# Research to Practice Series



# The Stressed Caregiver Versus the Bad Apple: Classifying Abusers Using APS Data

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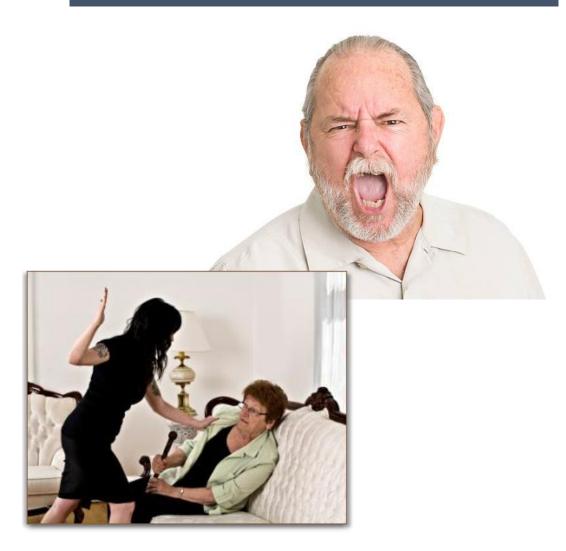


# Why do people harm older adults?

Caregiver stress and burden theory

# Abuser pathology theory





## Are there different "types" of abusers?

- Variability in types of elder mistreatment, so why not abusers?
- Different motivations for causing harming
- Engage in different forms of elder abuse
- How many sub-types are there?







#### Data and Methods

Older Adult Mistreatment Assessment (OAMA)



- N=337 abusers with 1 or more substantiated abuse types: financial, emotional, physical, sexual and neglect
- Data are from the Alleged Abuser Information Form
  - Administered by APS caseworkers
  - 37 questions about positive and negative abuser characteristics and behaviors: history of violence, trouble with the law, tells lies, ignores you, too stressed to help, contributes to well-being of household, etc...
  - Answers provided by victim, collaterals, or completed based on caseworker observation

# Abuser characteristics

	Total % / Mean (SD)			
Abuser mean age (range = 13-96 yrs.)	50.1 (17.0)			
Sex (female)	56.2%			
Abuser is victim's primary caregiver	43.8%			
Abuser's relationship to victim				
Child	52.1%			
Spouse/Partner	15.6%			
Other relative	16.7%			
Friend	7.1%			
Paid caregiver	5.7%			
Service professional	1.5%			
Relationship missing	1.5%			
Substantiated abuse types				
Neglect	35.1%			
Financial Exploitation	51.5%			
Emotional Abuse	48.2%			
Physical Abuse	21.1%			
Sexual Abuse	1.2%			
Total abuse types (1-5)	1.6 (0.72)			

