

# Harmful Resident-to-Resident Incidents

Eilon Caspi PhD

September 20, 2022

Elder Justice Past, Present, & Future Conference  
Long Term Care Community Coalition



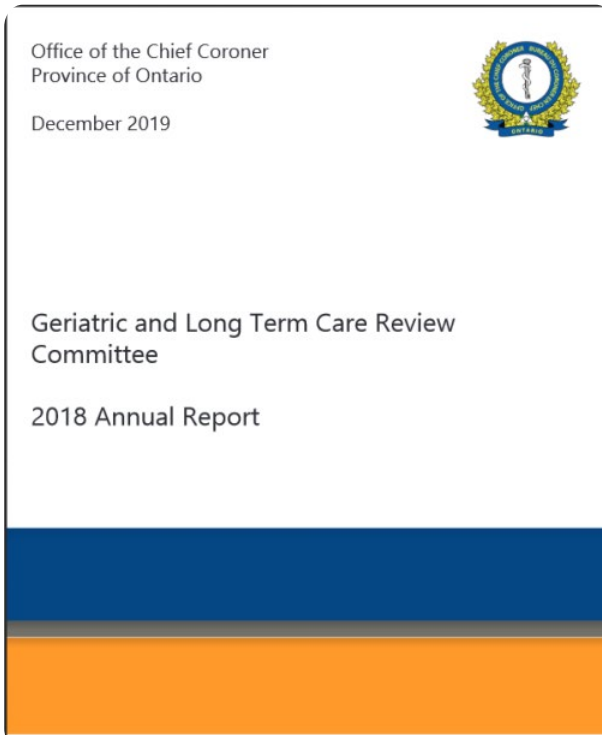
Illustrator: Yuval Caspi

# Acknowledgements

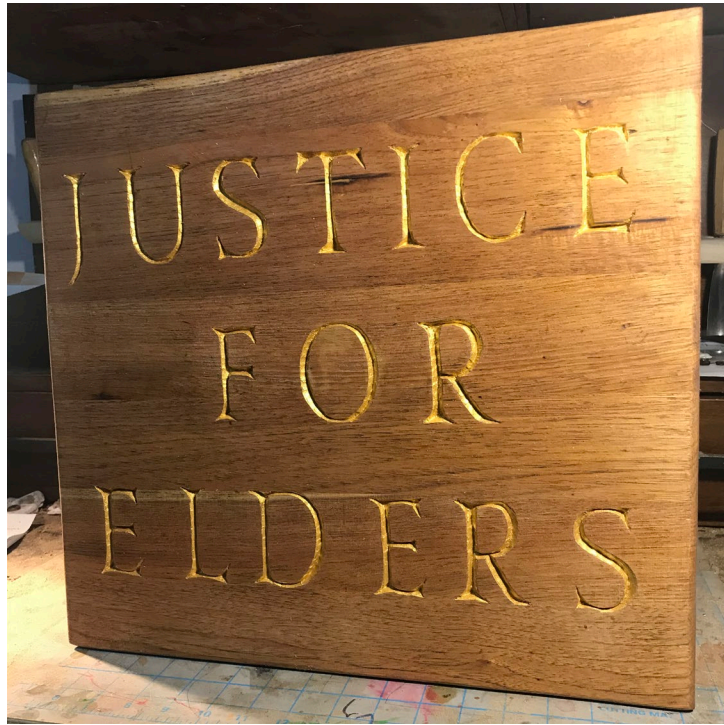
Theresa Piccolo

Ontario's

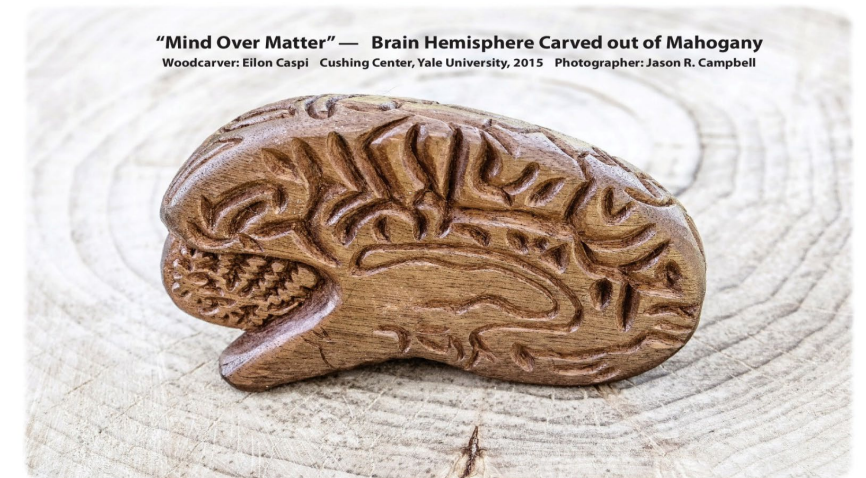
Geriatric Long Term Care Review Committee  
(GLTCRC)



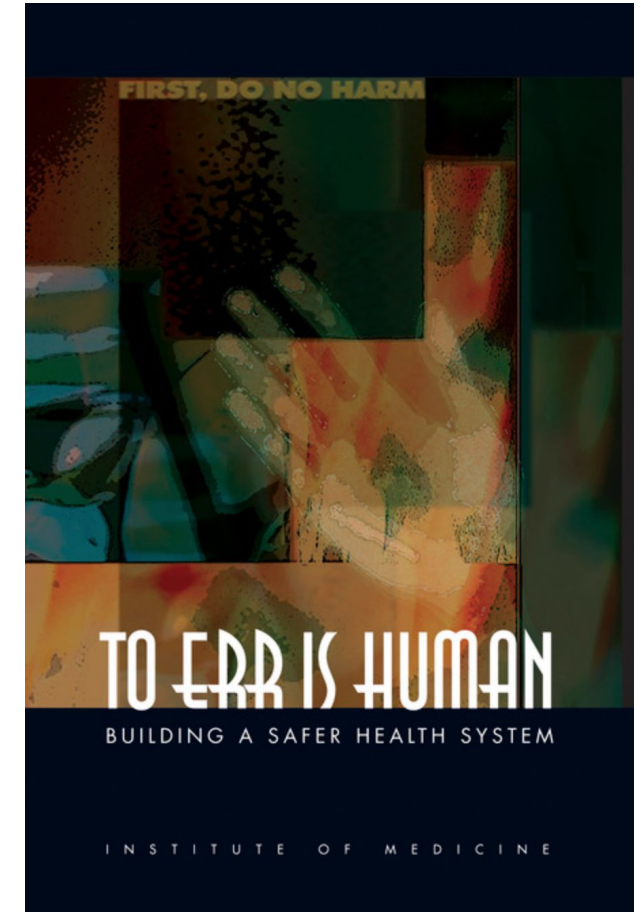




Gerontologist & woodcarver...







Institute of Medicine (2000):  
<https://tinyurl.com/3nx3fdrt>

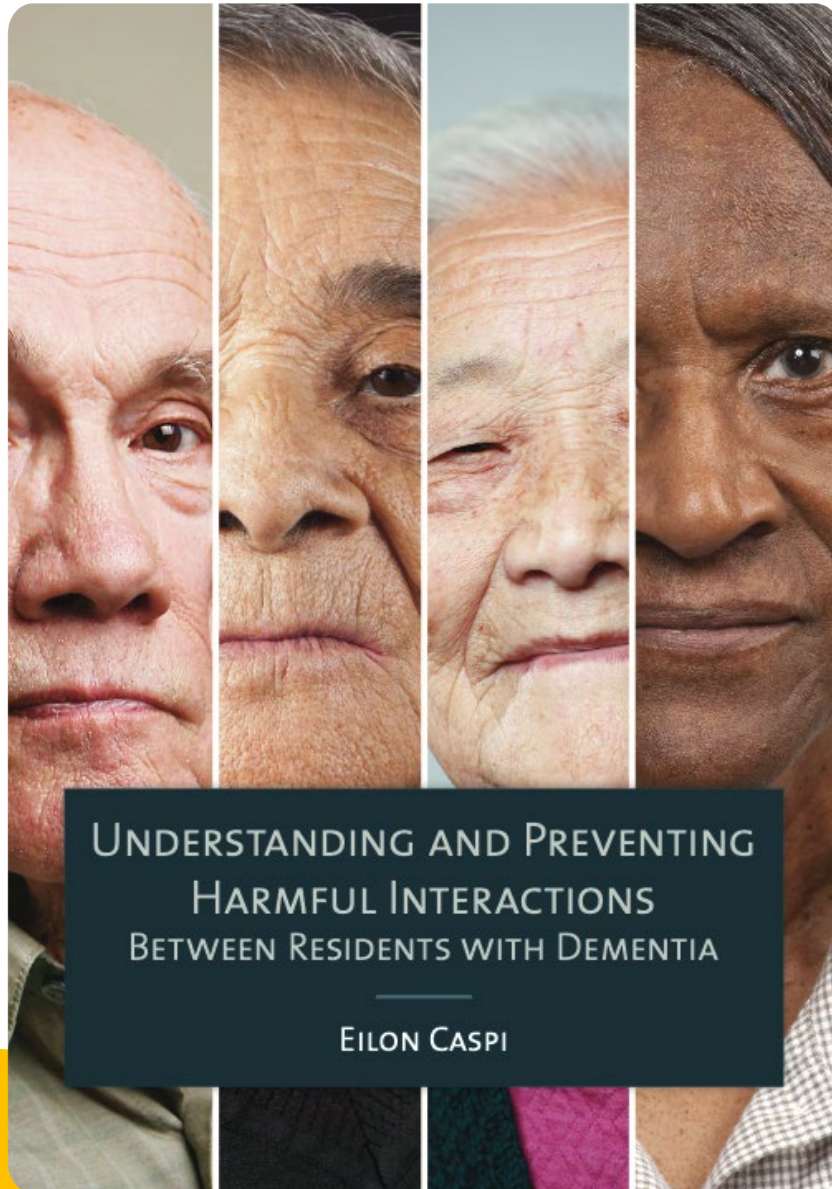


# עבודת סיכום בקורס ניהול בתי אבות



סדנא למניעת  
תופעת תוקפנות  
בין דיירי בית אבות

מגיש: אילון כספי  
תאריך: 15.12.2000  
לידי: גב' אירית פישר  
קורס: ניהול בתי אבות  
אוניברסיטת בר-אילן



# New Book



Caspi, E. (2022). Understanding and preventing harmful interactions between residents with dementia

<https://tinyurl.com/5yeeevht>

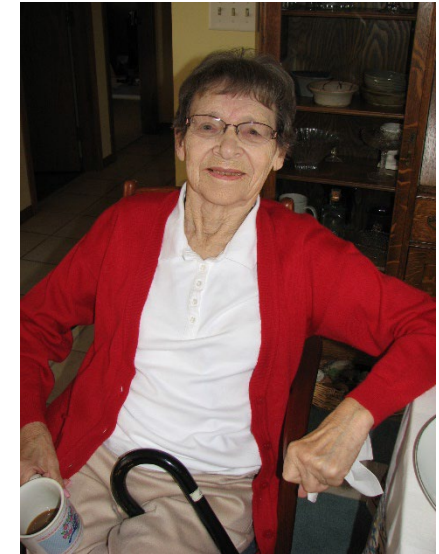




# Documentary Film

## *Fighting for Dignity*

### Injurious and Deadly Resident-to-Resident Incidents in LTC Homes



Co-directors: Eilon Caspi & Judy Berry:

<https://tinyurl.com/2s3d47t8>

Eligible for 2 CEU hours

Film review in *The Gerontologist*: <https://tinyurl.com/2p8cdjw4>

## **Fighting for Dignity**

If I had only  
one slide...

