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*The Journal of*  
***Nephrology  
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- Structural Racism and the Racial Medication Adherence Inequity
- Eye Care Utilization Among Older Insured Adults with Kidney Disease and Diabetes
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# THE JOURNAL OF NEPHROLOGY SOCIAL WORK

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|---------------|--------------------------|
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| 3) Text       | 7) Tables                |
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# Structural Racism and the Racial Medication Adherence Inequity Within the End-Stage Renal Disease Population: A New Theoretical Framework

Tamara Estes Savage, PhD, MSW, College of Health Sciences, University of North Carolina at Pembroke, Pembroke, NC

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*Blacks or African Americans are almost four times more likely to develop end-stage kidney disease (ESKD) than Whites (United States Renal Data System (USRDS), 2019). Black or African-American ESKD patients are also less likely to manage their medications successfully compared to White ESKD patients (Browne & Merighi, 2010; Curtin, Svarstad, Keller, 1999). Few studies, however, investigate broad social issues, such as structural racism, as a fundamental cause of the inequity. Furthermore, the interaction of structural racism and societal power dynamics in the form of social and cultural capital and their effect on medication adherence inequity has not been explored. This article examines this interaction and its link to medication adherence inequity in the Black or African-American ESKD population and posits a new theoretical framework.*

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## INTRODUCTION

End-stage kidney disease (ESKD) currently affects 746,557 people in the United States (USRDS, 2019). A disproportionate number of ESKD patients are Black or African American (USRDS, 2019). According to the U.S. Renal Data System (2019), the prevalence of ESKD per million of the population for Whites is 1,573. Comparatively, the prevalence of ESKD per million for the Black or African American population is 5,816 (USRDS, 2019). Thus, Blacks or African Americans are over 3.5 times more likely to develop ESKD than Whites (USRDS, 2019).

In addition to being disproportionately affected by ESKD, Black or African-American ESKD patients are less likely to manage their medications successfully compared to White ESKD patients (Browne & Merighi, 2010; Curtin et al., 1999; Saran et al., 2003). However, the reasons for this racial inequity are not understood beyond the identified proximal risk factors. This is particularly troubling since ESKD patients who do not adhere to their medication regimen suffer decreased quality of life, increased morbidity, and death (Denhaerynck, Manhaeve, Dobbels, Garzoni, Nolte, & De Geest, 2007; Saran et al., 2003). Hence, medication nonadherence is an important health inequity that is worthy of further investigation.

Given the racial inequity in medication adherence in ESKD patients, the societal response to race is worth consideration. Race is a social construct devised to justify an oppressive social hierarchy that privileges Whites. Therefore, race, "... precisely captures the impact of racism" (Jones, 2000, p. 1212). However, few studies have investigated broader social issues, such as racism, or, more specifically, structural racism,

and their effect on Black or African-American ESKD patients' medication adherence (Kennedy, 2009; Wells & Walker, 2012). Instead, most studies report racial differences and attribute them to micro-level patient risk factors (Andrus & Roth, 2002; Cleary, Matzke, Alexander, & Joy, 1995; Lindberg & Lindberg, 2008). Some studies go further and report the difference in race to the risk factor, SES (socioeconomic status), but do not connect SES in any meaningful way to structural racism or medication adherence, except to add it to the long list of individual risk factors (Bame, Peterson, & Wray, 1993; Curtin et al., 1999; Kalichman, Ramachandran, & Catz, 1999).

A *fundamental cause perspective* allows the expansion of inquiry beyond micro-level risk factors to a broader social condition such as structural racism. To further enrich this analysis, Bourdieu's theory of societal power provides a framework for viewing the impact of structural racism on two forms of capital: social and cultural (Bourdieu, 1986). Sequentially, structural racism affects the societal power (capital) of Black or African-American ESKD patients, and this, in turn, affects risk factors proximally related to medication adherence. Thus, this author contends that structural racism is a fundamental cause of medication nonadherence in Black or African-American ESKD patients. The following is an examination of racial inequity and the role of structural racism as fundamental causes of medication adherence inequity in the Black or African-American ESKD population. Also, structural racism is integrated with Bourdieu's conceptualization of social and cultural capital to produce a new theoretical framework. Lastly, the implications of this new integrated framework and how it clarifies the current understanding of the medication adherence inequity is discussed.

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## THE RACIAL INEQUITY AND RACISM

Racial inequity in medication adherence for ESKD patients is well documented. For example, Curtin and colleagues (1999) found in their study of Black or African-American and White ESKD patients that only race/ethnicity was significantly associated with poor medication adherence. Specifically, 60% of Blacks or African Americans were repeatedly nonadherent compared to 34% of Whites (Curtin et al., 1999). Similarly, Saran and colleagues (2003), in their study of 8,396 ESKD patients, found that Blacks or African Americans were twice as likely as Whites to be nonadherent. Although both authors found that being Black or African American was statistically associated with medication nonadherence, neither measured racism (Curtin et al., 1999; Saran et al., 2003). However, the authors note that racism may be a factor and urge researchers to study the construct (Curtin et al., 1999; Saran et al., 2003).

The relationship between racism and a primary precursor to ESKD, hypertension, is well-established. For instance, Kressin, Orner, Manze, Glickman, & Berlowitz (2010) discovered in their sample of 806 hypertensive Blacks or African Americans that those who reported more discrimination experiences were less adherent to their hypertensive medication regimens. Similarly, Cuffe et al. (2013) found that perceived discrimination was associated with lower medication adherence in their sample of 780 Black or African-American men and women. Lastly, in a study of 134 hypertensive Black or African-American men and women, the author found a negative association between high levels of perceived racism and medication adherence (Daramola, 2008). It is evident that there is a medication adherence inequity associated with perceived discrimination in both the hypertensive population, a primary antecedent to ESKD, and by extension the ESKD population, which is not well understood.

Scholars have attempted to understand this inequity by searching for proximal risk factors. Several risk factors associated with ESKD medication nonadherence are insufficient income, lack of education, lack of access to medications, pill burden, and social support (Browne & Merighi, 2010). However, scant attention has been given to broader social conditions, such as racism, and how they may affect the inequity (Wells & Walker, 2012). More fundamental causation may exist.

Applying the idea of structural racism as a fundamental cause of medication nonadherence in Black or African-American ESKD patients is a novel way of thinking about this inequity. Structural racism is a type of racism which is systemic, in which macro-level systems result in racial inequities. (Powell, 2007; Vaught & Castagno, 2008). Macro-level systems include societal norms, institutions, ideologies, and policies. In a racialized society, these macro systems interact and result in structural racism. The process of structural racism is subtle and does not require any overt racist verbiage or acts

(Bonilla-Silva, 1997; Gee & Ford, 2011; Vaught & Castagno, 2008). Instead, structural racism is embedded in society's social, cultural, and historical fabric (Bonilla-Silva, 1997; Gee & Ford, 2011). Structural racism is normalized and becomes an unquestioned fact, especially by the dominant group. In addition, the complex interaction of many macro systems makes it difficult to detect and to eliminate structural racism (Gee & Ford, 2011). The following is a discussion of structural racism as a fundamental cause of medication nonadherence.

## FUNDAMENTAL CAUSE THEORY

Link and Phelan (1995) argue that broad social conditions explain health outcomes through a group of intervening mechanisms or risk factors. The authors posit that, unless these social conditions are addressed, health outcomes will remain unchanged even though the risk factors are ameliorated. This is because the fundamental cause is still present; therefore, if all the risk factors are suddenly addressed and no longer risk factors, the health outcomes will not disappear. The health outcomes will remain as long as the broader social causes remain (Link & Phelan, 1995). Link and Phelan's (1995) theory is provocative, given that much of social science research has focused on proximal risk factors with the contention that once they are eradicated, then the resultant poor health outcomes will be eliminated. There are three tenets of the fundamental cause perspective: 1) resources such as power and prestige minimize risk and serve as protection from disease; 2) fundamental causes are linked to disease through a series of intervening mechanisms; 3) these intervening mechanisms can change over time, but the relationship between the fundamental cause and the disease stays constant (Link & Phelan, 1995). The following is a discussion of the application of the three tenets to structural racism and medication adherence in the Black or African-American ESKD population.

