SAFE

Safe Accessible Forensic Interviewing for Elders

1-Day Training For Professionals Who Serve Older Adults

Instructor Manual



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Purpose

This one-day training is designed for professionals serving older adults. It is the hope of all involved that after this training, professionals will feel better equipped to communicate with older adults who are victims of crime.

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INTENDED AUDIENCE

- This training is designed for a maximum of 75 participants.
- This training is intended for professionals seeking to learn more about abuse in later life, the multidisciplinary team* approach and some general tips on how to communicate with the older adult population.

*Note: Multidisciplinary team (MDT) joint investigations have been an established evidence-based model of successful investigations related to neglect and abuse of children. It typically has not been used for older adults. While we recognize that this model may not be available in all communities, a joint investigation response (MDT) would be considered best practice and would include Adult Protective Services (APS), law enforcement, district attorneys, attorneys general, victim services professionals, forensic interviewers, medical professionals, etc.

INTRODUCTION

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"Elder abuse is not an easy problem to address: it can manifest itself in many ways—an older parent isolated and neglected by an adult child or caregiver; domestic violence by a partner (long-term or new), adult child or caregiver; sexual assault by a stranger, caregiver, or family member; abuse or neglect by a partner with advancing dementia; financial exploitation by a stranger, trusted family member, or professional; or systemic neglect by a long-term care provider that hires too few staff members, provides insufficient training to its staff, and expends too few resources on resident care." (Connolly et al., 2014, p. 8)

Throughout the United States, the number of older adults is growing significantly. With this rise in the population, the frequency of older adults as victims of elder abuse requiring a criminal investigation is increasing. Victims of elder abuse are highly heterogenous in terms of their medical and cognitive health; experience with trauma over their lifetimes; cultural, religious, spiritual, and social values; length of time in the United States; history of interactions with governmental agencies; language; and resilience.

Multidisciplinary team (MDT) joint investigations have been an established evidence-based model of successful investigations related to neglect and abuse of children. It has not been used for older adults nearly as much. The absence of the forensic interviewing model and joint investigation response for elder abuse victims leaves them at risk of not obtaining justice. Professionals who serve older adults should be aware of MDT practices and best practices for interacting with adults who are alleged victims of crime.

TRAUMA-INFORMED APPROACH

Trauma is an event, series of events, or set of circumstances experienced by an individual as physically or emotionally harmful or life-threatening. Trauma often has lasting adverse effects on the individual's functioning and mental, physical, social, emotional, or spiritual well-being (SAMHSA, 2014).

Research indicates that up to 90% of older adults have experienced at least one traumatic event during their lifetime (Kuwert et al., 2013). These events include military combat; unexpected death of a partner, child, or someone close; severe injury or illness to themselves or someone in their life; or history of abuse or neglect. In addition, it is important for professions not to overlook the effects of trauma commonly experienced by older generations such as historical trauma, racial trauma, and trauma resulting from persecution (e.g., persecution of one's sexual orientation or gender identity; see <u>"A Life Course</u> <u>Perspective on Older Adults"</u> for more information on historical trauma, racial trauma, and trauma resulting from persecution). It is also important to recognize that the current victimization that is being investigated may be experienced as a traumatic event.

A trauma-informed approach is critical and involves understanding that trauma can always be present and requires a change in mindset from "what's wrong with you?" to "what happened to you?" This approach requires honing empathy and compassion skills while appreciating another individual's emotions with understanding and without judgment. Without these specialized skills, professionals risk reverting to the "what's wrong with you?" mindset and perhaps retraumatizing the older adult during the investigation (National Council on Behavioral Health, 2016).

See additional information from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) and Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA)'s National Center for Trauma-Informed Care (NCTIC) here:

https://www.cdc.gov/cpr/infographics/00_docs/TRAINING_EMERGENCY_RESP ONDERS_FINAL.pdf.

STRENGTH-BASED PERSPECTIVE

The perspective that professionals have during an investigation will have many effects when working with older adults who have experienced abuse. Historically, professionals across disciplines have adopted a deficit-based perspective that solely considers perceived risk factors and deficits of individuals, ignoring their rich and varied life experiences, skill sets, knowledge, and community resources. Older adults have lived through a lifetime of achievements, new opportunities, lifespan milestones, and difficult and traumatic events (Chapin et al., 2016). They have developed effective coping strategies and resilience. Ignoring an older adult's individual and environmental strengths may ultimately affect the dynamics throughout the investigation including the quality of information gathered. Therefore, conducting an effective investigation begins with a shift in perspective from a deficit-based perspective to a strengths-based perspective.

Adopting a strengths-based perspective requires a focus on the older adult's positive traits and resiliency factors (Janssen et al., 2011). A strengths-based perspective values fostering trust and respect between the professional and older adult in addition to reducing the inherent power differential, which is critical to developing rapport with individuals being served. When professionals focus on strengths rather than weaknesses in their questioning, it is more likely that the older adult is heard more completely, which will allow for a more successful investigation.

ELDER ABUSE DEFINITIONS

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Elder Abuse

Elder abuse is "a complex cluster of distinct but related phenomena involving health, legal, social service, financial, public safety, aging, disability, protective services, and victim services, aging services, policy, research, education, and human rights issues. It, therefore, requires a coordinated multidisciplinary, multi-agency, and multisystem response" (Connolly et al., 2014, p. 5).

There is no universal definition of elder abuse, and state and federal statutes use diverse definitions. Frameworks for the phenomenon have been developed for various purposes such as public health, benefits, eligibility for Adult Protective Services (APS) programs, and civil and criminal actions. Similarly, there is no single definition of *elder* or *older adult*.

Many definitions of elder abuse require "that some injury, deprivation, or dangerous condition has occurred to the elder person and that someone else bears responsibility for causing the condition or failing to prevent it" (Bonnie & Wallace, 2003, p. 40). The context of the abuse includes a relationship in which there is a societal expectation of trust, such as intimate partner, family member, caregiver, or person who has a fiduciary relationship with an older adult, such as an attorney-in-fact, guardian, or trustee. A trust relationship is "a caregiving relationship, or other familial, social, or professional relationship where a person bears or has assumed responsibility for protecting the interests of the older person or where expectations for care or protection arise by law or social convention" (Bonnie & Wallace, 2003, p. 39).

Table 1. Definitions of Elder Abuse

Source	Definition
National Research Council	"Intentional actions that cause harm or create serious risk of harm, whether or not intended, to a vulnerable adult by a caregiver or other person who stands in a position of trust to the elder, or failure by a caregiver to satisfy the elder's basic needs or to protect the elder from harm" (National Research Council, 2003, p. 1).
CDC	"Elder abuse is an intentional act, or failure to act, by a caregiver or another person in a relationship involving an expectation of trust that causes or creates a risk of harm to an older adult" (CDC, 2020, para. 1).
United States Department of Justice (DOJ) Roadmap Project	"Physical, sexual or psychological abuse, as well as neglect, abandonment and financial exploitation of an older person by another person or entity that occurs in any setting (e.g., home, community or facility), either in a relationship where there is an expectation of trust and/or when an older person is targeted based on age or disability" (Connelly et al.,2014, Appendix A, p. 2).
World Health Organization	"A single, or repeated act, or lack of appropriate action, occurring within any relationship where there is an expectation of trust which causes harm or distress to an older person" (World Health Organization, n.d., para. 1).
Elder Abuse Prevention and Protection Act of 2017 (Public Law 115–70)	"Includes abuse, neglect, and exploitation of an elder"; this is further defined in Section 2011 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1397j: Abuse: "The knowing infliction of physical or psychological harm or the knowing deprivation of goods or services that are necessary to meet essential needs or to avoid physical or psychological harm."

Caregiver: "An individual who has the responsibility for the care of an elder, either voluntarily, by contract, by receipt of payment for care, or as a result of the operation of law, and means a family member or other individual who provides (on behalf of such individual or of a public or private agency, organization, or institution) compensated or uncompensated care to an elder who needs supportive services in any setting."
Exploitation: "The fraudulent or otherwise illegal, unauthorized, or improper act or process of an individual, including a caregiver or fiduciary, that uses the resources of an elder for monetary or personal benefit, profit, or gain, or that results in depriving an elder of rightful access to, or use of, benefits, resources, belongings, or assets."
Elder: "An individual age 60 or older."
Neglect: "The failure of a caregiver or fiduciary to provide the goods or services that are necessary to maintain the health or safety of an elder; or self-neglect."

These definitions of elder abuse that describe both criminal and non-criminal acts, provide a way to frame and distinguish elder abuse from other acts (criminal or non-criminal) committed by and against older adults (e.g., self-neglect, stranger crimes, and many scams and frauds). This framework excludes some of these kinds of cases that are investigated by APS or eligible for protective court proceedings, such as guardianship.

NOTE: Not all jurisdictions use the term *guardianship*. Some use guardianship to refer to protective proceedings for the personal and medical needs of a person requiring protection; others use the term *conservatorship* to refer to protective proceedings for financial matters; still others use conservatorship to refer to both. In this document, we will use the term guardianship to refer to both kinds of proceedings—the person and finances of a person requiring protection.

Just as there is no single definition of elder abuse, there is no single accepted age when a person becomes an elder. For example, both the Elder Abuse Prevention and Prosecution Act of 2017 and Older Americans Act of 1965 (42 USC §3002(38)) define an older adult as 60 years of age or older. The DOJ, Office on Violence Against Women's Enhanced Training and Services to End Abuse in Later Life Program, defines its target population as persons 50 and above. Many tribal communities define an elder as 50 or 55 or older. Social Security and Medicare programs use the age of 65. Some states do not use an age definition at all but include all adults (age 18 and older) who have a physical, developmental, or intellectual disability that makes them unable to meet their basic needs or protect their legal rights.

Forms of Elder Abuse

Professionals should work with their team or community partners to become familiar with local statutes to see which forms of abuse may be included in their jurisdictions, including criminal and civil statutes, reporting laws, and eligibility for APS assistance (these statutes can be found at <u>Elder Justice</u> <u>Statutes</u>). Elder abuse typically encompasses several forms of conduct, which are defined in different ways across jurisdictions. Not all instances of elder abuse rise to the level of a crime.

These definitions of types of elder abuse come from The National Center on Elder Abuse:

Physical: "Intentional use of physical force that results in illness, injury, pain or functional impairment"

Physical abuse may include over- or under-medicating an older adult to make them compliant, confused, less able to recognize or report, or keep them quiet; forced feeding; and improper use of chemical and other restraints. It also includes domestic violence and abuse in later life and strangulation and suffocation committed against older adults. These actions may be undetected and result in death when the victim would have survived the assault in earlier life.

Sexual: "Non-consensual sexual contact of any kind"

Sexual abuse includes acts committed upon a person unable to give legal consent to sexual contact. It includes the following:

- Hands-on conduct (e.g., various sex crimes, forced production of pornography)
- Hands-off conduct (e.g., forced watching of pornography or sex acts)
- Harmful genital practices (e.g., painful, intrusive, and unnecessary cleaning; inspection or handling for the perpetrator's sexual gratification; Ramsey-Klawsnik, 1996).

Older victims who are sexually abused by family members often have dementia and are dependent on others for care and the management of their assets. Sexual abuse may also be part of a pattern of complex, multifaceted, intimate partner abuse (Ramsey-Klawsnik, 2003).

Neglect by a caregiver: "Caregivers or other responsible parties failing to provide food, shelter, health care, or protection"

Neglect is the failure to act by one with a duty to act (duty of care) on behalf of a person unable to provide for their own needs or to protect their legal rights. While there are variations regarding the relationships that give rise to a legal duty of care across jurisdictions, a person can be a caregiver because they are paid to provide care (contractual relationship), because of a legal relationship such as a spouse or guardian, or because they have assumed care and are not free to simply abandon the care recipient.

Victims of neglect often have significant physical and mental impairments and are dependent on others for care. Many neglected older adults are unable to describe their victimization and, because of their condition, may be easily isolated so that the conduct is not detected.

A caregiver may provide personal care or have the duty to arrange for and compensate caregivers. Such a duty may arise through a power of attorney, guardianship, contract, or other agreement.

Abandonment: Some jurisdictions include additional forms of abuse to their laws, such as abandonment. Abandonment is the desertion of an elderly person by an individual who has assumed responsibility for providing care for an older person or by a person with physical custody of the older person (National Center on Elder Abuse, n.d.). In jurisdictions that do not include abandonment, the conduct is usually included in other forms, such as neglect.