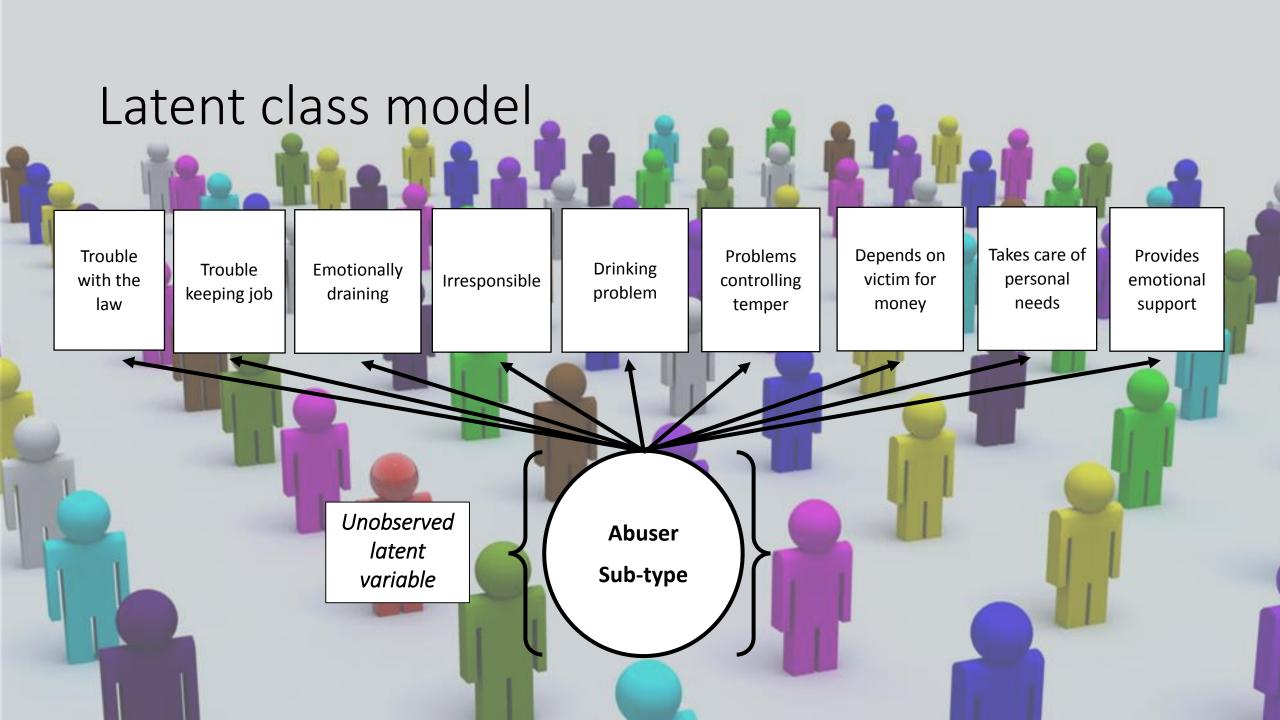
## Victim characteristics

	Total N (%) / Mean (SD)
Victim mean age (range= 60-97 yrs.)	76.5 (9.7)
Victim sex (female)	68.5%
Race/Ethnicity	
Non-Hispanic White	48.8%
Black	35.7%
Hispanic	14.9%
Other	1.5%
Missing	0.60%

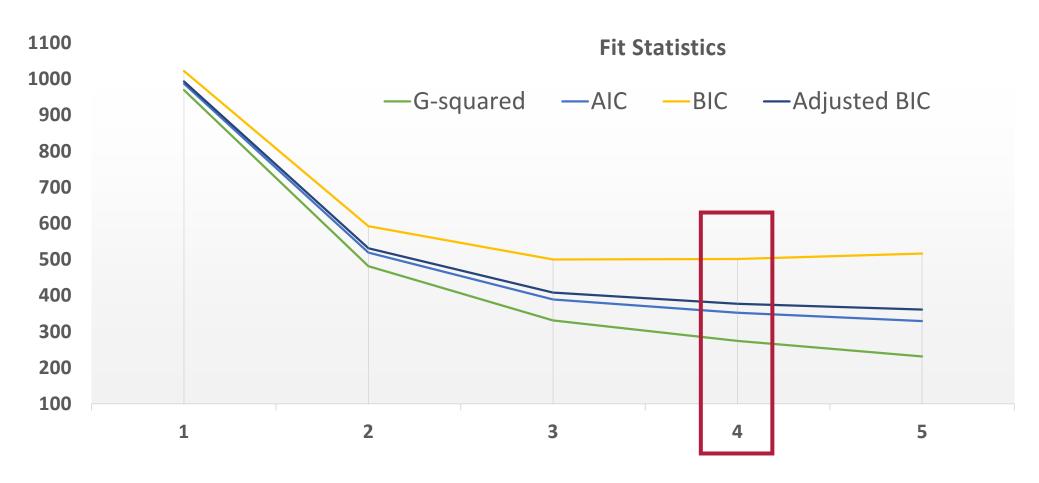
#### Latent class analysis



- Uses a maximum likelihood approach to categorize individuals based on their shared characteristics and behaviors
- Abusers within a sub-type are similar to each other, but different from abusers in other sub-types