### ***Tenet 1: Power and Prestige Minimize Risk of Poor Health***

According to the first tenet of the fundamental cause theory, resources minimize the risk of poor health outcomes. Structural racism, however, inherently results in lack of resources for the oppressed group through subtle societal norms, institutional practices, governmental policies, and cultural representations which result in a racial hierarchy that privileges Whiteness and disadvantages Blackness (Gee & Ford, 2011; Powell, 2007; Vaught & Castagno, 2008). Structural racism allows the dominant group to maintain power and control of resources at the expense of the oppressed group (Gee & Ford, 2011; Powell, 2007; Vaught & Castagno, 2008). Thus, a detrimental effect of structural racism in the U.S. is that Blacks or African Americans are denied the health protection that access to resources affords. As a result, Blacks or African Americans are exposed to health risks, which result in adverse health outcomes (American Public Health Association, 2001; Nazroo, 2003; Williams & Collins, 2001).

An example related to structural racism that can be applied directly to medication adherence in Blacks or African-American ESKD patients involves access to pharmacies. The Federal Housing Administration's segregated housing policies inculcated racial housing segregation into our society (Seitles, 1998; Williams & Collins, 2001). The racially restrictive lending policies of the nation's economic institutions additionally supported and perpetuated the practice (Seitles, 1998; Williams & Collins, 2001). Even though refusing to rent or sell a residence based on race was deemed illegal by the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1968, residential segregation still exists (Williams & Collins, 2001). Blacks or African Americans are more highly segregated than any other minority group in the U.S. (Logan & Stults, 2011). Also, since the housing crisis in 2007, Blacks or African Americans in poor communities have been disproportionately affected by unfair lending, which does not allow residential mobility (Steil, Albright, Rugh, & Massey, 2018).

As a result of continued residential segregation and unfair lending practices by financial institutions, Blacks or African Americans are often relegated to inferior housing in polluted and impoverished environments with limited access to health-promoting resources such as pharmacies (Gee & Ford, 2011; Williams & Collins, 2001). Amstislavski, Ariel, Sheffield, Maroko, and Weedon (2012) found a dearth of pharmacies, which they called "medication deserts" in poor, often predominately segregated Black or African-American communities. The authors' study involved 408 pharmacies in 168 socio-economically diverse communities and discovered that some poor communities were "medication deserts." The authors also ascertained that pharmacies in poor communities had significantly higher odds of being out of stock of medicine and were more likely to be independent pharmacies. The independent pharmacies offered fewer services and were not open as often or as long per day as chain pharmacies (Amstislavski et al., 2012).

Structural racism in the form of historical governmental policies and banking practices that block Blacks or African Americans from moving from segregated housing has a detrimental effect on Blacks' or African Americans' ability to procure medication. The effects of such macrosystems influenced by racism (structural racism) have led to inadequate pharmacies and "medication deserts." The geographical lack of access to medication is a risk factor for medication non-adherence. This is especially true for patients with ESKD, as they have little physical energy due to their illness to travel great distances to procure medication (Browne, Merighi, Washington, Savage, Shaver, & Holland, 2019).

### ***Tenet 2: Fundamental Causes are Linked to Disease Through a Series of Intervening Mechanisms.***

There is a multitude of intervening mechanisms, generally referred to as "risk factors," that are associated with medication

nonadherence in ESKD patients. Two risk factors often mentioned are lack of education and low income/poverty (Bame et al., 1993; Browne & Merighi, 2010; Caraballo, Lebrón de avilés, Dávila Torres, & Burgos Calderón, 2001; Neri et al., 2011). Both risk factors are related to structural racism.

First, within our racialized society, Blacks or African Americans have often received an inferior education (Williams, 1999). As discussed earlier, historical racial segregation due to governmental policies and restrictive lending policies of banks, as well as current unfair lending, have left many Blacks or African Americans living in social isolation (Gee & Ford, 2011; Seitles 1998; Williams & Collins, 2001). As with residential segregation, Blacks or African Americans were also forced to attend segregated schools. However, *Brown v. Board of Education* stated that separated schools were not equal and laid the legal groundwork for school integration (Williams, 1999). However, residential segregation has continued, and so has school segregation (Williams & Collins, 2001).

Currently, most Blacks or African Americans who attend public schools tend to go to schools within their local school district in which they reside (Williams, 1999). Thus, highly segregated communities have led to highly segregated schools (Williams, 1999). Today, two-thirds of Blacks or African Americans attend schools where more than 50% of the students are Black or African American (Powell, 2007). In addition, such highly segregated schools are 14 times more likely to be high poverty schools (Powell, 2007). Second, Poverty is another result of structural racism, as Blacks or African Americans historically were not able to benefit from income-producing New Deal initiatives because of racist federal policy or buy houses in job-rich suburban areas after WWII (Katznelson, 2005). Furthermore, Southern Blacks or African Americans did not benefit from post-WWII GI Bill opportunities because of rampant discriminatory practices of Southern universities (Turner & Bound, 2003).

This entrenched poverty, consequently, has resulted in impoverished schools. The poverty rate of schools has a profound effect on the educational outcomes of students. Attending a high poverty, highly segregated school results in poor educational attainment (Powell, 2007). For instance, according to the National Assessment of Adult Literacy, 24% of Blacks or African Americans scored below the lowest level of health literacy compared to 9% of Whites (Kutner, Greenburg, Jin, & Paulson, 2006). Health literacy involves the ability to understand medical advice regarding medications, including dosage instructions and the ability to comprehend the instructions on medication bottles (Andrus & Roth, 2002). Therefore, Blacks or African Americans are less likely to have requisite health education, which enables them to adhere to their medication regimen.

Second, in our racialized society, Blacks or African Americans are positioned at the bottom with regard to income. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the median household income for Blacks or African Americans in 2018 was \$41,361, compared to \$70,642 for Whites (U.S. Census Bureau (USCB), 2019). Similarly, the U.S. Census Bureau reports that, in 2018, the poverty rate for Blacks or African Americans was 20.8% compared to a rate of 8.1% for Whites (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019).

Again, historical, social segregation in the form of policy-enforced residential and educational segregation is the structurally racist antecedent to the current social isolation of Blacks or African Americans (Williams & Collins, 2001). Sequentially, residential segregation has led to educational segregation, which has led to poor educational outcomes.

Consequently, poor educational outcomes result in poor positioning for jobs (Williams, 1999). Therefore, many Blacks or African Americans are relegated to poverty. Those ESKD patients who are impoverished are at a much higher risk for medication nonadherence because they do not have the financial resources to purchase the medication they need. Also, if Blacks or African Americans live in a “medication desert” due to poverty, they do not have the financial resources to travel to pharmacies geographically distant from their residences.

***Tenet 3: Mechanisms Can Change Over Time. However, the Relationship Between the Fundamental Cause and the Health Outcomes Remains Constant.***

The third tenet of the fundamental cause perspective is that the relationship between the fundamental cause and the health outcome remains constant. This is a theoretical tenet that Link and Phelan (1995) posit that will occur over time because social conditions are so entrenched in society. Therefore, the intervening mechanisms between the fundamental cause and the health outcome may change over time given changes in technology and advancements in medicine. However, the fundamental cause will stay connected to the health outcome. Hence, the proposed relationship between structural racism as a fundamental cause of the health outcome, medication nonadherence will remain constant even as new advances are made.

### **BOURDIEU'S THEORY OF CAPITAL**

The proposed integrated theoretical framework combines structural racism with Bourdieu's theory of capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu's theory of capital involves the structure of the social world, specifically the effects of social class (Bourdieu, 1986; Weininger, 2005). Social class is a complex construct that involves the stratified socioeconomic hierarchy present in society (Bourdieu, 1986; Weininger, 2005). This stratification privileges some and disadvantages others. Bourdieu postulates that the privilege of those in the upper

class manifests itself in the form of power, and power is embodied in various forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Thus, societal members who are rich in capital inhabit a social class position, which buffers them from lack of resources and enables them to maneuver through society with less effort due to their privileged relationships with people of power and influence.

