

Senior Citizens under Covid -19 in Sri Lanka: Lifestyle changes and challenges

Kumari Thoradeniya W.M.S.M.

Senior Lecturer, Department of Sociology, University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka

Correspondence: Kumari.thoradeniya@arts.pdn.ac.lk

Abstract

The main objective of this paper is to examine the lifestyle of older people under the circumstances of the Covid-19 pandemic and addressed two research questions as: how older people's lifestyle has changed due to the Covid-19 pandemic and how changes of lifestyle impact the older people. The six case studies were conducted as three with elderly men and three with elderly women while following strict health guidelines, to get the data and the data was analysed using thematic analysis method. The study revealed that lots of changes of elders' lives have happened due to the Covid-19 pandemic and it also has impacted to change their life a lot. Increasing household work, losing societal responsibilities, losing religious activities, losing leisure time and hobbies were the major changes happening in their lives. When examining the impact of those changes on elders, the study revealed that deterioration of mental and physical health, increasing dependency, and reduced access to the healthcare service were the major impacts identified by the study. Therefore, this study highlights that urgent attention should be focused upon the well-being of the elderly. It is a major responsibility of society to ensure availability of urgent assistance and relevant services to this demographic alongside other vulnerable groups in society. Therefore, several aspects need to be focused on such as referral to essential services, provision of adequate sustenance and necessary medications, priority in the vaccination process as they are in the high risk category, broadcasting of awareness programmes for children or caregivers on the value of psychological support their elders should have specially in this kind of pandemic situations, building-up systems to provide information for the elders etc. These measures will contribute to ensuring elders well-being in such a difficult situation up to some extent.

Keywords: challenges, COVID -19, senior citizens, Sri Lanka

1. Introduction

The Covid-19 pandemic has influenced and challenged all aspects of human life across the world in a way not seen in contemporary times. Even though priority has been given to the challenges of human health and the health sector, the economic crisis such as loss of employment, loss of mass production, social issues such as loss of children's education will likely impact the whole world adversely. Of course, researchers and policy makers may come up with short term solutions to address some of these tangible impacts. But intangible impacts such as breaking down of human relationships and slowing down of children's personality development, high involvement with new technology may affect different groups in different ways.

In this setting, senior citizens are likely the most vulnerable group as they are at the highest risk of death from Covid-19 pandemic (Onder, Reza & Brusafirro, 2020; Peeri, et al, 2020; Li, et al, 2020). For instance, in Italy, 96.5% death from the total number of deaths due to covid-19 were reported from people who were above 60 while in China 80.8% coronavirus deaths were reported from the same age category (Onder, Rezza,& Brusafirro, 2020). Even in Sri Lanka nearly half (45.5 % up to 13th August 2020 from the beginning) of the total Covid-19 deaths occurred among those who were age 60 years or above (Ministry of Health, 2020).

Apart from the risk of death, the lifestyle of older people might be dramatically changed due to the ‘social distancing’ concept which is considered as the main solution to the pandemic. However, research is as yet inadequate on many of the social implications of this pandemic as much of the research have focused on scientific aspects such as epidemiology, finding a cure and preventive measures such as vaccine for the disease (Lithander, et al, 2020). Even within the few studies that have been conducted regarding the social impact of the pandemic, older people’s voices are missing. The risk of contacting them and therefore getting data is a challenging task. At the same time, there are criticisms that research has not been designed to enable the inclusion of people who are at high risk and this is the one of the reasons for not having older people’s voices within the scope of coronavirus research (Lithander et al, 2020).

With this background in mind, the main objective of this paper is to examine the lifestyle of older people under the circumstances of the Covid-19 pandemic. The study will try to find out whether the Covid-19 pandemic has influenced the day to day activities of older people and if so how it impacts them. Accordingly, this study will address two research questions under this main objective. The first research question is: how older people’s lifestyle has changed due to the Covid-19 pandemic. The second research question is how changes of lifestyle impact the older people.

2. Methodology

As many researchers highlighted (Richardson et al, 2020), the main barrier against conducting research regarding the social impact of Covid-19 on older people is the high risk of contacting them and the fear researchers have that they might pass on the virus to the elderly respondents. Normally, suitable research methods and research techniques should be designed to cater to the specificity of the situation. Requesting filling of online questionnaires from the respondents or telephone interviews could be suitable in circumstances like these (Richardson et al, 2020).

