



Institutionalization of the Elderly in Nigeria: Preliminary Observations from a Social Work Perspective

Dr. Kenechukwu N. Anugwom

Senior Lecturer,

Institute for Development Studies; University of Nigeria.

Abstract

The paper examines the prospects and challenges to institutionalization of the elderly in Nigeria. While institutionalization is widely perceived as a reliable option for the care of the elderly in society, there is an observable scanty acceptance of this practice among families in Nigeria. The observed resistance to institutionalization in Nigeria emanates largely from cultural values and norms in the society. These norms largely view the contracting out of the care of one's elderly parents/relations as a taboo and reflective of weak family solidarity. Apart from the cultural impediments, public policy lacuna and insensitivity to the care of the elderly by the government equally constrain institutionalization. Thus, social work and social workers are challenged to not only productively confront these cultural and structural impediments but also retune the profession to become culturally contextualized and responsive to the norms and values of Nigerian society.

Keywords: Institutionalization, Elderly, Policy, Culture, Caregiving.

Introduction

This essay seeks to unravel factors that influence the institutionalization of the elderly in a developing society like Nigeria. It argues that while institutionalization is a very common culture in the West, it is often perceived as a form of aberration that may even underline weak family solidarity in the case of many societies in Africa. This article is a preliminary articulation of emerging key findings of an ongoing empirical study and cursory observations by the author as a practicing social worker in Nigeria. Despite the above, the paper benefitted immensely from the extant literature and years of practice of the author especially among elderly Nigerians.

Be the above as it may, institutionalization as a process of caring for the aged especially the infirm and socially or physically challenged remains one of the key issues in modern gerontology. From a conceptual viewpoint, institutionalization can be seen as the process of placing individuals in institutions like nursing homes which are care facilities for persons who need medical attention of the type and complexity not requiring hospitalization (Johnson, 2023). The above suggests that institutionalization easily emerges as a reliable means of taking adequate care of members of society who may have become frail, vulnerable, and challenged in various ways. However, institutionalization like most other issues in the practice of social work is socially contextualized and implemented. In this sense, what passes for institutionalization, the form it takes and more crucially its acceptability is impacted by the social values and norms of the society concerned.

Against the above discourse, the paper briefly examines the forces impeding institutionalization of the elderly in Nigeria especially from a cultural viewpoint and from this enumerates the possible roles of social work and social workers in improving the acceptance and legitimacy of institutionalization as a veritable option in caring for the aged. It is anchored on the understanding that despite cultural and familial rejection of institutionalization, it has emerged an idea whose time has come in view of development challenges especially the need to free the young from the burdens of cultural expectations that may impair their functioning and ability to contribute to national development efforts.

Materials and Methods

This paper is based essentially on the desk review of the extant literature and documents for its information. Inclusive criteria utilized in the selection of the reviewed articles and other publications include Nigeria; care of the elderly, institutionalization of older adults, traditional African society, policy on the aged, challenges to care of the aged amongst others. This included extreme-dated literature i.e., those published before the year 2000 as the argument about the institutionalization of the elderly is an old issue in Nigeria.

Given the dependence of the paper on literature/documents there were no statistical calculations in the work. This entails that the analysis was anchored on the themes identified in the study and which were used as discussion sub-themes. In effect, the findings are discussed below in terms of the following subthemes under the results and discussion section: Cultural values and Norms, Financial Constraints, Public Policy Lacuna and Insensitivity of Government and Social Work and Conducting Institutionalization in Nigeria.

Cultural Values and Institutionalization

In a typical African society, the elders are praised as transmitters of culture, guardians of the secrets of life or as the wise, to be consulted in the prevention of conflicts and preservation of peace in the individual, family and society as a whole (Stuckelberger, 2005). In this typical African society, care of the elderly was the sole responsibility of the family and in some cases, the community as a result of a very strong “we consciousness” among members of the community. Mbele, (2004) stated that conventional wisdom presents the elders in African societies as wise, dignified and powerful figures who keep the culture alive and guide the younger generations. This perception of the elderly in African societies led to a high level of respect and value for them in their communities. They were considered the link between the living members of the clan and the world of the spirits and were usually treated with great reverence (see, Encyclopedia.com, 2023). According to the above source also, when men and women could no longer work, the clan was required to look after them while the members of the family took turns providing for them as they were given priority in the distribution of food.