“The quality or state of  
being worthy, honored or esteemed”

– Webster Dictionary





If I had two...

Lachs et al. (2016):

<https://tinyurl.com/3et7px74>

Higher nurse aide  
“caseload”

=

Higher R-REM

“There is **almost total consensus** that **the most critical factor in improving conditions** of care and work in LTC is **enough staff.**”

– Ontario Health Coalition 2019 report

“Pretty much in all cases It comes down to the fact that there’s just **not enough staff** on the ground **or** the staff that are there **aren’t qualified enough** to provide the care needed.”

Jessica Wilson, Consumer New Zealand, 10.12.19

# Behavioral Expressions labeled as “Aggressive” in people with dementia are mostly...

- Expressions of unmet human needs
- Have meaning, purpose & function *to the person...*
- Attempts at **communication** that need be explored with validation –  
Judy Berry, president, Dementia Specialist Consulting
- Attempts at **gaining control** over unwanted, frustrating, frightening or threatening situations
- Attempts at **preserving identity & dignity**



=> **BAROMETERS** of resident's tolerance to stressful stimuli...



# A word about words...

Resident-to-resident “**Aggression**” / “**Abuse**” / “**Violence**” / “**Mistreatment**”

Caspi, E. (1.21.22). Conflicts between nursing home residents are often chalked up to dementia – **the real problem is inadequate care & neglect**. *The Conversation*: <https://tinyurl.com/2p8cvhst>

“**A story of Neglect**”: Understanding and preventing resident-to-resident incidents. **Podcast**. Long Term Care Community Coalition: <https://nursinghome411.org/podcast/story-of-neglect/>

Grigorovich et al. (2019). The “**violent resident**”: A **critical exploration** of the ethics of resident-to-resident aggression. *Journal of Bioethical Inquiry*, 16, 173-183.  
<https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11673-019-09898-1>

Herron et al. (2021). Stories of violence and dementia in **mainstream news** media: Applying a citizenship perspective. *Dementia*, 20(6), 2077-2090.  
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1471301220981232>

~~“Exhibitor”~~

VS.

~~“Target”~~

~~“Perpetrator”~~

VS.

“Victim”