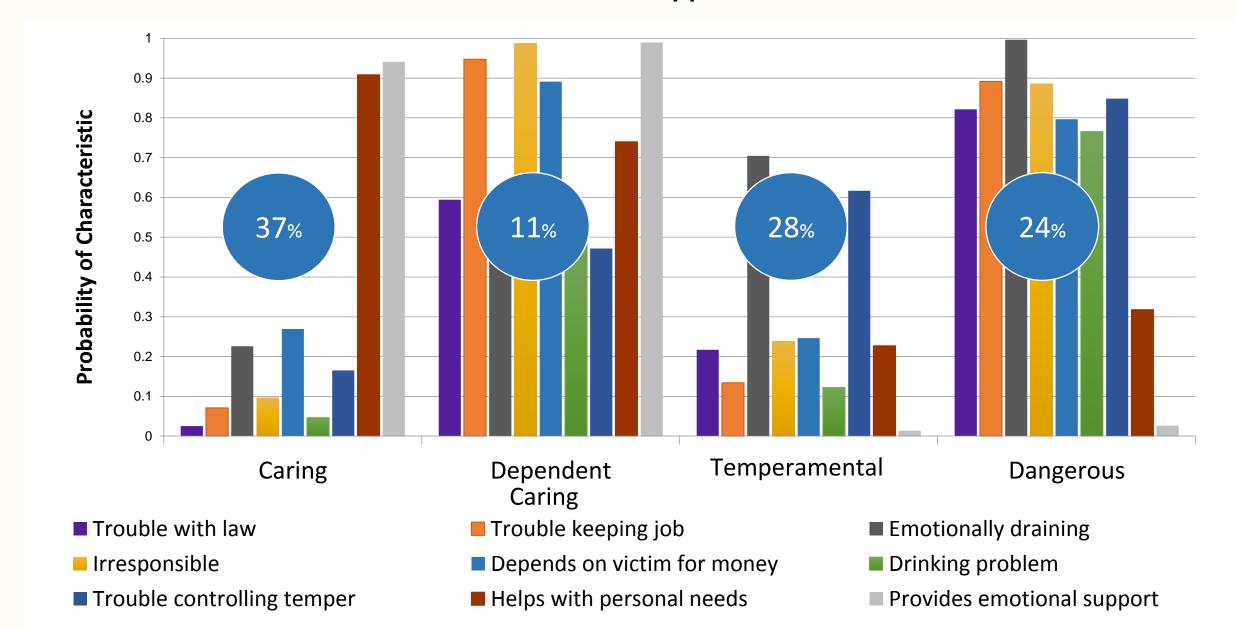


# Selecting the number of abuser subtypes



**Number of Abuser Sub-types** 

## Relative characteristics of each subtype



# Abuser demographics, victim characteristics, and abuse types vary

Abuser Subtypes						
	Caring	Dependent Caring	Temper- amental	Dangerous	$\chi^2$ / F-test	p-value
Abuser characteristics						
Mean age (SD)	53.5 (16.8)	45.4 (14.8)	52.4 (18.9)	44.8 (14.5)	6.03	0.001 ***
Female	64.3%	51.4%	59.1%	42.9%	10.17	0.017 *
Adult Child	50.4%	71.4%	37.5%	61.9%	16.41	0.001 **
Partner	18.6%	5.7%	19.3%	10.7%	6.14	0.105
Other relative	13.2%	11.4%	25.0%	15.5%	5.91	0.116
Non-relative	14.7%	11.4%	18.2%	10.7%	2.17	0.537
Victim characteristics						
Mean age (SD)	79.2 (9.2)	75.3 (10.9)	76.0 (9.9)	73.3 (8.6)	7.03	<.0001 ***
Female	70.5%	57.1%	73.9%	64.7%	4.13	0.248
Non-Hispanic White	51.9%	65.7%	44.3%	41.7%	7.59	0.055
Black	31.8%	22.9%	39.8%	42.9%	5.68	0.128
Other	16.3%	8.6%	14.8%	15.5%	1.20	0.753
Substantiated abuse type	?					
Emotional	21.7%	40.0%	65.9%	73.8%	66.39	<.0001 ***
Physical	7.8%	14.3%	28.6%	36.9%	27.94	<.0001 ***
Neglect	51.9%	37.1%	21.6%	22.6%	33.17	<.0001 ***
Financial	48.8%	74.3%	39.8%	58.3%	12.71	0.005 **