Financial: "Misappropriation of an older person's money or property"

Financial exploitation includes the illegal or improper use of an elder's funds, property, or assets. These are some examples:

- Taking or selling things without permission
- Making older adults sign legal documents they do not understand
- Forcing an older adult to give away something that belongs to them
- Impersonating the older adult to obtain goods or money
- Keeping money that belongs to the older person, stopping the older person from using their own money
- Keeping information about the person's assets from the older person (DOJ, Elder Justice Initiative, n.d.)

Some—but not all—victims have physical and cognitive deficits that interfere with their ability to understand financial transactions or pay bills.

Financial exploitation is sometimes divided into two categories: financial abuse and elder fraud. "Exploitation may also involve coercion, enticement, intimidation, and/or undue influence for one's own profit or benefit. As distinct from fraud, financial abuse involves a breach of trust between a vulnerable older person and a family member, close friend, caregiver, or person in a position of trust who misuses the elder's funds to serve his or her own needs at the elder's expense" (Deliema & Conrad, 2017, p. 141). In elder fraud cases, scams are committed by perpetrators not personally known to their victims (Deane, 2018; Deliema & Conrad, 2017).

Scams: Perpetrators have several ways of encountering and engaging with their victims. Some meet their victim through face-to-face engagement, online, via telephone, or through the mail. The majority of scams that specifically target older adults focus on the following:

- Financial gain for the older adult (e.g., lottery scams)
- A desire for an intimate relationship (e.g., romance scams)
- Providing help (e.g., grandchild scam)
- Compliance with authority (e.g., warrant out for arrest scam)
- Fear of loss of benefits or safety (e.g., social security scam)

Professionals should be aware that these scams are constantly evolving. The names of scams are not as important as an understanding of how they

occur. The use of the name of a specific scam with an older adult during a conversation is often irrelevant. It is essential to understand that in each of these scams, the perpetrator has convinced the older adult to trust that they have the victim's best interest in mind. Perpetrators may say, "if you send money, I can keep you from being arrested" or "if you send money, I can come to visit you, and we can spend time together." Perpetrators build and then exploit that trust in almost all forms of scams.

While many of these scam types target older adults, being a victim of the scam does not indicate a cognitive deficit, a lack of intelligence, or a victim's weakness. Instead, it is possible that the older adult may not want to believe they are the target of fraud or may not share possible fraud with their family members due to feelings of embarrassment and guilt. A strengths-based approach is critical to support the older adult who may be embarrassed or ashamed that they were the victim of a scam (More information can be found about scams in "Appendix III").

Emotional/Psychological: "Inflicting mental pain, anguish, or distress on a person"

Emotional abuse is accomplished through verbal and nonverbal acts, many demeaning or degrading of the victim.

Examples include these:

- Stalking in later life
- Bullying
- Vandalism of the victim's prized possessions
- Refusing to talk to an older adult
- Infantilizing an older person
- Isolation
- Threatening abuse of a pet/abuse of a pet

Emotional/psychological abuse, such as threats to place an older adult in a nursing home, can be used to dissuade or prevent the reporting of physical abuse or financial exploitation or to facilitate other forms of abuse (See "<u>Multiple Victimization Events/Polyvictimization</u>").

Other Forms: Some jurisdictions add additional forms of abuse to their laws, such as abandonment. Abandonment is the desertion of an elderly person by an individual who has assumed responsibility for providing care for an elder or by a person with physical custody of an elder (National Center on Elder Abuse, n.d.). In jurisdictions that do not include abandonment, the conduct is usually included in other forms, such as neglect.

Multiple Victimization Events/Polyvictimization

Some perpetrators engage in a single form of abuse, though individual acts may recur (i.e., multiple victimization events or multivictimization). Sometimes, multiple forms of abuse co-occur. Called polyvictimization, it is defined in the elder abuse framework as follows: "when a person aged 60+ is harmed through multiple co-occurring or sequential types of elder abuse by one or more perpetrators, or when an older adult experiences one type of abuse perpetrated by multiple others with whom the older adult has a personal, professional or care recipient relationship in which there is a societal expectation of trust" (Ramsey-Klawsnik et al.,2014, p. 15).

U.S. studies have estimated that 30% to 40% of older abuse victims reported to APS experience multiple forms of victimization by the same offender. In one study, 34% of investigated APS reports involved financial exploitation, accompanied by either neglect or physical abuse. A study of APS cases in Cleveland found that polyvictimization occurred in 89.7% of cases in which psychological abuse or neglect occurred (Dong et al., 2014).

Rates of polyvictimization among persons living with dementia are significant. One study of 129 community-dwelling persons living with dementia and their caregivers found that elder abuse occurred in nearly half of the cases, with more than one form of abuse committed in 31% of the cases. All physical abuse victims were also psychologically abused, neglected, or both (Wiglesworth et al., 2010).

Sometimes, as a result of abuse and neglect by another or other circumstances, an older person may become unable or unwilling to provide themselves with adequate necessities and resources for maintaining safety and independence (Dyer et al., 2007). It can take the form of physical, medical, and/or mental health neglect (Burnett et al., 2014).

Settings in Which Elder Abuse Occurs

Most older adults live in their homes in the community. Only about 1.5 million adults (or about 3.4% of people age 65 and older) live in long-term care facilities such as nursing homes. Most abuse occurs in community (home) settings rather than institutional settings (Acierno et al., 2010; Kosberg & Nahmiash, 1996; Rosay & Mulford, 2017), which is not surprising given most older adults reside in community settings. Some 89.3% of reports to APS programs across the United States occur in domestic settings (Teaster et al., 2006).

Abuse in Long Term Care Settings

Because elder abuse can occur in any setting, it is useful for professionals to recognize that the response system for abuse occurring in long-term care settings differs from that of elder abuse committed against community-dwelling older adults (Daly, 2017). State regulation of long-term care facilities imposed by federal regulation results in a different response system. Resident abuse is within the jurisdiction of the state's survey and certification entity (with federal oversight) and the Medicaid Fraud Control Units, which are federally funded but state entities typically housed in the state's Office of the Attorney General. The Long-Term Care Ombudsmen program provides advocacy for residents but does not conduct investigations. Further, only approximately half of APS programs have jurisdiction in long-term care settings.

Although the extent and nature of abuse in long-term care settings are not well studied, it is known that elder abuse is prevalent (Yon et al., 2019; National Center on Elder Abuse, n.d. Prevalence). Studies over the past several decades show similar results: a survey of nursing home staff found in the year prior to the study 36% had witnessed at least one incident of physical abuse, and 81% had seen at least one incident of psychological abuse (Pillemer & Moore, 1989). Remarkably, 19% acknowledged committing at least one act of physical abuse, and 40% admitting committing one or more acts of psychological abuse (Hearing, 2011). In a study that included 2,000 interviews with nursing home residents, 44% said they had been abused, and 95% said they had been neglected or seen another resident neglected (Broyles, 2000). In a third study, more than 50% of nursing home staff admitted to mistreating (e.g., physical violence, mental abuse, neglect) older patients within the prior year. Two-thirds of those incidents involved neglect (Ben et al., 2010).

While the research and tracking are limited, there is increasing awareness of the forms that elder abuse takes in long-term care settings. These include "seclusion, withholding medication, over medicating resident to resident aggression, under-treating pain, chemical or physical restraint, poor hygiene, skin lesions, dehydration, malnutrition, pressure ulcers, urine burns and excoriation, contractures, delirium, vermin infestation, and accelerated functional decline" (Daly, 2017, p. 70). The risk of elder abuse is increased for residents without family, friends, or advocates; those living on public assistance; and those who are aggressive (Brandl et al., 2007).

Institutional factors also increase the risk for abuse and neglect of residents in long-term care settings include the following:

- Stressful working conditions due to staffing shortages and other factors (understaffing in nursing homes results in neglect of residents and a 22% increase in hospitalizations; CMS, 2001)
- Staff burnout
- The combination of residents' aggressive behaviors with inadequate staff training on managing problematic behaviors (Hawes, 1989)
- Poor hiring and staff screening
- Lack of management oversight and supervision

Resident-to-Resident Aggression

Another form of abuse in long-term care settings is resident-to-resident aggression (RRA), defined as "negative and aggressive physical, sexual, or verbal interactions between long-term care residents that in a community setting would be construed as unwelcome and have high potential to cause physical or psychological distress in the recipient" (Rosen et al., 2008). RRA is underreported but appears to be common (U.S. Government Accountability Office, 2002). According to the National Center on Elder Abuse (2013), RRA reports are the second most commonly reported type of abuse in long-term care facilities, accounting for 22% of all reports.

HISTORY OF ELDER ABUSE

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In the United States, attention to addressing the needs of older adults vulnerable to abuse and neglect can be traced back to the 1960s. The White House Conference on Aging in 1961 recommended a multidisciplinary effort to protect vulnerable older adults (NAPSA-Now.org, 2021). In 1962, amendments to the Social Security Act authorized funding to states to develop protective services units. Additionally, throughout the 1960s, the Administration on Aging funded several projects that provided protective services to older adults.

APS offered a social service approach to addressing abuse and neglect that remains in place today. Initially, protective services focused primarily on supporting individuals in situations of neglect through social service and civil legal remedies (Anetzberger & Thurston, 2021).

In the 1970s, attention to older adults' vulnerability took the next step from a primary focus on neglect to include physical abuse due to the first significant national press about elder abuse and federal legislative public hearings (Teaster et al., 2010). The terms "granny bashing" and "granny battering" started in the U.K. in 1975 and were used in the United States after these press articles and hearings. This conceptualization of abuse focused social service interventions on the physical assault of older adults, particularly older adult women, by family members in caregiving situations.

In contrast to child abuse interventions that included law enforcement as part of the solution, elder abuse interventions during the 1970s and 1980s remained focused almost exclusively on social service interventions. Even with the introduction of physical abuse, the theory was that family caregivers were abusers because of the natural stress of caregiving. This premise of why the abuse occurred directed social service interventions that could decrease stress to prevent abuse and did not include law enforcement intervention that would punish the overburdened caregiver.

"Research in the 1980s and 1990s concluded that while abuse *may* be the result of caregiver stress, it is often due to 'abuser psychopathology'" (McNeal & Brown, 2019, p. 100). As a result, interventions began to be based on domestic violence models, with more criminal justice system involvement (McNeal & Brown, 2019).

By the end of the 1980s, the concept of victimization of older adults began to evolve even further. In 1987, amendments to the Older Americans Act expanded the definition of elder abuse beyond neglect and physical abuse to include sexual abuse, emotional/psychological abuse, abandonment, and financial exploitation (Teaster et al., 2010). Despite this broad definition, abuse and neglect in caregiving situations continued to be the primary focus of protective services units during the 1990s, too often not involving law enforcement. Neglect cases, especially self-neglect cases, often required intensive and expensive social service interventions, leaving little funding for other aspects of elder abuse.

During the 1990s, there was an emerging trend to include a criminal justice framework for elder abuse (Connolly, 1997). Research had questioned the caregiver stress model as an explanation for abuse. All caregiving is stressful, and most caregivers successfully provide care without abusing the older adult. The focus of why abuse occurs started to look at the characteristics of the abuser that led to the violence, which was more closely aligned with a family violence model.

While national legislation was scant in supporting criminal justice interventions, more and more local jurisdictions started viewing elder abuse with a criminal justice approach. During this time, many states passed laws that criminalized the abuse and neglect of older adults and allowed for sentence enhancements for perpetrators if the victim was an older adult or a person with a disability.

In the early 2000s, elder abuse interventions started to be thought of as part of a framework of elder justice. In 2002, the Elder Justice Act was introduced. This act represented the first significant piece of legislation that added the concept of criminal justice to the spectrum of elder abuse interventions. In the executive summary for the act, Senator Breaux, the primary author of the bill, defined elder justice as "assuring that adequate public–private infrastructure and resources exist to prevent, detect, treat, understand, intervene in and, where appropriate, prosecute elder abuse, neglect, and exploitation. From an individual perspective, elder justice is the right of every older American to be free of abuse, neglect, and exploitation" (Elder Justice Act, 2002).

The Elder Justice Act was passed 8 years later in 2010 as part of the Patient Protection and Affordability Act. However, the enacted version still focused primarily on public health and social services approaches to elder abuse (Congressional Research Services, 2020). It did not include the criminal justice responses to elder abuse contained in previous versions.

