## **Family Care for an Aging Population:** Policy Dilemmas

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#### **Sources of Care**



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- The family, the state, and the market.
- Diversification is good—but leads to institutional tensions.
- We want families to provide care for free—but when they don't, we must provide a substitute.
- Perverse incentives—and unfair outcomes.



#### What Exactly is Family Care?

- An obligation or a choice?
- About 30 states have filial responsibility statutes that establish a duty to care for indigent elderly, but these are not enforced.
- Is unpaid care "work"? By any common sense definition, yes. by national accounting standards, no.

### Family Care is Extensive



- A recent National Alliance for Caregiving survey shows that about 19 per cent of U.S. residents provide some care to adults age 50 or higher, averaging about 19 hours per week.
- If we paid money for these services, the total price tag would exceed total Medicaid expenditures—or if you prefer a private-sector comparison—total sales of Wal-Mart.

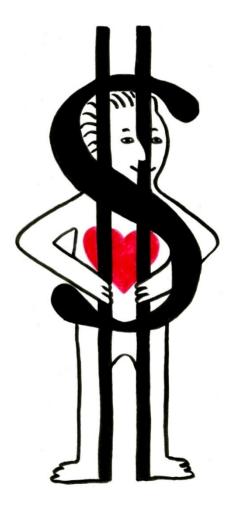
#### **Family Care Saves Taxpayers Money**



- Childless elderly are more likely than others to become dependent on Medicaid-financed nursing home care
- A German court ruled it unconstitutional to tax parents and non-parents at the same rate for long-term care insurance.

## **Bargaining over Family Care**

- no penalty for "default"
- first mover advantage—geographic proximity matters
- first mover disadvantage--"hostage" effects and prisoners of love
- family obligations are highly gendered



#### **Women and Elder Care**

• Women are 67% of all elder caregivers —and about 68% of elder care recipients.



According to the National Alliance Survey, about 45% of all women caregivers reported that they felt that they had no choice.

They stepped forward for a variety of reasons: because no other family member or friend was willing or able to provide adequate care or because paid services were economically out of reach.

## **Reproducing Gender Inequality**



Women face a double bind.

Taking responsibility for the care of family members lowers their lifetime earnings and leaves them economically vulnerable.

Partly as a result, older women remain dependent on younger women for unpaid care. They have an economic stake in younger women's sense of obligation.

## **Public Support for Elder Care**



Ulrich karl joho Flickr: Creative Commons License Great that we have some but what we have is:

- Unfair
- Inadequate
- Inefficient
- Expensive

## **Diagnostic Inequity**

Let's say you are eligible for Medicare and need a pacemaker.. Most of your medical and care costs will be covered.

But if you are diagnosed with Alzheimer's or dementia, they won't be, because Medicare does not cover long-term care—there's no "medical" treatment for it.



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## Forced Indigence and Vulnerability to Low Quality Care



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- Medicaid asset test frozen since 1989--\$2000 for individuals
- Low reimbursement rates lead to discrimination by nursing homes and by physicians

•Personal needs allowance—a dollar a day.

• Huge variation across states in eligibility and quality

## **Home and Community-Based Services**



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- State Medicaid "waivers" can be used for HCBS
- Widely preferred except for cases of extreme disability such as Alzheimer's or dementia
- Far less expensive—in part because they enable greater participation of family members.
- Well-developed in some states particularly in West (California, Oregon), but not every where, for fear of "woodwork" effect—family members will demand to be paid for previously unpaid services.

## Direct Care Workers are Poorly Paid and Turnover Rates are High



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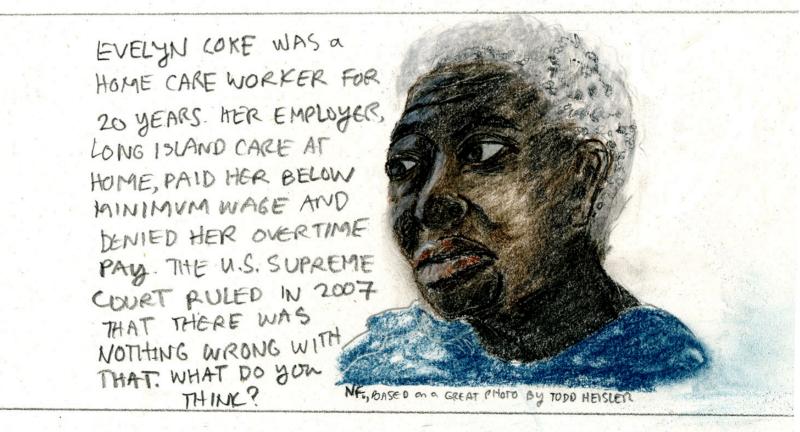
Black and Hispanic women are over-represented in these jobs.

Immigrants play an important role.

A large "informal" sector.

But increasingly complex demands made on caregivers—as result of efforts to shorten hospital and nursing home stays.

### Home Care Workers Are Not Covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act



## Private Long-Term Care Insurance is Expensive and Risky



Premiums are high.

Companies may go out of business.

Protection against cost inflation is limited.

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### **Some Policy Prescriptions**



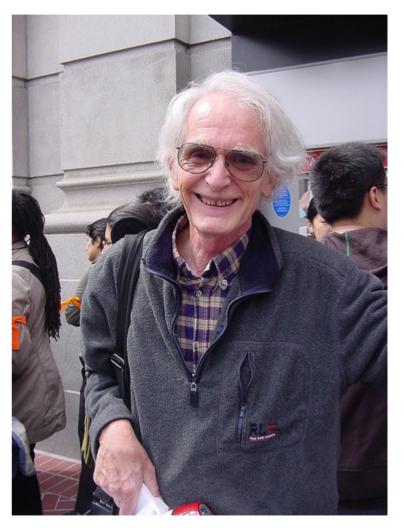
Family Caregiver Alliance http://www.caregiver.org/

- 1. Recognize and provide economic support for family care
- through paid care leave and sick leave
- full tax deductions for costs of child care and elder care
- support services like adult daycare and training that can make it easier to provide family care

2. Develop a sustainable public UNIVERSAL adult care provision system and safety net

- help elderly individuals make effective use of housing assets without driving them into indigence
- learn from experiences of Germany, Japan, Scotland, Norway...
- emphasize home and communitybased care based on California model

Michael Lyons of Gray Panthers



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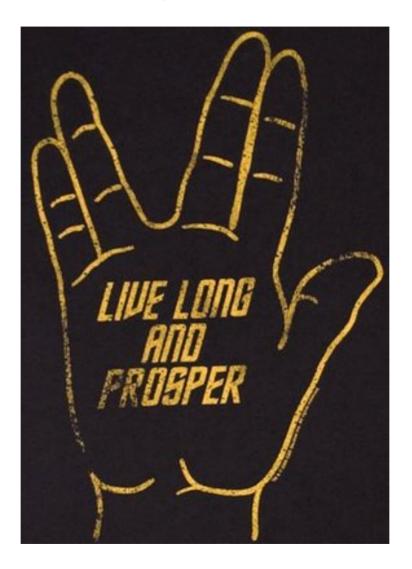


3. Encourage market provision to supplement family and public care, but set firm regulatory guidelines.

- Private long-term care insurance could provide "wrap-around"
- Set and enforce high quality standards.

• Improve wages and working conditions of those providing nursing home and home and community-based services.

# **Thanks for your attention!**



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