. This can be explained by the differential health patterns that were found among the elderly in Machakos County.

The result of the study did not reveal that the abused elderly person was the provider of food, shelter clothing to the perpetrator, but family members used various methods of power and control over an elderly victim. It was found threats, intimidation, and coercion was used to abuse the elderly physically, psychologically, financially and sexually.
The fourth objective of the study was to establish the intervention methods that the abused elderly take in dealing with elder abuse. Data analyses revealed that the elderly reported abuse when the abuse was more serious like when threatened with a weapon or to be killed.

The study unveiled a hierarchical nature of reporting elder abuse. It was found that the elderly would report to a senior family member, and then the matter would be reported to the clan if the family member did not resolve the issue. The third level of reporting would be to the government authorities, the sub chief, the chief, the police or the D.O. They would report the matter directly to the Chief or the police if the abuse was of a more serious nature.

The research found community initiatives in addressing vulnerability to elder abuse. An example was the community based group “WAZEE UKUMBUKA” literally meaning the elderly remembers which through their membership of the church availed food to the elderly and was proposing to build a home for the elderly. This could be interpreted to mean there was a growing consciousness among the elderly that the family set up where the elderly were cared for was changing with the young moving from home to go and work in urban areas.

The study found that old people’s home was an abomination among the elderly. It was viewed as elder abuse because it implied the old person was ‘thrown away’ and was unwanted with no one to care for him/her. Nevertheless, there was a slight change of attitude among some of the respondents who indicated that an old person could go to a home when they were too old and frail to take care of themselves then the government could take over their care.
5.12 Conclusion

The objective of this study was to determine the nature and forms of elder abuse in Machakos County. The socio demographic factors (gender, age, and marital status, level of income, education, health status, living arrangements, and ownership of land) were the independent variables with elder abuse being the dependent variable. The study revealed the elderly in Machakos experience physical, psychological, financial sexual abuse and neglect. It was found family strife and ownership of resources especially land were the precipitating factors in elder abuse.

It was revealed in this study that the elderly were not isolated but living in the context of the extended family and incidentally this is where most of the elderly abuse happened. The study established that that gender, age, marital status, nature of marriage, health status had a bearing on elder abuse in varying degrees.

The present study found that the elderly in Machakos County were not entirely dependent on their abusers nor were the abusers entirely dependent on them but rather abuse happened because of other factors such as control of the resources of the elderly person.

The elderly in Machakos were found to live to advanced ages. As Kenyan population is youthful, the aging population in Kenya will increase and hence the need to find strategies to address elder abuse and to strengthen the social systems to address elder abuse.
Ownership of land was found to be a contributor of elder abuse. Hence the need to strengthen systems for example, the elderly can be helped to write wills that may alleviate the incidence of physical abuse. But again, writing of wills could open new avenues of vulnerability to financial abuse. One solution may lie in relooking at the family, strengthening the clan system and the traditional justice system. These seemed to be first line of intervention in elder abuse.

5.13 Recommendations of the study

The results of the study are considered a landmark in the contribution of unveiling a not so well known issue of elder abuse because of the culture we live in which does not contemplate that the elderly can be abused because they are revered. The elderly had been perceived as a victim who needs charity, cannot make choices for self, infantilized, because of this, suffers elder abuse. Elder abuse has to be seen as a multiple responsibility that needs to be addressed by all from the family, community, government, private sector and the elderly persons.

On the basis of the study, the following is recommended:

The need to stop viewing the elderly as a dependent, isolated, helpless, nonreactive category of the population which makes them vulnerable to elder abuse, but a proactive, creative category who happen to get abused because of their resources.

The need to provide education in the school curriculum at all levels to introduce Social Gerontology and the social context the elderly live in in order to understand the elderly in the society
The need for continuing education of the elderly so they have the knowledge to personally respond to elder abuse, for example knowledge about inheritance law.

The need to develop intervention strategies at the community level whose focus would be to offer services for example emergency refuge for the elderly abused, support group, counselling and legal services.

