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Photography by Larry Sultan

Stolen Lives

By Barry Yeoman, January-February 2004

Thousands of older Americans are being rob their freedom, dignity, and life savings by a le system created for their protection. How can happen?

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The Christmas Day before the courts stripped Inez America Carr of her independence, she woke up earlier than usual to help prepare the traditional family feast. She started first on the rolls, dozens of them, mixing the homemade batter and allowing the miniature loaves to rise, then bake, before stacking them on sheets of wax paper. She washed the collards, set them to boil in an aluminum pot with a chunk of salt pork for flavoring, then peeled the fat sweet potatoes and dressed them with liberal amounts of butter, sugar, and nutmeg. By evening, her threestory home in San Francisco's upscale Pacific Heights was thick with the savory smells of the cooking of her Mississippi roots.

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It was a typical Christmas for the Carrs. Inez, a retired practical (audio) nurse, and her husband, Carnell, a retired psychiatric technician, never had children of their own, but they never lacked invitations to holiday dinners. Ove a half-century, the Carrs had grown kin-close to a family named the Jolivets, whose mati Joanne Gentry, worked alongside Inez at the old Franklin Hospital in the Duboce Triangl 1950s and '60s. After Gentry's death, two younger generations of Jolivets adopted the C their own. They've shopped for the couple, shuttled them to doctor appointments, and hε repairs to their Victorian home. "They are my family," Inez says. "They look out for us."

At 7 p.m., Chris Jolivet, 35, came by to pick up the couple, whom he has called aunt and the time he learned to speak. Inez removed the apron from her holiday dress and collect food. A few minutes later, the trio was on the south side of town, where Jolivet, who is ur brought them for dinner with his mother, Lavern Jolivet, a 60-year-old medical transcribe Joanne Gentry's daughter. Carnell joked about the steep descent from Jolivet's SUV. "Si heaven," he called it, as they entered the house for an evening of prayer, feasting, and to

the time ne learned to the food. A few minutes later, the trio was on the south side food. A few minutes later, the trio was on the south side brought them for dinner with his mother, Lavern Jolivet, Joanne Gentry's daughter. Carnell joked about the steep heaven," he called it, as they entered the house for an entire and the complete the food. A few minutes later, a doubt the steep heaven, he called it, as they entered the house for an entire and the complete the food. A few minutes later, a doubt the steep heaven, he called it, as they entered the house for an entire and the carnell poked about the steep heaven, he called it, as they entered the house for an entire and the carnell poked about the steep heaven, he called it, as they entered the house for an entire and the carnell poked about the steep heaven, he called it, as they entered the house for an entire and the carnell poked about the steep heaven, he called it, as they entered the house for an entire and the sample of the carnell poked about the steep heaven, he called it, as they entered the house for an entire and the sample of the carnell poked about the steep heaven, he called it, as they entered the house for an entire and the sample of the carnell poked about the steep heaven, he called it, as they entered the house for an entire and the sample of the carnell poked about the steep heaven, he called it, as they entered the house for an entire and the sample of the carnell poked about the steep heaven, he called it, as they entered the house for an entire and the carnell poked about the steep heaven, he called it, as they entered the house for an entire and the carnell poked about the steep heaven, he called it, as they entered the house for an entire and the carnell poked about the steep heaven, he called it, as they entered the house for an entered On that peaceful Christmas Day 2001, the assembled family had no idea of the drama th about to unfold: Just three months later, a visit from two out-of-town relatives would set it series of events that would land the Carrs in front of a San Francisco judge. He would de couple were incompetent to handle their own affairs, and place them-ostensibly for their being—under the care of professional conservators. These total strangers would assume the Carrs' finances, placing them on a restrictive monthly allowance. They would redirect and try to replace Carnell's doctor-all the while billing the Carrs \$90 an hour for their se Eventually, legal and conservator fees would drain much of the couple's life savings. The

Inez America Carr grew up with the rural Southern values of self-reliance and autonomy



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sudden loss of independence—and the ensuing struggle to win it back—has left her a pe and angry 93-year-old. What happened doesn't square with her vision of the country that both a middle name and a lifetime of opportunity. "How in the world can they do this to me the clear blue sky, under the guise that they're protecting me?" she asks.

The answer: It happens every day across the country to unsuspecting people just like Incbecause of a patchwork of state laws designed to care for adults who can't take care of themselves—incapacitated adults. Often the system works. But too often it backfires, leavictims worse off than they might have been without the system's so-called protections.

That system is known in most states as "guardianship." California calls it "conservatorsh places use both terms to mean slightly different things. But the upshot is the same: In ev judge has the right to decide that someone is no longer capable of running his or her ow judge can then appoint a guardian to make all major decisions for the ward (the term use describe a person placed under guardianship).

Guardians can be attorneys, relatives or friends, government employees, private social woney managers, community volunteers, or employees of social-service organizations. be volunteers or they might charge a fee. There are no reliable statistics on the number under guardianship in the U.S., but estimates run upwards of 600,000, a number that will exponentially as the baby boomer generation ages.

