Key messages

- The COVID-19 pandemic and subsequent food, fuel and finance crisis have had a profoundly negative impact on older people in Colombia.

- Older people face greater economic insecurity. Even those receiving government social assistance struggle to pay for food and basic services such as electricity, water, sewage, and gas.

- Many older people experience delays in accessing specialist medical consultations and struggle to get to health services due to high transport costs.

- The poorest older people do not see their current situation as a new crisis as they live in a state of chronic destitution. The crisis exposes existing social and economic inequalities affecting older people and the failure of public policy to address them.

- The government needs to adopt a rights-based approach to developing and implementing policies to improve older people's wellbeing and protect their rights across all sectors.
Colombia’s population is rapidly ageing. As of 2021, the population aged over 60 had reached 14 per cent (55.1 per cent women, 44.9 per cent men). This translates to over seven million people, mostly in municipal areas (77.3 per cent) and 22.7 per cent living in rural areas.\(^1\)

The country has been making progress in addressing the rights of older people and improving their living conditions. The government has established a cohesive national policy, legal, and regulatory framework, and adheres to the Protocol of San Salvador and the Inter-American Convention on the Protection of the Human Rights of the Elderly. However, any progress that has been made still occurs in a context of profound inequality (as of 2020, based on the value of the Gini Coefficient, Colombia ranked the second most unequal country in Latin America). There are still major social, political and economic challenges including persistent violence, drug trafficking, natural disasters, climate change, growing foreign debt, significant internal and external migration, and an insecure political climate.

The COVID-19 pandemic has had a devastating impact on people’s wellbeing. Although the national government and local authorities have implemented various economic and social protection measures to alleviate these challenges, efforts towards economic recovery have not yet resulted in substantial improvements in the wider context. The situation is exacerbated by the global food, fuel and finance crisis - which has brought high inflation, as well as food and transport costs, oil price fluctuations, and gasoline price hikes.

The crisis is having especially dire consequences for disadvantaged groups, including many older people. This is exposing the stark shortcomings in rights protection, particularly gender and socioeconomic inequalities.

After the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, Colombia’s gross domestic product (GDP) fell by 6.8 per cent compared to the previous year. In 2021, GDP rose again by 10.6 per cent, but this recovery remained below that achieved before the pandemic.\(^2\) With the pandemic, local and global value chains were altered, causing a hike in food prices.

In addition, Russia's invasion of Ukraine had a global impact on supply chains and international trade, as well as on the prospect for economic growth and recovery in Latin American countries.\(^3\) The conflict has also brought food insecurity as both Ukraine and Russia produce and export commodities for basic foods (cereals and vegetable oils) as well as fertilisers, in the case of Russia.\(^4\) According to the National Department of Statistics (DANE) by the end of 2022 Colombia’s rate of inflation reached 13.2 per cent - one of the highest in the century. The year-to-year inflation for food and non-alcoholic beverages was 27.81 per cent.\(^5\)

This policy brief examines the experiences of older people in the aftermath of the pandemic and during the food, fuel and finance crises. It is based on a literature review and research conducted by Pontificia Universidad Javeriana-Instituto de Envejecimiento-Facultad de Medicina and Hospital Universitario San Ignacio from September to December 2022. Study participants were selected using purposive sampling. There were 55 older participants in total distributed as follows: seven in-depth interviews with older people from different neighbourhoods in Bogotá (Pardo Rubio Sur-Oriente - Chapinero, Sierra Morena - Ciudad Bolivar, and Santa Fe), four focus group discussions (FGDs) with a total of 32 participants. These FGDs included individuals from Ciudad Bolivar, the Memory and Cognition Center - Intellectus, San Juan de Riosco (rural municipality of Cundinamarca) and a focus group discussion with 10 family caregivers.
In addition, six key informants (KI) were interviewed from Lazaro Foundation, Saldarriaga Concha Foundation, Colombian Association of Geriatrics and Gerontology, Bogotá’s Social Integration Secretariat, the Delegate Ombudsman's Office for Children, Youth and the Elderly and the older people’s civil society organisation (District Council of Wise Men and Women), all working on issues related to the wellbeing of older people.