Two forms of capital explicated by Bourdieu that are salient to this integrated framework are social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Weininger, 2005).

First, *social capital* is defined as the powerful and influential social networks to which people have access in society (Bourdieu, 1986; Weininger, 2005). Accordingly, in the U.S., the upper and upper-middle classes have social capital because they have friends and acquaintances with expert knowledge and powerful connections. Conversely, the lower classes have few, if any, powerful relationships in their social networks.

Second, *cultural capital* is defined as the cultural artifacts and ways of interacting with similarly influential members, which are valued by the ruling upper classes (Bourdieu, 1986; Weininger, 2005). Examples include language, dress, art, and education, which are personified by society's influential members. Those endowed with cultural capital have the essential cultural keys to maintain vital relationships within their social network.

### **STRUCTURAL RACISM'S RELATION TO BOURDIEU'S THEORY OF CAPITAL: THE INTEGRATED THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

In the framework proposed, structural racism is related to social and cultural capital. By definition, structural racism denies Blacks or African Americans the opportunity to succeed through social institutions and policies such as residential segregation and policies and practices of banks which do not lend fairly (Gee & Ford, 2011; Seitles 1998; Williams & Collins, 2001). Opportunity is quashed through social exclusion and social isolation that results from such institutions and policies. Thus, Blacks or African Americans are excluded and isolated from the opportunity-rich influential social networks (social capital) and cultural markers (cultural capital) of the upper-class, White, dominant group. Consequently, the lack of social and cultural capital perpetuates and reinforces the lower social position of Blacks or African Americans. Since the majority of Blacks or African Americans are not part of upper-class White society, they are not afforded the same benefits that power provides, such as job promotions because of relationships with influential co-workers. As a result, the ability of Blacks or African Americans to succeed socially and economically is truncated.

Structural racism and social and cultural capital combine to influence medication adherence in ESKD patients through the same social and economic pathways described earlier. For example, structural racism leads to power differentials between Blacks or African Americans and Whites of the upper classes. Specifically, these power differentials for Blacks or African Americans manifest themselves as a lack of social and cultural capital. Without influential, powerful social networks, Blacks or African Americans are excluded from resource-rich communities, quality education, and higher incomes (Bourdieu, 1986; Weininger, 2005). Therefore, Blacks or African Americans with low incomes who live in impoverished communities and have ESKD may not have access to pharmacies that stock their many essential medications (Amstislavski et al., 2012). In addition, without a sufficient income, Blacks or African Americans with ESKD may not have the financial resources to purchase all of the necessary medications. Lastly, without quality education, they may not be able to read and understand their prescription directions (Andrus & Roth, 2002; Cleary et al., 1995; Kutner et al., 2006). All of these sequelae to structural racism and the dearth of social and cultural capital lead to medication nonadherence.

### **IMPORTANCE OF THE INTEGRATED THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

The importance of this integrated theoretical framework is that it posits that medication adherence inequity amongst Blacks or African Americans is not the result of biological differences or simply a result of poor personal choices. Instead, the focus of the framework is on upstream variables that are beyond the control of Blacks or African Americans.

First, the framework situates structural racism as a fundamental cause of medication nonadherence. This is a new conceptualization of the causation of the medication adherence inequity in the Black or African-American ESKD population and a deviation from the current literature, which emphasizes proximal risk factors.

Second, the introduction of the theory of social and cultural capital in conjunction with structural racism as a fundamental cause provides a more in-depth explanation of how the medication adherence inequity occurs. The integrated framework allows discernment of the layering of disadvantage that affects the lives of Blacks or African Americans in general and Black or African-American ESKD patients in particular. Specifically, structural racism results in the lack of social and cultural capital, which results in educational and income disadvantages. These disadvantages lead to less access to resources, fewer financial resources to purchase medications, and lessened ability to understand prescription directions.

Third, this framework provides a novel pathway for the explanation of medication nonadherence in Black or African-

American ESKD patients. This is a significant paradigm shift because the conversation changes when medication nonadherence is viewed as the result of structural racism. Medication nonadherence is no longer posited as an individual problem; instead, it is postulated to be a societally induced inequity. Understanding medication adherence inequity as societally induced, as opposed to individually induced, results in different implications for research, policy, and practice.

### **IMPLICATIONS OF THE INTEGRATED THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

There are practice, policy, and research implications for the integrated framework. At the practice level, nephrology social workers can make an impact on racial health inequity. Nephrology social workers could form a community advisory board that could solicit direct input from Black or African-American ESKD patients to make broad community changes from their perspectives. For example, if a “medication desert” exists in a community, social workers can work in partnership with patients to address the medication access issue by appealing to local and chain pharmacies to establish a presence in the “medication desert.” Also, social work provides a unique perspective regarding social justice, as we are ethically mandated to address societal injustices. Social workers could lead in the education of kidney healthcare providers regarding structural racism, as well as antiracist strategies and interventions which could be implemented at the provider/practice level.

Policy change at the agency and societal levels could be the result of this integrated framework. At the provider/practice level, social workers could begin by forming a partnership of professionals and patients. This team could review agency policies through an antiracist lens and make any needed changes. Engaging both patients and professionals in such conversations is empowering and fosters a sense of personal ownership.

At the societal level, policies could be crafted to stop residential segregation by encouraging the revitalization of poor Black or African-American communities, which would increase the tax base. The increased tax base would lead to more money flowing into school systems, which would revitalize poor schools. Incentives such as rent control and tax control could be granted to those already living in the neighborhoods, so they will not be forced out by the changes. As another example, a national living wage could be implemented, which would benefit many impoverished Blacks or African Americans, including those with ESKD.

Regarding research, the subjects of structural racism, social capital, and cultural capital have not been explored in relation to the Black or African-American ESKD population and medication adherence. Since this is a new area for explora-

tion, both qualitative and quantitative research would be fruitful. Qualitative research could give researchers rich information, specifically on how structural racism interacts with a lack of social and cultural capital to affect medication adherence. Quantitative research would allow higher numbers of participants to be surveyed with existing surveys or new surveys generated from the qualitative interviews, which would add to the knowledge base.

### CONCLUSION

In conclusion, structural racism meets the criteria as a fundamental cause of the medication inequity between Black or African-American and White ESKD patients. Furthermore, the interaction of structural racism and social and cultural capital clarifies the relationship as a fundamental cause of medication adherence. Given the postulation of this integrated framework, qualitative and quantitative research should be conducted to further our understanding of the medication inequity. Such research could hopefully lead to policy changes and changes at the practice level, which would ameliorate the inequity.

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# Eye Care Utilization Among Older Insured Adults with Kidney Disease and Diabetes

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*Older adults have increased risk factors for chronic kidney disease (CKD), diabetes, and blindness. Frequent routine screening may help with early detection, management, and prevention of eye disease and blindness. Using data from the National Health Interview Survey (NHIS), this study examined the use of eye health service among a national sample of older insured adults with self-reported diabetes and chronic kidney disease diagnoses. This study demonstrates an important correlation in the use of eye healthcare based on diabetes status, kidney disease status, and length of a diabetes diagnosis. Given the importance of early detection of potential eye disease, encouraging people and their families to seek early and frequent eye examinations is suggested.*

## INTRODUCTION

Chronic kidney disease (CKD), defined by reduced glomerular filtration rate (GFR < 60 ml/min/1.73m<sup>2</sup>) or kidney damage (National Kidney Foundation, 2002), is recognized as a common condition. According to recent estimates, in 2019, approximately 15% (37 million) of adults in the United States have CKD (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), 2019). CKD may occur at the same time as other health problems, including diabetes (Fox et al., 2004), heart disease (Meisinger, Döring, Löwel, & KORA Study Group, 2006), high blood pressure (Horowitz, Miskulin, & Zager, 2015), and other illnesses (Fox et al., 2004; Iwagami, Caplin, Smeeth, Tomlinson, & Nitsch, 2018). In addition, due to the presence of many of these different risk factors, CKD is elevated in older adults (Prakash & O'Hare, 2009).