Throughout the 2000s to today, forensic techniques have started to become part of the approaches to elder abuse in some states and communities. Multidisciplinary fatality review and case review teams coordinate local responses between the social service and criminal justice systems to address gaps in responding to and preventing elder abuse in many jurisdictions (Taylor & Mulford, 2015). States continue to enact statutes criminalizing elder abuse, and in some cases, requiring training of law enforcement who respond to elder abuse.

In 2017 the Elder Abuse Prevention and Prosecution Act became the first significant piece of federal legislation to embrace the forensic issues involved in addressing abuse (DOJ, 2020). This legislation focuses on the need for data, calling on several federal agencies to work together to better understand both the protective services and criminal elements of elder abuse. Notably, it assigned specific requirements to the DOJ to investigate and prosecute elder abuse crimes and to provide or make available training and resources for state elder justice professionals.

Today, elder abuse prevention and response work continue with new legislation being considered at the federal and state levels. Local jurisdictions continue to put together multidisciplinary task forces to address elder abuse in their communities. Law enforcement and APS are working together to develop best practices to pursue both civil and criminal remedies, when appropriate, to provide justice for older adult victims.

STATISTICS AND INCIDENT RATES

STATISTICS AND INCIDENT RATES

Elder abuse is a problem that is only beginning to be understood. With the Elder Justice Act and Elder Abuse Prevention and Protection Act, there is a commitment to gain a better national understanding of the issue similar to what is learned from the data collected for child abuse. The following statistics are a snapshot of what is currently known about some critical components of elder victimization.

An aging U.S. population means there is a need for increased responses to victimization (Administration for Community Living, 2020).

- In 2018, more than one in every seven people in the United States was 65 years of age or older.
- In 2060, the population aged 65 and over is projected to be 94.7 million, more than twice its estimated population of 43.1 million in 2012.
- Racial and ethnic minority populations have increased from 19% of the older adult population to 23% of older adults, with a projection of reaching 34% of older adults by 2040.
- In 2018, there were more older women (29.1 million) than older men (23.3 million).
- In 2018, nearly 10% of older adults lived below the poverty level.
- The 85 years and older population is projected to increase by 123% by 2040 to 14.4 million people.

Elder abuse is prevalent worldwide (World Health Organization, 2021).

- A 2017 study, based on 52 studies in 28 countries, estimated that 15.7% of people aged 60 years and older were subjected to some form of abuse over the past year.
- The breakdown of abuse by type finds psychological abuse to be the most reported at 11.6%, followed by financial abuse at 6.8% and neglect at 4.2%. Physical abuse and sexual abuse are the least reported at 2.6% and 0.9%, respectively.

Financial fraud/exploitation and neglect are the most common types of abuse in the United States (DOJ, 2020).

- Financial exploitation by a family member affects 5.2% of older adults, and neglect affects 5.1% of older adults in the United States.
- Psychological abuse is third at 4.6%.
- Physical abuse and sexual abuse account for a much smaller percentage, 1.6%, and .6%, respectively.

Elder abuse is significantly under-reported in the United States (New York State Elder Abuse Prevalence Study, 2011).

- The New York State Elder Abuse Prevalence Study found 24 unreported cases of abuse for every reported case.
- The same report found:
 - Neglect (1:57)
 - Financial (1:44)
 - Physical/Sexual (1:20)
 - Emotional (1:12)

Abuse and neglect are occurring against older adults in long-term care at alarming rates (National Center on Elder Abuse, 2021).

- In a study of nursing home residents, 44% reported having been abused, and 95% reported having been neglected or seeing another resident neglected.
- In a nursing home staff study, more than 50% of nursing home staff admitted to mistreating older residents within the last year, including physical violence, mental abuse, and neglect.

IMPACT OF ELDER ABUSE

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Like other aspects of elder abuse, we are only beginning to understand the impact abuse, neglect, and exploitation have on victims' lives. The victimization experience can have devastating physical, psychological, social, and financial effects on older adults.

Physical Health Impact

The acts of abuse can lead to immediate impacts on physical health (National Center on Elder Abuse, 2021). Physical abuse can cause injuries, including abrasions, lacerations, bruises, burns, fractures, head injuries, and internal organ damage. Neglect can cause physical health issues, such as skin breakdown, infections, and debilitation. Sexual assault often has similar injuries associated with physical abuse and includes additional health issues such as sexually transmitted diseases, urinary tract infections, and irritation or pain of the anus or genitals.

Some effects occur months and years after the abuse occurred. Less immediate physical health issues include general physical malaise, bone or joint problems, digestive problems, chronic pain, high blood pressure, or heart problems.

Any physical health impact can be incredibly detrimental to older adults because of slower recovery rates due to the natural aging body and sometimes preexisting medical issues (Podnieks, 2017). Even minor physical injuries can require older adults to seek medical care to prevent or address the potential of severe disabilities or death. Numerous studies have demonstrated a connection between abuse and the need for emergency department usage, hospitalization, hospice care, and nursing home placement. This association has been shown for physical abuse, sexual abuse, neglect, and even financial exploitation.

Older adults who are victims of polyvictimization experience multiple harms, including increased hospitalization (Dong & Simon, 2013), physical injury, psychosocial injury including depression and PTSD, financial loss, loss of home, and placement in a long-term care facility (Ramsey-Klaswsnik, 2017). Abuse can also result in death. Studies have demonstrated that victims of abuse and neglect are at risk of early death up to three times higher than older adults who are not victims (Dong et al., 2009; Lachs et al., 1998; Yunus et al., 2017). A study that specifically looked at death rates within 5 years by category of abuse found that caregiver neglect was the number one type of abuse associated with early death; financial exploitation was second. Regardless of the kind of abuse, the threat of premature death is real. adult. (See the "<u>Pre-Interview Considerations</u>" section for more information on potential required accommodations.)

Psychological Health Impact

While physical health consequences to victimization are more easily identified and assessed, the impact on psychological health is often missed and unaddressed (Dong et al., 2013). Studies on the psychological effects of abuse have identified higher rates of depression, generalized anxiety disorder, PTSD, and poor self-reported health (Acierno, 2019; Dong et al., 2013).

Social support is a crucial factor for older adults in dealing with the psychological effects of abuse. In a key study, strong social support diminished the impact of elder abuse for depression and eliminated it for generalized anxiety disorder and self-reported poor health (Acierno, 2019). Rates of PTSD were the exception and were unchanged based on social support.

The psychological effects of abuse are not limited to physical abuse, neglect, and sexual abuse. The effects from financial abuse occur at similar rates to the other forms of abuse (Acierno, 2019). Even the risk of PTSD was more likely among those reporting financial exploitation within the last year than those reporting no mistreatment.

Social Impact

As a result of various forms of elder abuse, social relationships are impacted—families may be torn apart, and friends may stop visiting.

Financial Impact

While the exact costs are not known, expenses associated with elder abuse that impact the victim, family members, and the community are in the many billions annually (Connolly et al., 2014). Costs include health and medical expenses; costs to community services, justice systems, institutional settings, and care expenses; and labor costs (Spencer, 2000).

Many adverse events in long-term care facilities result from neglect and abuse related to inadequate treatment, care, and staffing. These impacts of elder abuse cost the government—and ultimately the taxpayers who fund Medicare and Medicaid—some \$2.8 billion each year in Medicare hospital costs and additional significant Medicaid costs (Office of Inspector General, 2014).

Financial exploitation results in tremendous losses to older adults. A recent study concluded that older adults lose \$36.48 billion annually to financial abuse (True Link, 2015). These losses include the following:

- \$16.99 billion to financial exploitation (defined as instances in which misleading or confusing language is used, often with social pressure and tactics to take advantage of cognitive decline and memory loss)
- \$12.76 billion to identity theft and scams
- \$6.67 billion to deceit or theft by someone in a trusting relationship with the older adult

BIASES AND ASSUMPTIONS

ABOUT AGING

BIASES AND ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT AGING

Class Activity: Bias and Assumptions

This activity requires one instructor.

The purpose of this activity is to assist participants in recognizing and understanding biases about older adults.

Instructions

1. Direct participants to the Bias and Assumptions Activity in their copy of the Participant Manual, read the following case scenario aloud, and display it on the PowerPoint slide:

Jenny is the reported victim of domestic violence. The police report indicates the argument began when she accused her husband, Marty, of having an affair. Jenny reports that Marty said she was "crazy", and he became angry. Marty tried to embrace her; she pushed him away and told him to stay away from her. Marty came toward Jenny in an aggressive manner, pushed her backwards into a wall and then began to strangle her. She reports that she saw stars and then things went dark. The next thing she knew she was lying on the floor.

- 2. You are meeting with Jenny. She tells you that her brain feels like scrambled eggs and her mind is a blank, she is 25.
- 3. Ask participants to think about how they would react. Next, ask participants to imagine how they would feel if the same situation happened to an individual who was 65, how about 85? What if the alleged offender was the child of the victim, or a caretaker?

NOTE: For virtual trainings, participants may choose to share their thoughts out loud or via the chat box.

Instructor Guide

Bias and assumptions class questions:

- Ask participants to think about any initial reactions or feelings they have to the case example.
- If someone is comfortable, they can either share aloud or share their thoughts in the chat box (for virtual trainings).
- Ask participants to recognize how they felt considering when the instructor asked them to consider the same scenario with a person of a different age or circumstance.
- Does their viewpoint change? If so, how?

Bias and assumptions discussion points:

- While most agree that physical assault is not okay, our biases sometimes give us a different perspective.
- Consider if you found yourself making excuses for the offender at any point.
- Be cautious to not have assumptions based on the little bit of information provided and encourage a strengths-based approach.

Ageism

The World Health Organization defines ageism as "the stereotyping and discrimination against individuals or groups on the basis of their age." Ageism is one of the most pervasive yet unrecognized types of bias and prejudice in society. It is associated with "poor cognitive, functional, and mental health outcomes, employment harassment and discrimination, financial harms, and social marginalization" (National Center on Elder Abuse, n.d., p. 1).

Common Stereotypes of Aging

Everyone is inundated with messages about aging and what it means to get older. Some of these messages have been positive (e.g., caring grandparent, wise, wealthy, receiving government benefits, honest), but unfortunately, negative stereotypes are often predominant (Richardson & Shelton, 2006). Here are some common negative stereotypes of older adults:

- All older adults will get dementia.
- Older adults are not sexually active.
- Older adults are set in their ways.
- Older adults are not capable of learning new information.
- Intelligence declines in old age.
- Most people end up in a nursing home.
- Older adults all act alike.
- Older adults grow increasingly irritable and angry as they age.
- Older adults are not tech-savvy.

Although none of these are accurate or evidence-based, all of these negative stereotypes are common perceptions of younger adults about older adults.

OLDER ADULTS AND ABUSE DYNAMICS

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A Life Course Perspective on Older Adults

There are more older adults living today than ever before. Older adults may include people over four or more decades, from age 60 or 65 to well past 100. Their experiences will differ depending on their age, culture, race, ethnicity, health, and other factors.

Older adults comprise three cohorts: (a) the young-old, aged 60 to 74; the old, aged 75 to 84; and the old-old, aged 85 and older. When thought of in this way, the diversity of older adults becomes more evident. Some older adults experienced World War II as children or young adults, the Holocaust, and the Great Depression. Other older adults fled to the U.S. as refugees when children, came as adults after helping the U.S. government in various foreign military operations, or arrived as the aging parents of long-settled immigrants. Some came for economic opportunities; others fled oppression, genocide, and gang warfare.

In the United States, some older adults who identify as LGBTQ+ have lived through a social and sexual revolution. Many were closeted for decades, unable to live openly, marry their partners, adopt children, or openly serve in the military. Many were ostracized by their families. Laws criminalized consensual conduct, and some professions denied them. As they aged, many people in the LGBTQ+ community could not visit their spouses and partners in hospitals and long-term care facilities, could not file joint income tax returns, and could be fired for who they are.

Some older adults of have faced discrimination and economic, health, and job disparities based on their skin color and appearance across their lifespan. Many have been targeted for race-based violence and mistreatment, and institutions and entities that were supposed to protect them have histories of unfair treatment. Some have been required to use separate accommodations, and some have been denied equal education, opportunity, and voting rights and otherwise denied the same rights and opportunities as Whites. Some American Indian and Alaska Native older adults lived through forced removal from homes and communities to boarding schools where they were forbidden to practice rituals, speak their native languages, or wear traditional clothing. Some women were forcibly sterilized. Even if they did not personally experience these practices, many of their parents and ancestors did. Later generations carry these experiences and history through historical trauma.