**Situation of older people**

**Economic insecurity**

In 2019, 24.1 per cent of older people in Colombia were living in monetary poverty. This percentage increased to 28.4 per cent by 2020, representing 1.8 million people aged 60 or older (Table 1). In rural areas, the incidence of extreme poverty rose from 12.8 per cent in 2019 to 15.7 per cent in 2020, more than double the national total and three times higher than in municipal capitals. In these areas, 38.1 per cent of people aged 60 and over were living in multidimensional poverty.⁶

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Incidence of poverty per cent</th>
<th>Individuals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2021</td>
<td>24.43</td>
<td>1,736,463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2020</td>
<td>28.39</td>
<td>1,836,931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2019</td>
<td>24.17</td>
<td>1,503,057</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics calculated from the monetary poverty and inequality measurement databases of Colombia’s National Administrative Department of Statistics (DANE).

Compared to 2019 and 2020, there was a considerable increase in the perception of poverty in 2021 among the general population, including older people (Figure 1).

63.9 per cent of people aged 60 years or older who are heads of a household or their spouses reported that between July 2020 and June 2021 the economic situation of their household was "worse" or "much worse" compared to 12 months ago.⁷ As expressed by a key informant: "Most of the older adults, dress in clothes that have been given away [as charity], with shoes that are given away. How do they get them? The daughter, who works for days in some house among the families of the north, brings the jacket for dad, the dress for mum. Just like that and keeps quiet. To conclude: older people feel ashamed. Even if the clothes are washed and clean, they feel ashamed” (KI, Bogotá, 1 November 2022).

Regarding the labour market, the overall participation in paid work rate decreased by 4.8 percentage points between 2019 and 2020 (women 24.73 per cent to 20.22 per cent; men 53.65 per cent to 48.73 per cent); the employment rate decreased by 5.6 percentage points (women 23.75 per cent to 18.64 per cent; men 50.26 per cent to 44.11 per cent), and unemployment grew by 3.4 percentage points (women 3.96 per cent to 7.78 per cent; men 6.33 per cent to 9.47 per cent).⁸
The majority of older people, in particular women, work in the domestic care economy and this increased from 2019 onwards. Care work is generally not remunerated, has little recognition, and is associated with a high burden of tasks. The government is currently developing a National Care System – SINACU - aimed at recognising, reducing, and redistributing care work among the family, the market, the state, and the community. As expressed by a woman in a focus group discussion (FGD): "In the morning everyone leaves and I have to have the food, the clothes washed, be attentive. I have to think about what to eat, even if they don't like it” (FGD Participant 5, Bogotá, 1 November 2022).

According to the DANE monetary poverty and inequality database, only 25.5 per cent of people of pensionable age (57 for women, 62 for men) have a pension (30.8 per cent men and 22.4 per cent women). Pensions are also inadequate to meet their needs: 50 per cent of all pensioners receive approximately 200 USD per month. This puts pressure on older people to keep working, mostly in informal work and with meager pay, a problem that is much more acute in rural areas.

A key informant said: "Before the pandemic, the most difficult thing was that the minimum wages never made a balance with the family basket (...), from 15 to 18 years ago to the present, the "rebusque" [informal casual job] has shot up, the sale of coffee on the corner, the candy stand, because the minimum wages do not compensate for the Colombian and much less for the older people to meet their basic needs" (KI, Bogotá, 1 November 2022).

The current eligibility rules for unemployment benefit disincentivise people from taking up employment. Specifically, anyone who has a work contract is not eligible for state benefits. Therefore, when people only have the choice of insecure or poorly paid jobs, they often opt not to take them up in order not to lose the little protection provided by the state. An older men said: "When you get a job, they have to give you health insurance and professional risk insurance. But they take away the SISBEN [subsidised social protection regime] we have and the bonus. So it's not worth it” (Respondent I7, Bogotá, 21 November 2022).
Social protection, housing and public services
A significant portion of older people’s income comes from family or governmental monetary contributions (social assistance and conditional transfers) with limited coverage. On average, one-third of older people were subsidised by the government’s ‘Colombia Elderly Program’, a figure that increases to just over half for those aged 80 and over. During the pandemic, about 19 per cent benefited from additional financial support in 2020, and about 15 per cent received it in 2021.