## CKD, DIABETES, AND VISION LOSS

In 2018, 50.9 million Americans were 65 years of age or older, and this population is projected to almost double to 98 million in 2060 (Administration for Community Living, 2019). The aging of the overall U.S. population is a significant driver of some chronic multi-morbidities, including CKD and diabetes. According to current estimates, CKD affects 38% of people aged 65 years or older, but only 13% of people aged 45–64 years, and 7% 18–44 years (CDC, 2019). According to estimates from 2018 (the latest year for which such data are available), diabetes affects 26.8% of people aged 65 years or older, but only about 17.5% among people 45–64 years of age (CDC, 2020).

There is a significant correlation between CKD and diabetes. The prevalence of CKD in U.S. adults with diagnosed diabetes was 25% between 2011 and 2014 (CDC, n.d.). This may be because the prevalence of CKD tends to be significantly and progressively higher with increasing levels of serum

insulin and therefore, one of the main risk factors for CKD is diabetes. Previous work in the general population of the U.S. has found that, participants with diabetes had an estimated prevalence of 25% any stage CKD (eGFR < 60 ml/min per 1.73 m<sup>2</sup>; albumin-to-creatinine ratio ≥ 30 mg/g; or both) versus 5.3% CKD in nondiabetic subjects, respectively (Zelnick et al., 2017). Researchers have also found that the presence of CKD in people with diabetes foreshadows significantly worse prognoses and poorer health outcomes (Fox et al., 2012; Pecoits-Filho et al., 2016).

In addition to the complex relationship between CKD and diabetes, other important complications of diabetes exist. Diabetes itself is also closely associated with other comorbid conditions, particularly blindness, vision loss, and diabetic retinopathy. Diabetic retinopathy is a common complication of both type 1 and type 2 diabetes and occurs when high blood sugar levels cause damage to blood vessels in the retina (Solomon et al., 2017). According to the National Eye Institute, a division of the National Institutes of Health (NIH), diabetic retinopathy is the most common cause of vision loss among people with diabetes and a leading cause of blindness in American adults aged 20–74 years (National Eye Institute, NIH, n.d.; NIH, n.d.). It is also the leading cause of vision impairment and blindness among working-age adults in developed countries (Solomon et al., 2017) Also according to the NIH, diabetic retinopathy is the most common cause of vision loss among people with diabetes and the leading cause of vision impairment and blindness among working-age adults (NIH, n.d.). Recent statistics from the CDC indicate that among adults aged 45 and over with diagnosed diabetes, 32.2% had cataracts, and 9.2% had vision loss due to cataracts (Cha, Villarroel, & Vahratian; NCHS, 2019).

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This association between diabetes and vision loss in older people has been identified in previous research. For example, more than three decades ago, Klein and Klein (1990) found that blindness and vision loss are common complications in the diabetic population. More recent research suggests that older Americans with diabetes are one and a half times more likely than their age-matched nondiabetic counterparts to develop vision loss and blindness (Tumosa, 2008). Diabetic retinopathy progresses slowly and may not present vision symptoms in the early stages of disease progression. Therefore, for patients with diabetes, regular eye checkups with early detection and treatment of vision-threatening retinopathy may prevent vision loss. Despite the documented increased risk for vision loss among people with diabetes in the U.S. population and the importance of routine eye examinations, the frequency of eye examinations is very low among people in the general population with diabetes (Benoit, Swenor, Geiss, Gregg, & Saaddine, 2019).

The management of kidney disease in older people remains challenging because of the interactions between age and other risk factors in kidney disease progression. The associations of CKD in older people with other comorbidities are understudied and poorly understood. Additionally, despite the documented increased risk for vision loss among people with diabetes in the U.S., national population-based data on the utilization of vision-related health services among older Americans with diabetes remain scarce. The purpose of this study is to answer three research questions concerning the relationship between diabetes and eye-care utilization among

- What proportion of older people with diabetes saw an eye doctor in the last year?
- Does time since diabetes diagnosis matter?
- What is the likelihood of seeing or talking to an eye doctor in the past year among older people with diabetes and kidney disease?

## METHOD

### *Study design and data source*

Data for this analysis are from the National Health Interview Survey (NHIS), conducted from 2010 to 2015 (Minnesota Population Center & State Health Access Data Assistance Center (SHADAC), 2012). With limitations outlined in the following, the NHIS is an important instrument for monitoring the health of the U.S. population because NHIS variables are consistently coded, well-documented, and capture a rich profile of its respondents, including many factors on health status, health conditions, and healthcare utilization. Details of the study sample and research methods have been published previously (Davern, Blewett, Lee, Boudreaux, & King, 2012).

### *Study population*

Sociodemographic information and data related to health and health service utilization for a population of insured older American adults, aged 65 years and older ( $n = 80,153$ ), were extracted for this analysis. Using complex survey sample designs, such as NHIS, can introduce unwanted bias, where the population of interest is stratified on several dimensions and oversampled within certain of these strata. This bias was minimized in the current study by employing the subpopulation option(s) and the sampling weights in the calculation of the estimates.

### *Main independent variables*

Three independent variables of interest are weak or failing kidneys, diabetes status, and time since diabetes diagnosis. Classification for weak or failing kidneys was based on information reported in response to whether the respondent was told they had weak/failing kidneys in the past 12 months. The variable weak or failing kidneys was categorized with a binary indicator as yes (1) and no (0). Classification for diabetes was based on information reported in response to whether the respondent was ever told they had diabetes. Diabetes status was categorized as no (0), yes (1), and borderline (2). Time since diabetes diagnoses was classified as 0–2 years, 3–5 years, 6–10 years, and more than 10 years.

### *Outcome variables*

The dependent variable, eye care utilization, was based on/defined as whether the respondent saw or talked to an eye doctor in the past 12 months. The measure was assessed dichotomously: saw an eye doctor (1) and did not see an eye doctor (0).

## COVARIATES

### *Demographic characteristics*

Basic demographic characteristics (age, race/ethnicity, and gender) were included in the analyses for the purpose of adjustment. Classification for race/ethnicity was based on information reported for each respondent and was categorized into six categories (American Indians and Alaska Natives, non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic Black, Asian/Pacific Islander, Hispanic/Latino, and other races). Non-Hispanic White is the reference category. Age was classified into two ordinal categories (65–84 yrs, and 85+ yrs) that captured group-specific effects in older adult populations. Gender was assessed with a binary indicator (0 = male; 1 = female). For age and gender, the lower categories served as reference.

### Data analysis/analytic strategy

Data were analyzed descriptively using cross tabulations, and inferential statistics were assessed using logistic regressions. Logistic regression analyses were conducted to estimate odds ratios (OR) and  $p$ -values for the association between past-year eye doctor visits or communication and diabetes in a multivariate context, adjusting for age, sex, and race/ethnicity factors. STATA 12 survey commands were used to adjust for the complex survey design and to weight the NHIS samples to provide estimates for the U.S. population. Statistical significance was assessed as  $p < 0.05$ . The present study is exempted from the internal review board process because it used a secondary data source that is publicly available.

### RESULTS

**Figure 1** illustrates the percentage, by time, of older people who saw or talked with an eye doctor in the past 12 months since diabetes diagnosis. Percentages range from a low of 62.2% among those older people who had received a diagnosis in the past two years or less, to a high of 66.7% among those people who had received a diagnosis more than 10 years ago. Nevertheless, past-year visits or communication with an eye doctor did not achieve statistical significance. Weighted cross-tabulations analysis reveals a Pearson's chi-square F-statistic score of 2.0407 and a  $p$ -value of 0.1069 (not shown).

**Table 1** shows that past-year visits or communications with eye doctors vary by diabetes status. Older people with diabetes are most likely to make such visits (65.4%), followed by those with borderline diabetes (59.3%), and those with no diabetes (56.7%). Pearson's chi-square F-statistic and  $p$ -value show that this relationship is statistically significant (69.48;  $p < .0001$ ).

