

**PREPARING TO MEET THE CHALLENGES OF A GROWING
ELDERLY POPULATION**

JOURNAL ARTICLE

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COMMAND COLLEGE CLASS XXI
PEACE OFFICER STANDARDS AND TRAINING
SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA

JANUARY 1996

21-0429

This Command College Independent Study Project is a FUTURES study of a particular emerging issue in law enforcement. Its purpose is NOT to predict the future but rather to project a number of possible scenarios for strategic planning consideration.

Defining the future differs from analyzing the past because the future has not yet happened. In this project, useful alternatives have been formulated systematically so that the planner can respond to a range of possible future environments.

Managing the future means influencing the future--creating it, constraining it, adapting to it. A futures study points the way.

The views and conclusions expressed in the Command College project are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training (POST).

PREPARING TO MEET THE CHALLENGES OF A GROWING ELDERLY POPULATION

The district attorney's office charged a woman and her husband with second-degree murder for neglecting their mother to death. This case, filed in Colusa County on August 18, 1995, may be the first of its kind anywhere in California. Neighbors of the 75-year-old woman did not even know she lived there until authorities removed her body, ravaged by gaping bed sores, from the home of her daughter and son-in-law. The elderly woman lived in filth and died of blood poisoning related to the bed sores.¹

On June 23, 1994, in San Jose, California, police charged a 22-year-old man with felony dependent abuse of his helpless father, whom he allegedly left in the back yard for three days without food, water or medical attention despite severe burns. Officers found the victim semi-conscious, ants crawling in the burns on his thighs. The man, suffering from Huntington's Chorea, a progressive, hereditary disease that leads to dementia, indicated that he suffered the second and third-degree burns when someone threw hot water on him.²

Criminal cases such as these may seem unusual and rare, but a closer study of those crimes that target the elderly will find an unrecognized problem waiting to receive attention from the criminal justice system. The elderly, those individuals 60 years of age and older,³ are often susceptible to specific acts that take advantage of their age and sometimes limited physical and mental capabilities. Crimes that target the elderly or dependent adults include: elder abuse, frauds, scams, and fiduciary abuse. The elderly-specific crimes that present a problem for law enforcement today will present a much bigger problem for law enforcement in the future due to a number of current and future trends. Several social, economic, technological, and political trends will present a variety of

current and future issues for law enforcement. These current and future issues will include:

- the under-reporting of elder abuse;
- the lack of attention given to crimes of fraud, scams and fiduciary abuse against the elderly;
- the high vulnerability of the elderly and their need for more law enforcement protection than for other age groups;
- the baby boomer generation, and how it will create a huge increase in the elderly population;
- the advances in medical technology, enabling people to live longer;
- the growing number of elderly statesman, likely to increase the number of mandatory laws that protect the elderly;
- the increase in elderly caregivers, leading to an increase in crimes against the elderly;
- the financial instability of the baby boomer generation, leading to even greater vulnerability among the elderly.

Law enforcement can no longer afford to wait to meet the challenges that a growing elderly population will present. It must plan today to address the immediate problems and prepare for a variety of new issues in the future. Although there exists a desperate need to address these issues, it seems unlikely that law enforcement will receive the funding it needs. Therefore, it becomes vitally important for law enforcement to create networks and partnerships with state and local agencies that can give assistance in investigating and prosecuting crimes against the elderly. In addition to investigation and prosecution, law enforcement needs to develop community

resources for assisting elderly victims with shelter, food and legal assistance. As law enforcement develops these networks and partnerships with state, local, and community agencies not only will today's service to the elderly expand, but law enforcement will also better prepare for the increase in elder issues in the future.

Current Trends

Crimes Against the Elderly

A 1994 study conducted by the Federal General Accounting Office, found an astoundingly small number of elder abuse cases reported to authorities each year. Approximately 175,000-275,000 incidents of elder abuse occur annually in domestic settings in California, yet only about 31,000 get reported. The study estimates that an overwhelming majority of elder or dependent-adult abuse victims rarely report the abuse for fear of retaliation, shame, or dependence upon the abuser for support. The study also found that a lack of support service awareness and the difficulty of accessing the support service system contributed to the lack of reporting.⁴ Another study found that because many older persons wish to maintain their privacy, they either do not report the abuse or neglect, or they tell practitioners that they do not wish to take any action against the abuser.⁵