“Exhibitor” – Resident A: 81 y/o newly admitted man with dementia

“Target” – Resident B: 79 y/o resident in advanced Alzheimer’s disease

11:30am by elevator – Punched and head-butted resident B in the face

Fell on his face → Subdural hematoma → Died 2 weeks later

~~~

Resident A reported:

Resident B made disparaging **racial remarks** to a female staff

Resident B **“grabbed and pulled”** Resident A

Resident A head-butted Resident B In self-defense

Source: GLTCRC 2020 redacted narrative





# It's Often a Process

## Study

Focus groups with staff (n=36) in 2 dementia-specific LTC homes in Toronto

“Sequential pathways” / “**Highly interactive process**” / “Escalation points”

**Reciprocity** of sequenced interactions reframed RRA as a **bi-directional process**.

“Furthers RRA conceptualization as a process rather than an aggressive event.”

Burns et al. (2021): <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/32909492/>



# Definition

“Negative, aggressive, and intrusive verbal, physical, sexual, and material interactions between LTC residents that in a community setting would likely be unwelcome and potentially cause physical or psychological distress in the recipient.”

– MacDonald et al. (2015)



Ageism &  
Dementism  
but also...

It is a  
**gender**  
issue



# Over a Century-long Problem

"...when walking about **groped the faces** of other patients and was often **struck** by them **in return**."

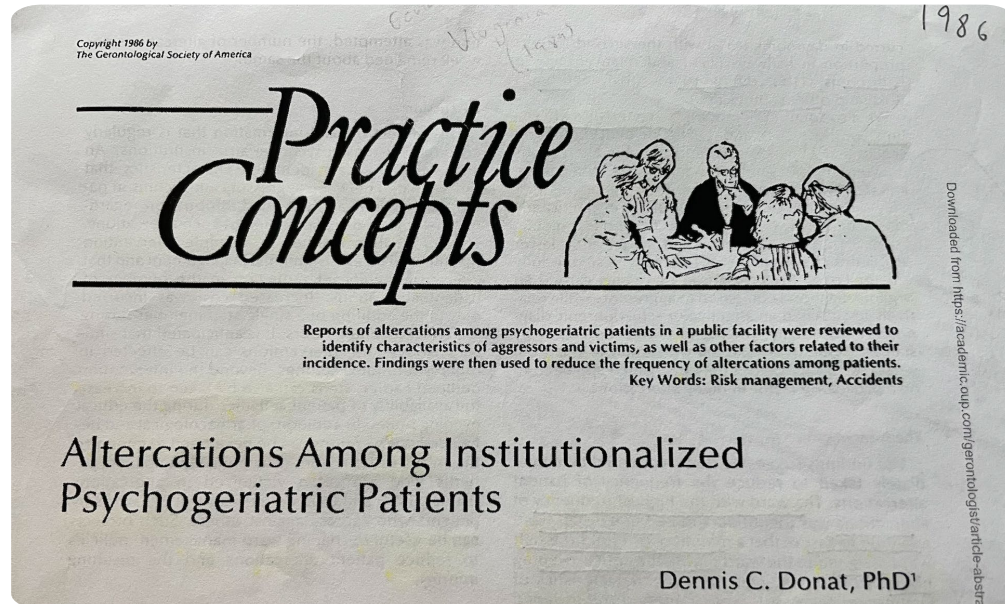


**Auguste D. Year: 1901**

Source: Maurer and Maurer (1986). Alzheimer: The life of a physician and the career of a disease. New York: Columbia University Press.



# Nothing New



Donat (1986): <https://tinyurl.com/2p8avfmc>



## Abuse of Residents Is a Major Problem in U.S. Nursing Homes

Prepared for Rep. Henry A. Waxman

Minority Staff  
Special Investigations Division  
Committee on Government Reform  
U.S. House of Representatives

July 30, 2001

Government report (2001):  
<https://tinyurl.com/2arbk6hz>



## Dangerous Normalization

“Up to now, the issue has been one of **indifference**, that these are old people and they’re going to die anyways. Somehow in a collective setting like a nursing home, **the abnormal becomes normalized.**”

– Professor Gloria Gutman, SFU, Canada





## Dangerous Normalization

"We tend not to reflect on these deaths in the same way we do a child who dies in a playground, but we really want to get people to think about the fact that **your life is worth something no matter how old you are.**" "And if you die a week before you had to, that week could be a really **precious week lost.** Time's more precious the older you get, because you've got less of it."

– Professor Joseph Ibrahim, Monash U, Australia



# Dangerous Normalization

Including by  
some residents:

Lapuk (2007):  
<https://tinyurl.com/bddya3ha>

Canadian frontline care workers report SIX times more physical “violence” than their Scandinavian counterparts

Contributing factors: **Poor staffing levels** & less staff training

Banerjee et al. (2012): <https://tinyurl.com/5h3a2r8t>

Study (University of B.C.):

“Family members’ experiences of RRA occurred in the context where violence perpetrated by residents with dementia was **largely normalized** because it was considered an **inevitable aspect** of the **disease process**.”

**Normalization of RRA = Permission for minimal intervention**

Baumbusch et al. (2018): <https://tinyurl.com/nhafrjxx>



# Dangerous Normalization

**"Violence in LTC homes continues to be normalized."**

**"Due to limited system resources to provide a safe and effective environment for those individuals, health care providers have become accustomed to violence in LTC homes and care providers simply accept it as normal."**

**"Managers** often do not appreciate the extent of the problems and **manage the cases with a lower level of concern than required**. This leads to **disastrous outcomes** before a change in Care Plan is made – essentially a **reactionary environment** rather than a proactive one."

Source: GLTCRC 2019 annual report

# Warning signs (22 incidents)

82 y/o woman with dementia

- Slapped, kicked, & struck residents & staff **over 6 months**
- "High risk incidents **occurred frequently**"
- "**Clearly a danger** to the LTCH residents"
- Ran and pushed an 84 y/o man to the ground as he was coming out of the bathroom
- Hip fracture → Two days later found without vital signs → Died

Source: GLTCRC 2019 Annual Report (redacted narrative)

# “A Sense of Learned Helplessness”

— GLTCRC (2020)

Resident A: 72 y/o man in severe stage of Alzheimer's disease

Resident B: 77 y/o man with vascular dementia & severe cognitive impairment

Resident B repeatedly entered other residents' bedrooms over 3 months

Resident A pushed him b/c “he came into his bedroom and took his cookies”

Multiple rib fractures & subdural hematoma → Died 2 weeks later

“The **GLTCRC** was **struck by the normalization** of violent behaviours and the level of resident-on-resident, and resident-on-staff violence in the Responsive Behavior Unit”



# Invisible Neglect

“Victims of RRA in the past 12 months were **4 times more likely** to be **neglected** than those w/o such mistreatment” (reported by families)

Zhang (2011): <https://tinyurl.com/y54har96>

“There can be little doubt that the **inadequacy of care levels is a central contributing factor.** This is a policy choice. Not a necessity.”

– Ontario Health Coalition, 2019





# “Care” Staff Encouraging Fights

Two women with dementia in assisted living “memory care” home in NC

Fought each other in a bedroom, “hitting each other as staffers looked on without trying to physically stop the altercation.”

Three care home employees “watched, **encouraged**, and videotaped the 73 y/o woman **fighting** with a 70 y/o woman.”

When one of the women began choking the other, a staffer **told the woman to “punch her in the face”** while another staffer told her co-worker to film the fight and send her the video.


Newspaper article (March 5, 2022): <https://tinyurl.com/5cy9csv5>

# COVID-19 Immunity / A License to Neglect?

- 80 y/o Garland Garrett with dementia in assisted living (AL) secure “memory care” unit in North Carolina
- Another male resident with dementia with **27 incidents** against residents, staff, and objects
- 6am on Sunday – Garland was attacked in his bedroom by the resident
- Two neck fractures (inoperable) → “Excruciating pain and suffering” → Died six days later
- **Inspection cited** the AL with highest level of violation for **failing to supervise care**
- The AL claimed exempt from legal liability under NC COVID-19 pandemic immunity law...

Washington Post (8.20.21): <https://tinyurl.com/mr3s6mt3>

The wrongful death lawsuit was settled out of court (5.10.2022): <https://tinyurl.com/w7nfpm28>



De facto,  
Extensive  
immunity  
prior to  
pandemic

A perfect storm:

25 reasons why, de facto, legal immunity has already been granted to nursing homes and assisted living residences across Minnesota

ChangingAging (1.12.21):

<https://changingaging.org/covid-resources/a-perfect-storm/>



# \$1.9 Million Settlement in Assisted Living in California

88 y/o Olivia Deloney with dementia in a “memory care” unit

A 67 y/o man with early-onset Alzheimer’s and history of “aggressive” behaviors followed her and **knocked her to the ground** as she tried to get away from him → She broke her hip

Returned, left unattended, broke same hip, declined, died 2 months later