Analysis of the association between diabetes status and past-year visits or communication with eye doctors, stratified by the presence or absence of a weak or failing kidneys, is shown in **Table 2**. Unadjusted and adjusted odds ratios of the association between diabetes status and past-year visits/communications with an eye doctor were positive and statistically significant. The likelihood of past-year visits/communications with an eye doctor was highest among people with both conditions (diabetes and kidney disease). After adjusting for age, sex, and race/ethnicity, older people with diabetes who also had weak or failing kidneys were 1.640 times more likely to visit/communicate with an eye doctor than their counterparts without diabetes ( $p < .0001$ ). Whereas older people with diabetes who did not have weak or failing kidneys were only 1.497 times more likely to visit/communicate with an eye doctor as their counterparts without diabetes ( $p < .0001$ ). There are no age, gender, or race/ethnicity subgroup differences in this association.

### DISCUSSION

The older adult population is rapidly increasing and is expected to represent 20% of the total U.S. population by 2050 (Ortman, Velkoff, & Hogan, 2014). Chronic conditions, such as diabetes, eye disease, and kidney disease, play roles in functional limitations among older adults in later years. Identifying factors such as eye disease before they occur could steer intervention and prevention efforts, reduce the incidence of functional disability, reduce the use of social services, preserve quality of life, and delay nursing home admittance. Keeping older adults healthy for as long as possible is also economically beneficial to individuals and society.

The American Diabetes Association recommends annual or biennial eye exams. However, given the close connection between aging, diabetes, and kidney disease, annual visits to eye physicians should be part of routine care for older people with risk factors for eye disease, such as diabetes and kidney failure. Previous research using population data has found that the annual frequency of eye examinations is about 50% among people in the general population with diabetes (Benoit et al., 2019). The current study found that a higher percentage of older people with diabetes (65.4%) saw an eye doctor in the past year. While 65% is an improvement compared to 50%, this finding adds to the abundant literature pointing out that systemic changes in healthcare may be needed to detect and prevent vision-threatening eye disease among people with diabetes.

Additional results suggest that having both kidney disease and diabetes increases the likelihood of past-year visits or communication with eye doctors among older U.S. adults. Results also suggest that the likelihood of seeing an eye doctor increases with the length of diabetic diagnosis. Retinal disease is a common concomitant of diabetes.

There are some limitations to our study. Using data from an existing national survey limits the types of questions available to respond to the research question because the questions pre-exist and cannot be altered, and additional questions could not be added. For example, the survey does not include questions about the specific types of diabetes, length of CKD diagnosis, and reasons for delaying medical care. Moreover, the survey did not capture whether an actual eye examination was performed during each encounter with an eye doctor.

### IMPLICATIONS

Living with diabetes can be difficult, especially when it is discovered late or uncontrolled for long periods. Older people with diabetes can develop complications that cause burden to families. Health at old age is greatly influenced by long-term health history—by a long line of events in the health status of individuals and their families, and by health beliefs.

Additionally, CKD has devastating medical, social, and economic impacts for patients and their families. The rates of older patients living with CKD is also expected to grow (U.S. Renal Data System (USRDS), 2012). Concurrently, the aging process may lead to more complex medical and psychosocial impacts.

To help prevent vision loss and blindness, it is important for older people with diabetes to have a comprehensive dilated eye examination at least once a year to detect potential diabetic eye disease early. Such examinations are performed by eye doctors. The findings in this research provide supportive and consistent evidence that older insured people with diabetes alone and with both diabetes and CKD are more likely to have annual eye checkups. This is good news; however, at 65%, their utilization of such services may not be ideal. Owing mainly to the aging of the U.S. population (Varma et al., 2016), the prevalence of visual disabilities is expected to increase markedly during the next 20 years. Retinopathy progresses slowly, and even when it becomes sight threatening, it may not present symptoms involving vision. When symptoms do occur, it is often too late to restore full vision or to stop further deterioration from retinal photocoagulation. Therefore, timely observation of early changes in eye health can be important in preventing and addressing blindness before physiological changes or structural, neurological, or acquired damage to one or both eyes occur.

The prevalence of comorbidities is common among older adults with chronic health problems. Uncontrolled diabetes can be the cause of complications, such as stroke, heart attack, impaired circulation to the feet, amputations, kidney disease, and blindness. Ageing, diabetes, and hypertension are major risk factors for an increased probability of death due to CKD (Bowe et al., 2018). Consequently, collective efforts to mitigate risk factors, such as better control of hypertension and diabetes, will likely help to abate rates of CKD. For instance, the available evidence indicates that early identification of CKD may allow physicians to aggressively modify cardiovascular risk, which, in turn, has the potential to improve patient outcomes in older people (Dukkipati, Adler, & Mehrotra, 2008).

Given the practical benefits of being able to detect and treat eye disease before it is too late, early identification of potential eye diseases and appropriate care can have a similar result as when targeting risk factors for early identification of CKD. Further studies to better explore such initiatives, as well as patterns of behavior in older populations, would be useful to improve patient care and outcomes. Studies are also needed to understand better the health-related behaviors and practices of older populations with CKD, diabetes, eye disease, and other comorbid conditions, such as hypertension.

Nephrology social workers should be included in interdisciplinary teams to ease the burdens associated with CKD-multimorbid chronic illnesses and to promote optimal out-

comes for patients. Nephrology social work offers excellent opportunities to make significant differences in the lives of older people who are faced with the challenges of managing multiple conditions. Nephrology social workers can help patients self-manage both their CKD and diabetes. They can also play a critical role in encouraging individuals and their families to seek early and frequent eye examinations and help address any psychosocial barriers to these exams.

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**TABLE 1. Past-year eye doctor visits/communications among older people with and without diabetes, stratified by kidney disease status, NHIS 2010–2015**

Visits to eye doctors			
	Yes (%)	No (%)	<sup>b</sup> F-Statistic and <i>p</i> -value <sup>b</sup>
<b>Total</b>			F (2.00, 599.99) = 69.48
<b>Diabetes Status<sup>a</sup></b>			<i>p</i> < .0001
No	15,397 (56.7)	12,128 (43.1)	
Yes	4,976 (65.4)	2,742 (34.6)	
Borderline	623 (59.3)	413 (40.7)	

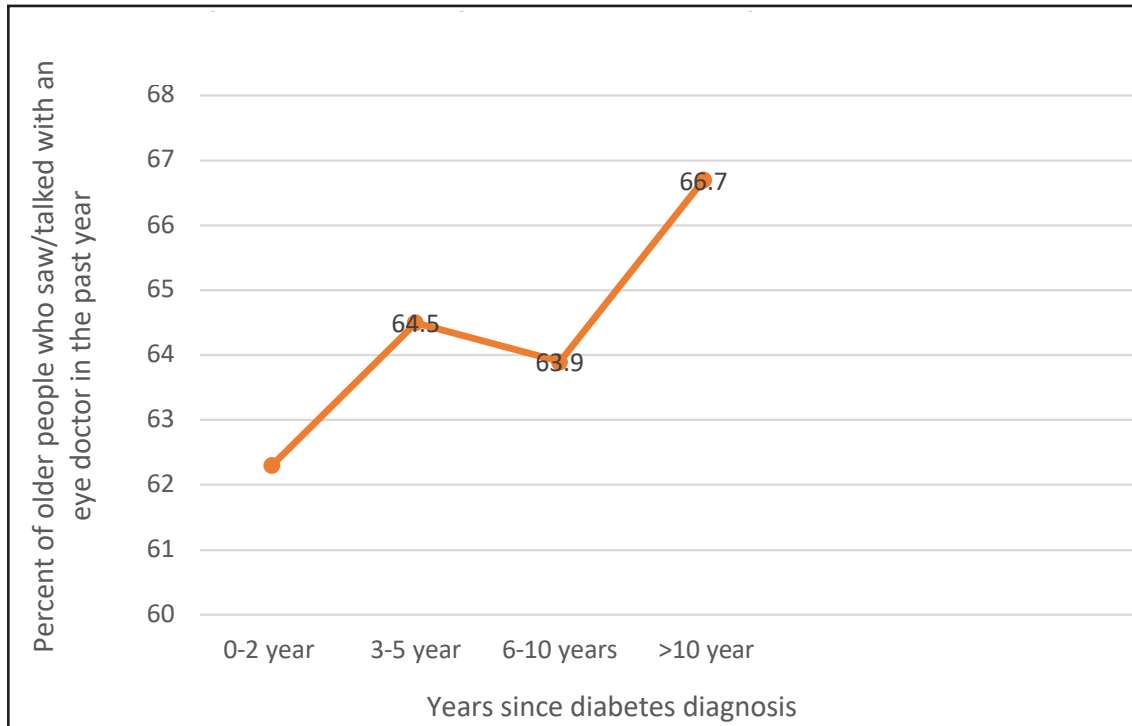
Note: **a** Sample weights are applied to the diabetes variable. **b**  $\chi^2$  test; *p*-value are generated by Pearson’s chi-squared F-statistic and *p*-value using SVY, tabulate, and subpopulation analysis.