However, in my experience, the ordinary data collection methods mentioned above are not working due senior citizens’ limited knowledge of technology, hearing problems they experience, etc. Given the barriers, six case studies have been done from three elderly men and three elderly women who were in the above sixty age group from the Gannoruwa area in Kandy district. Systematic sample selection methods could not be applied since it is difficult with the given situation and data was gathered from those who were willing to talk. The data was collected following health guidelines during April 30th to May 31st 2021. The case studies took about an hour each for data collection. The data was analysed using thematic analysis method and the theme was built based on the interpretation made by the respondents. It should be highlighted that this is an ongoing research and the intention is to open a discussion regarding the issues and challenges faced by senior citizens due to the Covid-19 pandemic.

3. Literature Review

Similar to many other countries in the world, especially the developed countries, the population of Sri Lanka is rapidly ageing. Recent data from the Department of Census and Statistics has confirmed that the population aged 60 and above has increased from 9.8% in 2000 to 12.4% in 2012. In 2018 it will increase to 17.4% and is projected to increase to 21.5% in 2030 (Department of Census and Statistics report, 2019).

With this rapid growth of ageing population, it is assumed that Sri Lanka will face—indeed is already facing - massive socio-economic challenges such as taking care of elders, adequate income and pension systems, increasing health sector expenditure etc. (Silva, 2004; Vidanapathirana et al, 2014, ADB, 2019). When it comes to the care of the elderly in Sri Lanka, the current data suggests that the majority of our elderly people live with family members. The following table further describes their living arrangements.

Table 1.
 Living arrangement of older people in Sri Lanka

Living arrangements of older people	Urban (%)	Rural (%)	State (%)
Living alone	05	07	08
With spouse only	19	20	14
With spouse and children	35	36	28
Only with children	23	24	35
With relatives	04	06	07
Other	14	07	13

Source: Asian Development Banka (2019: 15)

As per the above table, the majority of elderly people still live with family members in Sri Lanka, their percentage is nearly 60%. However, this table also shows that around 7% of the total elderly population are living alone. The living arrangements of elderly people has a big impact on their life and many researches have proved that even the older people who live with family members might face severe problems such as the burden of housework, taking care of children, violence etc. (Vizard, 2013, Vidanapathirana et al, 2014; Thoradeniya, 2021).

When it comes to the economic situation of elderly people in Sri Lanka, it is extremely difficult to determine the exact situation since many adults distribute their properties among children, no exact data as to how many engage in informal income generation activities etc. Although there are no definite reports on the number of older people in Sri Lanka living in poverty, according to the research done by Asian Development Bank (2019), the figure is roughly 3.8% in 2016. Of these, 5.8% are over the age 80 and 4.9% are between 75 to 80. Further, a study done by the World Bank (2012) proved that more than 50 % of Sri Lankans over 60 or above meet their financial needs from their children. It has also been pointed out that 75% of elderly people obtain their food, clothing and medicine needs with the help of their children.

There are a number of factors that contribute to this situation, the first of which is that many elders retire after the age of 60 and do not return to work after that and the chances of getting a job after 60 is very limited (World Bank, 2012). In the informal sector, especially, those who are engaged in agriculture even after the age of 60, often do not receive adequate salary. For instance, according to the department of Census

and Statistics reports, the labour force contribution of women between the ages of 60-69 were 23% while it decreased to 8% in the ages above 70. Among men in the age category of 60-69, the labour force participation was 23% while it decreased to 7% in the ages above 70. The second point is that a very small proportion of the elderly people is entitled to a pension or equivalent income. For example, according to a study done by Asian Development Bank (2019), only 37% of the population over the age 60 were entitled to a pension scheme. Those who were entitled to Provident fund, only 10% elderly people save the fund for their future while 90% elders do not save since they distribute to their children, spend for unnecessary things which put them to a very desperate situation in the future World Bank (2012). The third point is that although elderly in extreme poverty are provided, Samurdhi assistance, Pin Padi, Senior Citizen allowance, it is a very small amount in terms of the current cost of living in Sri Lanka.