Attorney’s (10.16.17) description of Negligence:

<https://tinyurl.com/y9s8qf5x>

“We can **try to make such conduct too expensive for corporate owners** to risk it in another instance with other elders.”

NY Times (12.13.18): <https://tinyurl.com/yc5s7fmj>





# \$1.2 Million Settlement

“Two residents with dementia engaged in an altercation when the male resident **tried to help** a female resident open the door to her apartment”

“The female resident refused his assistance and he **pushed** her down.”

“Her fall resulted in significant injuries”

“She died two weeks later.”

“The family sued and won”



# Consequences of RRI

Resident on receiving end

The other resident

Residents witnessing

Staff

Family members

Visitors

LTC home

Society

+ Substantial cost implications...

# Quotes

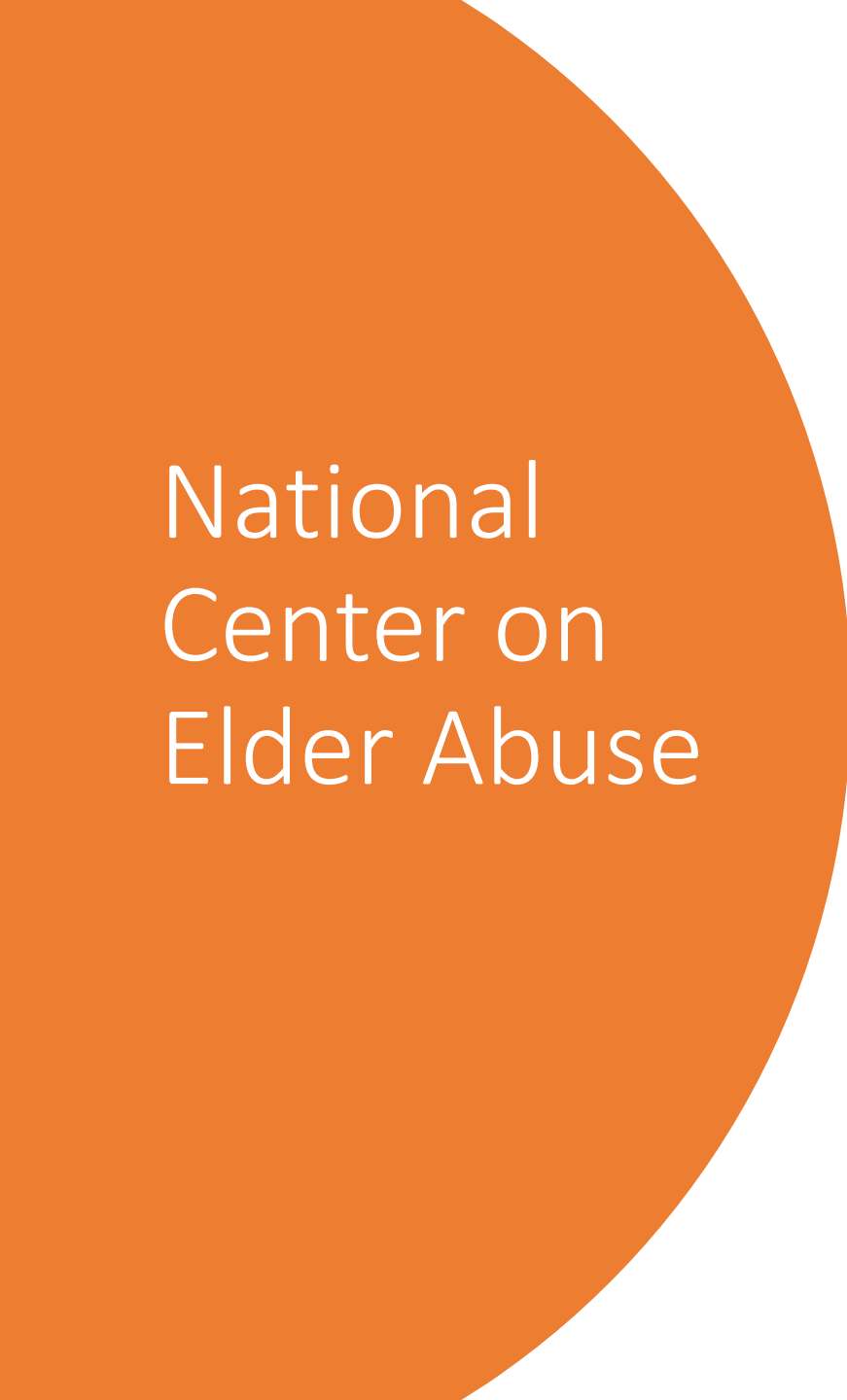
*“This is a matter of serious concern. It happens very often and will be fatal.” – Resident*

*“Some of them really get afraid of him, and when I say get afraid...I mean get afraid...When they see him coming, they don’t want to sit in the dining room...” – CNA*

*“I am afraid that he will hurt someone when we don’t see it...especially someone frail whom he can take down with one blow.” – CNA*



Prevalence / Incidence

A large orange circle graphic on the left side of the slide.

# National Center on Elder Abuse

“More common than physical abuse by staff”





# High Prevalence & Incidence

## U.S. Nursing Homes

Castle (2012): 249 nursing homes (NHs) in 10 states;

Mail questionnaire: n = 4,451 nurse aides; **past 3 months**

**The number of resident-to-resident “abuse” cases is high**

Lachs et al. (2016): n= 2011 residents; 10 NHs in NY;

Resident & staff interviews, chart reviews, direct observation

**1-month prevalence of residents “involved” in R-REM = 20%** (Verbal = 16%; Physical = 6%; Sexual = 1%; Other = 11%)

Pillemer et al. (2022):

**25%** of residents were **involved** in R-REM **during a 1-year period**

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# Study in MA Nursing Homes

294 residents physically injured in a single year

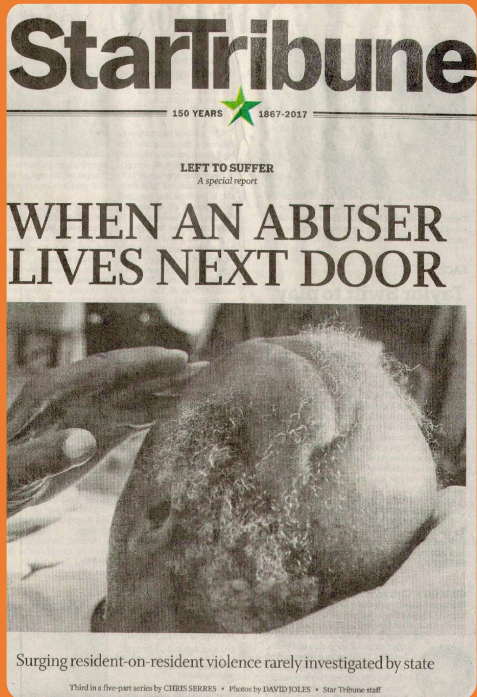
Shinoda-Tagawa et al. (2004):  
<https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/14762038/>



# #1 Reason police called to nursing homes in CT

Lachs et al. (2007). Resident-to-resident elder mistreatment and police contact in nursing homes: Findings from a population-based cohort. *JAGS*, 55(6), 840-845. <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/17537083/>

# Prevalent in Minnesota



11.14.17

**4,031 complaints** re RRI (that did not result in serious harm) were **not investigated** on-site by MDH during **FY 2016**:

**Second highest only after Falls with 4,128 complaints!**

“Thousands of complaints are **not investigated** so maltreatment continues, and **less severe issues may escalate to more serious harm**”

– MDH (2017)

# 10,000 incidents in a single year in Canada

Toronto Star (2013): <https://tinyurl.com/ynfdrnfa>



Frank Piccolo

<https://tinyurl.com/2u7a3km8>

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# Review of Research Literature & Canadian Dataset

**“One-third of reported abuse cases”**

McDonald et al. (2015):

<https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/25752919/>





# SITUATION CRITICAL

Ontario Health Coalition, 2019

**“Appalling rates of R-R homicides”**

**“27 homicides** committed against a resident by another resident in Ontario LTC homes **in the last five years.”**

**“Up to four times the amount of homicide** in our LTC facilities **than** we have in **any of Canada’s largest cities.”**

CTV W5. 1.22.19. <https://tinyurl.com/yckvjweh>

# Assisted Living

National study – Direct care workers and administrators

**RRA “more common than staff abuse.”**

**“Findings show RRA may be prevalent in AL.”**

Castle (2013). An examination of resident abuse in ALFs:

<https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/241611.pdf>

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# Pay Attention to Newly Admitted Residents

## Study on Admissions to 3 LTC homes in Ontario

Assessment of 339 people at admission and 3 month after:

**23% involved in an incident** of “aggressive behaviour” to another resident

Brazil et al. (2013):


<https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/23777187/>

**Aggressive Behavior Risk Assessment Tool (ABRAT-L)** for newly admitted residents:

<https://tinyurl.com/268pk52y>

<https://tinyurl.com/4wvbhjan>

– Kim et al. (2017, 2019); Berry et al. (2017)

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# Underreporting

**“Majority** of R-REM incidents are **not reported** in most nursing homes”  
– Jeanne Teresi

Low or poor quality of documentation and reporting

Under investigated – Internally and externally...

# Not Witnessed

- “Nearly **40%** of ‘resident-to-resident physical aggressive’ incidents **not witnessed** by staff” – Bharucha et al. (2008)
- **Majority of entries into other residents’ bedrooms** were **not witnessed** by direct care staff – MacAndrew (2016)



# Media Coverage

“Around **half** of all nursing home homicides **make headlines.**”

– CTV W5

Counting Canada's care home homicides. 9.27.13:  
<https://tinyurl.com/8vvtvrit>





# Pushing Death – Not Made Public – Nova Scotia

"It's **shocking** that **the information never left the facility** and got to the higher ups where it could have been more closely looked at."

"Expected NS Health Dpt would **try to learn from the tragedy.**"

"They are our most vulnerable population and we should do everything in our power to protect those people."

Newspaper article: <https://tinyurl.com/2p94c3pj>



Debbie Stultz-Giffin  
Daughter of 87 y/o Dorothy Stultz

# Connecticut

**“Immediate Jeopardy” citation in a nursing home in Farmington:**

“Facility failed to ensure that the resident was free from abuse when another resident **wasn’t adequately supervised & threatened to harm the resident with a knife.**”

While **holding a knife**, called his roommate, and **gestured** that he/she was **going to slit** his/her **neck** and drink his blood.

Source: CMS 2567 Form (March 23, 2018)

New Haven Register (September 10, 2018): <https://tinyurl.com/ssjk9br>

# Other RRI in Nursing Homes in CT

- “Actual harm” citation for incident in Waterford, CT  
“**punched in the face**” (Investigation completed: 10.26.18)
- Incident in another nursing home in Waterford, CT  
“...**belittle, isolate, degrade, and scares...**” (Completed: 2.7.19)
- “**Scratched and struck**” (Mystic, CT; Completed: 10.12.18)
- “**Beat roommate with a belt**” (West Haven, CT; Completed: 4.17.19)
- “**Grabbed her breast** in the lounge area” (Canaan, CT: 4.15.19)

# Fatal RRI in Wilton, CT

Deceased: 82 years old Thomas Mullen

“...bludgeoned with the footboard of a bed...” by his roommate

“Your heart drops when you hear something like that could happen. **It’s our job to make sure if there is anything to prevent this from happening in the future, that we do it.**” – Chris Murphy, co-chair, Legislature’s Public Health Committee

Christophersen, J. (2004). Killing in nursing home reflects nationwide problem. Associated Press, October 9, 2004: <https://tinyurl.com/u9gohew>

# Roommates

## **EMOTIONAL BONDEDNESS AND SUBJECTIVE WELL-BEING**



Between Nursing Home Roommates

Photo by © Arthur Tilley/FGC International LLC.

12-item Emotional Bondedness Scale. Bitzan (1998): <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/9814273/>