The family is the primary source of social support and care for older people, almost all of whom live in private homes (14.2 per cent of single-person households, 29.2 per cent of two-person households, and 21.9 per cent of three-person households)\(^\text{10}\), and their institutionalisation is minimal. However, by 2021, 7.1 per cent of older people had stopped living in a household whose dwelling was their own (67.1 per cent in 2019; 60.0 per cent in 2021), while more older people were in unpaid, rented, or sublet domiciles, as de facto occupants, or in collective ownership.\(^\text{11}\)

During an FGD, an older woman said: "I don’t have my own house. My house cracked. I have struggled and struggled. Therefore, for me, life has been very critical because I had to go out to pay rent. I have been suffering for more than 10 years". (FGD2 Participant 3, San Juan de Ríoseco, 11 November 2022). Another study participant said: "There are a lot of people living in the tenement, about 10 people live there, several families. I have a room for myself, but there are only two bathrooms for everyone" (Respondent 11, Bogota, 10 November 2022). Similarly, a female respondent noted: "It is a small room where I live; it is very humid and that hurts me; it is a tenement, I pay my rent there. The bathroom is shared" (Respondent 12, Bogotá, 20 October 2022).

Most households with older people have access to electricity and to a lower extent water, sewerage, and rubbish collection, with significant differences between urban and rural areas. The most commonly used cooking fuel is natural gas connected to the public network (70.9 per cent), followed by propane gas (16.9 per cent), and firewood or wood (9.5 per cent).\(^\text{12}\) Payment of these services becomes a constant demand for the poorest older people, restricting their ability to pay for other services. Official data shows that more than one-third of spending in households headed by an older person is for services such as water, electricity, gas, and other fuels; this proportion increasing to 42 per cent in households where only people aged 60 years and older live.\(^\text{13}\)

One participant said: "I did receive a bonus [monetary benefit from the state] monthly, and that was used to pay for services, utilities, and food, and I had to save on utilities and turn off light bulbs". (FGD1. Participant 10. Bogotá, 1 November 2022). Another mentioned: "We had to save money not only on food but also for utilities. We had to find the money to pay for utilities because these people do not wait. They cut us off the energy" (FGD1 participant 11, Bogotá, 1 November 2022).

Health
Almost all older people in Colombia are covered by the public healthcare system. Half the population comes under the subsidised regime, which is the poorest population with no ability to pay for healthcare.

Around 40 per cent of older people suffer from one or more chronic diseases (among them arterial hypertension, chronic obstructive pulmonary disease, diabetes) and 18.7 per cent suffer from
some degree of disability. The COVID-19 pandemic had a devastating impact on older people as 76 per cent of total deaths between March 2020 and September 2021 were among older people. The pandemic has had especially negative effects on people with neurocognitive disorders and has led to increased emotional suffering, expressed in feelings of "loneliness, stress, worry, depression." One positive aspect was the prioritisation of older people in the National Vaccination Plan. However, the increased pressure on health services generated delays in the diagnosis of non-COVID-19 conditions.

The most significant challenge in accessing healthcare is the timeliness of care provided. In general, older people have access to medical consultations, but they report delays (especially for specialised consultations) and difficulty in completing paperwork required to secure an appointment. Other problems include high transport costs as well as fragmentation of care services. Certain home-based treatments cannot be undertaken due to the costs and adjustments involved for the older person and their family. Referring to challenges her mother experienced in accessing healthcare, the daughter of an older person stated: "I live in a rural area. In my case, I have to travel about three or four hours to Bogotá. I try to make sure that my mother's and my medical appointments coincide. If they don't coincide, I have to find someone to stay at the farm to take care of her, and that is an economic expense" (KI, Bogotá, 10 November 2022). Also, dissatisfaction with the quality of health services prompts older people to migrate to alternative health systems, even if they are more expensive.