Elder abuse is not the only elder-specific crime on the rise. In 1982, the United States Senate Special Committee on Aging noted a serious problem of fraud against the elderly, who (they reported) are particularly vulnerable because of their desire for financial security and remedies for health problems. The committee noted that several types of fraud perpetrated against the elderly included home repair frauds, medical quackery, mail order frauds, and door-to-door sales.⁶ A 1993 study conducted by the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) found that older Americans are particularly vulnerable to fraud and deception because they are less familiar with basic consumer issues and less suspecting of the prevalence of

deceptive sales practices. An index of consumer vulnerability found persons aged 75 and older the most vulnerable. The study classified 35 percent of the persons aged 75 and older in the "high vulnerability" category, compared with 24 percent among those aged 65 to 74, and just 7 percent for younger people.⁷

In addition to abuse and fraud, financial exploitation of the elderly receives little or no law enforcement attention. The FBI reports that mismanagement of income and assets usually occurs when the court grants individuals legal guardianship or power of attorney over the victim's finances.⁸ A national survey of 410 attorneys, social service providers, district attorneys, and surrogate judges found that 94 percent thought that durable power of attorney abuse occurs at least occasionally, with two-thirds knowing exploited elders, by those to whom they had granted a durable power of attorney.⁹

While the evidence clearly indicates that crimes against the elderly need immediate law enforcement attention, the rise in gang violence, drug activity, and juvenile crimes already overburden law enforcement's resources. Therefore, why should law enforcement shift resources from other needs to the problems of the elderly? The answer lies not only in the number and severity of the elder-specific crimes, but also the effects of an aging population and how it will play a significant role in determining future law enforcement priorities.

The Graying of America

In July of 1983, the number of Americans over the age of 65 surpassed the number of teenagers. We are no longer a nation of youths.¹⁰ At the turn of the century, one American out of 25 was 65 years or older. That proportion is now one out of every nine, with current projections that by the year 2020 one of five persons will be over 65 years of age.¹¹ People over 65 will number 52 million in the year 2020, and will make up a large percentage of the country's population -- almost one-sixth of the total. Those aged 85 years and

older are the fastest growing group.¹² In fact, Peter Francese, the founder of *American Demographics*, estimates that the United States will need a new hundred-bed skilled nursing facility every day for the next twelve years.¹³

California will lead the way in elderly population growth. Using the recent demographic trends as a guide, the Census Bureau projects that California's elderly population will increase by 52 percent between 1989 and 2010. While states such as Florida continue to add elderly citizens at an above-average pace, California will maintain its number one position. California will have the largest number of elderly citizens by 2010 (4.7 million).¹⁴ California's 60-year-old-and-older population more than doubled in size from 1970 to 1990, and the Census Bureau estimates the population will double again between 1990 and 2010. This rapid growth in elderly population presents California law enforcement with a number of increased challenges for today and well into the future.

Baby Boomers and the Elderly

One-third of all Americans, 76 million people, were born between 1946 and 1964. Likened by demographers to a "pig moving through a python," this generation mass has dominated American culture for four decades. To the extent that America has lead the world in culture, the baby-boomer generation has enormously influenced life on the rest of the planet as well. At each stage of their lives, the needs and desires of the baby boomers dominate the concerns of American business and population culture. As the boomers grow older, they will continue to dominate the culture. Many social observers forecast that concerns facing the elderly and issues of aging will explode around the year 2011, when the first of the boomers celebrates their sixty-fifth birthdays. Law enforcement needs to understand this trend and prepare for its effects on law enforcement.¹⁵

Future Trends

Medical Wonders and the Elderly

Medical miracles will play an important role in enabling people to live longer, healthier lives and, thereby, increasing the number of elderly citizens. Any look at medicine in the year 2000 almost inevitably sounds more like fantasy than serious forecasting. In the last fifteen years, science successfully focused on the most basic processes of life, from the hereditary messages of DNA to the subtle disease-fighting processes of the immune system. At the same time, technology has made dramatic advances, all of which science can apply to the practical needs of patient care.