For these and other groups who have been discriminated against, their history and current relationships with local, state, and federal government are fraught and often marked by distrust and hostility. Their experiences may well affect their willingness to participate in services, what questions they will answer, and the kind of information and support they may need to participate.

No one can be conversant with every group and culture. Even if the professional is familiar with a particular group, individuals experience cultural practices and beliefs in their own ways, so generalizing about a person's culture can create impediments to an effective investigation.

Elder Abuse Dynamics

Reporting Impact

Only a small percentage of elder abuse cases are reported to officials. Those incidents that are reported are rarely initiated by the older victim. For example, in Federal fiscal year 2018, states received 1.7 million reports of adult maltreatment. Of those reports, 45%, or 791,161, were accepted for investigation based on the individual states' program criteria. The majority of those reports (57.2%) were referred to APS by professionals, 10.7% were referred by relatives of the adult, and only 5.2% were self-referrals (Adult Protective Services Technical Assistance Resource Center, 2019).

It is important to understand why cases are rarely reported by those who have been victimized and to recognize that elder abuse tactics often inhibit reporting. These are some of the reasons for not self-reporting:

- Inability to report
 - Cognitive limitations
 - Physical limitations
 - Lack of telephone or other means to report
 - o Isolation
 - Abuser tactics
 - Hiding, destroying, or removing means to report
- Victim's fears
 - Looking foolish
 - Not wanting publicity, especially if victim and abuser are in a marginalized community
 - Loss of independence (victims may attribute what is actually abuse to conditions of aging, and they may then be afraid to discuss health concerns out of fear of being labeled with dementia or deemed unable to care for themselves, necessitating involuntary placement in a nursing home)
 - Not being believed
 - Fear of losing the only support, caring person, or reliable caregiver they believe they have
 - Abuser harming a beloved pet, precious possession, or a family member
 - Retaliation and further abuse
 - Deportation of self or abuser
- Techniques of the abuser
 - Reminding an older person of something that caused them embarrassment, such as bouncing a check, losing their keys, or misplacing glasses
 - Using such instances to tell the older person that they are no longer able to live independently or make wise decisions—they need to turn over such decisions to the abuser, who will protect them from an embarrassing disclosure
 - Threatening to tell their family, who will want to take over the older adult's life

- The victim may feel guilt and shame regarding numerous areas such as these:
 - Raising a child who now abuses them
 - Poor parenting
 - Failing to protect the abuser from childhood trauma
 - The abuser's use of alcohol and other drugs
 - Needing help from an abuser, including toileting, feeding, and bathing
 - Falling prey to a scam or gave consent to an unwise transaction and lost money or other assets
- Emotional attachments
 - Not wanting to lose family supports and relationships
 - Not wanting to get the perpetrator in trouble

These factors are often considerably more prevalent when dealing with a family member as the perpetrator.

The victim may not have reported to APS or law enforcement but did discuss the victimization with a trusted person. Exploring whether the victim told anyone about what had occurred can be critical because that person may corroborate the victim's account. Additionally, that person may be able to supply other information, such as the date of the event, the victim's demeanor, and other details the victim may not provide.

Perpetrators, Risk Factors, Dynamics, and Justifications

Elder abuse is committed by people in ongoing and trusted relationships with older victims. These are people who are loved, trusted, and relied upon by the older adult. These include intimate partners, family members, caregivers, friends, faith leaders, and cultural leaders as well as fiduciaries such as financial advisors, attorneys, guardians, and agents under a power of attorney. In some cases, relationships may form quickly through a process of grooming and befriending, such as romance or sweetheart scams.

The nature of the relationship separates elder abuse from other crime victimizations of older people. It is also why investigating such cases and interviewing older adults can be laden with impediments. The abuser knows

the victim's vulnerabilities, dependencies, assets, and personal history and may use that knowledge to commit illegal acts, avoid detection, and undermine the victim's credibility.

Perpetrators may be opportunists, predatory individuals, domestic abusers, or, in the case of neglect and some emotional abuse, persons who are illequipped to meet the needs of the older adults they are assisting. Others are career criminals who target older adults for their real or perceived frailty, cognitive limitations, or the likelihood they will not recognize their victimization—or if they do, will not report or will not be believed if they do. Abusers may quickly form a relationship with an older victim where one does not yet exist or enhance an existing relationship for greater access and trust, exploiting their loneliness and social isolation.

Data from the National Adult Maltreatment Reporting System (NAMRS) has found that 29.1% of perpetrators are older than 60; about a third of perpetrators are under age 40, and slightly more were between 41 and 59 years (Twomey, 2018). Common perpetrator motivations include greed, power and control, entitlement, anger, and revenge. Considerable research has been conducted to identify factors associated with elder abuse perpetration and victimization.

Risk Factors for Elder Abuse

Victim characteristics associated with elder abuse include the following:

- **Gender**: Among those age 65 and older, for every 100 men there are 125 women (Administration for Community Living, 2021). Although there are more older women than men, both men and women can be victims of physical, sexual, financial, and psychological abuse and neglect (Acerino et al., 2010).
- **Race**: While the evidence is mixed, several studies have found racial differences in prevalence of financial abuse, self-neglect, and caregiver neglect (Chen & Dong, 2017). Compared with Caucasians, African American older adults may be at increased risk of financial abuse and psychological abuse, and Hispanic older adults have a lower risk of emotional abuse, financial abuse, and neglect (Pillemer et al., 2016).

Non-White elders living in long-term care facilities are at increased risk for abuse and neglect (Hawes, 2003).

- **Marital status**: Some studies have found that being single increases the risk of psychological/emotional abuse, while being divorced or separated is associated with increased psychological/emotional and physical abuse (Chen & Dong, 2017).
- **Relationships and prior abuse**: Some types of elder abuse are associated with previous traumatic experiences, including domestic and other interpersonal violence (Acierno et al., 2010; Storey, 2020).
- Health and dependency: Increased risk of abuse is associated with the following characteristics:
 - Persons with intellectual disabilities have the highest rate of violent victimizations, including sexual assault, compared to any other disability type (Harrell, 2015)
 - Physical and cognitive conditions that require assistance with ADLs from others (the risk is unclear for financial abuse because study findings are mixed; Gorbien & Eisenstein, 2005)
 - Impaired ability to care for oneself, defend oneself, or escape the situation (Heisler, 2017)
 - Dementia (includes risk of financial abuse; Wiglesworth et al., 2010)
 - Early-stage dementia may be associated with increased risk for financial abuse.
 - Moderate stage dementia may be associated with increased risk of physical abuse.
 - Advanced stage may be associated with increased risk of neglect.
 - Psychological abuse occurs at all stages (Burnight & Mosqueda, 2011)
 - Depression (includes risk of financial abuse; Dyer et al., 2000)
 - Psychiatric illness (Friedman et al., 2011)
- Social isolation and low social supports: These are associated with elder abuse victimization (Acierno et al., 2009).
- **Income**: Living in a low-income household is associated with increased emotional/psychological and physical abuse (Chen & Dong, 2017).
- **Age prejudice**: This is another risk factor for elder abuse. Ageist stereotypes can allow negative beliefs and attitudes toward older

adults to persist, resulting in neglect and abandonment along with emotional, financial, and physical harm (Shepherd & Brichu, 2020).

Perpetrator Tactics and Motivations

The dynamics of elder abuse are complex; no single theory or model will adequately explain it: "Depending on the victim–offender relationship and the type of abuse, elder abuse may resemble domestic violence, child abuse, or fraud. The phenomenon can stand on its own given the complexity of the relationships, individual vulnerabilities, and contexts in which it occurs" (Amendola et al., 2010, p. 2). Below 4 dynamics that help explain perpetrator behavior are discussed.

Power and Control/Coercive Control

Most criminal justice professionals have dealt with cases of domestic violence in their careers. Most of those cases involved younger adults. Domestic violence, or coercive control, as it is sometimes called, occurs across the lifespan. In younger life, it most often involves spouses and intimate partners. In later life, it may also include children or grandchildren who have lived with and learned domestic violence tactics throughout their lives and now use the same tactics on an aging parent.

Domestic violence typically is accomplished through the use of power and control tactics. Tactics such as intimidation, threats, economic control, emotional abuse, use of children, isolation, and asserting privilege to set the rules for how the relationship and household are run are used routinely to control. Physical and/or sexual violence are used intermittently to exercise power and reinforce that the abuser is in charge. Thus, it is important to recognize that tactics are not used in a linear way but in various combinations according to different situations. In the 1980s, the Duluth, Minnesota, Domestic Abuse Intervention Program created a power and control wheel to describe the interplay of these tactics. The center of the wheel is the goal of the tactics: power and control exercised by the abuser over the relationship and those in it. The wheel is edged in violence, which keeps victims in fear of what will happen if they challenge the abuser or attempt to leave the relationship. The inner spokes are the tactics used in

various combinations to trap the victim in the relationship (Domestic Abuse Intervention Program, n.d.).

As programs worked with increasing numbers of older victims of domestic violence/abuse in later life, the original power and control wheel was examined to see whether it accurately described the experience of older adults, many of whom were victimized by adult children using power and control tactics. Based on the experiences of older adults, the National Clearinghouse on Abuse in Later Life (NCALL) created the "Abuse in Later Life Wheel." (See "Appendix II" for a visual of the NCALL Wheel.)

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In later life, abuser tactics may change from those seen in earlier decades. The use of privilege pervades every other tactic. Commonly observed new tactics include these:

- Abuse of dependency (e.g., taking away assistive devices such as walkers, wheelchairs, glasses, dentures, hearing aids; denying or forcing an older adult to wait for food, care, toileting, or medicine; causing the older adult to miss medical appointments; failing to report medical problems or seek care for medical problems; failing to fill prescriptions)
- Ridiculing the older person's values (e.g., denying access to religious, spiritual, or cultural observances; misusing or damaging ceremonial regalia; making fun of a victim's values)
- Using family (e.g., magnifying disagreements between family members, putting the victim in the middle; misleading family members about the extent and nature of illnesses or conditions; excluding or denying access to family; forcing family to keep secrets)

- Isolating the victim (e.g., keeping them from human contact, trusted advisors, and information; preventing the victim from being outdoors or receiving or visiting others; destroying relationships with family and friends; denying access to mail and/or phone)
- Financial exploitation (e.g., stealing money, titles, and/or possessions; taking over accounts and bills; spending the victim's money without permission and not for their benefit; abusing authority under a power of attorney, guardianship/conservatorship, or trust)
- Emotional and psychological abuse
 - Emotional abuse (e.g., humiliating, degrading, yelling, insulting, calling names, using silence or profanity, threatening to place the victim in a nursing home against their wishes)
 - Psychological abuse (e.g., making the victim think they are crazy, called gaslighting)

Undue Influence

Undue influence is a means to perpetrate financial abuse, sexual abuse, and sometimes neglect by which a perpetrator (the influencer) substitutes their will for the true desires of the victim. Typically, the elements of undue influence include a vulnerable victim, a perpetrator's ability to influence because of a confidential relationship or position of power or trust, the use of tactics to assert this influence, and an unjust result. As an example, California Welfare and Institutions Code Section 15610.70 defines undue influence as "excessive persuasion that causes another person to act or refrain from acting by overcoming that person's free will and results in inequity."

While undue influence is easier to accomplish if the victim has cognitive impairment, it can be perpetrated against anyone who is susceptible or vulnerable. Persons who are lonely, grieving, ill, emotionally dependent, poorly educated, and/or financially naïve are particularly vulnerable to undue influence.

Common tactics include isolation from people and information, undermining the victim's confidence in themselves, creating victim's dependence on the influencer, creating fear and insecurity, exploiting vulnerabilities, and gaslighting. Perpetrators may target their victim and engage in grooming behaviors to develop trust and dependence (Brandl et al., 2005).

Older Parent-Adult Child Relationships

Sometimes an older parent may provide care for an adult child who becomes dependent upon the older parent for finances, a place to live, and/or emotional support. The adult child may be experiencing mental health issues, substance abuse, and/or a criminal history, any or all of which can contribute to long-term unemployment. As a result, some older parents may be isolated with their abuser because the older adult is protective of their adult child. As such, they may minimize or excuse the adult child's behavior. Physical, psychological, sexual abuse, and/or financial exploitation can be part of this dynamic (though less so neglect because the parent is providing care for the adult child rather than vice versa).