# **Study conclusions**

- Not all abusers are "bad apples"
- Abusers vary according to their behaviors, characteristics, and types of mistreatment committed
- Practitioners need to collect information on perpetrators during investigations
- Different subtypes = different intervention approaches





## Thank you to my collaborators

Zachary Gassoumis
Jeanine Yonashiro-Cho
Yongjie Yon
Kathleen Wilber
Kendon Conrad

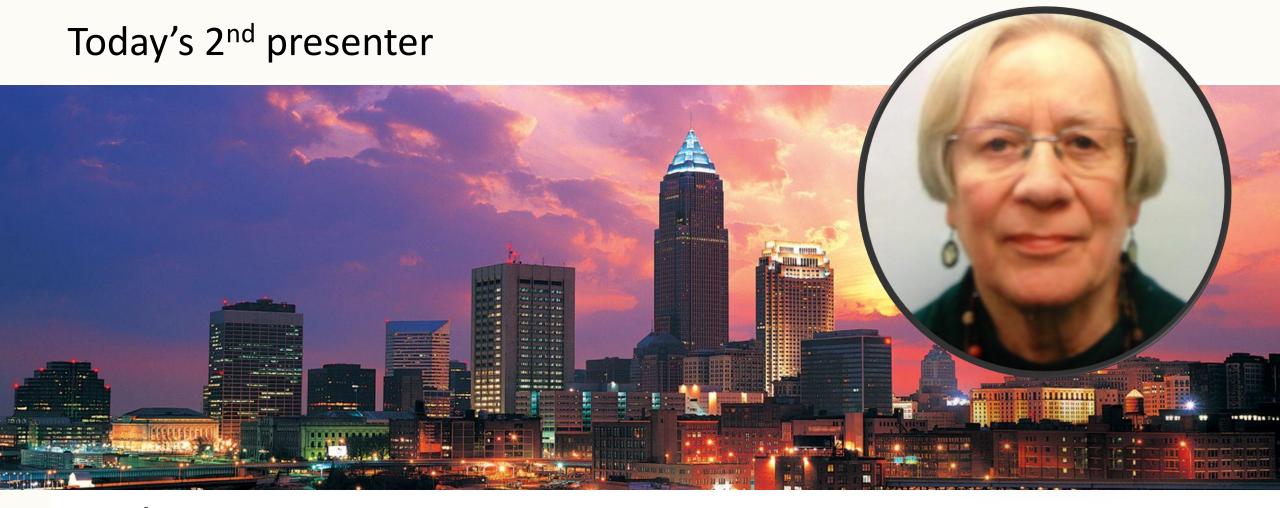
**Next paper**: Identifying the differences between abusers who are caregivers and those who are not

Feedback?