**Participation, physical, social and cultural environments**

Nearly half of older people studied belong to a group, particularly religious groups. This social participation increases awareness of resources available to them. In terms of political participation, 23.9 per cent of people over 65 did not vote in the last presidential elections, 48.6 per cent said this was because of lack of interest, and 36.8 per cent because "the candidates promise and do not deliver".

There are also limitations or negative aspects of social participation, including the insecurity and hostility of the physical environment, increases in transport time and prices, and perceptions of discrimination. Low formal schooling and functional illiteracy restrict some older people’s opportunities to access goods and services and demand their rights. As 63.7 per cent of older people do not use the internet, they are also facing increasingly complex environments dominated by new technologies, deepening discrimination through a so-called "gray gap". One KI described this: "They are people, mostly peasants. So we did not have an education, not because we did not like it; we would have been brilliant. However, because the condition we brought with us did not allow it. So, talking about women and some men, we have been working since we were nine years old, in the countryside and then in the city" (KI, Bogotá, 1 November 2022).

Many older people in Colombia have been victims of violence during their lives or have grown up in violent contexts. Colombia has experienced widespread crime and an internal armed conflict of six decades with more than nine million victims, including more than one million people between 61 and 100 years of age. Remembering this history an older man said: "You couldn't even go out at night to have a coffee. A lot of robberies, and they stabbed people". (Respondent 1, Bogotá, November 2022). And a woman described how violence transformed her life "From one moment to the next, they killed my son, and I changed my life; I started to work more, I started
to drink, and I almost killed myself; I cut my hands, and I was alone” (Respondent 12, Bogotá, November 2022).

**People’s perceptions of their circumstances**
The study found that in general, the poorest older people do not see the current situation as a new crisis, because their daily struggle to survive constitutes a persistent or chronic situation. Their lives have often been marked since childhood by violence, forced labour and periodic food shortages. The distinctions between different crises and their impacts become blurred in people’s perceptions especially as the current crisis immediately followed the COVID-19 pandemic. When asked about her experience of crises, one older woman recalled her infancy: "I was six years old when Gaitán [Political leader whose death caused a major social revolt, violence and rural migration] was killed in 1948. My mother got me out of bed quickly, at 3:00 am. We ran and wasted away in a river, and then we went into the bush. It was a desert and we stayed there for months. I had all the diseases. We had nothing. No clothes. We would lie down, cut banana leaves, and lay them on the ground; we would wrap ourselves in that behind a rock” (FGD Participant 5, Bogotá, 1 November 2022).

Many participants reported a daily struggle for survival, facing difficulties and eventualities without any social protection support. They had no vision of the future or plans. The impacts and coping mechanisms they used were similar to those used throughout their lives: adaptation to circumstances, family support, state or other support, together with a common trust in their religious faith. One of the respondents said: “I do nothing but ask him. At least today I have to go to prayer and kneel before the Lord Jesus Christ and cry to him so that he will try to heal me a little of this hernia’ (Respondent I1, Bogota, 10 November 2022).

Many older people along with some key informants, see state benefits as 'charity' and not as their right, which makes their enforceability difficult. For some older people, the pandemic brought support they would not normally count on, such as extra food. An older woman said: “During the pandemic, I did have food. State entities, the police, and the Red Cross came to give me food. In addition, the local stores and the church helped a lot. A niece of mine knew a doctor who brought us food“ (Respondent I5, Bogota, 31 October 2022). Another respondent said: “I have an old-age benefit. After the age of 60, they [state] give you $130,000 a month [approximately US$27]. During the pandemic, I had needs and here at the university, they gave out food and my friends brought me, and the owner of the place where I live also helped me. During the pandemic, I didn’t lack for anything” (Respondent I4, Bogota, 20 November 2022).

The pandemic and subsequent food, fuel and finance crisis, have clearly exposed both the existing social and economic inequalities affecting older people and the flaws in public policy which fails to meet their basic needs and protect their rights. As one of the FGD participants stated: “Because we had to share the little food that we got. So if the children had no work, the grandchildren had no work and they came to the house, well, even if it was an "aguapanela" [hot water with sugarcane] we shared it and locked ourselves in, taking care of our health” (FGD Participant 4, Bogotá, 1 November 2022).