Further, many researchers are in the view that violence against elders are remains as a hidden social problem in Sri Lanka and has to take this as a serious issues in order to find out the suitable solution (Ediringsinghe, 2012; Thoradeniya, 2021). However, it is estimated that 1 in 6 elderly people are faced some kinds of violence globally while 1 in 24 cases are reported to authorized places and others are kept as a hidden incident (Help Age, 2021; WHO, 2020). In Sri Lanka too similar situations can be seen and elderly people who needed medical treatment due to experiencing violence could be identified as victims of violence. For instance, according to the study done by Vidanapathirana et al (2014) based on a few hospitals between 1st of January 2009 to December 2013, it was found that out of 17,330 cases of violence, 127 (0.7%) were cases of violence against elders. These research findings show that violence against elders are underreported and only elders who need medical help report their experience of violence in order to get medical treatment.

However, when analyzing the previous little research that has been conducted in Sri Lanka in this field, several features can be identified. The first one is that most of the elders experience violence in their own home. The second one is that it was mostly elderly women who faced violence compared to elderly men. The third one is elderly people hesitate to report their experiences of violence, mainly because they think that it will be a threat to the prestige of the family. Further, they fear to reveal their experiences of violence as they do not have an option other than live with their children or caregivers; revealing these experience might lead to more violence, most elders do not know where to report due to their physical, mental, educational background etc. All these contribute to severe under-reporting on this critical issue.

Even though there are many emerging issues with the rapid increase of the elderly people globally and likewise in Sri Lanka, much research focuses on elders' lifestyles including their living arrangements, economic situations and the violence they tend to experience since these factors are crucial to deciding the wellbeing of elderly people. Therefore, it will be interesting to see how these factors are experienced by, or changed or influenced senior citizens living under Covid-19 pandemic. Therefore this study will explore how covid-19 impacts the above-mentioned crucial factors in elders' lifestyles.

4. Finding and Discussion

This study addresses two research questions; firstly, to identify whether elderly people's lifestyles have changed significantly due to the Covid-19 pandemic. Secondly to assess how such changes to lifestyles impact the elderly. As mentioned in the introduction section, this study is part of an ongoing research and the main objective of this paper is to open up a discussion on how Covid-19 impacts elderly people. Therefore,

the findings are mostly based on the interpretation of the respondents, and themes were developed based on their interpretation supplements with the reviewing literature.

In addressing the first research question, this study found that across the span of varied educational backgrounds, economic, physical and psychological capacities, help receive from the family members or caregivers and gender differences, all elderly people without exception have been hit by the Covid-19 pandemic in several ways and have thus dramatically changed their lifestyles and day today activities. All the elders interviewed said that Covid-19 had completely changed their lives and expressed doubts as to whether their lives would be able to recover even after Covid-19 is eradicated. The changes to their lifestyles can be categorized as follows.

A. Increased household work

Majority of the elders who were involved with the study mentioned that they have to do more household work than before the Covid-19 disease was recognized. They point out that the main reason for this is that even though the country is locked down most of the time, their elder children have to go to work and it is impossible to get paid domestic help as well due to the dangerous situation which causes the household work to involuntarily fall to them. Therefore, they have the responsibility of taking care of grandchildren, cleaning the house, looking after pets and even taking care of follower plants etc. which they find to be unbearably heavy burdens at their age.

B. Loss of societal responsibilities

Many researches have proved that keeping active with societal responsibilities keep the elderly people healthy in terms of physical and psychological health (Staudinger, et al, 2016; Adjei and Brand, 2018). It also gives an opportunity to use elder's skills, knowledge and experience for the development of the country. However, this study found that the majority of elders have lost their social responsibilities that they already had with the Covid-19 pandemic. Following case study describes this situation further.

Case 01

Mr. Siriwardana (not his real name) is a retired school principal and he is 65 years of age. His wife died due to an illness and he has three sons and one daughter; two sons are medical doctors, one son is an engineer and the daughter is a school teacher. He is living with the younger son, working as a medical doctor and his wife also a medical doctor.

Mr. Siriwardana is a happy, healthy and active person who is involved with lots of social responsibilities. He happily lives with his son's family, and helps the family whenever they need his help and is engaged with small household activities such as gardening, dropping grandchildren off at the school when his son is busy etc. He has a good connection with the other three children and their families too and they meet each other at least once a month. Further, He is teaching at the Sunday Dahampasala while being an active member of the village organizations.