Given this strong emphasis on solidarity and group orientation, it is not surprising to see that the elderly in the family may refuse to leave their homes for institutional care and may even show hesitancy towards living permanently with their children after retirement or at old age. According to Hungwe (2011) institutionalization oftentimes sounds foreign to older persons in Africa and invokes negative feelings such as guilt, regret, powerlessness, neglect and abandonment by relatives. While the above may on face value suggest the obstinacy of the aged, it reflects the value system in the typical Nigerian society and the strong family norms pervading the society.

In such a society, it is expected that the care of the elderly is the concern of the young. In effect, the children are culturally expected to take care of their parents in old age and not frame out such care to the state or others in the form of institutionalization. As a matter of fact, among the Igbo of Southeastern Nigeria, it is culturally axiomatic that one of the reasons (values) for begetting children is to have some people that would take care of one in old age. The above expectation and cultural belief are explicitly expressed in narratives that children are one’s insurance against the vicissitudes of old age.

Therefore, despite the challenges the elderly encounter while living alone which often ranges from loneliness, inability to move about freely, inability to cook for themselves to inability to do very personal things for themselves like taking a bath, changing their clothes and using the toilet, there is that stubborn desire to continue to maintain one’s homestead or household rather than surrender to secondary care whether of the state or even that of one’s direct children outside of the elderly’s home. In other words, these elderly members of

the society would prefer that they stay in their homes while their children provide all the care and support, they need there. Incidentally, this often poses a serious problem for the children of the elderly as they are often torn between meeting the needs of their immediate families and their jobs and attending to their aged parents.

But in the West, the above is not a problem because such aged parents are taken into care facilities where they are attended to by professional caregivers. This institutionalization of the elderly makes taking care of the elderly easier for both their children and society at large while it gives the older adults the opportunity to be cared for in a competent or professional manner. In some cases, these elderly persons are cared for by nurses and professional caregivers either in their own homes (if they can afford it) or in assisted living facilities while their children continue with their daily lives, coming home at intervals to visit/check on their elderly parents.

In other words, institutionalization in addition to the conventional removal of the elderly from hitherto familiar social spaces to dedicated care providing facilities could also include providing professional and competent care even *in situ*. However, either way it necessitates a social and perhaps bonds separation between the elderly and his social/family circles. It is actually, the perceived intrusion by outsiders in the most intimate caring of the elderly that often generates resistance and refusal from Africans. Care giving in such societies is defined mainly as a core family responsibility and contracting it out implies the weakening of the bonds of the family.

Results and Discussion: Factors Negating Institutionalization in Nigeria

Even though some factors have been generally enumerated in the extant literature that affects institutionalization whether for medical or social reasons (see, Hajek et al, 2015; Luk, et al, 2008; Castaneda, et al, 2022), the following factors are seen as germane in the case of Nigeria:

Cultural Values and Norms:

Perhaps, the most prominent factor affecting institutionalization especially its acceptance is culture. Thus, it is important to understand the role or influence of culture in the apparent rejection of institutionalization in Nigeria. Culture as obvious to any student of society is the embodiment of the way of life of members of a society. In the African setting, institutionalization becomes a big issue as the aged in our African families would not hear of being sent to old age homes even though their children may not be able to afford the financial implications of employing professional caregivers to attend to their parents at home. This is because traditionally, it is expected of children, wives and daughters-in-law to care for their aged ones.

In the views of Abidemi (2005), the elderly are expected to be cared for by their children, son's wives and the extended family and when the need arises, children even marry younger women for their elderly fathers to help take care of their needs and provide companionship. This expectation regarding care of the elderly by their children and daughters-in-law was seen as purely normal and such duties were carried out with a lot of diligence and reverence for the elderly as they were seen as the protectors of the tradition and closer to the ancestors/gods to the point of even communicating with them. Fajemilehin (2010) asserted that they are the custodians of the ancestral values, cultural traditions, history and other cultural values; and families not only provided them with care but food, shelter, clothing and assistance on healthcare without asking for any form of compensations. Thus, the elderly citizens who end up being sent to old age homes were either considered as bad people or their families considered as irresponsible towards them.

According to Oluwagbemiga et al (2017), the concept of old people's homes has been viewed as an abuse, and the idea of institutionalizing the older members of the population or the choice of old people's home is largely due to the falling traditional family system as children are in search for greener pastures. The case is not different in Nigeria as the elderly here also do not subscribe to being sent to old age homes as they age. This refusal to be sent to homes/institutions can be explained by the perspective of Johnson (2011) which asserted that the elderly citizens who live in caregiving homes are often labelled as either mentally deranged, physically impaired, witches or just simply, social rejects.