Stranger Becoming a Friend/Romantic Partner

In some cases of elder abuse, an opportunistic offender is or becomes familiar with the older adult and ultimately befriends them. These offenders have various backgrounds or roles, such as handyman, neighbor, friend of a friend, server, cleaning person, etc. The offender engages in a course of conduct, such as providing extra attention and/or services, and gradually ingratiates themselves to the older adult. As a result of the offender's enhanced level of involvement in the older adult's life, the older adult eventually views this person as a best friend or potential romantic partner. The offender then capitalizes on that trust and gains some type of access to the older adult's finances. The older adult, who often feels grateful for the attention, may give the offender gifts or money to perpetuate and bolster the relationship. In friend or romantic partner types of scams, the offender often fills the companionship void left by the death of a spouse. As the dependency (physical, emotional, etc.) on the offender grows, the offender begins to swindle money from the older adult by expressing a need for help to pay bills or some other expense. They accomplish this by establishing themselves as a kind, caring person who is experiencing a hard time with finances, which is often an effective way for offenders to start having the older adult provide them with money. As offenders gain greater access to the older adult's property and money, offenders will attempt to isolate the older adult from any family or friends who may interfere with their plans. The offender may start to make demands of the older adult, and if the demands are not met, the offender often becomes more threatening.

Offenders who play the new best friend role often start to run errands for the older adult and/or offer to handle the paying of monthly bills. In this process, the older adult provides the offender with their debit card and PIN, bank account information, and other asset information. The older adult is seldom aware that the offender is stealing their money and not paying the bills as promised. Offenders may not limit themselves to just money from bank accounts—life insurance policies may be cashed in, collectables and jewelry sold, retirement accounts emptied, and lines of credit maximized.

Caregiver-Related Motivations

Many older adults are self-sufficient. However, some do have a caregiver, a relationship in which someone assumes, implicitly or explicitly, a duty to care for another. Caring for an older person, especially one with underlying medical and cognitive conditions is difficult. While most caregivers provide good supportive care, caregivers in elder abuse situations may commit all forms of elder abuse, including neglecting an older adult and causing pain, emotional suffering, serious illness, and sometimes death. Neglect requires that there be (a) a victim who is unable to meet their basic needs for such things as food, clothing, shelter, medications, and bill paying and (b) a caregiver who has a duty to provide needed care.

Reasons caregivers do not meet their caregiving responsibilities include the following:

- They are unable to provide adequate care due to a lack of training, support, financial resources, sufficient physical or mental health. Additionally, they may have special needs of their own, such as a physical or intellectual disability or advanced age or poor health. They may, in fact, be doing the best they can. For example, the loving spouse of decades who is frail and cannot lift their partner is attempting to care for the partner but cannot turn them or get them out of bed, resulting in pressure ulcers and weight loss. Another example is a son with an intellectual disability, is unemployed, and may be without any social support services who is trying to care for his father living with dementia and who has developed serious life-threatening pressure ulcers and has sepsis.
- They are the caregiver but are ignoring the needs of their parent with advanced dementia out of indifference while living off the parent's retirement income.
- They are stressed from the burdens of caregiving and as a result are lashing out at the care recipient.

Anger

Anecdotally, direct service providers report encountering cases of abuse resulting from anger and revenge. There is little research supporting this as a cause of elder abuse.

Anger directed at an older parent may lead to physical and/or emotional abuse or neglect and a belief that the abuser is entitled to a stolen or embezzled asset.

- Adult children who neglect their aged parents may attribute their neglect to anger from child mistreatment, domestic violence, sexual abuse, and substance use at the hands of the parent who now requires care.
- Adult children who physically or sexually abuse their elderly parent may act out of anger for how they were themselves abused by the parent or because the parent failed to protect them from an abusive situation.

THE AGING BODY

THE AGING BODY

Aging is a process that is different for every person. Older adults experience unique changes in all bodily systems and functioning. These changes are influenced by biological and environmental conditions as well as historical and social contexts across the lifespan.

Biological Changes

In late adulthood, it is typical for people to experience a decline in sensorimotor abilities, but these are not universal and vary from individual to individual. It may take the brain longer to process information, make assessments, and plan a course of action. The slowing of information processing may cause the need for things that were presented quickly or not clearly enough to be repeated.

Vision

Visual acuity can require correction at any age; however, as people age, they may find they need correction, especially for reading or seeing things up close. Depth perception and visual contrast sensitivity may also diminish as age increases. Other age-related visual disorders include the development of cataracts (cloudy areas form on the lens of the eye, causing blurred vision), age-related macular degeneration (AMD; the central part of the retina becomes unable to discern fine details), and glaucoma (buildup of fluid within the eye causes damage to the optic nerve).

Vision impairment may impact how an older adult experiences an event. As such, when asking questions about what the older adult saw during an alleged incident, professionals should be aware of how senses can be impacted later in life. The ability to observe specific features such as what the perpetrator looked like or was wearing can be impacted by lighting.

Hearing

Age-related hearing loss results from the degeneration of the structures in the inner ear. Damage to the auditory nerve, hearing pathways in the brain, or other nerves of the inner ear are classified as sensorineural hearing loss, which is the prevalent type of hearing loss for people over the age of 65. For older adults, hearing loss can usually be mitigated by using hearing aids or cochlear implants. Recent research from John Hopkins University reveals that hearing loss may contribute to an accelerated atrophy of the brain and the subsequent development of dementia (Lin, F. et. al, 2011). Such events may occur due to the negative impacts of social isolation and reduction in mental stimulation following hearing loss (Lin, F. et. al, 2011). Additionally, professionals should consider if the older adult uses their hearing aids, a study on use of prescribed hearing aids among older adults found that only 55% use it daily, 27% use it more than 6 hours a day, and 11% never use it (Saloren et al., 2013).

Professionals must consider and understand that signs of hearing loss are not an indicator of the person's cognitive abilities. One should not automatically overenunciate or simplify words used during their conversation. When hearing loss is suspected, the professional should pay careful attention to these things:

- Using a normal volume of voice
- Using a slightly lower tone of voice
- Slowing down the pace of speech
- Using clear enunciation and not overenunciation that distorts what is being said
- Maintaining direct eye contact throughout all verbal communication
- Reducing nonverbal distractions such as hand movements
- Minimizing any background noise occurring during the conversation

Taste and Smell

Taste buds become less sensitive and decrease in number with age. This decline generally starts during midlife and is not restricted to any one type of taste. Some people will become less sensitive to salt, sugar, and bitter or sour tastes while remaining sensitive to the other tastes (Stevens et al., 1995; Whitbourne, 1999). Taste is often dependent on smell. As we age, the number of olfactory receptors that transmit smells to the brain also decrease in number. Some older adults will lose the ability to smell certain odors (e.g., spoiled food).

Motor Function and Strength

Older adults who are sedentary experience atrophy of muscle, increasing the risk of osteoporosis (a condition in which the bones become very thin, porous, and prone to fracture because of calcium depletion), and falls that can result in fractures of the hip, spine, and wrist (American Medical Association, 1998). There may be situations where the injury and explanation do not seem to match but may be realistic depending on the physical condition of the bones or muscles.

Skin

As the skin ages, the nutrient support the epidermis gets from the dermis decreases as surface points of contact between the two layers lessen. Less sebum (oily, acidic, waxy substance) is produced by sebaceous glands in the skin. Sebum's acidity protects the skin against infection. This reduced output of sebum makes older adults' skin more susceptible to disease and skin infections. As skin ages, it becomes more vulnerable to tears from victimization because of less surface contact between the epidermis and the dermis. Professionals should be mindful of the length of an interaction when it involves a person sitting or lying in the same position for a long period of time, which could cause significant discomfort for an older adult with skin issues.

- Thinning skin: some medications such as aspirin and anticoagulants may cause bleeding, which may be confused with physical abuse
- Changes in skin elasticity and reduction in collagen: greater risk of bruising due to abuse or accidental bumping, may confuse a bruise with a purpura.

Problematic Injuries and Conditions Suggestive of Abuse

Bruises

Most often associated with physical or sexual abuse, bruises have been studied in elder abuse situations. Two bruise studies, one of older adults with accidental bruising and the other of older adults who had been abused, yielded important distinctions. A key takeaway from these studies is that the color of a bruise does not indicate its age. A bruise can be any color on the day of injury (Mosqueda et al., 2005). Bruises received at the same time can be of different colors.

An understanding of the findings can help to evaluate information from the older person and to guide in the development of questions to be asked. These are some findings from the study of older adults with accidental bruises (Mosqueda et al., 2005):

- The color of a bruise does not indicate its age. A bruise could have any color from day one.
- 90% of accidental bruises were on the extremities rather than the trunk, neck, or head.
- Less than a quarter of older adults with accidental bruises remembered how they got them.

Older adults taking medications that interfere with coagulation were more likely to have multiple bruises, but the bruises did not last any longer than the bruises of those who did not take these medications.

In contrast, when the bruising was due to abuse (Wiglesworth et al., 2009), these were some of the findings:

- Bruises were large. More than half of older adults with bruises who had been physically abused had at least one bruise 5 centimeters (about 2 inches) in diameter or larger.
- While their location could be anywhere, bruises on the face, lateral (same side as the thumb) or anterior (same side as the palm of the hand) surface of the arm, or on the back are highly suggestive of abuse.

• Older adults with bruises who had been abused had more bruises in these areas than older adults whose bruises were accidental.

Pressure Ulcers

Primarily associated with cases involving neglect, pressure ulcers, also called bedsores and decubitus ulcers, are injuries to the skin resulting from persistent pressure that limits blood flow to the skin. They most frequently occur to the skin that covers bony prominences of the body such as the heels, ankles, hips, shoulder blades, spine, and tailbone. Pressure ulcers are a particular risk for people who, due to medical conditions, are unable to change their position, have limited mobility, or have compromised blood circulation (e.g., from diabetes, vascular disease). Incontinence can cause the skin to break down because it may expose the skin to urine or fecal matter for an extended time. Poor nutrition and insufficient hydration may also contribute to the development of these ulcers. Pressure ulcers may develop within hours, or they can manifest over days, weeks, or months.

The friction of skin rubbing against clothing or bedding can make compromised skin susceptible to pressure ulcers. Pressure ulcers may also appear from shear, which happens when two surfaces move against each other in opposite directions. For example, sliding a patient across bedsheets or removing adhesive bandages from skin may result in significant skin trauma, especially for older adults whose skin has become thinner and more fragile.

Pressure ulcers can be painful, and some potentially life-threatening complications may arise, including the development of cellulitis, a skin infection typified by redness, warmth, and swelling of the affected area; osteomyelitis, a bone infection that can reduce functioning of the bone or joint; and septic arthritis, an infection of a joint that can damage tissue and cartilage.

Pressure ulcers cannot be precisely aged, so experts cannot say how long it took for a pressure ulcer to reach a particular stage. Some generalities may be attempted—stage 1 in hours, stage 2 in days, stage 3 in weeks, and stage 4 longer than weeks—but they cannot reliably indicate how many hours, days, weeks or months. There are also unstageable pressure ulcers in which the ulcer is filled with debris, bodily fluids, and dead skin. These are typically infected and can result in death. It can take months with proper care to close an ulcer that has reached stage 3 or 4.

When interacting with older adults, professionals must understand that pressure ulcers are often a symptom of neglect but by themselves are insufficient to prove neglect has occurred. They may not be universally preventable due to underlying comorbidities. Medications such as corticosteroids can make the skin even more fragile. As noted with other skin issues, the person being in one position for an extended time should be avoided. There should always be opportunity for breaks that allow for repositioning the person.