The need to form a National Agency for the Care and Protection of the elderly abused Persons to Coordinate the Services and to develop social programmes, like health, education, legal services, transport, justice and security.

The need for special representation in both the County and national Government to take care of any legislation pertaining to the needs of the elderly abused persons.

5.14 Implications for further research and policy

The focus of the study was to provide an insight into the nature of elder abuse in Machakos County. The following suggestions emanating from this study have been proposed for further research.

This study can be replicated to confirm its findings and to re-examine and compare findings among similar groups. Secondly, Risk factors of elder abuse in both rural and urban communities should be investigated and compared. Thirdly, a qualitative research should be carried out in families to discover why family members are the ones who abuse the elderly. Fourthly, a study in the changing trends in family set ups that precipitate elder abuse.
Fifthly, this research questioned some of the theories used to explain elder abuse. Social Exchange theory explains interactions between people as a process of negotiated exchanges which may include material goods for example money, housing and non-material goods such as love. This research added new knowledge on this theory because in elder abuse, there was no negotiated process but coercion on the part of the abuser because the victim had resources which the abuser desired.

The research has implications for policy makers where by policy to address elder abuse can be formulated from the micro level which includes family and community; to Macro level which includes Social Systems and society in particular.

A research study should also be conducted focusing on the factors contributing to the increased longevity in the life expectancy to study the trend in longevity of life in order to plan for the aged in Machkos County.

Future study should be done focusing on perpetrators of elder abuse which is like the other side of the story. The study should focus on perusing official records on where cases of abuse are reported, court proceedings to find out how the reported cases are resolved by the criminal justice system.
REFERENCES


*Broken Trust: Elders, Family and Finances*. (2009). MetLife Mature Market Institute, the National Committee for the Prevention of Elder Abuse and the Centre for Gerontology at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.


Eckroth-Bucher, Margie (2008) In Aging well, Vol. 1, No. 4, Pg. 24


Hafemeister, Thomas L. (2003). Financial abuse of the elderly in domestic setting. In National Research Council (US) to review risk and prevalence of elder


Muiruri, R., (2011) *An Exploratory Study of Elder Abuse in Tanzania*. An Unpublished M.A. Thesis. School of Public Health, University of North Texas, Health Science Centre at Fortworth


South Eastern Centre Against Sexual Assault (2009). Http://www.secasa.au


Internet Sources


http://www/daccessdds.un.org/doc


http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ageism#European_union
APPENDICES

A1 Appendix 1: Informed Consent

My name is Ruth Mueni Muli. I am Ph.D student at Kenyatta University and undertaking a study as part of my postgraduate work. I wish to understand how old people in this community live, whom they live with, who takes care of them and whether they experience some difficulties and how they resolve these difficulties.

You have been selected because you are an older person living in this community. The information you give will be treated with utmost confidentiality and eventually will remain anonymous. It will never be revealed to anyone under whatever circumstance. Any information you give is for the purpose of research only.

I am going to talk to you directly about these issues. You may choose to talk to me or not; if you decide not to talk to me you will not be punished in any way. Your participation in this research is voluntary and you are free in case it becomes overwhelming to withdraw anytime. The findings of the research will help the government and other development agencies to formulate policies that will address the difficulties elderly persons face.

If you agree to participate, you will be talked to by the researcher who will get your views on the aspects of elder abuse. Please ask any questions concerning the above points for clarification.
I have read and understood the nature and purpose of the research and I voluntarily agree to participate in the study.

_____________________________ Date:__________________
(Signature of subject/thumbprint of respondent)

________________________________________
PRINTED NAME OF THE RESPONDENT

NAME OF THE RESEARCHER

For questions or clarifications, please contact:

Ruth Mueni Muli,
Mobile: 0733 624 370,
Email: muenirmuli@hotmail.com
Kenyatta University
Department of Sociology
School of Humanities and Social Sciences
P.O. Box 43844-00100,
Nairobi.
Appendix II: Interview guide for elder abuse