But with the Covid-19 pandemic situation his life changed dramatically especially since he lost his social responsibilities while in the absence of the domestic helper, his household responsibilities have increased. He says he is not being forced to do household work but he has had to step up to do more work all the same. Losing contact with other children, dependency feelings and losing contacts with friends make him psychologically and physically unhealthy. He mentioned that he feels sick, tired and drowsy but there is no time for naps since the grandchildren are always around. He further mentioned that he cannot tolerate mainly

three things; the loss of contact with his other children. Even though they try to keep in contact by telephone or video conversations, it makes him more stressed. The second thing is the breakdown of social contacts. Even though young people are capable of keeping in touch through technological devices connected to the internet, the people of his generation do not have those advanced devices and tend not to have the knowledge to operate them as well. Even with his skills and knowledge as a school principal he rejects those things. The third one is losing his social responsibilities which has mostly influenced him since he feels now he is not a person of note anymore.

Source: Field work

C. Loss of Religious activities.

The role of religion or spirituality can have significant positive outcomes for elderly people, enhancing their psychological and physical health, well-being, social support and opportunities to participate in social activities. Apart from the meaning and the understanding of everyday life provided by religions and spirituality, these frameworks also extend crucial support through life challenges (Rote Hill & Ellison, 2012; Manning, 2013; Maline & Dadswell, 2018).

Such services can be rendered by any religion of course but all of respondents in this study were Buddhists. The respondents in this study felt that their religious or spirituality based activities had been largely negatively impacted on due to the Covid-19 situation. Even though they still perform their daily religious activities at home, not having the opportunity to celebrate communal practices like Sill, Bodhi Puja, to participate and contribute to the cleaning activities at the temples, and not having chances to provide almsgiving to the monks which appear to be creating severe stress upon the elders. They also point out that the oppressive environment of noisy children and other members of the household is a major obstacle to their religious activities. Therefore, this study confirmed that although religion helps to overcome life's challenges, in the case of covid-19, adults are not able to get help from religion in order to solve their problems since they do not have proper environments to practice their religious activities.

D. Loss of Leisure time and hobbies

Leisure activities can be defined as activities that people engage in their free time (Pressman et al, 2009). Involving with leisure activities or hobbies have been identified as highly beneficial for the elderly people since such activities helps elders maintain and even enhance their perceiving cognitive function, physical function and psychological function (Gow, Pattie & Deary, 2017; Jopp & Hertzog 2007). Yet according to this study, most of the respondents said that their grandchildren staying permanently within the home often has some influence on how they spend their time freely. For instance, most of the time their grandchildren use the available spaces and equipment for their online schooling or tuitions and they would require calm environments which rule out use of TV or radio. Further, the heavy workloads at home further keep them from having time for their leisure activities and hobbies.

Analysing the above interpretations of the elders who were involved with the study, it can be confirmed that the Covid-19 situation has significantly impacted their day to day activities and lifestyles that they have developed over the years. A point worthy of note is that none of the respondents complained about economic hardships under pandemic even though three people who were involved in the study are recognized as being in the extreme poverty category. Regardless of the economic hardships, they mostly worry about the breakdown in their social contacts, isolation, lack of opportunity for religious activities and

leisure activities. This study sample consist of the elders who live with their family members and this might be the reason for not talking about economic issues. However, several other reasons may cause elders to not complain about economic hardships even though three elders (and their families) involved with the study experience extreme poverty. Firstly, as World Bank (2012) pointed out 50% of elders in Sri Lanka fulfilled their financial needs while 75% elders get necessary food, clothing, medicine etc. from their adult children. The second reason could be that the elders pay very little attention to financial stress as the stress of lockdowns at home outweigh their financial concerns. However, the situation of the elderly who live alone is likely very different and further research needs to be done in order to discover their specific problems.

In addressing the second research question, how the changes that have happened in elderly people's lives as discussed in the above section and examining how those changes impact their lives, it appears to be too early to discuss the impact as yet since still they are in the process of experiencing the changes. At the same time, more advanced research might be needed to measure the impact covering various groups among the elders who live under different socio-economic backgrounds. Nevertheless, since the aim of this study is to open up a discussion about how elders' lives have changed in the pandemic, some common observations can be made regarding how such life changes impacted their life in several ways as follows.