**TABLE 2. Likelihood of visits to an eye doctor in the past year among older people with and without diabetes, stratified by kidney disease status and adjusted for age, sex and race/ethnicity, NHIS 2010–2015**

	Saw/Talked to an eye doctor				Saw/Talked to an eye doctor			
	Weak Kidney		Weak Kidney		No Weak Kidney		No Weak Kidney	
	Odds Ratio	<i>P</i> -value	Odds Ratio	<i>P</i> -value	Odds Ratio	<i>P</i> -value	Odds Ratio	<i>P</i> -value
<b>No diabetes</b>	1.000		1.000		1.000		1.000	
<b>Diabetes</b>	1.577	0.000	1.640	0.000	1.418	0.000	1.497	0.000
<b>Borderline diabetes</b>	1.748	0.060	1.807	0.048	1.074	0.304	1.122	0.106
<b>Age</b>			1.014	0.108			1.018	0.000
<b>Sex</b>			1.010	0.922			1.278	0.000
<b>Race/Ethnicity</b>			0.969	0.323			0.925	0.000
<b>N</b>	78964		78964		79608		79608	

Note: All analyses were weighted. Comparison groups included: non-Hispanic White, age 65–84 yrs, and male. Results from binary outcome, logistic regression is displayed.

**FIGURE 1.** Percentage of older adults with last year doctor contact by year since diabetes diagnosis



Note: F-Statistic Score = 2.0407

## Practice Note: COVID-19: A Dialysis Social Worker's Response

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Nephrology social workers commonly help their patients with life crises. With the COVID-19 pandemic, my role in supporting patients through crises has significantly expanded. I have had to keep up with the latest healthcare recommendations and understand these changes so I can accurately inform my patients about what to expect for their safety and treatment. Almost daily, new policies are added or changed, and I am often left questioning how a new policy will change the way I practice.

I began my journey as a dialysis social worker four years ago, and I never imagined I'd be living and working during a pandemic. As a matter of fact, I did not know much about nephrology social work until I relocated to Dallas. Like many states, we have been through a stay-at-home order, mask requirements, and a host of other precautionary measures. As a social worker, my job has been deemed "essential," and I have identified my best practices that are geared towards patients maintaining positive mental health.

As expected, in the weeks that passed during our stay-at-home order, a few patients reported flat affect and negative mood. I soon realized this pandemic would affect my patients in ways even they could not describe. Having chronic kidney disease affects one's personal life on a daily basis. So, it is important to remember patients' personal lives have already been interrupted due to being on dialysis, and the strains of this pandemic limit their personal lives significantly more.

To address this, I have posted signs in my clinic, so patients are aware they do not have to suffer in silence. The signs are also posted in Spanish and Vietnamese to ensure all patients have the opportunity to communicate their needs. As my social work office is not used by patients now because of social distancing, patients are offered the choice to talk with me chairside or, for more privacy, by telephone. I personally prefer to speak to patients over the phone, due to privacy reasons. I am finding it difficult to communicate effectively when I am wearing a mask and a shield as required. Most times, my patients cannot hear me unless I am speaking loudly, and I would like to be discreet as I can when communicating about sensitive topics.

While adjusting to a COVID-19 lifestyle has been challenging and stressful times for all, bringing some light to a dark time is important to me to instill in my patients. Reminding

patients that family, friends, quality sleep, and self-care are things that are priceless. This has also opened the lines of communication to revisit subjects that patients previously pushed to the side, such as getting a transplant or trying home dialysis. Patients value being able to dialyze during this time, but that does not negate the fact that they would rather be at home and following social distancing orders than commuting three days a week to treatment. In addition, encouraging home therapies has been a relevant topic to revisit since patients can now see the value in seeking treatment at their home. I have taken the opportunity to revisit transplantation for eligible patients who declined the option to apply. Generally, many patients are afraid of having a transplant surgery or are just more comfortable seeking treatment at our dialysis center. So, for me, painting a picture of treatment options to consider when the pandemic stabilizes gives patients enough time to rethink their previous decisions and maybe take a risk that is worth taking. After all, if you can survive a pandemic, you can do anything!

In the meantime, day-to-day tasks are still ongoing. There have been instances of "putting out small fires," such as speaking to patients in private who falsely think another patient's absence means they have COVID-19. There is a great responsibility I feel to reduce the spread of rumors, so that none of our patients face the stigma that comes along with a high-risk diagnosis.

The silver lining during these trying times has been patients attending treatment more consistently. This has been a great time to talk to patients about improving their self-management to stay as healthy as possible (e.g., stopping smoking or improving diet). As we now know, COVID-19 is a respiratory illness and having a healthy immune system contributes to better recovery odds. Using these facts as a gateway to address smoking and dietary habits gives me the opportunity to address possible underlying issues that led to these choices.

Patients have been receptive to information from the clinic and have taken information seriously. There is also the great importance of being deliberate with the timing and subject matter of material. Thankfully, our patients have not given much resistance to new policies that are intended to keep them safe. As a nephrology social worker, I will continue to adjust my practice as we all continue to adjust to a "new normal."

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## Practice Note: Fear in the Shadows: Stalking in Dialysis and Transplant

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*“Stalking is a crime that can paralyze an otherwise productive person with fear.” (Madigan, n.d.)*

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*In this article, we will provide information about stalking incidents by patients in healthcare and dialysis facilities, make recommendations, and suggest some related resources that can help nephrology social workers and their interdisciplinary colleagues. Stalking in a workplace potentially places the organization, supervisors, employees, and patients at physical or emotional risk, or can result in litigation or reduced work performance.*

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Stalking is defined as a course of conduct directed at a person that involves “repeated (two or more occasions) visual or physical proximity; nonconsensual communication, or verbal, written, or implied threats or a combination thereof; whereby the action would cause a reasonable person fear” (National Institute of Justice, 2007). It also is an action that is repeated more than once, rather than a single act, and induces fear in the victim (U.S. Department of Justice, 2002). Stalking can also include cyber-stalking, which targets people through social media, email, or other electronic communication.

In stalking, there is at least one person who is the target of a stalker’s actions that can also include obsessive and erotic attachment. It is believed stalkers may use stalking as “power and control,” similar to the postulates of rape and domestic violence perpetration. The stalker is often a silent entity who may go undetected for a considerable period of time (National Institute of Justice, 2007), and the target may not have picked up the cues that they are being stalked.

Stalking is identified with workplace “mobbing” scenarios. “Mobbing” is a term used by Dr. Heinz Leymann to describe a phenomenon he encountered while researching the social dynamics of a workplace. He states, “psychological terror or mobbing in working life involves hostile and unethical communication which is directed systematically by one or more individuals, mainly toward one individual, who, due to mobbing, is pushed into a helpless and defenseless position and held there by means of continuing mobbing activities” (Leymann.se website, n.d.). The process of “mobbing” may indeed underlie the reason that many victims of stalking may not be provided or have implemented appropriate safety plans when the agency offers protection. In and of itself, mobbing as a form of stalking may need further review with-

in health settings, such as dialysis and transplant facilities. For example, a new employee is somewhat of a perfectionist and is subsequently ostracized by peers in the workplace. The method of ostracizing may include sabotaging workflow, gossip, ignoring, or not passing on information, and the target is not able to work with the same knowledge as their peers.