Serial No:_______________________________________________________________

Date and Place of Interview________________________________________________

Section 1: Demographic Characteristics

1. Gender  Male ( )  Female ( )

2. What is your age?
   (1) 60-64 ( )  (3) 70-74 ( )  (5) 80-84 ( )
   (2) 65-69 ( )  (4) 75-79 ( )  (6) 85+ ( )

3. Which of the following best describes your marital status?
   (1) Never married ( )  (3) Married ( )  (5) Separated ( )
   (2) Divorced ( )  (4) Widowed ( )
   (b) If married, is it:
   (i) Monogamous  (2) Polygamous  (3) Woman husband

4. How many children do you have?_______________________________________

5. How many of your children are working? _______________________________

6. What was the highest level of education you ever attained?
   (1) No formal education ( )  (2) Primary education ( )
   (3) Secondary education ( )  (4) College/Polytechnic ( )
   (5) University degree ( )
   Any other:
   Explain_______________________________________________________________

7. What is your religion?
   (1) Catholic ( )  (2) Protestant ( )  (3) Muslim ( )
   Any other:
   Explain_______________________________________________________________
(8) Do you belong to any social group? (1) Yes  (2) No

(b) If yes to the above question, state what kind of activities you engage in with the group: ____________________________________________________________

9. Employment Status
(1) Retired from paid work  ( )
(2) Looking after home and family  ( )
(3) Self-employed  ( )
(4) Permanently unable to work due to long term injury or sickness  ( )
(5) Unemployed/Looking for work  ( )
(6) Farming
(7) Any other: Explain _______________________________________________________

10. What are your sources of income?
(1) Pension  ( )
(2) Rent  ( )
(3) Support from my adult children  ( )
(4) Business  ( )
Any other: Explain _______________________________________________________

(b) What is the average monthly income from these sources?
(1) Below 1000  ( )
(2) 1001-5000  ( )
(3) 5001-10000  ( )
(4) Over 10000  ( )

11. Do you own land or do farming? Yes ( )  No ( )
If yes:
(a) How many parcels do you own?__________________________________________
(b) Which of the following best describes how you use this land?
(1) I own and cultivate land  ( )
(2) I own but don’t cultivate this land  ( )
If you own land but do not cultivate the land, who cultivates it?
Explain ____________________________________________________________

(c) What is the title deed of this land?
(1) With title deed ( ) (2) Without title deed ( )
(3) Customary ( ) (4) I do not know ( )

If the land has a title deed, who keeps the title deed?_____________________

(d) Do you own any farm animals? Yes No.

Section 2: Housing/Living Arrangements
12. (A) Who do you live with:
   (1) Alone ( ) (2) With other people ( ) (3) How many people altogether

   live in this household with you?________________________________________

13. Do you own or rent where you live?
   (1) Rent ( ) (2) Own ( )

14. How would rate the physical condition of your home?
   (1) Excellent ( ) (2) Very good ( ) (3) Good ( )
   (4) Fair ( ) (5) Poor ( ) (6) Very Poor ( )

Section 3: Health: Physical and Mental
15. Would you say that your physical health is:
   (1) Excellent ( ) (2) Very good ( ) (3) Fair ( )
   (4) Poor ( ) (5) Very Poor ( )

16. Do you have a health problem(s) that usually continue to require care or
treatment and which may restrict your movement? (1) Yes (2) No
If the answer is yes to the question above, explain how it has affected you?

____________________________________

(a) Do you get any medical care for your ailments?
(1) Yes ( )       (2) No ( )

(b) Have you had a medical checkup in the last year?
(1) Yes ( )       (2) No ( )
If yes, who is responsible for your medical care

(c) If no, state reasons for not getting medical checkup in the last year

15. Would you say that in general, your memory is:
(1) Excellent ( )       (2) Very Good ( )       (3) Good ( )
(4) Fair ( )       (5) Poor ( )

16. Please tell me whether at the present time, you require any of the following to help you. (Tick all that are applicable to you)
(1) Eyeglasses ( )       (2) Hearing Aid ( )       (3) False teeth ( )
(4) Cane and crutches ( )       (5) Wheel chair ( )

Indicate any other health device: ________________________________
Explain__________________________________________