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# **Questions?**





#### Carol Dayton, MSW, LISW

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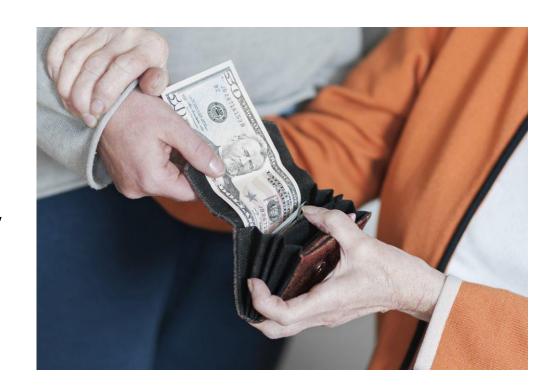
## Intervention approach: "Caring" abusers

✓ May include unintentional abusers, overwhelmed, unprepared and unaware of help. Needed resources may be accepted when honoring the efforts being made by the caregiver.

- ✓ The "promise to always be your caregiver" needs reframing to excellent care being promised.
- ✓ Difficult behaviors by the *care receiver* such as hitting and throwing objects can lead to care giver retaliation and justification.
- ✓ Respite and examining alternative caregiver options are needed.
- ✓ Feeling entitled to a reward for the work of caregiving may lead to exploitation, e.g. stealing jewelry may be the start of an escalating deception and theft.
- ✓ APS can build on the longstanding emotional bonds as a strength.

#### Intervention approach: "Dependent caring" abusers

- ✓ "Red Flag" characteristics are often present. Adult child or other relative in need of housing may be viewed as the most available care giver.
- ✓ The opportunity to exploit the frail and/or demented victim will be present by those who now have more power and control than in their earlier relationship to the victim.
- ✓ Co-dependency is a major dynamic for this dyad. Parent of dependent adult child may be very reluctant to separate, feeling responsibility and deep attachment.
- ✓ Strengths may be an abuser who is also attentive to direct care and emotional support.



# Intervention approach: "Temperamental" abusers

- ✓ Erratic ability to provide care with poor emotional control can become directly threatening to the victim. Concerns for the victim's personal safety and/or exploitation are heightened. Two workers may be needed to guarantee separate interviews with the victim and the abuser.
- ✓ The manipulations of undue influence may be present, with the initial positive emotional connection to the victim receding when frustrations over time escalate, e.g. living longer than expected.
- ✓ APS focus should include evaluating access to the victim, the assets and victim's mental status to understand risks.



## Intervention approach: "Dangerous" abusers

- Domestic violence allegations require careful planning prior to the initial home visit to reduce/remove any risk of adding danger to the victim's circumstance.
- Creative use of alternative interview locations outside the home may be needed. A hospitalized victim is in a safe place, do not delay interview until after discharge!
- Sending two staff to the home may be needed to conduct separate interviews of victim and abuser, and for back-up safety planning for staff. Law enforcement may be needed.
- Legal interventions and criminal justice actions may be needed. Mental status of victim critical re: interventions initiated by APS through Probate Court.





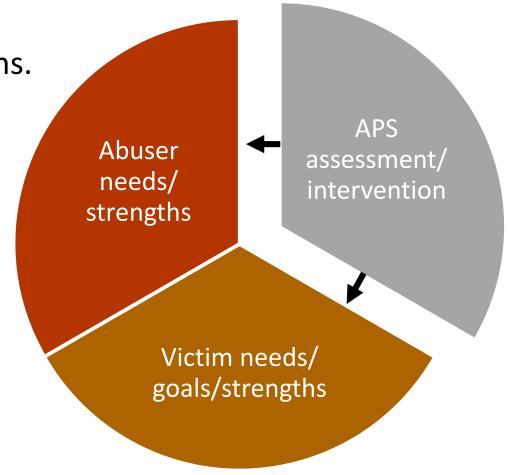
#### Summary

 Assess the victim's needs in relation to the abuser's meaning in the victim's life. Offering narrow options for increased safety can be rejected if the trade-

off of losing that relationship is unacceptable.

Always inform victim of safety risks and options.

- Consider reframing policies to also consider abuser strengths and needs, with referral options for abusers. Smaller caseloads may be needed!
- Value victim's goals in relation to abuser's needs.
- Develop and use MDT's to have resource networks for both victims and abusers.



# **Questions?**