During the next two decades, these basic insights and technical developments will create a new, vastly more powerful generation of therapies for a wider variety of conditions, many of which doctors currently consider incurable. If today's research pans out, many of our most destructive illnesses could be little more than painful memories just a dozen years from now. Gene therapy, bioengineered medicine, and twenty-first century transplants are just three examples of future medical technologies that will afford the baby boomer generation the ability to live longer, healthier lives.¹⁶

More Caregivers

With an increased elderly population, law enforcement will find itself forced to deal with a number of important new challenges. One such challenge will involve more people caring for older people. In 1985, 90 percent of the elderly cared for themselves; by 2001 this will decrease to 80 percent simply because the composition of the elderly will change to include more "old-old" people. This means that in the future many more family members will find themselves

forced, sometimes unwillingly, to play a part in caring for aged relatives.¹⁷ This phenomenon will open the door for a sharp increase in elder abuse, frauds, scams, and fiduciary abuse. If law enforcement does not plan for this future, it will find itself unprepared for the potential onslaught of increased crimes.

Financial Instability

Another phenomenon that will likely increase crimes against the elderly surrounds the shakiness of this country's retirement systems and the large number of baby boomers depending on these shaky systems for their future retirements. While baby boomers are saving less than their parents, they are also preparing to crack the cornerstone of retirement income -- Social Security.¹⁸ The lack of savings or the collapse of the Social Security system could force thousands of Americans into poverty at retirement age. Faced with less retirement income, these future elder citizens will become easy targets for con-men or defenseless victims of unwilling caregivers. As reported by the United States Congress Senate Special Committee on Aging in 1982, the elderly are particularly vulnerable to fraud because of their desire for financial security and remedies for health problems.¹⁹

A Nation Led by Elders

By 2001, close to 25 percent of the United States Senators and over 50 percent of the House of Representatives will be 65 years of age or older.²⁰ The combination of elder voters and elder statesman will likely produce new legislation to address crimes against the elderly. New legislation will likely mandate that law enforcement take a more active role in the recognition and investigation of those crimes.

Organizations like the California Senior Legislature will lead the way in lobbying for new mandated legislation to protect the elderly. Sponsored and overseen by the California Commission on Aging, the California Senior Legislature's primary objective is to identify and

prioritize legislative proposals developed to respond to the needs of the California elderly, and to work to have these proposals enacted into law by the legislature. The California Senior Legislature consists of 120 members, elected for two-year terms by their peers in their local area.²¹

In addition to these formal trends, the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) is second only to the NRA as the most influential lobby in Congress. With over 28 million members, it seems likely that AARP's political influence will increase as the number of elderly citizens grows.

When law enforcement considers all the trends associated with a growing elderly population, it becomes abundantly clear that it needs to find a way to address the issues of the elderly today and prepare for an increase in these issues in the future. Current economic trends make it unlikely that law enforcement will see increased budgets or other resources to help address these issues; therefore, law enforcement must once again find a way to do more with the same or even fewer resources. One way for law enforcement to meet the elderly challenges of the future are to start recognizing and developing networks and partnerships with a variety of state and local agencies that can assist in meeting the challenges of a growing elderly population.

The following resources will assist local law enforcement in the investigation and prosecution of crimes that target the elderly. These organizations will also provide a multitude of elder-related services, associated with the investigation and prosecution of crimes against the elderly. Not only is this assistance valuable for existing needs, but it will also contribute in preparing for the future.

Developing a Network

A number of organizations exist throughout California to assist law enforcement in the investigation and prosecution of crimes against

the elderly. Through the development of partnerships with these organizations, law enforcement will better equip itself to handle the elderly victim cases of today and better prepare itself for the inevitable increase in cases in the future. In addition to state and local resources, developing new community-based resources will allow law enforcement to further the principles of community policing, while addressing the specific issues of one important segment of the community: the elderly. Working within the principles of community policing will provide an opportunity for law enforcement to assist senior citizens and enhance the total well-being of the community.

Department of Justice (DOJ)

The Office of the Attorney General has authorized the Bureau of Medi-Cal Fraud and Patient Abuse (BMCFPA) to:

- review, investigate and prosecute complaints of abuse, neglect and discriminatory treatment of patients in health care facilities who receive Medi-Cal payments;
- collect data about crimes against patients in health care facilities;
- receive reports of elder and dependent adult abuse and neglect from Long Term Care Ombudsman coordinators, the Department of Health Services and the Department of Social Services;
- offer training to local law enforcement investigating and prosecuting crimes against elders and dependent adults;
- offer training to Long Term Care Ombudsman, county Adult Protective Services, the Department of Health Services, and the Department of Social Services in evaluating and documenting abuse and neglect of elders and dependent adults.