Section 4: Diet and Nutrition
17. Now I will ask about some of the foods you eat. Would you tell me how often you eat them.
(a) Maize and beans, Rice, arrow roots, Pumpkins
(1) Almost every day ( )       (2) Sometimes ( )       (3) Almost never ( )
(b) Any kind of meat, including beef (nyama ya ng`ombe) goat meat, pork, chicken, fish, eggs, beans, nuts.
   (1) Almost every day ( )  (2) Sometimes ( )  (3) Almost never ( )

(c) Any fruit or fruit juices including mangoes, oranges, bananas, pineapples, papaws.
   (1) Almost every day ( )  (2) Sometimes ( )  (3) Almost never ( )

(d) Any vegetables including sukuma, spinach, kunde, carrots, cabbages.
   (1) Almost every day ( )  (2) Sometimes ( )  (3) Almost never ( )

(e) Do you have trouble buying foods that you like?
Yes ( )  No ( )  Sometimes ( )
If yes, explain: ________________________________
________________________________________________
18. Activities of Daily Living

For each of the following activities, please indicate if you do it without difficulty, do it with some difficulty, cannot do it or if someone has to help you.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Do it without difficulty</th>
<th>Do it with some difficulty</th>
<th>Cannot do it</th>
<th>Someone has to help me</th>
<th>Relationship with the Helper</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I am completely satisfied with the help I get</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I am not satisfied with the help I get</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>If not satisfied, state reasons for not being satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washing and Bathing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eating</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Getting from a bed to a chair</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using of toilet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using of telephone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopping for food</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparing own meals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watching TV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking your own prescription medicine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Physical Abuse**

19. I am going to ask you some very personal questions. I would like to assure you that everything you tell me is strictly confidential and will never share it with anybody else. Sometimes, bad things happen to good people. I have a list of things that I want to ask you. If anything like them has happened to you during the last one year. If the answer to the questions is yes, then I would want to know why that person did it to you. First of all, is there anybody within your family that you have disagreed with on certain issues? Yes ( ) No ( )

If yes, tell me about the person ________________________________

In the past year, did anyone do the any of the following to you?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Yes/No</th>
<th>Relationship with the person who did this to you?</th>
<th>What was the Incidence?</th>
<th>Did you report or talk to somebody about the incidence?</th>
<th>What action did the person take?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beating</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arm-twisting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kicking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatening with knife or panga (machete)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatening to kill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punching</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slapping</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slamming against the wall</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(b) Please explain what happened in this case________________________________________________________________________

**20. Psychological Abuse**

In the past year did anyone do any of the following to you?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Yes/No</th>
<th>Relationship with the person who did this to you</th>
<th>What was the Incidence?</th>
<th>Did you report or talk to somebody about the incidence?</th>
<th>What action did the person take?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shouted/Yelled at You</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Called you a witch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wished you dead</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Told you they can do anything to you and no one would stop them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened to hit or throw something at you</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destroyed something belonging to you</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treated to take you to an old people’s home</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Please explain what happened in this case________________________________________________________________________
## Financial Abuse

21. In the past year, did anyone in your family or outside it do the following to you?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Yes/ No</th>
<th>Relationship with the person who did this to you?</th>
<th>What was the Incidence?</th>
<th>Did you report or talk to somebody about the incidence?</th>
<th>What action did the person take?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stole money/ possessions from you</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced you to sign a cheque or property transfer document against your will</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced you to give money or possessions to them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced you to give them title deed/s for your land/house</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Took your money without your knowledge</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced you to buy things you felt you did not need</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Please explain what happened in this case: ____________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________________________
Sexual Abuse

Now I will ask you some questions that are even more personal. I hope that you feel comfortable answering them and once again I remind you that no one will know these are your answers.