There is also the unwillingness of families to expose their elderly members to the proclivities of institutional care, which results from the cultural frame of reference. In this situation, family members feel that it is a failing on their part to let go of the aged in terms of submitting them to institutional care or contracting

out their care to total outsiders. Even where the aged one in question has no biological offspring, the extended family system which is commonly practiced in Nigeria steps into the void and ensures that the elderly receives care and attention within the home he or she has known for decades.

However, in recent times, modern families have resorted to employing day-care givers for their elderly parents who come in the mornings and leave in the evenings. These day-caregivers attend to household chores such as cooking their foods, seeing to it that they take their medications as and when due, washing their clothes and where the aged is sick or invalid, bathing them. In some other cases where the children of the elderly are financially stable, they employ live-in caregivers who move into the homes of the elderly, attending to them and all their needs (personal and general) both during the day and at night.

Thus, culture starting from the classical Tylorian definition signifies a critical determiner and marker of the sociability and acceptable interactional proclivities of humans and their myriad institutions in the society. In effect, culture is a broad term which encompasses social behaviours, norms, social institutions, knowledge, beliefs, laws, customs as well as capabilities and habits of the individual in the society but which are generally shared or emblematic of the entire society (see, Igbo and Anugwom, 2001; Tylor, 1871; Sorrels, 2015; Chigbu, 2014 etc.).

But as sociologists would persuade us to believe, culture does not just set precepts, standards and expectations but more crucially exerts a compelling hold on people. In other words, people's behaviours and attitudes to things in their society are largely determined by culture. Therefore, the mere fact that institutionalization negates the cultural expectation of the reciprocal obligation of children to their parents (children are produced, nurtured and brought up to equally take care of and nurture their parents in old age) entails that institutionalization is perceived by many as a cultural affront and thus unacceptable.

Financial Constraints:

There is hardly any contesting the fact that institutionalization ultimately involves financial commitments. In other words, the taking care of the elderly in any systematic manner implies expenditure of financial resources. In most Western nations, such care is largely the prerogative of the state. But in the developing societies of the world including Nigeria, such care depends on the ability of the citizens concerned to provide the wherewithal. As a result, the employment of caregivers to care for the elderly in their homes subsists in few modern families with enhanced social status and financial resources. Ayetoto (2019) indicated that Nigerians with the means are increasingly entrusting their elderly relatives in the hands of professional caregivers in assisted-living facilities, otherwise known as old people's homes. According to Ayetoto (2019) before now, Nigerians hardly transferred the care of their aged to public residential care centres as such acts were adjudged to reflect lack of love for parents or relatives by the children; and taken as akin to utter abandonment of these parents or relatives to strangers in strange environments, exposing them to risks of ill treatment. Be that as it may, the employment of caregivers by the children to provide full time and or professional care implies a change in attitude.

According to Okoye (2004), this change in attitude of children towards caring for the elderly can be seen in the fact that modern day parents are not as eager as their predecessors to send their children home to the villages anymore and young men do not also fancy their wives living with their mothers in the villages anymore. Consequently, families that can afford it often employ nurses or caregivers to attend to the needs of their elderly parents while they are at their various workplaces making a living. But the scenario often becomes different when there is dearth of resources in the family. In this situation, there then exists a big problem for the elderly ones who are poor and frail as they become even more vulnerable when their children leave home for the cities. Olayinka (2007) stated that this category of the elderly usually feel neglected, abandoned and are subjected to all kinds of inhuman degradation, deprived of their respect as elders and are sometimes abused.

Public Policy Lacuna and Insensitivity of Government:

Probably, taking the second position after the influence of culture is the obvious public policy inadequacy and glaring insensitivity of the government at all levels in Nigeria to the peculiar needs and challenges of the elderly. In this case, even in the few places where there are homes for the elderly in the country, there is still a lack of plan and policies concerning the older generation as most policies emanating from the government are usually designed with the younger generations in mind (Anugwom et al, 2018).