# Reflection Question

“Imagine that tonight you are at home having dinner with your family. There is a knock on the door, and two men come into your house or apartment, carrying a mattress and bedspring. The men set the bed up in your bedroom across from your bed, hang a thin curtain between the two beds, and then escort **a stranger** into the home who **will share your bedroom for the rest of your life**.

How many of you are ready and willing to take on this type of living arrangement?”

– Dr. Allen Power

# New York

Two men shared a bedroom in a nursing home in Queens

One wanted the **curtain divider** open while the other wanted it drawn for more privacy

Around **1:20am...**

The 66 y/o man took a metal footrest of a wheelchair and severely beat his 71 y/o roommate in his head

He died within hours

“That something like this could happen is just mind-boggling to everybody” – Nursing home’s spokesman

NY Times (10.30.13): <https://tinyurl.com/ywvwujax>

NY Times (7.9.14) article on sentencing of 17 years in prison: <https://tinyurl.com/d4tk38xi>



# Houston, Texas

Homicide detectives were called to the nursing home **at midnight...**

Resident with **Schizophrenia** beat his 2 roommates with a wheelchair armrest

Both died

The daughter of one of the victims stated that she and her father made repeated requests to move him to another bedroom

Newspaper article (4.23.14): <https://tinyurl.com/357hmnc3>

# Casa Verde Nursing Home, Toronto (2005)

Inquest - 85 recommendations

74 y/o Piara Singh Sandhu – “Cognitively impaired”

East-Indian origin – **“Spoke little English”**

Emergency admission on a Saturday at 12pm → at 7:30pm two of his roommates were dead

Recommendation #72: “Given Ontario’s ever increasing multicultural population, **translation services should also be made available to all LTC facilities**”

“Ensure that language issues do not increase alienation or trigger aggressive behaviors...”

Delay admission until treatment plan addresses needs of individuals who do speak the same language

<https://tinyurl.com/zh68jlu> / <https://tinyurl.com/nhe2396h>

# Residents Not Speaking English

Resident A: 70 y/o man with dementia (MoCA 6/30) and “No history of physical aggression”

Resident B: 84 y/o man with Alzheimer’s disease (MMSE 6/30)

6:45am in TV lounge – Resident B started to move a sofa → Resident A told him to stop

Resident B **only spoke and understood Cantonese** → Didn’t respond → Was pushed

Fell backwards → Hit head on floor → Skull fracture & subdural hematoma → Died same day

Source: GLTCRC 2020 redacted narrative (incident: September 3, 2019)

**InterpreCare System™ Intervention:** <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/8990595/>

# Massachusetts

58 y/o with brain damage and dementia beat his 86 y/o roommate over the head with a heavy ceramic flower pot

Suffered “severe head trauma” → Died next day

There were **many warning signs** in the months leading to the incident...

There was another fatal RRI at the same company 2 years earlier...

Boston Globe (10.14.17): <https://tinyurl.com/2p8chyy7>

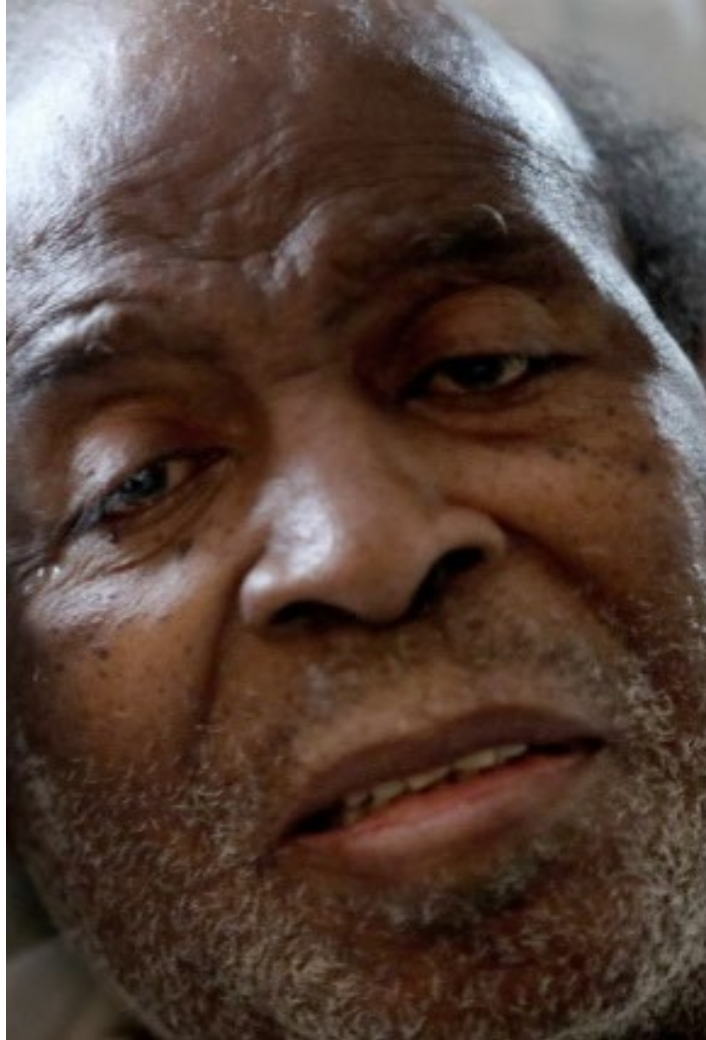
# New Hampshire

90 y/o woman required high-flow oxygen concentrator for her survival

Roommate with “severe dementia” **turned off oxygen** because it was “too loud”

She died as a result

Newspaper article (7.20.21): <https://tinyurl.com/2bkdku6p>



77 y/o James Parker

# Minnesota

**Attacked by roommate → Severe brain injury**

“Based on a preponderance of evidence, the allegation of neglect is not substantiated.” – MDH

“Two residents had been roommates for over one month with no history of altercations... Staff could not have anticipated the unexpected and sudden altercation.”

**But there *were* warning signs:**

“I told them that if I have to spend one more night with this man, then I would kill myself. They still ignored me.”

Daughter: “How many times we were supposed to warn them?”

Sued for neglect and won

# Australia

80 y/o and 78 y/o roommates with dementia on a secure / locked dementia care home

December 26: 80 y/o walks around with a belt stating he wants to put it around someone's neck

January 18: Dragged roommate across the bedroom and out the door, after telling him to get out of his room

January 20: "He was in my stuff so I dragged him out. I should kick him in the head until he is dead."

## **January 28: Saturday afternoon**

The 80 y/o resident with dementia shoved his 78 y/o roommate with dementia → Fell → Died on February 10

"Warning bells should have been ringing after the assault, 10 days before" the incident – Professor Ibrahim

Newspaper article (10.27.19): <https://tinyurl.com/mvm8xjcv>



# Israel



90 y/o Karina Beker

Early morning

Karina disrupts her roommate **saying** there's no staff in the hallway and that the **staff are on strike**

18:30

Insists again about the strike while roommate tries to rest in bed

Argument turned physical → Roommate pushed Karina → She died

Murder of an older woman in Haifa: What happened in room 105 of the nursing home? <https://www.maariv.co.il/news/israel/Article-470387>

A photograph of a bedroom interior. In the foreground, a bed with white linens and a yellow pillow is visible. To the right, a nightstand holds a silver alarm clock and a white lamp with a white shade. The text "Unwanted Entries into Bedrooms" is overlaid in white, with an orange bar at the bottom.

# Unwanted Entries into Bedrooms

“You wouldn’t want to live in a place where you’re **afraid someone is going to come in your room** and hit or hurt you. You and I wouldn’t want that. Why should anybody in a nursing home?”

– Professor Lynn McDonald

# New York

Resident A enters bedroom of resident B → An argument

Resident A “repeatedly smashes Resident B’s head on the concrete floor” → Died

“This is a shock to everybody. I couldn’t leave work because everyone was crying: What went wrong? Why, why here?”

‘What went wrong?’ Elderly man charged with murdering fellow Bronx nursing home resident.  
New York Daily News, 5.22.21: <https://tinyurl.com/yff6vev9>

# “He just fell”

Dwayne lived with Alzheimer’s in a nursing home in South Carolina

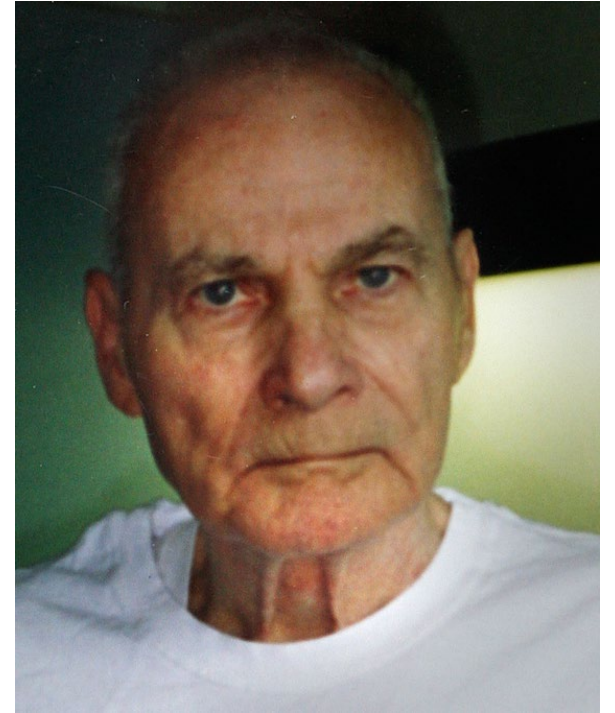
After **9:00pm**, walked into a **resident’s bedroom** & climbed into his bed

A resident with dementia whose bed was taken walked in...

He beat Dwayne repeatedly with his cane

Dwayne was found **severely injured**, bleeding, and unconscious in a fetal position on the floor with the man still beating him

He **died** a week later / **Understaffing** around the time of incident



76 y/o Dwayne E. Walls

Death certificate: “Pneumonia”

# Toronto

- A former beloved science teacher
- Developed Parkinson's and dementia
- After **8pm**, a resident with dementia **entered his bedroom**
- He hit Frank repeatedly over the head with an activity board
- His physical condition declined → Died 3 months later
- Wife: "My husband couldn't defend himself or yell for help."



Frank Piccolo

# “Memory Care” Unit in Florida

- Had history of entering residents’ bedrooms and getting into beds
- Around **1am**, **entered a resident’s bedroom** & got into his bed
- Got “mad” because she wouldn’t leave...
- Struck her in the head with an open hand...
- “Put her in a **choke hold**” and “put as much pressure as he could”
- Staff found her on his bed with face injuries and no pulse
- Preliminary cause of death: **Strangulation**



77 y/o Nancy Jean Barnard

Newspaper article (May 12, 2022): <https://tinyurl.com/233y49xy>