22. In the last year, did anyone do anything to you for a sexual nature that made you feel uncomfortable? Yes ( ) No ( )

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Yes/No</th>
<th>Relationship with the person who did this to you?</th>
<th>What was the Incidence?</th>
<th>Did you report or talk to somebody about the incidence?</th>
<th>What action did the person take?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Talked to you in a sexual way that made you feel uncomfortable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Touched you in a sexual way that made you feel uncomfortable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had sexual intercourse with you against your will</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Showed you pornographic material against your will</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Explain what happened in this case ____________________________________________________________
Neglect

As we continue with our conversation, once again I would like to ask you some very personal questions. I assure you that everything you tell me is strictly confidential and I will not share it with anyone.

23. In the last year did anyone in your family or outside it do any of the following to you?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Yes/ No</th>
<th>Relationship with the person who did this to you?</th>
<th>What was the Incidence?</th>
<th>Did you report or talk to somebody about the incidence?</th>
<th>What action did the person take?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Left alone for a long time when you needed help</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not treated when you were ill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denied food, water, comfortable clothing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left unwashed for a long time</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not given prescribed medication</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someone refusing to take care of you</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Please explain what happened in this case__________________________________________________________________________

We have come to the end of the interview. Thank you very much for taking your time to participate.
A3 Appendix III: Interview Schedule for Key informants

SECTION A: PERSONAL INFORMATION
Tick in the appropriate box on each of the statements below. The information that you will provide in the interview will be kept confidential.

BIO-DATA
Female (2)
Age______________________________________________________________

Higher level of education
(a) Primary (1) (b) Secondary (2)

What is your religion?
(1) Catholic ( )
(2) Protestant ( )
(3) Muslim ( )
(4) Other ( )

What is your working experience?
(1) Less than 5 years ( )
(2) 6 – 10 years ( )
(3) 11 – 15 years ( )
(4) Above 15 ( )

SECTION B
Are you aware of any cases of elder abuse in this location?
______________________________________________________________
How many cases of elder abuse have been reported to you in the past one year?
____________________________________________________________________

What was the nature of the abuse of an elder that was reported to you in the last one year?
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________

Of the cases reported to you, what kind of person(s) abused the older person?
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________

Explain the steps you were able to take on the persons who abused the older person.
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________

As a person in your position, are you aware of any Act that prohibits abuse of the older person? If yes, which one?
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________

We have come to the end of the interview. I would like to thank you very much for your agreeing to participate in this study.
A4 Appendix IV: Focus Group Interview Question on Elder Abuse
The aim is to explore older peoples understanding of elder abuse, knowledge of elder abuse, attitudes and beliefs on elder abuse, older people’s role within their communities and the prevalence of elder abuse in the community and the consequences for both family and community.

**Introduction**

Explanation of the purpose of the research

Explain how the discussion will take place

Introductions

How important are older people in the community?

**Understanding of Elder Abuse**

What do you regard as elder abuse in this community?

Probe: How common is Elder Abuse in this community?

What are the most common types of elder abuse in this community and why do they occur?

What the most serious forms of elder abuse in this community?

**Indicators/Risk Factors Associated with Elder Abuse**

Probe: Which people are most likely to suffer elder abuse?

Which people do you think mostly abuse the elderly?

Are there certain times when elder abuse is most likely to occur and why so?
Consequences of Elder Abuse

What happens to those elders who get abused?

What happens to the families of those abused elders?

What happens to those who abuse elders inside and outside the family?

What happens to the communities where elders are abused?

Why Elder Abuse Goes Unreported or Not Talked About

How common is it for the elderly abused to speak about abuse?

What make elderly abused not talk about the abuse they suffer?

Suggestions for Interventions

Where do you think and elderly person who has been abused can go for help?

What kind of things should be done to help abused elders?

What other suggestions do you have for helping the abused elderly?
A5 Appendix V: Elderly Person Living Alone

Elderly lady to the left living alone in a rundown mud house. A unique case of isolation.
The elderly live in a homestead with several households belonging to their adult children. The house to the right belongs to the elderly couple. Thus, they are not isolated. Yet, it is within that context that they are abused.
The Community based group taking care of the elderly. The unfinished building in the next photograph is the proposed home for the elderly. It is in the compound of the church that they attend.
Appendix VIII: Map of Machakos
Appendix IX: Authorization: Kenyatta University

KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

E-mail: dean-graduate@ku.ac.ke
Website: www.ku.ac.ke

Our Ref: C82/23448/2013

DATE: 3rd May, 2016

Director General,
National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION MULI RUTH MUENI – REG. NO. C82/23448/2013

I write to introduce Ms. Muli Ruth Mueni who is a Postgraduate Student of this University. She is registered for Ph.D degree programme in the Department of Sociology.