Unfortunately, the government does not seem to have any sustainable and systematic plan for taking care of the elderly in the country and this poses a very big problem for families with older adults as they are confronted with the challenge of how to take care of their parents while holding onto their various sources of livelihood. In the opinion of Sijuwade (2008), care of the elderly in Nigeria is the responsibility of the family with little or no assistance from the government. Okoye (2013) stated that there are no services and programmes dedicated to elderly persons in Nigeria apart from the pension scheme which is only for the elderly persons that have been in government employment. In a bid to wiggle out of this dilemma, individuals have recently come up with private agencies/homes for caring for the elderly in the country but then, these initiatives face almost the same resistance as the formal or public institutional facilities. They also confront the same policy lacuna as the public institutions. It is sad that in over half a decade of post-independence life, Nigeria is yet to enact a national policy on care of elderly persons as well as their welfare; neither are there social security schemes or similar policies on old age in the country (Oluwagbemiga et al, 2017).

Therefore, apart from the cultural and financial constraints on utilizing institutionalization as a means of addressing the issues of the aged in the Nigerian society, there is also the fact that government efforts in this regard can be considered as inadequate and largely unsystematic. Therefore, despite whatever scant position espoused in policies and pronouncements, the government is yet to squarely face the problem or challenges of the elderly as is the case in the developed society. For instance, there has not been any attempt overtime to match institutionalization with the demographic realities of the country. Ideally, there should have been a progressive policy on institutionalization that is anchored on the increasing population of the aged in the society. Corollary to the above is the need to also tackle the financial constraints on provision of care for the elderly usually faced by families. While Nigeria may not have the economic capacity for the state to provide the care needed by the elderly without the help of affected citizens or their families, a systematic which enables the halving of this financial burden on individual families may be helpful.

In addition, like every other government initiative even the feeble attempts through government agencies to address the matter of the aged have been bedeviled by the normal problems of corruption, bureaucratic bottlenecks, and gross incapacity of those supposedly in charge. It is in view of this that Johnson (2011), contended that though there is an emergence of homes for the elderly in Nigeria, there is still a lack of plan and policies concerning the older generation.

Social Work and Conducing Institutionalization in Nigeria

Given prevailing cultural standards and beliefs, there is the tendency for people to see the elderly in institutions as signifying social dysfunction on part of these elderly citizens and their families. In this sense, individuals may stigmatize these older ones in care homes and see such institutionalization as detracting from the ideal love and solidarity expected in a typical Nigerian family. Consequently, family members prefer to leave their elderly ones at home at the mercy of whoever is available than have them institutionalized. Even the younger children when asked if they would like to be institutionalized when they get old, often express their dissatisfaction at such an idea¹. This then leaves a very big lacuna as to how to maintain a balance between dealing with the elderly in typical Nigerian families while allowing the younger generation (their children) to effectively live active productive lives and attend to daily routines.

Despite the embryonic stage of development of professional social work practice in Nigeria, there is no contesting the fact that the profession has a role to play not only in improving the care of the elderly but equally in promoting sustainable and culture sensitive institutionalization options in the country. According to Wamara (2021), though social workers across the globe are at the forefront of tackling elder abuse as they are committed to social justice, human rights and respect for human diversity, research on social workers' response to elder abuse and elder care in Sub-Saharan Africa remains scarce. According to the above author, social workers in Sub-Saharan Africa are not very involved in the fight against elder abuse and elder care in general. This revelation can be perceived as sad given that the extant literature suggest that older adults in Sub-Saharan Africa have been facing elder abuse for a very long time and it is estimated to accelerate as society ages (HelpAge International, 2014; Chane et al. 2015; Kotze, 2018).

¹ Interview data from ongoing project on social factors affecting institutionalization of the elderly

Social workers can therefore begin with getting the elderly and their families overcome the cultural barriers to acceptance of institutionalization through counselling and group work. Prinsloo (2015) and Corey et al (2006) stated that when group members give and receive support, it empowers them to feel useful and accept help and support from others. According to these authors, it therefore offers members of the group opportunities to realize that they are not alone while dealing with certain situations and provides them with an avenue to express feelings, emotions and thoughts. Furthermore, Zastrow (2012:51) and Prinsloo (2015) asserted that the intellectual, emotional, and social development of individuals may be furthered through group work activities, and it is a very productive and cost-effective method of working with older adults. Older people benefit from social support where they believe that they fit in and have self-worth; and support groups with their accompanying personal growth initiatives may help the members of the group to deal with unfinished business from the past such as guilt about relationship with a spouse, sadness at not having accomplished something etc. (see, Kirst-Ashman, 2013:334; Masson et al, 2012; Zastrow & Kirst-Ashman, 2010:617).