# 86 y/o man with Alzheimer's in Ontario

- **Evening:** PSW hears screams coming from **inside** resident A's **bedroom**
- Found resident B **punching** resident A
- Resident A sustained “facial injuries and was covered with blood”
- **Subdural hematoma → Died 2.5 months later**

Source: GLTCRC 2018 redacted narrative



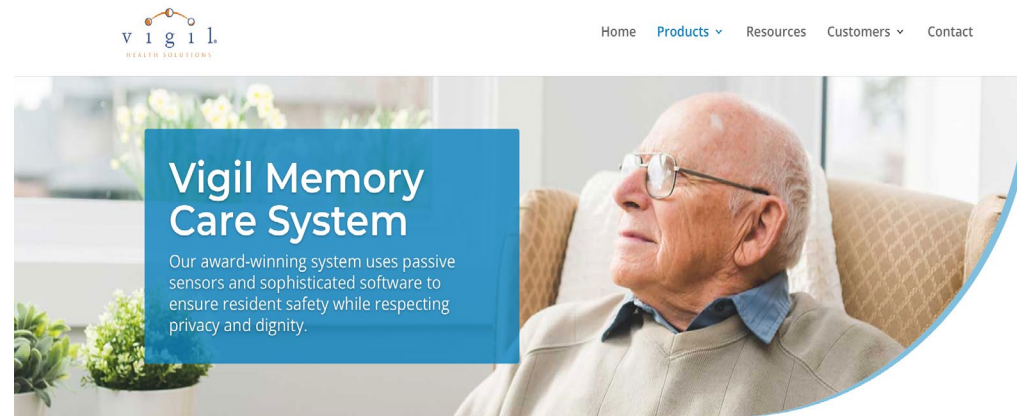
# 90 y/o woman with advanced dementia

- Around **6am**, she walked **into the bedroom** of another resident
- Male resident with **schizophrenia**, VaD, & TBI with “territoriality and impulsiveness”
- February 26 incident: Resulted in a **fall** and bleeding laceration on her scalp
- February 27: Resident said: “This woman was standing in his doorway and **bit his hand.**”

As a result, she “**fell** and sustained intracerebral injuries that led to her demise” (six days later)

**GLTCRC 2018** (redacted narrative): “**Perhaps** in the future, **technology** will be able to **assist.**”

# Evaluate and Fund Assistive Technologies



Helping provide person-centered care...

The Vigil Memory Care System uses strategically placed sensors and smart software to detect resident activity while in the room. When unsafe behavior is detected, staff are alerted, directing care exactly where and when needed.

<https://vigil.com/products/vigil-memory-care-system/>

Animation video: <https://tinyurl.com/mrw47d3f>

Video tour: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b02d8Zpes9w>

# “It’s a Horror Movie”

Baycrest staff told his family he’d **“fallen”** twice

**Security camera footage** – which the family said it had to wait SIX MONTHS to watch – **told a different story...**

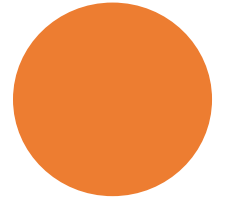
Meyer was standing guard in front of his bedroom...

Physical incident → Shoved → Dead 4 days later

Newspaper article: <https://tinyurl.com/4j4b7wu2>



84 y/o Meyer Sadoway



“If this happened to a child at Sick Kids hospital, people wouldn’t stand for it” – Daughter

85 years old James Acker  
with Alzheimer’s



Staff tried to stop it  
but was unable to  
until police arrived

Attacked **in his bed** on **Saturday** after **2am** by a resident with dementia in Dundas, Ontario

McLaughlin (Feb 3, 2017). CBC: <https://tinyurl.com/74jvncjz>

Mandatory  
Behavior  
Emergency  
Courses

Physical  
De-Escalation  
Techniques

Nonviolent Crisis Intervention Training (CPI)

<http://tinyurl.com/mrl5ltz>

Violence Prevention Course (SafeCare B.C.)

<http://safecarebc.ca/violence-prevention-course/>

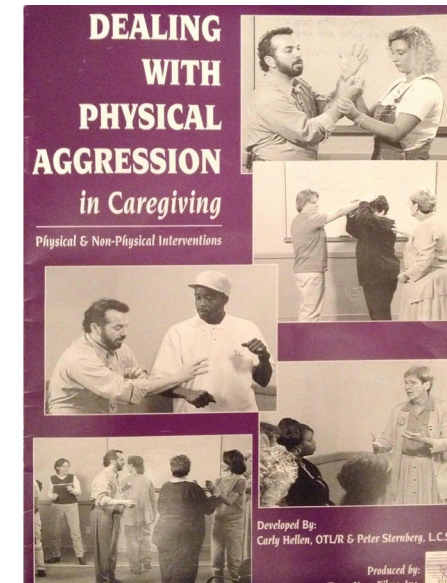
Train all employees but also police officers...



# DVD

## Techniques demonstrated:

- Release from a **grab**
- Deflecting a **strike** or a **kick**
- Dealing with your **hair pulled**
- **Planned containment**
- **Unplanned containment**



Carly Hellen & Peter Sternberg (1999). Dealing with Physical Aggression in Caregiving: Physical and Non-Physical Interventions

Terra Nova Films: <http://tinyurl.com/hveq5tr>



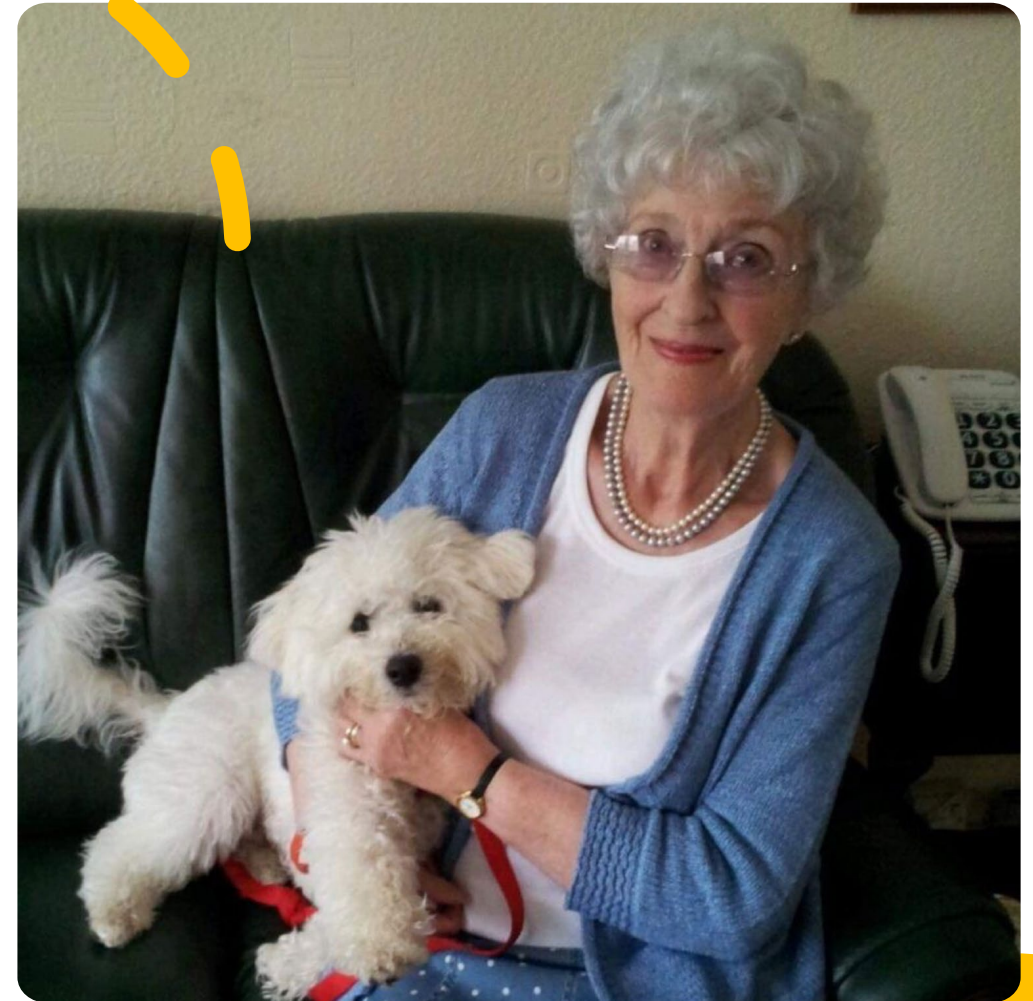
# England

**Pulled out of her bed** by a man with dementia  
in **early morning hours...**

Punched and kicked her...

Died 2 months later...

Freckleton woman, 91, fatally attacked by fellow care home resident. BBC. 12.15.21: <https://tinyurl.com/34wu2xp7>



91 y/o Jessie McKinlay  
with “mild dementia”

# New Zealand

**Evening:** Resident **enters Leonard's bedroom**

Leonard: "Get out, get out, this is my room."

When staff arrived, he was "**knocked unconscious.**"

**Died** a couple of days later

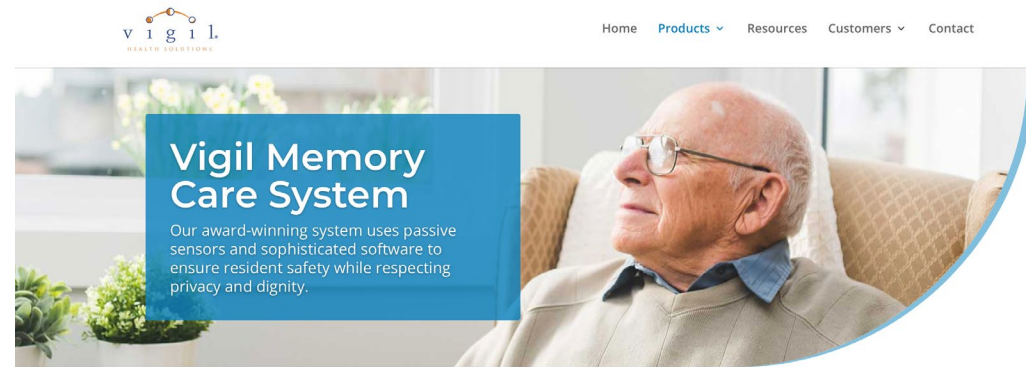
Stuff (9.28.19): <https://tinyurl.com/2p88e9hh>



99 y/o Leonard Ralph Hewgill  
with dementia



# Evaluate and Fund Assistive Technologies



## Helping provide person-centered care...

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<https://vigil.com/products/vigil-memory-care-system/>

Animation video: <https://tinyurl.com/mrw47d3f>

Video tour: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b02d8Zpes9w>

# Push-Fall Incidents



CBC News (2018)

Three “falls” → Hip fracture → Died

Surveillance video: “Shoved” by a resident with dementia

Family “shocked and traumatized” but didn’t blame resident

Investigation: **Involved in 9 episodes** with several residents  
(pushed a woman into a wall causing her to crash to the floor)  
including the deceased

Toronto Star (2.15.22): <https://tinyurl.com/2thxd5z5>



91 y/o man  
with Alzheimer’s in  
New Brunswick

NB Seniors’ Advocate:  
<https://tinyurl.com/4hxcnk6j>

# All You Need is 1 Push

Three studies showed “**push-fall**” constitute **44%, 50%, 63%** of fatal incidents

Caspi (2018): <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/29851550/>

Murphy et al. (2017): <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/29131309/>

DeBois et al. (2020): <https://tinyurl.com/2aaec6nt>

**“If my mother had not been pushed, she would still be alive.”**

Source: MDH investigation substantiated “Neglect” in Assisted Living “Memory Care Unit” (5.19.21):  
<https://www.health.state.mn.us/facilities/regulation/directory/ohfcfindings/hl20004008m.pdf>



# Push-Fall Incidents

**10 of 12** most recent fatal RRI reviewed by GLTCRC

Source: GLTCRC redacted narratives (2018, 2019, 2020)



# Unwitnessed Push-Falls

Study in 2 LTC homes in Canada using video recordings in common spaces:

**9% of falls took place during RRI** (Robinovitch et al. 2013)

Another video-based study on causes of imbalance concluded:

“Aggressive behavior between residents is **a frequent, and often undetected, cause of falls in LTC**” (Yang et al. 2015)

# Evenings – Vulnerability Time Period

Half of RRI between 5pm –8pm (Donat, 1986)

Half of RRI requiring police involvement between 4pm –10pm (Lachs et al. 2007)

# Higher risk in Dementia SCUs

“Residing on a **dementia unit** was associated with **higher** rates of **R-REM**”

Lachs et al. (2016)

“Residents in Alzheimer’s units were **almost three times as likely to be injured** than those living in other units” (Shinoda-Tagawa et al. 2004)



# Died of “natural” causes

“In most places, little is being done to ensure that suspicious senior deaths are being investigated.”

– ProPublica

"Sometimes, if I don't want to sleep at night, I think about all the cases that we miss"

– Dr. Michael Dobersen, Coroner in Colorado

“A hidden national scandal”

– Professor Catherine Hawes

**Death Review Teams** are

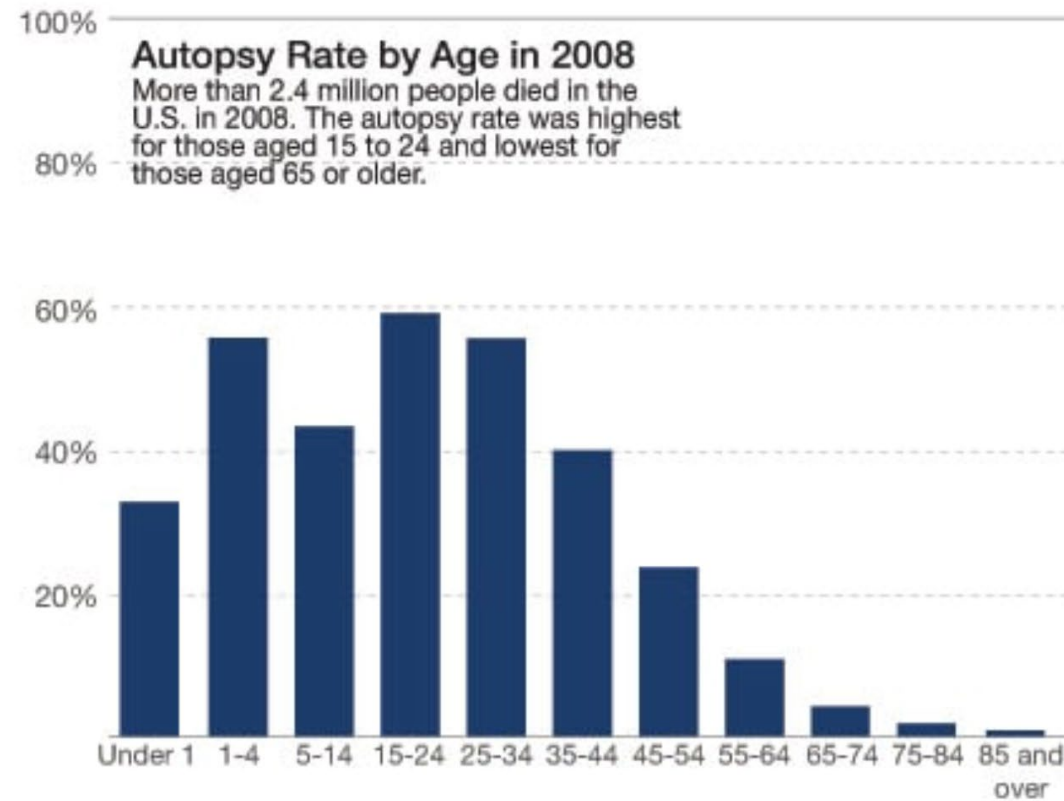
“Absolutely essential”

– Paul Greenwood

Gone without a case: Suspicious elder deaths rarely investigated (ProPublica, 2011): <https://tinyurl.com/yfwbranb>

# Agesim in Autopsies

## Ageism and Autopsies



What did a Coroner find after ordering to  
exhume six bodies?



Arkansas Coroner  
Marc Malcolm

## Families Ask

*“We want to see a solution. **We don’t want the death of our father to be in vain....I want to see something done so this doesn’t happen again.**”*

– Son of a resident with Alzheimer’s who died 4 days after being pushed by another resident with dementia in Winnipeg

Inquest (2015): <https://tinyurl.com/j2lc5fd>

# Expert's Prediction

*“Due to the approaching retirement of the baby boomers and the estimated growth of elders with dementia, **we are going to see increasing incidence of resident-to-resident violence.***

*There will be more and more pressure from family members and advocacy groups to keep the residents safe.”*

– Dr. Paul Raia, 2006



Dwayne Walls & Judy Hand