Pathe, Mullen, and Purcell (2002) discuss the dynamics of stalking along with strategies for safety and protection for the target of stalking. They suggest there has been an increase in stalking behavior in health settings, and healthcare professionals are over-represented in victimization. Other research suggests that patients who stalk their care providers may be developing a romantic attachment due to delusional beliefs or a mixture of “wounded injury belief” to “misplaced expectation” (McIvor & Petch, 2006).

In healthcare settings, when health professionals are stalked, employers and employees must focus on how the stalking target is coping and remains safe. McIvor & Petch (2006) report that stalking can increase the risk of physical violence by 25–35%, and they recommend that healthcare organizations should consider adopting formal educational programs on stalking for patients, particularly for staff in the initial stages of their career. Through education, training, policies, and processes, organizational management can be the guardian of patients and staff in dialysis and transplant facilities.

Some research indicates that stalking in healthcare settings is uniquely different than other forms of stalking (American Psychiatric Association, 2019). In healthcare settings, a stalking patient or coworker may focus on another person due to attraction that interferes with the professional’s work with the stalker and has implications for the stalker’s health. Multiple physical and psychological sequelae to being stalked include

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weight changes, sleep disorders, weakness, apprehension, anger, and fear (Owens, 2016). Survivors of stalking may experience long-term disruption of behavior and “normal living,” with concomitant psychological trauma, including a loss of “peace of mind” and freedom, increased fear, helplessness, and depleted coping skills (Comparcini, Simonetti, Lupo, & Cicolini, 2015).

In 2015, we conducted a national survey of 274 dialysis professionals about violence in dialysis centers (Kwatcher & Stricherz, 2015). Eighty-seven respondents (32%) reported that they experienced stalking behavior or were aware of it having occurred in their dialysis center. The respondents identified a total of 92 cases of stalking. Among these cases, 52 reported incidents of stalking occurred within the past three years, 12 incidents from three to five years prior to the survey, 11 incidents from six to 10 years prior to the survey, and 17 incidents from 10 or more years prior to the survey.

Following this survey, we created a list of actions that can be taken by stalking victims and their healthcare employers/caregivers to reduce their risk when subjected to stalking behavior at dialysis or transplant facilities (see **Table 1**) (Kwatcher & Stricherz, 2015). These include changing daily schedules, changing telephone numbers, taking time off, changing travel routes, changing locks, changing jobs, and changing email addresses. If a kidney health professional is a victim of stalking, they should immediately discuss this with their employer and contact law enforcement as applicable.

**TABLE 1. Actions that can be taken by stalking victims and their employers**

Action	Potential PROs and CONs of the action
Change daily schedule.	PROs: Work schedule changes approved by employer may increase the protective factors for the target. CONs: May disrupt family, childcare, academics, sleep schedule, among other life areas.
Change telephone number.	PROs: Employee causes the employer to keep new number unpublished for an acceptable period, and then perhaps publish the new number when the target is safe (usually after interventions such as restraining orders or cease and desist orders). Limits/interferes with the stalker's accessibility to other patients, other employees. CONs: May impair continuity of communication within the target's professional/social sphere of influence; may require disruption of texting notifications.
Take time off from school or work.	PROs: May make stalker access to the target more difficult; may allow the victim an enhanced sense of control and efficacy. CONs: If the patient is in a college program or school there may be a loss of income from financial aid or a need to drop out of school, job coaching, or training; also: possible loss of a job; a possible change in vocational aspirations; a possible loss of avocational interests and activities; an alteration of progress with assigned tasks; possible changes to project completion deadlines.
Change travel route.	PROs: May create planning and surveillance difficulty for the stalker; may add to the target's sense of safety and efficacy. CONs: May be time-consuming; may involve additional expenses; may be an inconvenience or may result in a possible a loss of transportation (public transportation, carpool).

**TABLE 1. Actions that can be taken by stalking victims and their employers, continued**

Change locks or get a security system.	PROs: May provide maximum safety for the target; may reduce concerns regarding old keys that may have been copied by family, or the stalker, or given to trusted persons. CONs: Costly in a home or office; with a security system, some family members may be left vulnerable due to their schedules, such as “latch key kids” or impaired family members.
Change or quit job or school or location of dialysis unit.	PROs: Essentially an incognito move that, in the age of technology, may not be possible. CONs: If the patient is forced to leave the dialysis center, access to the nephrologist and staff will cause a loss of continuity in medical and interpersonal services. If the staff member has to change centers or workplace, other patients may feel the loss of a trusted caregiver.
Change email address.	PROs: Decreased access to the target. CONs: May cause a loss of communications; may require the employer to limit publication within I.T. systems; if an unknown stalker is an employee of the same workplace, this may be ineffective.
Police intervention; use of security consultant.	PROs: Places the onus for protection onto the seriousness of the perceived violence and alerts police to physical danger and awareness of possibly an active intruder or active shooter. Helps implement a plan to provide for maximum protection and quick response. Consultants can assist in identifying what may be risk factors not perceived by the agency. CONs: A police intervention with some stalkers may trigger a more violent reaction and aggressive action against the target. If police do not take the threat seriously, the victim may place their guard down and be more at risk.

**Table 2** outlines recommendations that should be considered when developing policy to address stalking in healthcare facilities, such as dialysis and transplant clinics (Kwatcher & Stricherz, 2015).

**TABLE 2. Recommendations for healthcare facility policies to address stalking**

Policy considerations	Policy details
Zero tolerance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Of stalking.</li> <li>• Toward any member of the team who does not take every part of the policy seriously.</li> <li>• For blaming the target of stalking for causing the stalking.</li> </ul>
Duty to warn	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ensure targeted staff person’s safety.</li> <li>• Duty to warn and other related information and actions; may require advice from and contact with agency’s legal representative if it is thought a threat scenario.</li> <li>• When grave injury or death is anticipated based on threats to kill, presence of weapons, history of threat-maker having harmed the target or others with great bodily harm, or as defined by relevant statues and codes of ethics.</li> <li>• All work-related stalking cases are to be reported to the facility manager and risk management without delay, i.e. as soon as threats are identified.</li> <li>• Management should immediately contact law enforcement.</li> </ul>

**TABLE 2. Recommendations for healthcare facility policies to address stalking, *continued***

Confidentiality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Right to privacy.</li> <li>• Information is available to selected staff on a need-to-know basis; the greater the type of threat (i.e., at workplace with weapon), the wider the dissemination of information about the threat should be made.</li> </ul>
All cases to be treated with the same merit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No judgment, discrimination, discipline, termination, or retaliation by the employer.</li> <li>• Assistance provided with workplace issues, such as scheduling, impact on job performance, safety nets.</li> </ul>
Reporting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All work-related stalking cases to be reported to the facility manager and risk management, mandatory accrediting agency reporting, and mandatory law-enforcement/security reporting requirements.</li> </ul>
Leave for emotional or physical protection, court procedures, or other necessary actions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Paid leave when stalking is related to employment.</li> </ul>
Stalker identification to staff	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Post photo of the stalker in select locations, as permissible by law.</li> <li>• Name and description of stalker relationship to the target made known to employees, as needed, in the facility.</li> </ul>
When agency management has permitted the target staff person to be “mobbed”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Policy to clearly spell out what is expected of all employees.</li> <li>• Failure to protect and abide by safety plan will result in a disciplinary issue.</li> </ul>
Safety plan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Senior management works with supervisors and targeted staff person to develop a safety plan.</li> <li>• Risk management notified, and a safety plan is written and documented.</li> </ul>