There is no dispute about the fact that as much as society is concerned about the situation of the young ones, taking adequate care of the elderly and freeing the young from the bind of cultural expectations regarding the care of the elderly can augur well for social development. Against the above background, social work and social workers can play the following specific roles:

1. The creation of awareness regarding the need and immense values of embracing institutionalization as a reliable option towards caring for the elderly.
2. Sensitization and advocacy especially targeted at the government and its agencies aimed at getting them to improve and expand facilities and resources for institutionalization of the aged.
3. Following from the above is the need to mainstream institutionalization of the elderly into social protection programmes of the Nigerian state. In other words, taking care of the elderly should be embodied in social protection programmes and policies on social protection.
4. Enhancing the study and practice of gerontology especially through offering generous scholarships and attractive job placements for young and emerging professionals in this area of social work. The above should be done by both the professional association of social workers in Nigeria and the government as a matter of policy.
5. Working in conjunction with local institutions and opinion leaders in devising institutionalization arrangements that while providing adequate care and attention for the aged are not perceived as injurious to culture and negating of age-old cultural expectations.

Conclusion

From the social work perspective, the mental health of both the elderly and the younger generation that is expected to care for them is very essential. Hence, while looking out for the health and wellbeing of the elderly, ensuring that they live happy lives and in conducive environments, social work also should advocate for there to be a balance between caring for the elderly and the wellbeing of the caregivers (in this case, the children of the aged). The profession should contend that while caring for their elderly parents, the younger generation should not jeopardize their sources of income or their mental health. Consequently, old people's homes and assisted living homes come to mind as possible solutions to the challenges posed by how to care for the elderly.

Observation and experience have revealed that often times the extended family in Nigeria performs the roles that ordinarily should be that of social workers. In this situation, social workers often do not have the chance to step into families to assist them with their challenges. Even in those rare cases where the biological children of the elderly are interested in using the help of social workers in the form of counselling and caregiving, the larger family in the form of uncles, aunties, cousins etc. may not subscribe to this and see these children as being irresponsible towards their elderly parents.

At this juncture, the paper solicits that social workers in a developing country like Nigeria should be given the chance to assist families in dealing with the challenges of caring for their elderly through the provision of such social work services as counselling, caregiving in assisted living homes, caregiving in old age homes amongst others. The above would certainly need the radical retuning of the practice and its relationship to culture² as well as enabling or supportive laws or policies from the state.

References

Anugwom, K. N. & Eya, Oliver, I. Options for the Institutionalization of the Elderly in Nigeria. Paper presented at the International Conference of the South African Sociological Association (SASA); XXV Annual Congress. University of the Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. July 1 – 3, 2018.

Ayetoto, T. Shifting patterns as rich Nigerians embrace old people's homes for aged relatives. Business Day, May 17, 2019. <https://businessday.ng/exclusive/article/shifting-patterns-as-rich-Nigerians-embrace-old-peoples-homes-for-aged-relatives/>

Abidemi, A. R. (2005). "Elderly family care situation, daily activities housing and physical wellbeing in Nigeria". A Paper submitted for presentation as a poster for the International Union for the scientific Study of population (IUSSP/UIESP) XXV. International Population Conference Tours, France, 18-23(6)

Castaneda, G; Lee, M.J; and Kang, J (2022). "Risk factors for institutionalization among the elderly: A systematic literature review". *Archives of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation*, 100 (3): e4

Chane, S. & Adamek, M. (2015). "Death is better than misery": elders' accounts of abuse and neglect in Ethiopia. *The International Journal of Aging and Human Development*. 82(1), 54-78. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0091415015624226>

Chigbu, U.E (2014). "Repositioning culture for development: Women and development in a Nigerian rural community". *Community, Work and Family*, 18 (3): 334 - 350

Corey, M. S. & Corey, G. (2006). *Groups: process and practice*. 7th edn. Belmont: Thompson Brooks/Cole,

Hajek, A; Brettschneider, C; Lange, C; Posselt, T et al (2015). "Longitudinal predictors of institutionalization in old age". *PLoS ONE*, 10 (12):e0144203

Encyclopedia.com. "Ancestor worship and the elderly". World Eras. 5 May, 2023. <https://www.encyclopedia.com>

Fajemilehin, Boluwaji, R. (2010). Nigeria: Caring for the Elderly. All Africa. Com Lagos: Daily Independent. 17 November, 2010; <http://allafrica.com/stories/201011190511.html>,

HelpAge International (2014). Violence against older people is a global phenomenon. HelpAge International press release. <http://www.helpage.org/newsroom/press-room/press-releases/violence-against-older-people-is-a-global-phenomenon-says-helpage-international-as-activists-call-for-a-un-convention-on-the-rights-of-older-people>.