A. Deterioration of mental and physical health

Much research has been focused on how covid-19 pandemic itself influences the deteriorating physical and psychological health of the general public during the covid-19 pandemic due to the fear of coronavirus contagion (Ramage-Morin & Polskey, 2020; Ping et al, 2020). However this study found that it is not primarily the fear that elders have that they will be infected, but the changes that has happened to their regular lifestyles which has contributed to their deteriorating physical and psychological health. Of course as I mentioned earlier it is difficult to come to the concrete decision that this is the only reason for their bad physical and psychological health condition. But it does appear to be significantly likely that the isolated life they have at home negatively impacts them as described in Case Study 1. The following case also describes it further.

Case 4

Nandawathi is a 71 year old lady who has five children and her husband died around 20 years ago. She experienced many hardships in her life as a single mother bringing up five children. None of her children got a good education and all are working as labourers in different parts of the country. She lives with her younger son who also works as a labourer and his wife is a housewife and they have four children.

Nandawathi used to earn by doing bits of domestic work in neighboring houses and she received small amounts of money, food and clothes from them. She explained that she enjoyed mostly the association she had with them rather than the money and food that she received from them. However, with the Covid-19 situation everything has changed and since she cannot move to the neighbors' places, she lost the food, money and happiness of association she received from them. A point worthy of note in her story is that she did not complain about money and was not sad about the food that she received at home. But she is very much worried about losing the link she had with the neighbors, temple and the activities she engaged with outside of the house. She says that she feels she is in a prison since she does not have an exact place in the little house they have and especially when her grandchildren are engaging with the online education activities she gets in much trouble since she is asked to move here and there.

She further says that she feels sick, but does not have an opportunity to go to the hospital since her daughter-in-law does not allow her to go anywhere since she is afraid that if the old lady gets infected then the whole family will be infected. She says that she has no access to any information regarding what is happening outside and does not know what has happened to her Pinpadi as well. She says that now she is too old to live and she wanted to die happily without making trouble for her children anymore.

Source: Field Work

B. Increasing dependency

When analyzing the above two case studies and even the other four that were conducted in this study, it can be seen that regardless of the economic capacity or physical and mental health, the elderly have been dragged into a more dependent position. Many researchers have pointed out that with the increasing ageing in a country, dependency is anyway increasing as someone has to take care of them (ADB, 2019; Thoradeniya, 2021). But, dependency depends on the individual characteristics, socio economic situation of the people and even personalities of the people. Case study 4 described that even though Mrs. Nandawathis is a 71 years old lady, she was not a burden to the family before the Covid-19 as she managed to procure food, clothing, and necessary medicine on her own and even was physically and psychologically fit with the engagement of social activities. But the Covid-19 pandemic has changed their lifestyles significantly enough to decrease their mental strength which leads to weakened physical health as well.

C. Reduce access to the healthcare service

Since the priority has been given for the Covid-19 disease and the risk of bringing elders to the hospitals, many regular clinics has been suspended in the country and this also might have a big impact on elders. When the study was conducted, I realized that elders need significantly more psychiatric and psychological support plus more attention on their chronic diseases such as blood pressure, diabetics etc. and more awareness might be needed to convince the family members or caretakers to refer them to proper medical care.

5. Conclusion

The main aim of this study is to examine how elders' lives have changed and examine how such changes impact the elders. The six case studies were conducted while following strict health guidelines, to get the relevant data. The study revealed that lots of changes of elders' lives have happened due to the Covid-19 pandemic and it also has impacted to change their life a lot. I discovered that increasing household work, losing societal responsibilities, losing religious activities, losing leisure time and hobbies were the major changes happening in their lives. When examining the impact of those changes on elders, the study revealed that deterioration of mental and physical health, increasing dependency, and reduced access to the healthcare service were the major impacts identified by the study.

Therefore, this study highlights that urgent attention should be focused upon the well-being of the elderly. It is a major responsibility of society to ensure availability of urgent assistance and relevant services to this demographic alongside other vulnerable groups in society. Therefore several aspects need to be focused on such as referral to essential services, provision of adequate sustenance and necessary medications, priority in the vaccination process as they are in the high risk category, broadcasting of awareness programmes for children or caregivers on the value of psychological support their elders should have specially in this kind of

pandemic situations, building-up systems to provide information for the elders etc. These measures will contribute to ensuring elders well-being in such a difficult situation up to some extent.