Ms. Mueni intends to conduct research for a Ph.D Proposal entitled, “An Exploration Study of the Nature, Patterns and Extent of Elder Abuse in Machakos County, Kenya.”

Any assistance given will be highly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

MRS. LUCY N. MBAABU
FOR: DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL

E/O/2004
THE PRESIDENCY
MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AND COORDINATION OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Telephone: 21009 and 21983 - 90100
Email Address: countycommissioner@gmail.com
Fax No. 066-19999
When replying please quote

REF NO: CC/ADM 5/9 VOL II/76
5th December, 2016

TO: WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION – MULI MUENI RUTH

The National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation has authorized the above named student to carry out a research on "An exploration of the nature, patterns and extent of elder abuse in Machakos County, Kenya" for the period ending 31th October, 2017.

Please assist her where necessary.

George Opio Juma
For: County Commissioner
MACHAKOS
A11 Appendix XI: Authorization: Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, SCIENCE &TECHNOLOGY
STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Telegram: “SCHOOLING” Machakos
Telephone: Machakos |
Fax: Machakos
Email –cdemachakos@yahoo.com
When replying please quote
MKS/ED/CD/U/1/VOL.1

OFFICE OF THE
COUNTY DIRECTOR OF
EDUCATION
P.O. BOX 2666-90100,
MACHAKOS

Date: 5th December, 2016

Muli Mueni Ruth
Kenyatta University
P. O Box 43844-00100
NAIROBI

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Reference is made to the letter from National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation Ref: NACOSTI/P/16/64430/13528 dated 2nd November, 2016.

You are hereby authorized to carry out your research on, “An exploration of the nature, patterns and extent of elders abuse in Machakos County, Kenya” for a period ending 31st October, 2017.

Geoffrey Kimani
Ag. County Director of Education
Machakos
A12 Appendix XII: Authorization: NACOSTI

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE,
TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Ref No: NACOSTI/P/16/64430/13528

Date: 2nd November, 2016

Muli Mueni Ruth
Kenyatta University
P.O. Box 43844-00100
NAIROBI.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on “An exploration of the nature, patterns and extent of elder abuse in Machakos County, Kenya,” I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in Machakos County for the period ending 31st October, 2017.

You are advised to report to the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Machakos County before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf of the research report/thesis to our office.

BONIFACE WANYAMA
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
Machakos County.

The County Director of Education
Machakos County.

A13 Appendix XIII: Research Clearance Permit from NACOSTI

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:

MS. MULI MUENI RUTH
of KENYATTA UNIVERSITY, 109-604000
CHUKA, has been permitted to conduct
research in Machakos County

on the topic: "AN EXPLORATION OF THE
NATURE, PATTERNS AND EXTENT OF
ELDER ABUSE IN MACHAKOS COUNTY,
KENYA"

for the period ending:
31st October, 2017

Applicant's Signature

National Commission for Science,
Technology & Innovation

CONDITIONS

1. You must report to the County Commissioner and
the County Education Officer of the area before
embarking on your research. Failure to do so
will result in the cancellation of your permit.
2. Government Officers will not be interviewed
without prior appointment.
3. No questionnaire will be used unless it has been
approved.
4. Excavation, mining and collection of biological
specimens are subject to further permission from
the relevant Government Ministries.
5. You are required to submit at least two (2) hard
copies and one (1) soft copy of your final report.
6. The Government of Kenya reserves the right to
modify the conditions of this permit including
its cancellation without notice.

Republic of Kenya
National Commission for Science,
Technology and Innovation
Research Clearance Permit
Serial No.: 11592

CONDITIONS: see back page