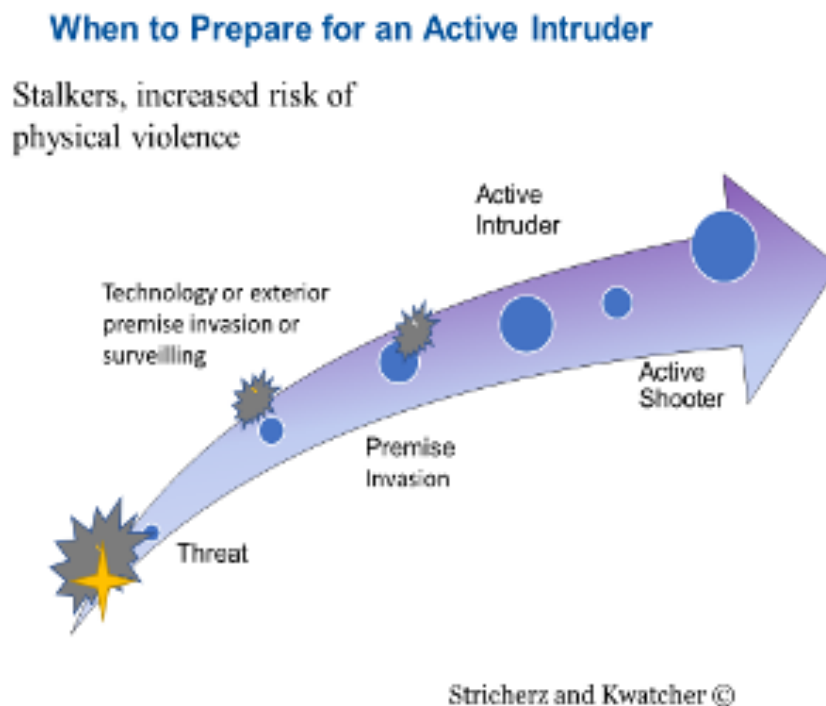
There are different state laws, agency policies, and supervisor practices regarding protections and accommodations for employees who are victims of crimes such as stalking. Such employees may need to meet with police and prosecutors, respond to a subpoena, testify, or take other actions because they are stalking victims. Healthcare organizations are encouraged to create and disseminate policies that address these needs. When considering stalking in healthcare settings, **Tables 1 and 2** can serve as guides for administrators about policies and protections that need to be put in place. Once a threat that is connected to a workplace is received and reported, protection of the target is incumbent upon the agency.

We postulate that all organizations should consider the potential latent potential of the perpetrator's power and control—those unrecognized consequences of the perpetrator's

behavior or status, including the unrecognized consequences of management's behaviors, decisions, or status. (Merton & Merton, 1968). However, these are secondary to the direct power differential that may exist if the perpetrator's role provides access to the target on the premises, such as the perpetrator being a patient or employee of a dialysis or transplant unit.

The model in **Figure 1** illustrates when and where within the facility the perpetrator's access to a stalking target may require action. There is usually a secret or hidden period when the target is not aware of the threat or the actuality of being a target. An underlying assumption is that when stalking is identified, there is a threat, and that must be a non-negotiable trigger for the facility's response. It cannot be normalized.

**FIGURE 1.** Model for preparing for a continuum of active intruders



## SUMMARY

Dialysis and transplant units need to be familiar with the concept of stalking and how it can affect their employees or targeted patients, as well as the vicarious impact on both employees and patients when it occurs in the unit. Centers will need to be prepared with policies to address these behaviors to protect employees and patients. Below are case examples that can be used for kidney dialysis units and in other healthcare settings to consider and discuss organizational responses that can improve employee safety. This discussion can include a root-cause analysis of each case, and use these discussion questions:

- What, if any, are the behavioral prodrome leading to violence on the continuum?
- What works?
- What needs to be done?
- When may it happen?

Within the problems and interventions in the following three cases are illustrations of some of the issues in dealing with stalking in kidney care settings. When a target first finds out or suspects they are being stalked, what can the target do, what should the agency do, and when should it be done?

### ***Case example #1: The harried employee***

The facility manager in a small town noticed a patient care technician coming to work several hours early and received reports from the facility nurse that the tech did not leave after her shift. The nurse also indicated the tech seemed to be preoccupied. The nurse asked the tech if everything was all right; she responded that everything was fine. Two days later, the nurse and manager, after talking about the tech's absent-mindedness, related their concerns to the tech. She disclosed that mysterious things had recently been happening: her car was keyed, the back door of her home was found open, and items were missing from her laundry. There were several other strange incidents in the facility parking lot, a supermarket, and the tech's home. The tech, who lived alone, was afraid at home and was not getting much sleep. The tech had not called the police because she was afraid it might get worse. She felt safer at work than at home or in the community because her coworkers were nearby.

### ***Case example #2: "Percutere ferrum est calidum." (Strike while the iron is hot.)***

A patient who had been evaluated and declined for transplant due to treatment nonadherence was admitted to a hospital where he made threatening comments about his transplant social worker. The patient responded to queries from hospital staff, "How are you doing?" with "Not well, I need a transplant, but the transplant social worker kept me off the transplant list, and now I am going to die." The patient stated mul-

iple times, "...that since I am going to die, the social worker should die too." The patient repeated this several times.

The staff contacted a supervisor who spoke to the patient. The patient repeated his comments. The risk management department was contacted and advised there was now a duty to warn the transplant social worker. Risk management called the social worker's manager at the transplant program, and the night supervisor called the local police. The police came to the hospital and interviewed the patient who again stated, "The social worker should die since he kept me off the transplant list." The police officer filed a report of making a death threat, while the social worker's manager contacted the transplant social worker.

After receiving the call very late at night, the social worker was instructed to call the night manager at the hospital where the patient was admitted. The social worker called and was transferred to a police officer and was advised that the police officer had already filed a report. The social worker was asked if he "felt threatened," and he responded that he did. He was advised to go to the court first thing in the morning to file an Order of Protection (OOP).

In the morning, the exhausted and stressed social worker went to the local court to file paperwork, which the judge signed. The social worker delivered the OOP to his manager and hospital security department. After a discussion with management, the social worker drove to the hospital where the patient was located to deliver a copy of the OOP. The social worker called a process server, met the server in the hospital's lobby, and personally paid for the patient to be served with the OOP. This was a daunting, all-day task.

The social worker was told not to drive to the transplant center for the foreseeable future, to park in a remote area of the medical center campus, call security for an escort to the office, and to call for an escort back to the car at the end of the workday.

Within several days the social worker was notified the patient had been discharged, and a few days later, the patient arrived at the transplant clinic, which prompted the use of the "panic button" and a rapid security response. Security remained with the patient during his physician visit, where the patient was told he was terminated and had 30 days to locate another provider. The patient continued to be very ill and was readmitted to another hospital. The social worker was advised that during the time at the new hospital the patient continued to state the "social worker needs to die too." Within six weeks, the social worker was informed the patient had died.

### ***Case example #3: Stalking: An obsessive relationship from one-way to "no-way"***

A few years ago, the 26-year old, unemployed son of a non-English speaking patient started accompanying his father to

dialysis in the medical van, and stayed through his father's treatment, often waiting in the lobby. The facility's social worker, a middle-aged woman, always entered the clinic through the lobby door and said good morning to the very bashful young man. He started showing up at the lobby door just as she was coming in, and although he appeared harmless, he was making the employee uneasy. The manager felt there was not a problem, as nothing had happened. The social worker started switching cars with her husband, and altering her hours, as it was getting uncomfortable, but nothing had really "happened." Although there was another entrance to the building, the manager would not provide a key to this employee, telling her she was exaggerating. The young man started lurking in the parking lot, waiting to spot the employee pulling in, then rushing to the door. The custodian was sympathetic and provided a key for the social worker. One day as she inserted the key into the door, the young man popped out of a nearby hiding place. Fortunately, she was unharmed, and the incident was caught on the security camera and finally addressed. The family acknowledged that the young man was mentally unstable and had previous similar incidents. They agreed that he could no longer accompany his father to the clinic or be on the grounds of the facility at any time.

*The procedures, policies, and viewpoints expressed herein are those of the author(s) and do not represent an official endorsement by NKF.*

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