The Role of Medications

Certain medications can result in confusion or delirium and may be confused with dementia or diminished capacity. The dosage of medications in older adults may need to be less because an older body does not process the medications as it did in younger life. Medications in older adults may react differently in later life than in younger life when prescriptions, herbal supplements, vitamins, and over-the-counter medications are used together. Medications may be a tool to improve health, but it can also signify abuse (as a "chemical straitjacket") to obtain compliance, keep a person quiet, or cause confusion so they will sign a legal document or make a significant gift.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS FOR COMMUNICATING WITH OLDER ADULTS

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS FOR COMMUNICATING WITH OLDER ADULTS

The Aging Brain

The aging process affects the brain across the lifespan. These changes influence how people remember, plan, organize, make decisions, learn, and apply new information. A functional perspective views the brain as always being focused on the tasks necessary to meet and maintain physical, psychological, social, and spiritual needs. Older adults are not different than younger adults or children in this aspect. Even infants cry because the brain triggers that behavior to get their functional needs met. A functional perspective helps professionals understand that all responses and behavior by the older adult are not coming just from their ability to remember facts but also how the brain perceives that sharing those facts will serve their needs at that time.

Having a strengths-based functional perspective of how the brain works will help improve the quality of conversations with older adults by not simply focusing on cognitive deficits but rather addressing the abilities and needs of each older adult victim of abuse.

Normal Changes in the Aging Brain

The aging brain means some changes in brain functioning for all older adults. For some individuals, it means very minimal changes, whereas others will experience more significant changes in the brain and how it works to meet their needs.

Normal aging of the brain can lead to decreased speed in finding words and recalling names, difficulty with multitasking, and decreases in the ability to pay attention (National Institute on Aging, 2020). These are due to the slower processing speed of aging brains and underlie attention impairments among older adults (Suchy, 2016). For example, selective attention (the ability to focus on specific information while ignoring irrelevant information) declines with age. Engaging in a conversation in a noisy restaurant becomes more difficult

with age because the ability to selectively attend to relevant information is increasingly impaired.

Divided attention (the ability to focus on multiple tasks simultaneously) also declines with age. For example, the ability to talk on the phone while preparing a meal becomes increasingly difficult because it requires cognitively switching between tasks. The implication for professionals is to have the older adult focus on one task at a time and avoid multitasking (e.g., filling out paperwork while being asked questions).

Not all effects of aging on the brain are negative, though. Older adults often have more extensive vocabularies and a greater understanding of the depth of meaning of words than younger adults and children. According to Harvard Health (2015), older adults also often get better at inductive reasoning, accentuating the positive, attaining contentment, and verbal abilities.

The research on the aging brain is rapidly evolving, and it is beyond the scope of this curriculum to teach about every aspect of how the brain changes over the lifespan. Understanding that there are normal changes that will affect functioning such as memory is critical to conducting a strengths-based quality investigation. The older adult victim of abuse is not just forgetful—they forget things because the brain is not storing and/or recalling information as it did when it was younger due to the natural changes that can affect how it functions.

Research has demonstrated that by age 70, the amount of information the average person can recall 30 minutes after hearing a story is about 75% of what someone who is 18 can remember. That is like missing every fourth word from something that was said. If the older adult cannot remember exactly what is said, it may have nothing to do with their ability to recall or the questions being asked, but rather a natural part of the aging brain's functioning.

As noted, there are also many strengths in brain functioning gained over the lifespan. Many of these positives will affect the conversation with older adult abuse victims. Take inductive reasoning for example—older people don't rush

to judgment as quickly as people who are younger. They are more likely to take more time to make a decision, but they are more likely to make the right conclusions based on the information they have.

Addressing Normal Aging Brain Changes in Older Adults There are three practical approaches to older adults based on the general characteristics of the aging brain. These can be considered basic approaches without overgeneralizing.

Older adults have specific needs and should not be treated like younger adults. Depending on the individual, some older adults may need things in writing. Some may need to have something repeated a few times. Some people may need to focus on one task at a time. Ask the person and accommodate their specific individualized needs whenever you can.

Regardless of the interaction, professionals should always be patient and give sufficient time for the interaction. When working with older adults, one should ensure ample time to account for any of these issues that may arise. Rushing an interaction and not making time for accommodations will almost never result in an effective conversation.

Considerations for Communicating with Older Adults

Communication Style of Older Adults

When entering an interaction with an older adult, it is important for professionals to have a basic understanding of the communication style of older adults. The way a professional perceives an older adult affects the way that the professional will speak to the older adult—they may adopt a more condescending or patronizing tone that is damaging to rapport with the older adult and information gathering throughout the interaction (Allison & Brimacombe, 2014). Professionals may notice the use of the following when communicating with an older adult:

- Negative Qualifiers (e.g., "I think," "I'm not sure," etc.)
 - Older adults commonly use negative qualifiers when communicating. This should not be seen as a reflection of the older adult's ability to provide reliable and accurate information throughout the forensic interview (Allison & Brimacombe, 2014).
- Pacing
 - In general, older adults may speak slower the conversation may take longer when speaking with an older adult (Allison & Brimacombe, 2014).
- Language (Tangalos & Peterson, 2018)
 - Common among older adults are occasional problems with expressive language such as word finding and tip-of-the-tongue phenomena.
- Details and Narrative Organization
 - In general, older adults may provide fewer details spontaneously than younger adults. Additional follow-up questions may be needed to elicit information. Because of this, professionals should be mindful of the level of suggestion in each follow-up prompt. (Allison & Brimacombe, 2014.)
 - Older adults may relay information out of chronological order. Judgments should not be made about the older adult's credibility based on their ability to recount information in sequence (Allison & Brimacombe, 2014).
 - Older adults tend to go beyond the details. They may provide

information that is considered superfluous (e.g., subjective impressions, moral judgments, etc.) or off-topic information. Professionals should demonstrate patience and gently redirect back to the matter at hand without interrupting or dismissing what the individual has to say (Allison & Brimacombe, 2014).

Considerations for Questioning Techniques

Professionals should be mindful of how questions are worded when speaking with older adults.

Avoid all of the following:

- Leading and suggestive language (e.g., "The night-nurse stole your money, didn't he?")
- Negative language (e.g., "Didn't you see Frank?")
- Figurative language (e.g., metaphors, analogies, hyperbole, idioms, etc.)
- Professional jargon/technical terms (e.g., "The incident that occurred...")
- Vague language (e.g., "dementia" can have many different interpretations for the older adult, such as insanity or forgetfulness; avoid using terms that may mean different things or potentially upset the older adult)
- Compound or complex questions (e.g., "What was the brown-haired woman with the knife doing when her husband was rifling through the car?")
 - Complex sentences are challenging because it takes too much working memory (Tangelos & Petersen, 2018).
- Stacked questions (i.e., asking more than one question at a time, e.g., "Tell me about the place where this occurred. What did the place look like? Were there items in the room?")
- Questions that begin with "why" (these may come across as blaming)
- Patronizing style speech or tone of voice (Allison & Brimacombe, 2014; Love, 2015)

Instead utilize the following:

- Strengths-based language (see https://info.nicic.gov/sites/default/files/Strength-
 Based%20Approach.pdf
 for suggestions on the "strengths-based approach")
- Questions posed in a neutral manner using language that would be used in interviews with a younger adult (Allison & Brimacombe, 2014)
- Clear and concrete language
- Prompting cues that incorporate the older adult's words (e.g., "You said you went to the store. What happened next?")
- Pacing the older adult sets
 - Word pacing as set by the older adult
 - Appropriate pausing that allows the older adult to process each question posed
- Polite language to redirect the older adult appropriately and respectfully if they become distracted or withdrawn from the topic
- Culturally appropriate language and cultural humility that respect the aspects of cultural identity that are most important to the older adult

Question Types

When working with adults, it is important to consider questioning techniques and question types. In general, professionals should focus on asking questions that solicit free recall (i.e., open-ended questions). Research in interviewing adults of any age has long supported the use of open-ended over close-ended questions as it allows the individual to recall and report their experiences reliably (Brubacher & Powell, 2019; Cassel, Roebers, & Bjorklund, 1996; Geiselman & Fisher, 2014; Poole & White, 1991).

There are four categories of questions to consider when interviewing older adults:

- 1. Narrative Prompt
- 2. Open-Focus
- 3. Choice
- 4. Yes/No

Narrative Prompt

Narrative prompts are statements that allow the older adult to report everything they know. Prompts are considered more reliable than traditional open-ended questions when interviewing older adults, as they solicit information through free recall. When prompts are posed, older adults commonly respond utilizing more than one word or short phrases.

Examples:

"Tell me everything about your pets." "You said that you went to the park on Wednesday. Tell me more about going to the park."

Open-Focused

Open-focused prompts are open-ended questions that direct the older adult's focus on a particular response category (e.g., person, place, time). Open-focused prompts often are framed as "wh" questions that allow for a wide range of responses from an older adult (e.g., one-word responses, short phrases, or narrative responses).

Examples:

"What happened after you went to the movies?" "Who was in the room?"

<u>Choice</u>

Choice questions are close ended that commonly include "or" in the question. Choice questions are posed by giving two or three options in addition to a "something else" option. The "something else" option is essential to reduce influenced, inaccurate information.

Examples:

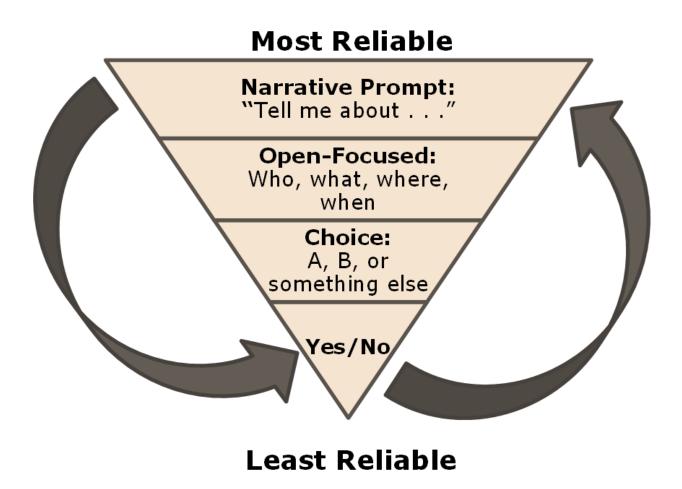
"Did it happen in the day room, the dining room, or someplace else?" "Were your clothes on, off, or something else?"

<u>Yes/No</u>

Yes/No questions are closed-ended questions that encourage a one-word response. It is best to reduce or avoid yes/no questions with an older adult, as this type of prompt shifts the focus to what the professional "needs" to know rather than focusing on the information the older adult remembers.

Examples:

"Did they have a gun?" "Did they say something?"



Video Activity: Flossie

This activity requires one instructor.

The purpose of this activity is to consider communication strategies with older adults while examining a poor interview.

Instructions

- 1. Show participants the "Flossie" Video.
- 2. Have participants consider the interview tactics employed and how the interviewer could improve.

Instructor Guide:

- Ask participants for their initial impressions after viewing the "Flossie" video.
- What could the interviewer do to improve?
 - Consider the optimal time to interview Flossie (e.g., after Flossie has had her coffee, on a day when Flossie is less tired, etc.)
 - Respect Flossie's personal space/boundaries
 - Lower her voice
 - Pay attention to patronizing tone of voice
 - Ask more open-ended questions
 - Emphasize rapport building

Cognitive Decline

There are two major types of cognitive decline: reversible cognitive decline and nonreversible cognitive decline. The difference between these two types is extremely important because while their symptoms often look similar, the interaction is affected differently, depending on which type of decline is involved.

Reversible Cognitive Decline

Not all cognitive decline is due to irreversible conditions such as dementia. Depression and delirium are two medical conditions commonly misdiagnosed as dementia. Disturbances in body chemistry, infection, endocrine disorders, medication reactions, medication overdose, illicit drugs, or alcohol can present similarly to dementia. In addition, many over-thecounter and prescription medications may affect mental acuity. For example, opioid pain medications, benzodiazepines sleep medications, and antidepressants may negatively impact alertness and cognitive performance and should be taken into consideration when speaking with older adults.

Even when someone has a diagnosis such as Alzheimer's disease, these other factors should be ruled out to ensure the older adult can participate to the greatest extent possible. As noted previously, a perpetrator may overmedicate an older adult to purposely keep them from being able to report the victimization. An older adult in early stages of the disease may present as in later stages due to overmedication by the perpetrator.

Irreversible Cognitive Decline

Some conditions cause irreversible cognitive decline. While treatment can slow the progression of these conditions, they are chronic, with an increasing decline in the cognitive processes of the aging brain. These conditions are called neurocognitive disorders (NCDs) in the DSM-V. They are more commonly referred to as dementia. An NCD is a deficit in cognitive functioning that represents a decline from a previous level of functioning not caused by a psychiatric condition. Symptoms include memory impairments, deficits in attention, visual-spatial ability, social cognition, and, importantly, executive functioning.