Facilities subject to the Bureau of Medi-Cal Fraud and Patient Abuse (BMCFPA) jurisdiction (if Medi-Cal certified) includes:

- Skilled Nursing Facilities
- Intermediate Care Facilities
- Intermediate Care Facilities (Developmentally Disabled)
- Intermediate Care Facilities (Developmentally Disabled Nursing)
- Adult Day Health Centers
- Acute Care Hospitals
- Psychiatric Acute Care Hospitals

It is important to note that local law enforcement agencies remain responsible for investigating physical abuse, including the improper use of physical or chemical restraints and theft. However, the local Department of Justice office will provide legal advice, agency referral and step-by-step investigative guidance on all cases involving an elderly victim.

The Bureau of Medi-Cal Fraud and Patient Abuse (BMCFPA) is responsible for investigating and prosecuting criminal neglect, discrimination against Medi-Cal beneficiaries, physical, and fiduciary abuse in health care facilities and Medi-Cal fraud. To facilitate direct reporting of complaints, or to receive assistance in investigating any case involving an elder person or dependent adult, local law enforcement can call 1-800-722-0432.²²

It is important for law enforcement to understand that the Department of Justice does not investigate cases of elder abuse, frauds, scams, or fiduciary abuse in private homes, private hospitals, or non-Medi-Cal facilities. For these cases local law enforcement can ask the Department of Justice for investigative assistance, legal advice, or training related to the issues of the elderly. In most cases, DOJ will provide the assistance necessary to insure local law enforcement of a complete and thorough investigation.

Ombudsman Program

The Federal Older Americans Act and the Older Californians Act both authorized the creation of the California State Long Term Care Ombudsman Program. The primary responsibility of the program is to investigate and attempt to resolve complaints made by, or on the behalf of, individual residents in long term care facilities. Those facilities include:

- Skilled Nursing Facilities
- Residential Care Facilities for the Elderly
- Intermediate Care Facilities
- Adult Residential Care Facilities
- Adult Day Health Care Facilities

The Office of the State Long Term Care Ombudsman (OSLTCO) administers the program through 35 sub-state programs contracted through the 33 Area Agencies on Aging.

The Ombudsman Program's goals include the advocating for the rights of all residents of 24-hour long term care facilities and adult day care centers throughout the state. The Ombudsman's advocacy role takes two forms:

- to receive and resolve individual complaints and issues by, or on behalf of, these residents;
- to pursue resident advocacy in the long term care system, its laws, policies, regulations and administration through public education and consensus building.

The Ombudsman program is a public-government-community-supported program. Volunteers are an important part of this program. The Office of the State Long Term Care Ombudsman (OSLTCO) and its 35 local Ombudsman Program Coordinators are responsible for recruiting, training, and supervising the volunteer

ombudsman. The Crisis line (1-800-231-4024) is available 24-hours a day, 7-days a week, to receive complaints from residents or to assist local law enforcement.²³

The Ombudsman Program does not investigate or prosecute criminal cases of elder abuse, frauds, scams, or fiduciary abuse. It will, however, assist local law enforcement in obtaining a number of services related to the investigation of criminal cases, including the following:

- Temporary Shelter
- Counseling Services
- Referral and Legal Services
- Advocacy
- Investigation Referral
- Mediation

Adult Protective Services

The State of California created the Adult Protective Services in 1973. Adult Protective Services facilitates a system of protective service to elderly and dependent adults who may be subject to neglect, abuse, or exploitation, or who are unable to protect their own interests (WIC 15750 Chapter 25, Statutes of 1986). Adult Protective Services' duties may include, but are not limited to, receiving reports of elder abuse, investigation, assessing needs, using multi-disciplinary teams for information exchange, maintaining a 24-hour reporting system, emergency shelter, and respite services. Adult Protective Services also contributes to other efforts such as long-term, community-based elder abuse coordinating councils, and encouraging the regular participation of agencies with a vested commitment to the aging, frail, or vulnerable community.

One example of the Adult Protective Services' efforts occurred in San Luis Obispo, California, where the Area Agency on Aging and the

county's Adult Protective Services coordinated such an effort with great success. The San Luis Obispo County Elder Abuse Coordinating Council developed and distributed written material on elder abuse and negotiated shelter services with local skilled nursing facility operators. Most importantly, the council coordinated limited community resources to focus these resources in an effective manner.