# Untracked in U.S. Nursing Homes

JOURNAL OF ELDER ABUSE & NEGLECT  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/08946566.2017.1333939>

2018

 **Routledge**  
Taylor & Francis Group



## A federal survey deficiency citation is needed for resident-to-resident aggression in U.S. nursing homes

Eilon Caspi

Dementia Behavior Consulting LLC, Minneapolis, Minnesota, USA



United States Government Accountability Office  
Report to Congressional Committees

June 2019

## NURSING HOMES

Improved Oversight  
Needed to Better  
Protect Residents  
from Abuse

June 2019

Caspi, E. (11.29.21). Resident-to-resident incidents are a hidden source of harm in nursing homes. They shouldn't be. **STAT**. First Opinion: <https://tinyurl.com/yc6rmayb>

“You have revealed a real flaw in the system.”

“In a sense, recognizing resident to resident assaults of any kind would **open the flood gates to more CMS and local interventions.**”

“**The system is only able to respond to such behaviors in SNF and AL with meds,** because that is the only way they know how to respond to the aggressive behaviors.”

– Dr. Paul Raia

# Not Tracked in MDS 3.0

FULL TEXT ARTICLE

## MDS 3.0: A Giant Step Forward, but What About Items on Resident-to-Resident Aggression?

Eilon Caspi PhD

Journal of the American Medical Directors Association, 2013-08-01, Volume 14, Issue 8, Pages 624-625, Copyright © 2013 American Medical Directors Association, Inc.





# Learn from Investigation Reports

*“What are we accomplishing if we find the same deficiencies every year?”*

*We should not be the **historians of bad things** that happen in nursing homes.*

***We need to be preventive of bad things from happening.... We need more analysis. We need to make sure that everything we do is effective and efficient.”***



MN Historical Society

– David Wright, Director, Quality & Safety Oversight Group, CMS, 2016

# 1<sup>st</sup> Study on Fatal RRI in U.S. and Canada



JOURNAL OF ELDER ABUSE & NEGLECT  
2018, VOL. 30, NO. 4, 284–308  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/08946566.2018.1474515>

 **Routledge**  
Taylor & Francis Group

 Check for updates

**The circumstances surrounding the death of 105 elders as a result of resident-to-resident incidents in dementia in long-term care homes**

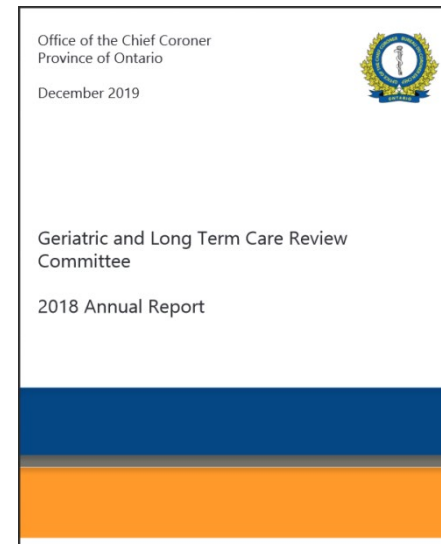
Eilon Caspi, PhD

School of Nursing, Adult and Gerontological Health and Cooperative Unit, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN, USA

Caspi, E. (2018). **Buried (Not) Forever: A Hidden Source of Injuries and Deaths in Nursing Homes.** ChangingAging:  
<https://tinyurl.com/qm3wu7m>

# Methods of Study – 105 Deaths

- **Source of data** (All public records):
  - Newspaper articles published online (over 150)
  - Death Review Reports (GTLCRC to CCO, 1990-2016)
- **Comprehensive Internet search:** Spring 2012 – Fall 2017
- **Data detection and extraction:** Structured Guide
- **Data Analysis** (Time period: Summer – Fall 2017):
  - Miles & Huberman (1994) approach
  - Qualitative review and abstraction of narratives
  - Complemented with tabulation by aggregation / counts
  - Simple descriptive statistics



# Findings

n = Number of deaths for which data were available

- Identified **105 deaths** of elders (> 60 y/o) as a result of RRI in dementia
- Time period: Deaths occurred between 1988 - 2017
- Type of LTC home (n=50): Majority in nursing homes; 26% assisted living
- Countries: Canada (n=51); USA (n=42);  
Australia & New Zealand (n=4 & n=2); UK (n=5); Singapore (n=1)

# Findings

- **Characteristics of Residents**
  - Age deceased (n=103): 84.5 years old (average)
  - Age exhibitors (n=76): 75.2 years old (average)
  - Gender deceased (n=100): Men 52%; Women 48%
  - Gender other resident (n=99): Men 74%
- Newly admitted residents (< 3 months): 23 deaths

# Findings

## The Circumstances Surrounding the Deaths:

- Location (n=84): **Inside bedrooms** (59%)
- Time of day (n=63): **Evening** (44%) and Night (14%)
- **Weekend** (n=94): **38%**
- **Roommates** (n=77): **43%**
- **Not witnessed by staff** (n=84): **62%**
- Nature of physical contact (n=99):  
“**Push-Fall**” incidents (**44%**); Head and/or face beating (22%)
- Object used against target (n=88): 31%

# Findings

- **Nature of physical injury** (n=79):  
Head/face or brain injuries (50%); Hip fractures (33%)
- **Cause of death** (n=69):  
Blunt head trauma (29%)  
Complications from fractures (20%)  
Pneumonia (11%); Strangulation/Suffocation (10%)
- **Time until death** (n=95): 16 days (average);  
One-quarter died on same day

# Common Triggers

- Invasion of personal space
- Unwanted entries into one's bedroom
- Taking personal belongings from others
- Reaching a breaking point
- Conflicts between roommates

Underlying theme:

**Unmet needs and situational frustrations**





# Areas for Consideration

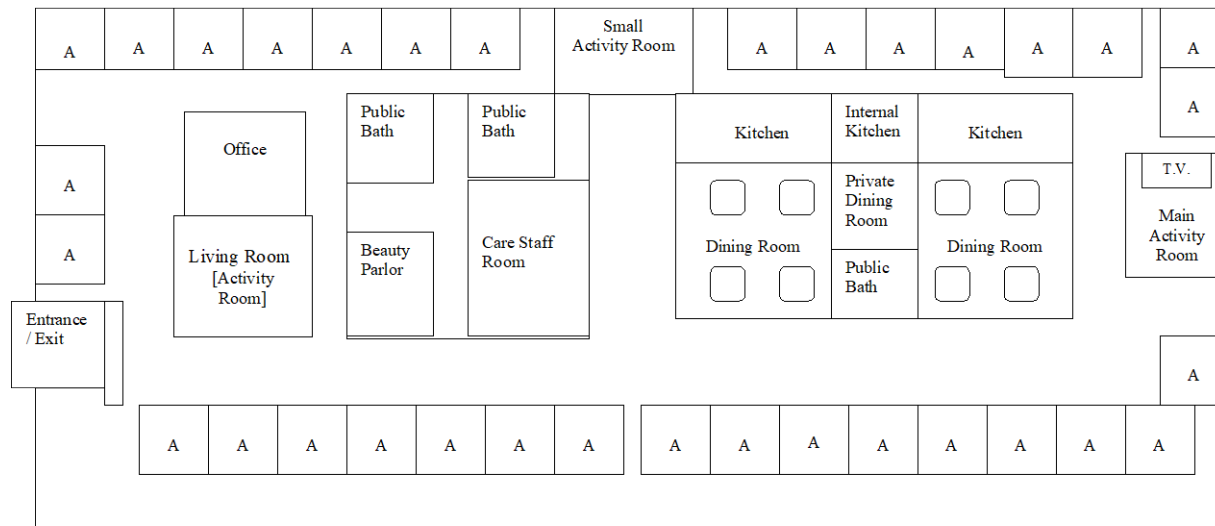
- Eliminate stigma
- Break the silence and dangerous normalization
- Focus on proactively **creating emotional well-being** / “Human flourishing”
- **Treat** direct care **staff as the bedrock of LTC sector** – Put real meaning into the word “Heroes”
- **Safe people-to-people levels** at all times (adjusted for acuity; “mandatory & enforceable”)
- **Specialized education** (orientation, in-service, experiential learning, emergency de-escalation)
- Supportive **guidance from** qualified **managers**
- Personally **meaningful engagement**
- **Evenings and weekends** = Heightened **vulnerability time periods**

# Areas for Consideration

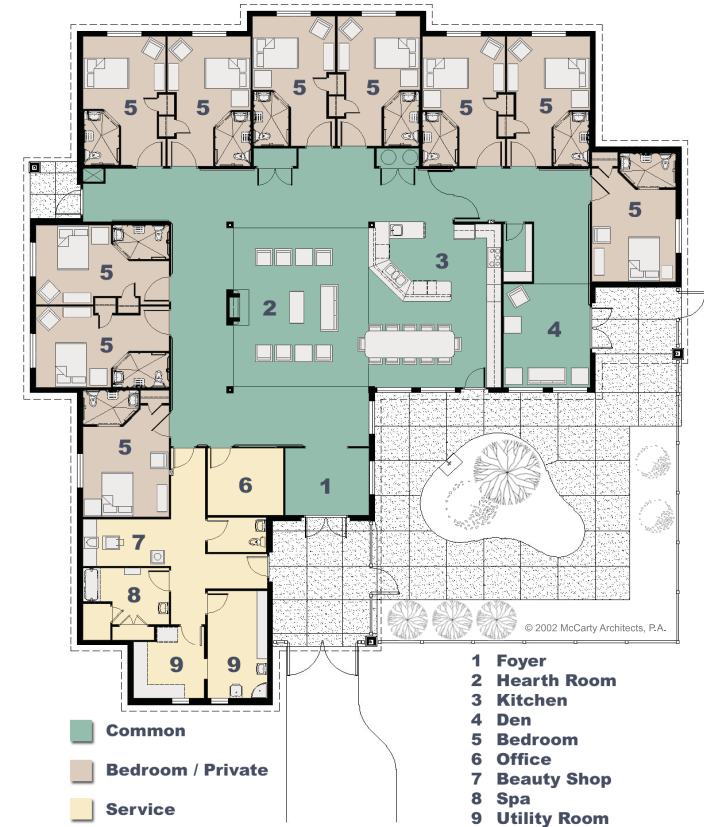
- **Physical environment** (Elder & dementia-friendly / Floor layout, private bedrooms)
- **Pre-admission behavioral assessment**
- Avoid admitting residents you care home is unable to care for safely
- Operate only within **scope of practice**
- **Screening and assessment tools** – The basis for Individualized Care Plans
- **Learning culture / Centralized tracking**
- **Focus on person, not profit**
- Strengthen government **oversight and** owner / care provider **accountability**
- **Criminal prosecution** for gross neglect

# Floor Plan – Line of Sight

**Figure 1. Floor Plan – Higher Functioning Unit**



Notes: The letter "A" represents a resident's apartment; The four square shapes within each of the two dining rooms represent dining tables. The Floor Plan of the Higher Functioning Unit is basically identical to that of the Lower Functioning Unit.



Architects P.A.

# Shift to (Mostly) Private Bedrooms

“**Since 2000**, all newly licensed residential care facilities under the Community Care and Assisted Living Act have been **required to provide private bedrooms** for residents.”

“Ideally, **every senior** living in a publicly funded nursing home in B.C. would **have their own bedroom**” – B.C.’s Seniors Advocate Isobel Mackenzie

Sharing of nursing home rooms saves dollars in B.C., but at what cost? Vancouver Sun (2.11.16):  
<https://tinyurl.com/479uj7cc>

# Shift to (Mostly) Private Bedrooms

“While it is better for residents if most nursing home rooms and bathrooms are private, **reserving a small number of double-occupancy rooms for those who prefer to share a room is important.**”

Source: Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine (2022, pp. 333-4)

# Personally Meaningful Engagement

But the reality is...

**Most** residents are **not engaged** in **activities most of the time** (Cohen-Mansfield et al. 1992; Burgio et al. 1994; Schreiner et al. 2005; Wood et al. 2005)

**Boredom = The enemy of a *subgroup* of residents with dementia...**

**“A resident most at risk of an assault is bored!” -**  
Administrator of a nursing home