The term dementia is often used in a way that equates memory loss with forgetfulness, but some types of NCDs do not present until later (or at all) as memory loss.

Professionals should never use the term demented to refer to an older adult. This is not strengths-based or people-first and labels a person in a way that is not medically based. Instead, "an older adult living with dementia" is recommended. Another option is "an older adult with signs of forgetfulness." The diagnostic label is less important than the symptoms that affect the individual encounter.

<u>Dementia</u>

Dementia is a general term for the impaired ability to remember, think, or make decisions that interferes with doing everyday activities. There are a number of subtypes of dementia. When describing the subtypes of dementia, it is helpful to go back to the DSM-V term of NCDs. By reintroducing that term briefly, professionals can understand that these disorders range widely in terms of their etiology. The DSM-V lists these subtypes of NCDs:

- Alzheimer's disease
- Vascular NCD
- NCD with Lewy bodies
- NCD due to Parkinson's disease
- Frontotemporal NCD
- NCD due to traumatic brain injury
- NCD due to HIV infection
- Substance/medication-induced NCD
- NCD due to Huntington's disease
- NCD due to prion disease
- NCD due to other medical conditions
- NCD due to multiple etiologies
- Unspecified NCD

Video Activity: What is Dementia?

This activity requires one instructor.

The purpose of this activity is to gain a deeper understanding of dementia.

Instructions

- 1. Show participants the "What is Dementia?" video.
- 2. After watching the video discuss what participants have learned.

Instructor Guide:

- Emphasize the following about dementia:
 - Dementia is not a normal part of aging.
 - Presentation/symptoms may vary as different parts of the brain are affected.
- What are your initial impressions after watching the video?
- Was there any information that was surprising?

As should be clear from this list, having an NCD or dementia is not simply a matter of aging. An older adult can experience cognitive decline due to a traumatic brain injury or HIV infection that would not have occurred otherwise.

Approximately 10% of people over 65 years of age and up to 50% of people over 85 years old have dementia (Alzheimer's Association, 2015). Professionals should keep in mind that dementia is not an inevitable part of aging. When it does occur, the onset can be slow or sudden. Because of the nature of victimization as described previously, professionals should always be aware of the effects of dementia and how to effectively communicate with older adults living with dementia because it is a significant risk factor for elder abuse when present.

Dementia may affect the ability to recall old information or learn new information. As noted previously, not all dementias affect memory, especially in earlier stages. To be diagnosed, people will experience significant deficits in at least one of the following areas: writing and speech, recognition of people or objects, motor activities, planning, execution of plans, and monitoring of their own behavior. The deficits must be significant enough to affect a person's ability to work or perform daily activities of living or cause problems in social relationship to qualify as dementia. In short, the illness must affect a person's functioning.

Inability to complete simple tasks, poor judgment, unrealistic plan making, violent behavior, suicidal ideation, frequent falls or stumbling, disregarding social conventions (making crude jokes, poor hygiene), and levying accusations against loved ones (e.g., that they are stealing property or poisoning the older adult) are some behavioral characteristics of people living with dementia. People living with dementia may be unaware of their condition. Dementia is experienced individually, so while some commonly appearing behaviors are listed, not everyone will demonstrate the same disease trajectory. "No two people experience dementia in the same way. A person's behavior will be influenced by so many things: the type of dementia the person has, their personality, their health, and the support and environment around them" (Social Care Institute for Excellence, 2020).

Common Subtypes of Dementia

Alzheimer's disease is the most common type of dementia, affecting approximately 5.8 million people in the United States (The Journal of Alzheimer's Association, 2021) and ranking as the fifth leading cause of death for older Americans ("Alzheimer's Disease, Part I," 1998; The Journal of Alzheimer's Association, 2021). Its onset is gradual, followed by progressive degeneration. Memory impairment, language deficits, and declines in visual and spatial processing are typical symptoms of Alzheimer's disease (Cummings, 2004).

In early stages, symptoms typically include the inability to take in new information or recall past events and personality changes, including rigidity, apathy, egocentricity, and impaired emotional control (Balsis et al., 2005). As the disease progresses, symptoms including irritability, depression, delusions, delirium, and wandering are observed. In more advanced stages, language,

recognition of loved ones, mobility, and the ability to perform ADLs are lost.

Vascular dementia results from damage to the brain that restricts blood flow, including a series of small strokes, a single major stroke, or other chronic conditions that damage blood vessels in the brain (Mayo Clinic, n.d.). Functional and cognitive deficits are determined by the location of the stroke or strokes or damaged blood vessels. Most people with vascular dementia also have other types of dementia, often Alzheimer's.

Lewy body disease (LBD) is marked by sleep disturbances, visual hallucinations, and visuospatial impairment. These symptoms may occur without memory impairment. Most people with LBD will also develop Alzheimer's, and when that happens, memory loss will occur.

Frontotemporal dementia (FTD) is an umbrella term for several diseases that affecting the frontal and temporal (side) parts of the brain. Early symptoms include changes in personality and behavior, and language in early stages memory is not affected. "Some people with frontotemporal dementia have dramatic changes in their personality and become socially inappropriate, impulsive or emotionally indifferent, while others lose the ability to use language properly" (Mayo Clinic, 2021). In some cases, movement is affected leading to tremors, rigidity, muscle spasms, loss of coordination, swallowing problems, and inappropriate laughing or crying (Mayo Clinic, 2021). Scientists believe that FTD is the most common cause of dementia in people younger than age 60 and that the majority of people with FTD develop symptoms between the ages of 45 and 60.

Stages of Dementia

When working with people living with dementia, the person will fall onto a continuum of stages based on level of functional impairment. Again, these levels are not solely based on memory or recall but rather signs and symptoms of how the brain's functions are impaired to meet the older adult's needs.

The stages range from no impairment, which occurs when clinical tests (biomarkers) show that there could be a problem but the older adult is experiencing no impairment in functioning, to very severe decline, which is often marked by the older adult being unresponsive and in need of care for most functions. The names of the stages can vary depending on the reference source, but they all follow a general pattern from little to no impairment to severe impairment toward the end of life. The progression of these stages will vary significantly from person to person.

People living with dementia can also have poor judgment and an inability to explain a logical reason for their actions, such as wearing a heavy coat on a hot summer day or no jacket and a short-sleeved shirt during the winter. If behavior that shows questionable judgment is identified, ask the person about it. If the answer to a question regarding a heavy coat on a hot summer day is that they get cold often in air conditioning and they knew they were going to be inside, the selection of the coat, of course, would be of less concern. If their answer does not have a logical reason, this may be a sign of a dementia.

Other signs you may be able to observe include wandering or becoming lost easily; not knowing where they live; rapid mood swings due to anxiety, suspiciousness, or agitation; or a slow walking gait that features sliding movements (shuffling) due to the person not lifting their feet. Professionals should also be aware that any of these symptoms could also be a sign of a reversible cognitive condition as well. The significance here is not to guess at a diagnosis but to be aware of the effect of cognitive decline on the conversation and determine when further assessment may be necessary. **Communication Challenges** People living with dementia may experience changes in their ability to communicate. However, it is important not to make assumptions about a person's communication ability or memory based only on their diagnosis or initial presentation. Dementia affects each person differently. Additionally, the changes in communication ability will vary based upon how far the dementia has progressed. As the disease progresses, an older adult's ability to communicate becomes increasingly impacted. They will follow patterns such as these:

- Have difficulty finding the right word to use
- Repeat stories
- Feel overwhelmed in the presence of excessive stimuli
- Extensively use familiar words
- Describe familiar objects instead of referring to them by name (e.g., the thing that tells you what time it is vs. clock or watch)
- Lose track of their general ideas when speaking
- Be unable to answer a question that asks them to describe multiple events (e.g., "Tell me everything that happened once you got up on Tuesday")
- Be able to provide a linear or chronological answer
- Struggle with the logical organization of words
- Revert to speaking their primary language if they are multilingual
- Verbally communicate less often and rely more on gestures to communicate

Strategies for Communicating with Individuals Living with Dementia:

- Physical Approach
 - Approach victims from the front. Don't come up from the side or from behind.
 - Face the person you are speaking to and refer to them by their formal title (i.e., Mr., Mrs., Ms., Dr., etc.) or preferred name, if known. Utilizing their name will help ensure that you have and keep their attention.
 - Establish and maintain eye contact at eye level as much as possible.
 Do not require the older adult to look you in the eye. Lack of eye contact may be due to culture, preference, neurodiversity, etc.

- Minimize speaking with hands.
- Try to avoid any sudden movements.
- Verbal Approach
 - Introduce yourself and explain that your job is to help them.
 - Develop rapport to decrease anxiety; diminished cognitive functioning does not take away a person's ability to feel anxious or fearful.
 - Do not infantilize the person living with dementia (i.e., using a highpitched tone).
 - Speak slowly and clearly while using simple words.
 - Be prepared to reintroduce yourself and your role several times.
 - Keep conversations brief.
 - Keep questions short.
 - Pause between questions as needed.
 - Explain all of your actions prior to doing them. Repeat why you are doing something if necessary.
- Style/Affect
 - Be warm, friendly, and conversational.
 - Use a low-pitched reassuring tone.
 - Do not shout or yell.
 - Try using nonverbal communication along with verbal instructions.
 For example, if you want someone to sit down, show them by sitting down yourself first.
 - Take breaks as needed.
 - \circ Do not argue with a person or try to orient them to reality.
 - Gently redirect if the individual becomes anxious.
 - Become aware of any triggers (use the Pre-Interview Considerations Checklist in Appendix I) and avoid them.
- Question Structure
 - Don't get into the exact details of everything you do right away or all at once.
 - Avoid slang and figures of speech (e.g., idioms, axioms, hyperbole).
 - Avoid pronouns as they may become confusing.
 - Use real names for people and objects.
 - Avoid finishing an older adult's sentences.
 - Repeat statements and questions if necessary.

- Give simple, step-by-step instructions, and, whenever possible, a single instruction at a time. For example, don't say, "Please sit here, make yourself comfortable, and tell me about yourself." Instead, you want to say, "Please sit here." After they sit down, say, "Would you like me to take your coat?" After they have given you their coat, say, "Tell me about yourself."
- Avoid saying "I've already told you that" or "Like I said before . . . "
- Consider exceptions to funnel question order based on needs of older adult. Choice or yes/no questions may be necessary because the person may not be able to answer questions that require them to recall and recite a sequence of events.

Video Activity: Kids Interview People with Dementia

This activity requires one instructor.

The purpose of this activity is to gain a deeper understanding of dementia.

Instructions

- 1. Show participants the "Kids Interview People with Dementia" video.
- 2. After watching the video discuss what participants have learned.

Instructor Guide:

- What are your initial impressions?
 - Question types/structure
 - Establishing rapport
 - o Demeanor
- What did you notice about each older adult's ability to communicate?

GATHERING MINIMAL FACTS FOLLOWING A DISCLOSURE

GATHERING MINIMAL FACTS FOLLOWING A DISCLOSURE

Effectively Handling a Disclosure of Abuse or Neglect

Some professionals may be in the position for an older adult to disclose victimization to them, but investigating the allegation is beyond the scope of their role. If allegations of abuse or neglect arise, it is imperative that the professional responds in a supportive and appropriate manner. It is often disconcerting or shocking to hear an individual disclose victimization or neglect by a caregiver. As mentioned previously, a trauma-informed approach is critical wherein empathy and compassion are employed with understanding and without judgment. The first steps to properly employing empathy is to imagine yourself in the other person's situation and then treat that person the way you would like and expect to be treated under similar circumstances.

The use of supportive language becomes paramount. Often, when people are unexpectedly the recipient of a disclosure of abuse and/or neglect their initial response is along the lines of "You're kidding me," "No way," "Oh my God, I don't believe it." In more extreme circumstances the victim could be told not to say such things because it can cause trouble, nobody would do that to them, or some other type of discounting statement. The use of such language could immediately shut down the person who is disclosing, ultimately causing further victimization.

Instead, consider the use of supportive language such as:

- "I'm sorry that happened to you."
- "I want to help you and make sure that you are okay."
- "It is safe for you to talk to me about what happened to you."
- "I believe you."