Other effective community efforts include county-wide conferences and training sponsored through County Adult Protective Services agencies and local multi-disciplinary teams. In April of 1994, over 250 people attended a conference held in San Bernadino County on elder abuse. Another successful conference in San Joaquin County drew a considerable crowd. Many communities, with guidance and advice from county Adult Protective Services and the local Area Agency on Aging and other agencies, have developed written educational tools in order to heighten awareness of elder abuse.²⁴

Like the Ombudsman Program, Adult Protective Services will neither conduct criminal investigation nor prosecute crimes of elder abuse, frauds, scams, or fiduciary abuse. They will, however, provide support services to local law enforcement in cases involving private homes, private hospitals, or other private facilities. Like the Ombudsman Program for long term care facilities, Adult Protective Services will provide the following services for elderly victims living in private homes, private hospitals, or other private facilities:

- Temporary Shelter
- Counseling Services
- Advocacy
- Investigation and Referral
- Help in Finding Medical Care
- Mediation

Local law enforcement can contact their Adult Protective Services agency through the county's Department of Health and Human Services Department.

District Attorney's Office

Many district attorney's offices throughout the state work very closely with the Department of Justice, Adult Protective Services and the local Ombudsman Program to prosecute criminal cases and provide support services for elderly victims. Local law enforcement agencies should contact their local district attorney's office to develop a network to assist in the successful prosecution of crimes against the elderly. The local district attorney's office can offer a variety of services for law enforcement including:

- Legal Advice
- Investigation Assistance
- Referral Information

County and City Aging Plans

Many counties and cities have developed various aging plans to assist the elderly. Local law enforcement should contact their city and county governments to determine what aging plan or elder-specific committees their city or county could sponsor. Through these local aging plans, local law enforcement may find a variety of references to assist in the investigation of crimes against the elderly.

For example, in the City of San Jose, California, an aging plan was developed to carry that city into the next century. The city of San Jose Aging Services Master Plan has as one of its primary goals to keep older persons living as independently at home for as long as possible and appropriate for their needs. The plan outlines a model system of community-based aging services, which the city provided

within its boundaries and elsewhere along a continuum from independence to dependence.

The city grouped these services under three service types, including Safety Net Services, Supportive and Enabling Services and Quality of Life Services. Safety Net Services intervene directly to help meet basic life needs, in terms of both prevention and crisis intervention. Supportive Services enable older persons to maintain their independence. Quality of Life Services provides enrichment opportunities and services that enhance the lives of older persons.

Providing a variety of planned services for elderly citizens can provide local law enforcement with an excellent list of referrals to assist in the investigation and prosecution of elderly-related crimes. As law enforcement moves towards more community-based policing models, the following services, currently offered through San Jose's Aging Services Master Plan, will become the working tools of the local police officers throughout the state.

- Quality of Life Services
- Education and Enrichment
- Volunteer Opportunities
- Supportive and Enabling Services
- Client Education and Advocacy
- Information and Referral
- Senior Centers, Recreation and Socialization
- Transportation
- Safety Net Services
- Case Management and Care Coordination
- Health Care
- Home and Nursing Care
- Income Maintenance
- Housing
- Language Services
- Legal Assistance
- Mental Health

- Protective Services

While it is true that the San Jose Aging Plan offers a broad range of highly professional aging services, it is equally true that the existing system is not adequate in its depth and breadth to meet current needs. The gaps in the service described in detail in the plan will become more critical in the next twenty years, even if services remain funded at current levels.²⁵

Another example of a successful aging plan exists in the County of San Luis Obispo, where the county made substantial progress in dealing with the incidence of elder abuse. Using creativity and furthering the growing community concern of elder abuse, San Luis Obispo County established an Elder Abuse Coordinating Council consisting of about twenty members representing community leaders, social service agencies, state administrative representatives, APS, Long-Term Care Ombudsman, private attorneys, banking representatives, consumers, service providers, and others to address the issues of dependent adult and elder abuse as a community, thereby establishing community accountability. Activities of the San Luis Obispo County Elder Abuse Coordinating Council include presentations and training for consumers, law enforcement, and banking personnel, as well as, development of information and educational material and other joint efforts which focus and manage community resources to maximize their usefulness.

Of special note is the development of the Emergency Shelter Program, a community partnership established in San Luis Obispo County to aid elders and dependent adult abuse victims. Representatives from long-term care facilities developed the program to address an un-met need in their community. Selected long-term care facilities throughout San Luis Obispo County have agreed to provide up to 72 hours of shelter and care, free of charge, to elders and dependent adult abuse victims, who agree to move from their abusive environment. Adult Protective Services and the

Mental Health Crisis Intervention program make the referrals, and Adult Protective Services handles the case management.²⁶

Both of these examples demonstrate how local law enforcement can work with cities and counties to solve today's elderly issues, while preparing to meet the challenges of the future. Local law enforcement needs to take the lead in seeking these partnerships. Using the principles of community policing, law enforcement and local communities can develop community partnerships to better serve the elderly population today and well into the future.