Dorot Magazine, Israel

# Free Train-the-Trainer Program (IRRL)

**“Improving Resident Relationships in Long-Term Care”**

There 45-min sessions: 1. Recognition 2. Managing 3. Documenting

<http://citra.human.cornell.edu/irrl>

CITRA – Cornell Institute for Translational Research on Aging

The SEARCH Approach: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4178932/>

Teresi et al. (2013). RREM Staff intervention increased knowledge, recognition & reporting:  
<https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/23159018/>

# Assessment-based “Anticipatory Care Approach” (Christine Kovach)

## What’s in your quiver?

- Recognizing Early Warning Signs of Distress (Caspi)
- Behavioral Expressions Log (Caspi)
- R-REM Instrument (Teresi et al. 2013)
- ABRAT-L for newly admitted residents (Kim et al. 2017)
- Brøset Violence Checklist (Almvik et al. 2007)
- Evaluation of Urgency of DHRRI Form (Caspi)
- Interdisciplinary Screening Form (DHRRI & dementia-specific) (Caspi)
- Behavior Intervention Plan Form (adapted from Dr. Paul Raia)



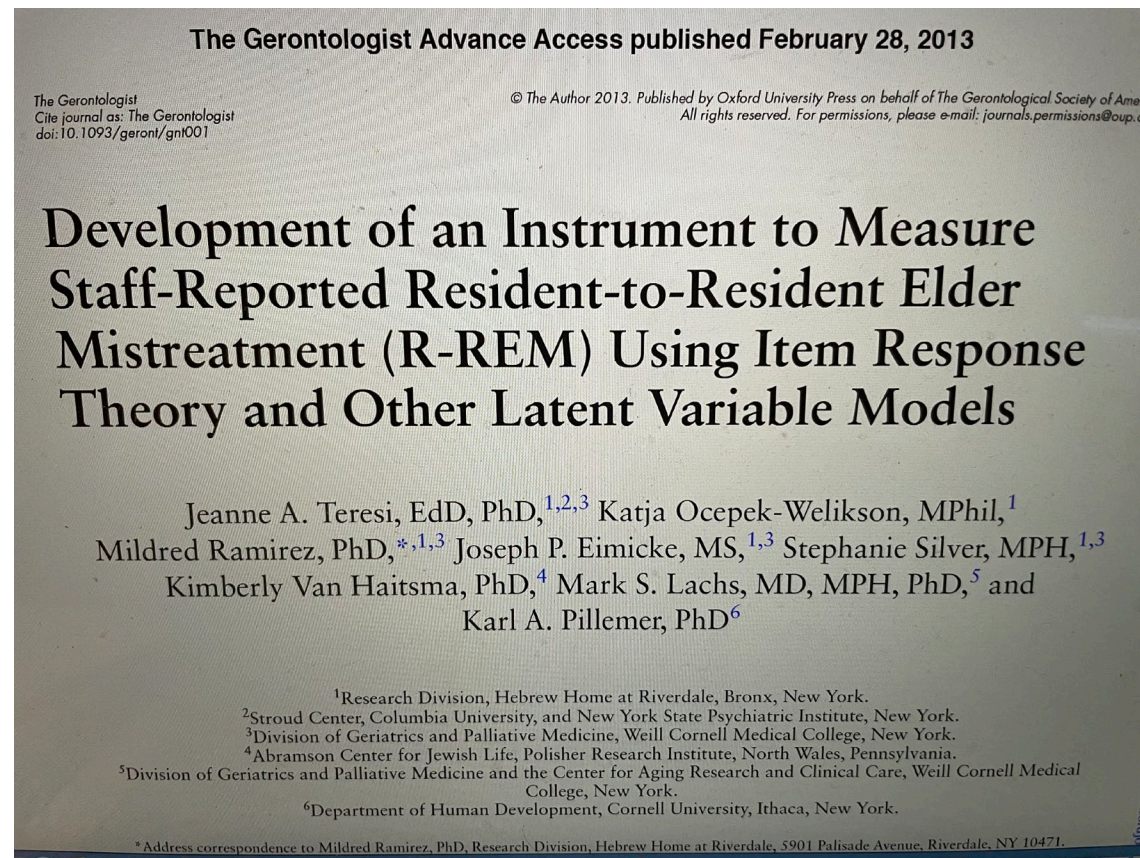


# Behavioral Expressions Log (5Ws/OS)

| Date                                                                                                                                               | When? | Where?   | Who?           | Why?            | Intervention                  | Outcome          | Suggestion                   |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|----------|----------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|------------------|------------------------------|
| __/__/__                                                                                                                                           | Time  | Location | Who was there? | Cause / Trigger | Describe intervention, if any | Describe outcome | Make a suggestion for future |
|                                                                                                                                                    |       |          |                |                 |                               |                  |                              |
| <b>What?</b> Detailed description of the behavioral expression and what happened (sequence of events) BEFORE and AFTER the episode:<br><hr/> <hr/> |       |          |                |                 |                               |                  |                              |

**Persistent use of the log often enables to identify patterns, causes, and situational triggers – the basis for individualized interventions**

# An Instrument Developed in NHs in New York





## Expert's Recommendation

*“We talk about violence-free schools.*

*Why we don’t talk about violence-free NHs?*

*What about ending violence in NHs as **a policy goal**?”*

“Develop a comprehensive and data-driven  
**national action plan** to eliminate violence in NHs”

– Karl Pillemer (2018)

# Thank You



## Dementia Beyond Drugs

CHANGING THE CULTURE OF CARE

with a foreword by William H. Thomas, M.D.

“We are not trying to get rid of behavioral distress.

What we’re trying to do is to create well-being.”

– Al Power







---

It is the human right of  
older adults to live in safe  
long-term care homes

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Extra Slides

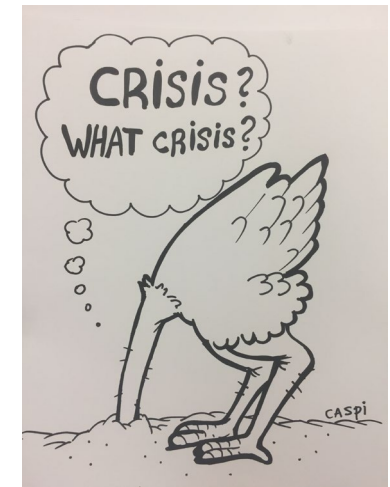
# Resources on Assisted Living

Caspi, E. (2018). Head in the Sand: The failure of the assisted living industry in Minnesota to Respond to **20 Years of Warning Signs** and Implement a Licensure. ChangingAging. 5.1.18:

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LTCCC Webinar: Neglect leading to bodily injury and death of 300 LTC residents (3.16.22): <https://nursinghome411.org/webinar-neglect/>






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# LIFE AND DEATH IN ASSISTED LIVING



July 30, 2013 / 53m  
Season 2013: Episode 13

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## Life and Death in Assisted Living

Eilon Caspi, PhD\*

Institute for Collaboration on Health, Intervention, and Policy, University of Connecticut, Storrs, USA.

\*Address correspondence to: Eilon Caspi, PhD, Institute for Collaboration on Health, Intervention, and Policy, University of Connecticut, Storrs, CT 06269, USA. E-mail: [eiloncaspi@gmail.com](mailto:eiloncaspi@gmail.com)

Film: *Life and Death in Assisted Living* (53 min)

Correspondent and coproducer: A. C. Thompson

Producer: Carl Byker

Written by: Carl Byker and A. C. Thompson

Release date: July 30, 2013 (USA)

Distributor: PBS

Review of the film:

<https://tinyurl.com/2v4pztt8>

PBS Frontline / ProPublica. 7.13.13: <https://tinyurl.com/9b2dv52z>



# “Earthquake” in AL sector in Minnesota

PART 1

## ABUSED, IGNORED ACROSS MINNESOTA

Story by Chris Serres • Photos by David Joles • Star Tribune • NOVEMBER 12, 2017



★ StarTribune  
A SPECIAL REPORT

Each year, hundreds of Minnesotans are beaten, sexually assaulted or robbed in senior care homes. Their cases are seldom investigated, leaving families in the dark.



## Left to suffer

A FIVE-PART SERIES

SECTIONS |

MINNESOTA

★ StarTribune

STATE + LOCAL

## Minnesota Health commissioner resigns in wake of agency's mishandling of elder abuse allegations

Move comes amid controversy over agency's handling of elder abuse cases.

By Chris Serres Star Tribune | DECEMBER 19, 2017 — 9:06PM

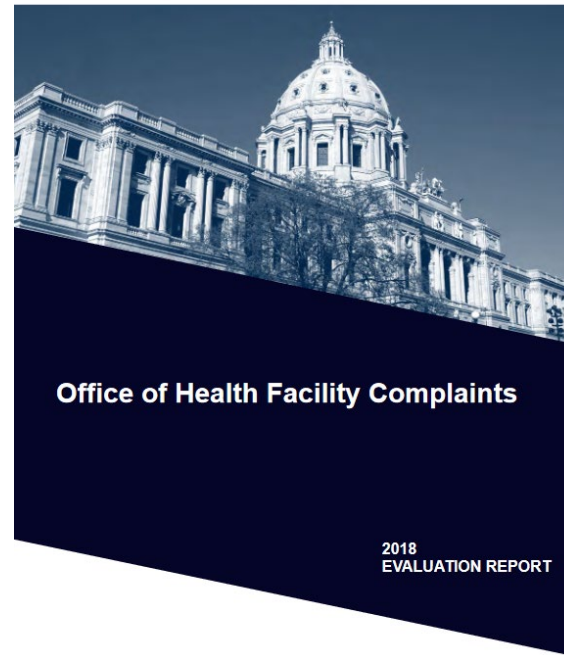


Minnesota Health Commissioner Dr. Ed Ehlinger

November 12-16, 2017

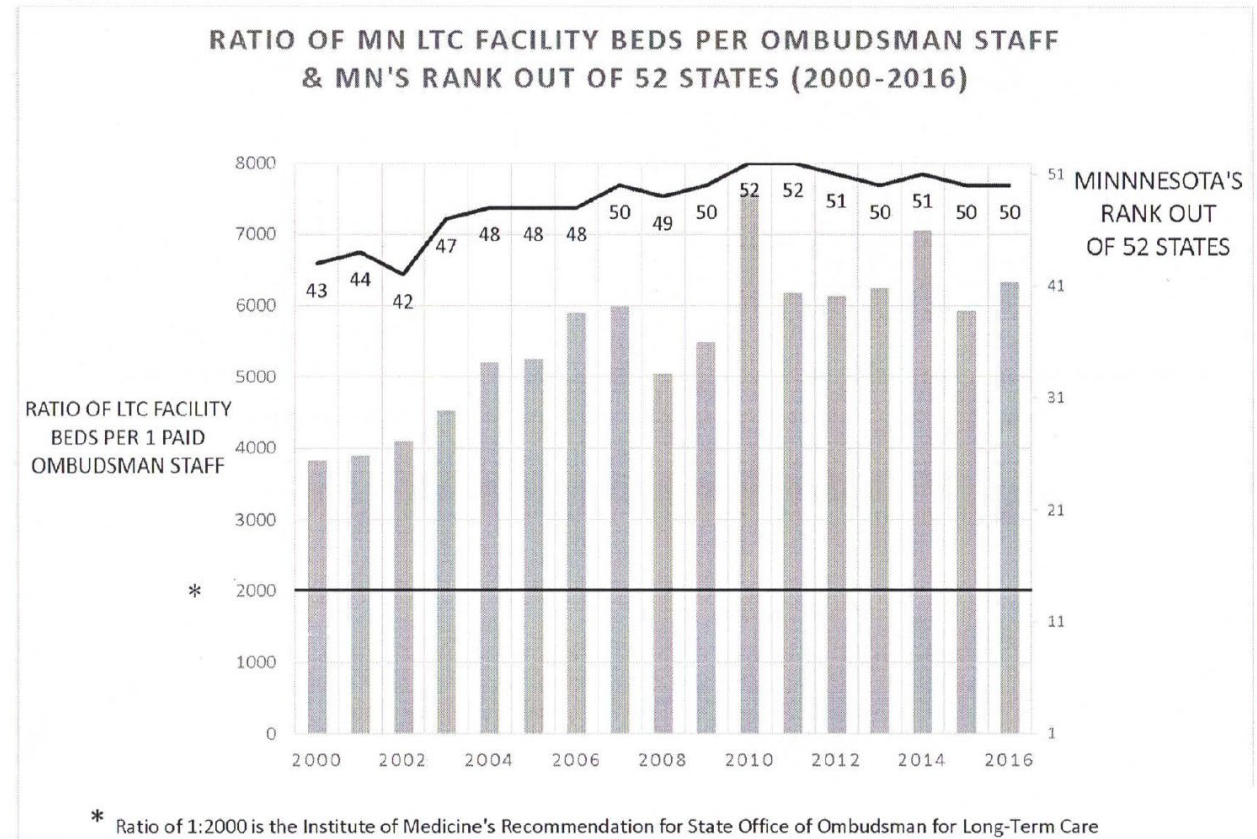
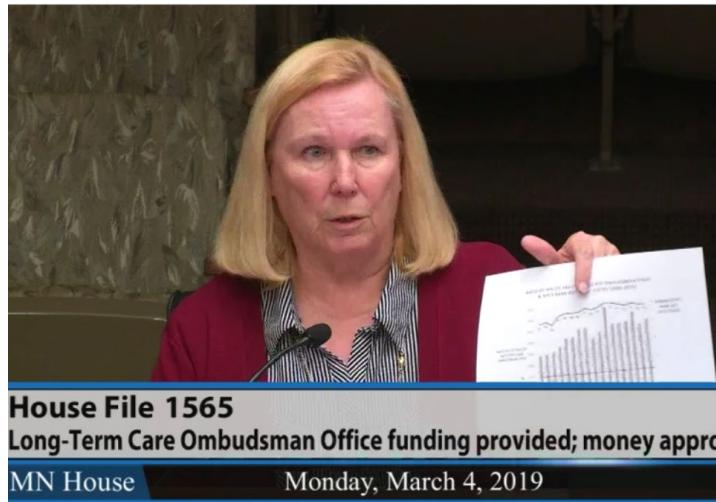
December 19, 2017

“OHFC has not met its responsibilities to protect vulnerable adults in MN”



Program Evaluation Division  
**OFFICE OF THE LEGISLATIVE AUDITOR**  
STATE OF MINNESOTA

# Crisis at LTC Ombudsman in MN



Source: National Ombudsman Reporting System Data in Administration for Community Living Aging Integrated Database (AGID)

Compiled and designed by Eilon Caspi PhD for Elder Voice Family Advocates on February 17, 2019



# Report

April 22, 2019



## Inhumane and Deadly Neglect Revealed in State Assisted Living Facilities

Funded by:  
Stevens Square  
Foundation

Link: <https://tinyurl.com/y6zorqzu>

STATE + LOCAL

## Report highlights abuses, preventable deaths in Minnesota's assisted-living facilities

Report of state data shows a surge in accusations of neglect, poor conditions.

By Chris Serres Star Tribune | APRIL 11, 2019 — 3:58PM



GLEN STUBBE - STAR TRIBUNE

Kristine Sundberg, president of Elder Voice Family Advocates, second from left, led a group to meet with legislators. Also there are Jane Overby, Kristine Sundberg, Kay Bromelkamp, Brenda Roth and Bonnie Wenker.

# From Sock, Trauma, & Grief to Leader of Change



Kris Sundberg, Executive Director, Elder Voice Family Advocates

# Family Members Demand Change





# Assisted Living Licensure



LOCAL

## 'Lives will be saved': New protections for Minnesota seniors in assisted living go into effect



Nearly 55,000 seniors in assisted living gain sweeping protections.

By Chris Serres Star Tribune | JULY 31, 2021 — 3:44PM



DAVID JOLES - STAR TRIBUNE

Star Tribune, July 21, 2021: <https://tinyurl.com/2p9evejm>

# Elder Voice Family Advocates





# Close Collaboration with MDH



With Health Commissioner Jan Malcolm (center)

# The Promise



ChangingAging (including voice over): <https://tinyurl.com/8xrhwjvj>