If you are a mandated reporter, inform the older adult that you are a mandated reporter and ensure that they are aware that a report will be made. The report can also be made with the older adult present, if they wish. Be sure to explain the process as best you can and answer any questions that the older adult has. Consider this language:

• "I am a mandated reporter which means that I have to report what has happened to you, we can make the report together if you'd like. These are people who can help you. Do you have any questions about me needing to make this report?"

There are many factors that must be considered at this juncture. An important aspect of a trauma informed approach is to minimize the number of times that a victim must recount their victimization. The professional who becomes the outcry witness (person to whom the disclosure was made) should intend to develop a more general understanding of what occurred (minimal facts) and then follow the necessary reporting steps to ensure that the older adult receives a full forensic interview from someone who is specifically trained to conduct such an interview. This course of action is not only trauma informed but will also enhance the preservation of the victim's pure recall of their experience(s).

When conducting a minimal facts interview, it would be acceptable to ask the individual if events occurred one time or more than one time. It is recommended that a general understanding of the incident(s) be obtained, including the location of the incident(s) and the identity of the offender(s). This helps responding authorities to identify a crime scene and enhance the victim's safety (preventing the offender further access to the victim). This information should be obtained through the predominant use of free narrative and open focused questions. The outcry witness should avoid the use of leading and suggestive questions.

Individuals of all ages are susceptible to leading and suggestive questions. Memory of an event depends upon the information that is encoded at the time of an event (Howe & Knott, 2015). This encoding is affected by what an individual attends to during the event, which can be impacted by a variety of different circumstances (Howe & Knott, 2015). Every time a memory is retrieved, it is reinforced but may undergo slight alterations due to intrusions of similar memories (Hines, 2018). The memory retrieved is not of the original event but rather the memory of the last time the event was thought about (Hines, 2018). Leading and suggestive questions, whether asked intentionally or not, can skew memories and details of an event and be potentially problematic when attempts are made to corroborate the accounting of an incident. These are some of the many reasons why the suggestibility of their questions must be considered.

Interviewing older adults successfully takes time, patience, and the ability to meet the older adult where they are at in the moment. It is important for professionals to remember that no two interactions will look the same, just as no two people are the same. Regardless of the reason for the interaction, professionals should keep dynamics in mind when speaking with an older adult.

Small Group Activity: Minimal Facts Interview (20 Minutes) This activity requires one instructor.

The purpose of this activity is to give participants the opportunity to practice asking free narrative questions to gather as much information as possible about an event.

In-Person Instructions

- 1. Place participants in random groups of 2. If there is an uneven number, an instructor may fill in as an interviewer/interviewee.
- 2. Decide who will be the first interviewer and interviewee.
- 3. The first interviewer will have 5 minutes to learn about a neutral/positive event the interviewee has experienced.
- 4. The interviewee will offer a neutral or positive event, that they have experienced, for discussion (the event discussed should be activity based, such as a trip, hobby, activity, attending a party, etc.)
- 5. The interviewer should attempt to ask mostly free narrative and open focused questions.
- 6. Then the participants will switch roles. The interviewee now becomes the interviewer and will have 5 minutes to discuss a neutral/positive event with their assigned partner.
- 7. After everyone has had an opportunity to practice, instructors will lead participants in a discussion as a large group.

Virtual Instructions

- 1. Place participants in breakout rooms in random groups of 2 for 10 minutes. If there is an uneven number, an instructor may fill in as an interviewer/interviewee.
- 2. Have the participants decide who will be the first interviewer and interviewee.
- 3. The first interviewer will have 5 minutes to learn about a neutral/positive event the interviewee has experienced.
- 4. The interviewee will offer a neutral or positive event, that they have experienced, for discussion (the event discussed should be activity based, such as a trip, hobby, activity, attending a party, etc.)

- 5. The interviewer should attempt to ask mostly free narrative and open focused questions.
- 6. After 5 minutes, the participants will switch roles. The interviewee now becomes the interviewer and will have 5 minutes to discuss a neutral/positive event with their assigned partner.
- 7. After everyone has had an opportunity to practice, instructors will lead participants in a discussion as a large group.

Instructor Guide

- How did that go?
- What was it like to be the interviewer?
 - How much information were you able to obtain?
 - Were you tempted to ask more yes/no questions?
- What was it like to be the interviewee?
 - Did you feel that your partner showed genuine interest in the topic?
 - Was it difficult to remember ALL details?
- How do you think this type of questioning will help in gathering information from older adults?

Discussion Points

- This type of questioning should give us more information and more reliable information
- This is the best way to avoid leading and suggestive questions
- Remember that older adults, like all of us, will do the best they can to answer
- Using resounding (you said ..., tell me more about...") can be very useful when using free narrative questions

CONSIDERATIONS FOR THE INVESTIGATIVE TEAM

Providing forensic interviewers and investigative personnel with as much background as possible on the older adult to be interviewed will help facilitate the interview process. If the outcry witness can provide such background due to their familiarity with the individual, they should provide such information while making their report.

If the outcry witness cannot directly provide this type of background information, it would be helpful if they could gather as much of this information as possible from an appropriate caregiver. This information should be gathered in a trauma-informed way that does not impact the older adult's trust. As appropriate, the older adult should be made aware and give permission for a professional to have a private conversation with a caregiver. Accounting for and meeting the needs of an older adult conveys that the professional has respect for the older adult and intends to treat them with dignity. Identifying needed accommodations helps the forensic interviewer provide the best opportunity for the older adult to feel successful with the interaction.

As previously stated, if a professional has contact with an older adult who makes allegations of abuse or neglect, appropriate reporting procedures should be followed. This is essential to the well-being of the individual, as it is most trauma informed for the older adult to not have to repeat their accounting, but also is best for maintaining the integrity of the case. While this training outlined some tools and strategies for communicating with older adults, this is not a full forensic interviewing course, and the gathering of specific case related information should be conducted by a multidisciplinary investigative team.

Video Activity: Interviewing Older Adults (15 Minutes)

This activity requires one instructor.

The purpose of this activity is to assist participants in learning how they can have a successful interview with an older adult from start to finish.

Instructions

- 1. Direct participants to watch the video embedded in the PowerPoint or here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qM6htsLe604
- 2. Encourage participants to take notes about what they notice.

Instructor Guide

- Ask participants to share about any initial reactions or feelings they have after watching the video.
- Ask participants what barriers they anticipate to making accommodations for investigating cases involving older adults?
- Ask participants what adjustments they might make to their typical approach that could ensure a more successful interview?

NOTE: For virtual trainings, participants may choose to share their thoughts out loud or via the chat box.

Discussion points:

- The physical environment and first impression make a big impact on the interaction.
- Recognize that it could take more time to take a few extra steps, which ultimately takes more time.
- Be cautious to not have assumptions based on the little bit of information provided and encourage a strengths-based approach.
- Do your homework, find out more information before the interaction, if you can.
- Understanding the systems that the older adult interacts with can be very beneficial to the conversation.
- This should sound very similar to a trauma-informed approach.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Pre-Interview Considerations Checklists

When preparing for a forensic interview with an older adult, it is important to gather information from caregivers, and/or service providers (family members, staff members, care providers, etc.) or the individual themselves to learn more about how that older adult communicates. These conversations should happen before every interview if possible and appropriate. If a caregiver is available and the team does not have any concerns about the caregiver being involved with abuse or neglect at the time, they should utilize the "Caregiver-Reported Pre-Interview Considerations Checklist" to gather some additional information. There may be some instances when gathering information from a caregiver would cause potential danger to the older adult, in that case, interviewers and teams should always ensure that safety is paramount.

In general, older adults should be informed of the purpose of the interview. If the older adult being interviewed is able to answer questions for themselves, interviewers may utilize the "Self-Reported Pre-Interview Considerations Checklist" to gather some additional information.

These checklists are intended for interviewers to ask every question listed, rather as a set of prompts to consider when gathering information about how the older adult communicates.

Caregiver Reported

Pre-Interview Considerations Checklist

Examples of Prompts:

Communication:

- ✓ How does the interviewee communicate?
- ✓ How do they get needs met?
- Do they understand what is being said to them?
 - o If so, how do you know?
 - Do they correct you if you say something wrong?
 - If so, what do they do?
- ✓ Are there times that they are forgetful?
 - If yes, tell me about a time.
- ✓ Does the interviewee require an interpreter?
 - If yes, for what language (e.g., ASL, tactile, pro-tactile, etc.)?
 - What are the interviewee's interpreter preferences?

Daily Life:

- ✓ What are some potential topics to discuss with them to build rapport?
 - What activities do they enjoy?
 - How do they typically spend their day?
 - Have they gone to any recent events or done anything exciting that they might want to share?
- ✓ What is their level of independence with activities of daily living?
 - Do they need assistance with bathing? Toileting? Dressing?
 Other?
- ✓ What are the mobility needs of the interviewee and/or caregiver?
- What is the best time of day to conduct an interview? Worst time of day?
- ✓ Does the individual take any medications?
 - o If yes, were they taken today?

- Are there any side effects?
- How long have they been taking medications?
- Are they taking medication consistently?
- ✓ Do they have a safety plan?

Accommodations:

- ✓ What sensory needs does the interviewee have?
 - Do they have any comfort items (fidgets, blankets, personal items)?
 - Do they have any sensory defensiveness (Smells, sounds, volume, textures, etc.)?
- Does the interviewee have any comfort items (fidgets, weighted blankets, personal items)?
- ✓ What other conditions does the interviewee have?
 - Do they have any comorbidities?
 - Do they have any diagnoses?
- ✓ What is the interviewee's trauma history?
 - What are their triggers, and how do you overcome them?
 - If they shut down, what is the best way to respond?
- ✓ What are their triggers, and how do you overcome them?
- ✓ If interviewee shuts down, what is the best way to respond?
- ✓ How do you help the interviewee respond to new situations?

Informed Consent:

- Explain the use of interview aids (pictures, diagrams, drawing, dolls, etc.).
- $\checkmark\,$ Provide video recording notification and obtain consent.
- ✓ Do they know the reason for the interview?
- ✓ What were they told about the interview?

Self-Reported

Pre-Interview Considerations Checklist

Communication:

- ✓ What is your preferred language?
- ✓ Do you prefer to use an interpreter?
 - If yes, for what language (e.g., ASL, tactile, pro-tactile, etc.)?

Daily Life:

- ✓ What is the best time of day to talk with me?
- ✓ Does anyone come help you during the week?
 - If yes, who and how often?
- ✓ Are you currently taking any medications?
 - If yes, were they taken today?
 - Are there any side effects?
 - How long have you been taking these medications?
 - Are you able to take them consistently?
- ✓ What are some activities that you enjoy?
- ✓ How do you typically spend your day?
- Have you done anything lately that you enjoyed that you would like to share with me?

Accommodations:

- ✓ Do you require any accommodations to come to our building?
- ✓ Where would you prefer to have a conversation with me?
- Is there anything you can think of that would make you more comfortable during our conversation?

Informed Consent:

- ✓ Do you have any questions about my job?
- ✓ Do you have any questions about the interview?
- ✓ Is there anything you would like me to know about you that I haven't thought to ask?

APPENDIX II

Power and Control Wheel

Abuse in Later Life Wheel



APPENDIX III

SCAMS

Health Insurance Scams:

There are health insurance scams that speak to the older adult via phone, email, or at the door requesting personal information from the older adult due to a problem with their insurance. The common information requested is name, address, date of birth, and social security numbers.

IRS Scams:

An IRS scam happens when someone pretends to be the IRS, typically on the phone. The common information requested is name, address, date of birth, social security numbers and bank account information.

Pigeon Drops:

Scams that request the older adult send the perpetrator a "smaller" sum of money needed to help the perpetrator deposit a larger inheritance. The older adult is usually promised half or other amount of the inheritance for helping, which never happens.

Other scams are seen below (ncoa.org, n.d.):

- Telemarketing
- The Fake Accident Scenario
- Robocalls (used to get the older adult to say yes to gain access to their personal accounts)
- Charity Scams
- Internet Fraud
- Tech or Computer Support Scams
- Lottery and Fake Prizes Scams
- Counterfeit Prescription Medication Scams pretending to sell cheaper drug alternatives

- Fake Anti-Aging Scams the pressure of feeling younger with fake serums and drugs to remain youthful
- The "Grandparent Scam"
- Investment Schemes
- Mortgage Scams apply for a fake lowered mortgage
- Funeral Fraud meant to take advantage of grieving widows and widowers
- Fake Magazine Scams

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