Hungwe, C. (2011). The meaning of institutionalization to older Africans: a case study of a Zimbabwean old people's home. *E-Journal of Applied Psychology*. (7). Doi: 10.7790/ejap.v7i11.291

² Social work and social workers need to be deeply rooted in the culture and ways of life of the society where they exist. There can hardly be meaningful social work practice in developing societies without good knowledge of culture and ways of culturally contextualising social work practice.

- Igbo, E.U.M and E.E. Anugwom (2001). *Sociology: basic concepts and issues*. Nsukka: AP Express Pub.
- Johnson, B. L. (2023). Institutionalization. In Loue, S. J. & Sajatovic, M. (Eds.). *Encyclopedia of Aging and Public Health*. Springer, Boston, MA. Pp. 470-472. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-33754-8_247
- Johnson, S. (2011). Homes for the Elderly: A Growing trend in our cities”. *International Museum of Women*. Vol.2 Issue 3. Sept 2011.
- Kortze, C. (2018). Elder abuse – current state of research in South Africa. *Frontiers in Public Health* 6(358), 1-5. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpubh.2018.00358>
- Luk, J.K; Chiu, P and Chu, L.W (2008). “Factors affecting institutionalization in older Hong Kong Chinese patients after acute medical illness”. *Archives of Gerontology and Geriatrics*, 49 (2): 110 -114
- Masson, R. L., Jacobs, E., Harvill, R. L. & Schimmel, C. J. (2012). *Group counselling: interventions and techniques*. 7th edition. Belmont: Brooks/Cole CENAGE Learning.
- Mbele, J. L. (2004). The elder in African society. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships* 2(3-4):53-61. Doi: 10.1300/J194v02n03_05
- Okoye, U. O. (2013). Community-based care for the home bound elderly persons in Nigeria: a policy option. *International Journal of Innovative Research in Science, Engineering and Technology*. AN ISO 3297: 2007. Vol. 2, Issue 12. ISSN 2319-8753
- Okoye, U.O. (2004). “The erosion of traditional forms of care for the elderly and its implications for the elderly in Nigeria” A paper presented at the International conference on Rapid Ageing and the changing roles of the elderly in African Households” Organized by the Union for African Population studies UAPS/UEPA (Senegal), the HSRC in collaboration with the Department of Social Development (SOUTH AFRICA) 18-20, August, 2004, Pretoria, South Africa.
- Olayinka, Ajomale (2007). “Elder abuse: The Nigerian Experience”. December 2007. http://www.inpea.net/images/YinkaPaper_ElderAbuse_Nigeria_Dec07.pdf
- Oluwagbemiga, O. & Tiwalade, O. O. (2017). Concept, conception and misconception of old people’s homes in Nigeria. *MOJ Gerontology & Geriatrics*. eISSN: 2574-8130. 2(6): 129-132. Doi: 10.15406/mojgg.2017.02.00070
- Prinsloo, R. (2015). Group intervention with institutionalized older persons. *HTS Theological Studies*. Stud. Vol. 71n3. ISSN 2072-8050. ISSN 0259-9422. South Africa: AOSIS Publishing. <https://dx.doi.org/10.4102/hts.v71i3.2670>
- Sijuwade, P. O. (2008). Elderly care by family members: Abandonment, abuse and neglect. *The Social Sciences*, 3(8), 542-547
- Sorrels, K (2015). *Intercultural communication: Globalization and social justice*. Los Angeles: Sage
- Stuckelberger, A. (2005). A trans-generational perspective on peace and on violence prevention role of older persons and grandparents in the culture and development of peace and non-violence. New York Academy of Science. Kluwer Edition
- Tylor, Edward (1871). *Primitive Culture*. New York: J.P Putnam’s Son
- Kirst-Ashman, K. K. (2013). *Introduction to social work and social welfare: critical thinking perspectives*. 4th edition. Belmont: Brooks/Cole.

Zastrow, C. H. (2012). *Social work with groups: a comprehensive work text*. 8th edition. Belmont: Brooks/Cole

Zastrow, C. H. & Kirst-Ashman, K. K. (2010). *Understanding human behaviour and the social environment*. 8th edition. Belmont: Brooks/Cole

Wamara, C. K. (2021). Social work response to elder abuse in Uganda: voices from practitioners. *Journal of Gerontological Social Work*. Volume 65, Issue 4. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01634372.2021.1968093>