Reference

- Adjei, N., & Brand, T. (2018). Investigating the association between productive housework activities, sleep hours and self-reported health among elderly men and women in western industrial countries. *BMC public health*, 18, 2-10.
- Asian Development Bank. (2019). *Growing old before becoming rich: Challenges of an ageing population in Sri Lanka*. <https://www.adb.org/publications/growing-old-becoming-rich-sri-lanka>
- Department of Census and Statistics. (2019). *Sri Lanka Labour Force Survey Annual Report: Govt. of Sri Lanka*. <http://www.statistics.gov.lk/Indicators/htdocs/index.php?>
- Edirisinghe, P., Paranitharn., P., Perera, W., & Williams, S.S. (2014). Elder abuse among outpatient department attendees in a tertiary care hospital in Sri Lanka. *Ceylon Medical Journal*, 59, 84-89.
- Gow A., Pattie A., & Deary I. (2017). Life course activity participation from early, mid, and later adulthood as determinations of cognitive ageing. *Journal of Gerontology*, 72, 25-37.
- HelpAge. (2012). *Elder abuse in India. A HelpAge report*. United Nations Population, Fund. New York.
- Jopp D., & Hertzog, C. (2007). Activities, self-referent, memory belief and cognitive performance: Evidence for direct and mediated relations. *Psychic Ageing*, 22, 811-825.
- Lithander F., Neumann S., Tenison, K., Lloyd, K., Welsh, T.J., Rodrigues, J.C.L., Higgins, J.P.T., Scourfield, L., Christensen, H., Haunton, V.J., & Handerson, E.J. (2020). Covid-19 in older people: a rapid clinical review, *Age and Ageing*, 49, 501-515.
- Malone, G., & Dadswell, A. (2018). The role of religion, spirituality and or belief in positive ageing for older adults. <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov>
- Manning, L. (2013). Navigating hardships in old age: exploring the relationship between spirituality and resilience in later life. *Gerontologists*, 23, 568-575.
- Ministry of Health. (2020). *Novel coronavirus situation: Situation report*. Epidemiology unit, Ministry of Health, Sri Lanka.
- Onder, G., Rezza, G., & Brusaferro, S. (2020). *Case-fatality rate and characteristics of patients dying in relation to Covid-19 in Italy*. <http://www.Jama.2020>.
- Ping, W., Zheng J., Niv, X., Guo, C., Yang, H., & Shi, V. (2020). *Evolution of health related quality of life using EQ-5D in China during the Covid-19 pandemic*. <http://www.journal.pone.org>

- Pressman, S., Matthews, K., Cohen, S., Martire, L.M., Scheier, M., Baum, A., & Schilz, R. (2009). Association of enjoyable leisure activities with psychological and physical well-being. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 71, 725-732.
- Ramage-Morin, P., Polskey, J. (2020). Health related concerns and precautions during the Covid-19 pandemic: A comparison of Canadians with and without underlying health conditions. *Health Rep*, 31, 3-8.
- Rote, S., Hill T., Ellisin C. (2012). Religious attendance and loneliness in later life, *Gerontologists*, 53, 39-50.
- Silva, K.T. (2004). Elderly population, family support and intergenerational arrangements. In United Nations Population Fund, *Ageing population in Sri Lanka: Issues and future prospects*. Populations Accusation of Sri Lanka: 46-75.
- Standing, U.M., Finkelstein, R., Calvo, E., Sivaramkrishanhn, K. (2016). A global view on the effects of women on health in later life. *The gerontologist*, 56, 281-292.
- Thoradeniya, K. (2021). violence against ageing population: global overview with special reference to Sri Lanka. *Sri Lanka Journal of Population Studies*, 22, 15-25.
- Vidanapathirana, M, Amarathe, P., Nanayakkara, R, & Rathnaweera, A. (2014). A comparison of the nature and characteristics of elder abuse and community violence: A medico-legal analysis. *Journal of postgraduate Institute of Medicine*. No 01: 1-6
- Vizard, P. (2013). *Developing an indicator-based framework for monitoring older people's human rights: Panel, survey and key findings for Peru, Mozambique and Kyrgyzstan*. <http://www.sticerd.tse.ac.uk>
- World Bank. (2012). *Sri Lanka: Addressing the needs of ageing population*. Washington DC.
- World Health Organization (2020). *Elderly Abuse*. <http://www.who.int/news.room>