During the time of the pandemic, older people experienced more insecurity, but there was an increase in their public visibility along with discussions concerning their autonomy. A key informant explained: "(...) until the pandemic, older people had been very much invisible. Yes, and the pandemic puts them in the center of attention of the population of our country, but of the world in general. In fact, let’s say that the data reported especially from Italy, with the massive


deaths of older people, generated a lot of impacts and also generated a discussion not only... let’s say medical, but a much more political and ethical discussion around them. And the second point that favored (...) was the questioning of the independent life of older people, that is to say, their autonomy...” (KI, Bogotá, 25 November 2022).

**Recommendations**

Colombia’s economic challenges are not all recent, but the convergence of the COVID-19 pandemic along with the food, fuel and finance crisis have further exacerbated an already dire situation for many older people. As evidenced by this study, these impacts have been multiple, including greater economic insecurity, lack of access to health and social services such as pensions, unaffordability of transport and fuel, and a decrease in social participation. Using a rights-based approach, policies must be developed and implemented to address the current living conditions of older people. Specific interventions should include the following:

- The government should integrate diversity and intersectionality perspectives in all policies, programmes, and strategies. This will comply with the constitution of Colombia that stipulates that the state will promote conditions for equality to be real and effective and will adopt measures in favour of discriminated or marginalised groups.

- The protection of the rights of older people by guaranteeing their access to physical, social, and cultural spaces, and new technologies, as stated in the Inter-American Convention on the Protection of the Human Rights of Older Persons.

- The government should provide capacity strengthening for older people including in the area of digital technologies.

- The Ministries of Labour, Health, Social Protection, and ministries working on issues related to old-age must review the pension and social security system, with emphasis on guaranteeing a minimum basic income for older people, most of whom cannot afford to contribute to the pension system.

- The Ministry of Labour should formalise the employment status of those working in the informal sector, as part of the new pension and labour reforms that the government is planning.  

- Recognising the negative impact of the lack of formal schooling on the living conditions of older people, the Ministry of Education as well as educational institutions - both public and private - need to ensure that education opportunities are provided throughout the life cycle, without discrimination based on age. This is in line with the National Decennial Plan for Education 2016-2025, the General Education Law, as well as the education, employment, and entrepreneurship offerings of the National Learning Service (SENA).

- For the effective implementation of the Colombian Public Policy on Ageing and Old Age, local governments should generate and maintain participation spaces and conditions for older people (for example infrastructure) that allow them to have regular social encounters and actively participate as citizens. This includes provision of accessible transport as well ensuring public safety.
• As part of Colombia’s developing National Care System (SINACU), aiming to meet the service support needs of people with permanent functional dependence, the government needs to ensure that older people’s care needs are met and caregivers are given due recognition and working conditions, including fair pay.

• In Colombia, policies on aging and old age have traditionally been the domain of the health sector, resulting in old age being socially associated with disease and physical and mental deterioration. It is recommended to redistribute the responsibilities of policies related to old age among different institutions, which would contribute to broadening and enriching social representation, as well as reducing costs in care and diversifying the offer of services.

• Local government leaders should promote primary healthcare as one of the most effective public health strategies, as a way to improve older people’s health and wellbeing thus providing older people with an opportunity to actively contribute to their communities and wider society.

• During the pandemic, the media helped mobilise public opinion towards respecting the rights of older people. The media should continue to play an important role in transforming the representation of older people through positive images and stories.

Colombia is making steady progress towards legislation to protect older people’s rights. Now it is vital to take urgent steps to achieve what is stated in the National Public Policy on Ageing and Old Age 2022 - 2031:

(...) correct, in a progressive manner, inequities and exclusions, ensuring the necessary conditions for the development of healthy aging and a dignified, autonomous and independent old age in equal conditions for all.21

Street vendor. Bogotá, Colombia.