Future Studies

As this nation moves towards a society dominated by elderly citizens, the problems of elder abuse, frauds, scams, and fiduciary abuse are not the only issues facing law enforcement. One such area of study will involve the increase in the number of elderly drivers. It will be imperative to study, understand, and plan to meet the future challenges related to the competency of elder citizens as this competency relates to their driving abilities.

Physical infirmities are dangerous behind the wheel, and the huge baby boomer generation will begin to exhibit far more of them as it ages. As driving ability declines, the number of traffic accidents in the United States is likely to rise dramatically. In order to ensure that its roads are safe, American society will have to compromise with some of its age-discrimination laws, even at the risk of incurring the wrath of politically powerful elderly voters. Licensing bodies will establish strict standards for vision, medical, and road tests for senior citizens renewing their licenses. In some cases, the state will need to revoke and suspend licenses, and subject the elderly driver to certain restrictions, such as limiting driving to daylight hours. One solution is to teach them to compensate for physical liabilities that come with age. The American Association of Retired Persons already offers a course that does this.²⁷

Conclusion

The facts seem abundantly clear that law enforcement can no longer ignore the needs of an entire segment of this country's population. The elderly citizens of this country need the assistance of local law enforcement in partnership with local, state, and community organizations to assist them to live safer, more fulfilling lives. They need immediate assistance in a number of important areas, including:

- improved methods of reporting elder abuse;
- more attention from law enforcement in the areas of fraud, scams and fiduciary abuse;
- law enforcement assistance to reduce the high vulnerability of an elderly population.

In addition to an increase in all elder-specific crimes, law enforcement will find itself facing many new elder-related challenges in the future, including:

- an increase in caregivers to the elderly;
- increased financial instability of an older population;
- an increase in mandatory laws to protect the elderly.

The future challenge for all law enforcement agencies will focus on finding creative ways to meet the growing needs of the elderly, which will occur whether or not law enforcement prepares for it. The challenge for law enforcement is to meet these needs through collaboration between local law enforcement, state law enforcement, elderly advocate organizations, and state and local community programs. Americans across the nation will feel an enormous change over the next twenty years: the doubling of our older population,

which will occur whether the public and private resources are abundant or severely stressed. Law enforcement, in collaboration with community resources, has a choice in deciding whether or not, and how, to plan for these inevitable changes. Law enforcement can choose to use the principles of community policing and establish community-based law enforcement strategies to meet the future challenges with a prepared plan that will benefit the elderly population and all the citizens of this country.

¹ McClatchy News Service, "Rare Murder Charge: Mother Neglected to Death," San Jose Mercury News, 2 Oct. 1995, 3B.

² Betty Barnacle, "S.J. Son Charged with Abuse; Injured Dad Found in Yard," San Jose Mercury News, 23 June 1994, 3B.

³ California Commission on Aging, A Review of Elder Abuse in California (California: September, 1994), 13.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁵ Mel E. Wieth, "Elder Abuse a National Tragedy," FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, Feb. 1994, 24.

⁶ Congress, Senate, Special Committee on Aging, Frauds Against the Elderly, 4 Aug. 1991

⁷ "Older Consumer Behavior," American Association of Retired Persons, Dec. 1993, 1.

⁸ McRae E. Mathis, "Policing the Guardians," FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, Feb. 1994, 2.

⁹ National Center on Elder Abuse, National Conference, Silent Suffering: Elder Abuse in America, Jul. 1994, 1-3.

¹⁰ Ken Dychtwald and Joe Fowler, Age Wave: The Challenge and Opportunities of an Aging America, (Los Angeles: Jeremy P. Tarchar, IC, 1989), 8.

¹¹ City of San Jose, Aging Services Master Plan, Planning for the 'Age Wave.' (San Jose: 1994), EX-1.

¹² "Lifeline... Recognizing and Reporting Elder Abuse," California Attorney General's Office (1992).

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 - 24 California Commission on Aging, 10-15.
 - 25 City of San Jose Aging Services Master Plan EX-7-8.
 - 26 California Commission on Aging 14-15.
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