The guardianship system, which was brought over from England during colonial times, is considered a necessary part of elder law, to be used under narrow circumstances and or resort. Without such a process, there might not be anyone to make health care decisions person suffering from dementia who has no caregiver. But while many guardianship case without a hitch, the system is also rife with opportunities for financial exploitation, medical and the wrongful usurping of a competent person's freedom.

"Guardianship is a godsend and a gulag," says Erica Wood, associate staff director of th Bar Association's Commission on Law and Aging. "It's a lifesaver and a life stopper. It's a institution that we as a society need. But we need to make it better."

"You could be a shoe salesman at a five-and-dime store yesterday and a professional conservator or quardian today."

The perils of guardianship first gained public notice when a platoon of Associated Press reporters fanne across the United States, reviewing 2,200 case files part investigative series. The reporters uncovered "a dangerously burdened and troubled system" in whic were committing people to guardianships without firs permitting them access to attorneys or even hearing also discovered that "often, in the eyes of the court, and spending money foolishly" were criteria enough being placed in a guardianship. What's more, there safeguards to ensure that guardians didn't abuse or their charges.

The AP series sparked congressional hearings, a national conference, and legislative reforms in all 50 states. The new laws have strengthened durand instituted more careful monitoring by the courts. Judges also have been instructed to on labels like "senile" and "incompetent" and more on real abilities to handle day-to-day

Still, according to critics, the legal reforms haven't always translated into real-life improve Many guardianships continue to be assigned to untrained professionals based solely on evidence, often without methodical court hearings to determine the scope of the subject's competence. And conservators and guardians continue to siphon five- and six-figure sur bank accounts of the very people they are supposed to be protecting. Sometimes that si pure theft; other times guardians simply charge astronomical fees for their services.

In 2001, New York's *Daily News* reported about guardians who billed their clients' estate hour for such routine services as reviewing bank accounts. One guardian reportedly visit who was celebrating her birthday, then billed her \$850 for the social call. In many cases, not only has to pay the guardian for his or her services, but also must pay the guardian's for time spent on the case.

Adding to the potential for abuse is the fact that there is no uniformity in records states in Consequently, no one knows exactly how widespread the problems are. Many experts coabuse rampant. Bob Aldridge, a Boise, Idaho, elder-law attorney who testified recently obefore Congress, reviewed 250 guardianships on behalf of the state bar association and court system, uncovering more than 50 with "egregious" problems. "These are not isolated occasional blips," he says. "This constitutes a significant portion of the cases out there. If Idat-out rip-off situations."

Inez Carr never expected to become a legal statistic. Born in Kosciusko, Mississippi, she difficult childhood. The family lived "with the pan," relying on leftover food from the kitche wealthy white households where her mother worked as a maid. Like many black families the Jim Crow South in the 1920s, Inez's family eventually migrated north, first to Philade to South Bend, Indiana, chasing economic opportunities that rural Dixie failed to provide graduating from high school at 23, she took cosmetology classes and found work at a loparlor.

One day in 1947, Inez dropped by her mother's house for a visit. Her mother rented out and that day Inez spotted the handsome brother of her mother's boarder. His name was Roosevelt Carr, and he had just returned home from a hitch in the Army. "I saw him, and it," she says. The only work Carnell could find in South Bend was sweeping hotel floors, moved to San Francisco, where he had family and an opportunity to work in a hospital. It followed a year later, and the couple married.

When they had saved enough money, the Carrs took a bold step for the 1950s and boug in Pacific Heights, an exclusive district of bougainvillea-covered Victorian homes. "We w African Americans on this block," Inez recalls. "We expected to see signs all around the morning." In fact, there was no neighborhood outcry.

Today, the Carr home, valued around \$1.4 million, is divided into three apartments. The out the two upper floors, and Inez collects the money and keeps the books. The Carrs liv bottom floor, a sprawling two-bedroom apartment packed with African art, antique furnitu collection of baby dolls, Asian fans, and figurines.

Over the years, the Carrs have accumulated their share of medical problems. Carnell ha and heart disease. Inez suffers from high blood pressure and diabetes. Twice a day she her blood sugar, keeping meticulous records of her levels. With the Jolivets' help, the coable to juggle the constant demands of medications and doctor visits.

Then, in March 2002, Inez and Carnell received a visit from Carnell's nephew, Ozell Carn just learned that according to the Carrs' will he was in line to split the Carr estate with Ch Accompanying the nephew was his daughter, Pamela Kizer, who says she was immediated dismayed by the condition of the apartment. "When you walked in the door, the house has to it," she says. "You couldn't eat on the kitchen table for all the clutter. The room that I s you had to make a path to the sofa bed. There were boxes in front of the heating registed June, Kizer called San Francisco's Adult Protective Services and reported her observationals or claimed that the Jolivets were trying to financially exploit her great-uncle and his wif

Kizer says her sole concern was for the Carrs' welfare. Inez suspected other motives: St Kizer was trying to protect her father's inheritance by accusing Chris Jolivet and his fami influence and neglect. Regardless of Kizer's intentions, her call to APS triggered an aggr investigation—too aggressive, says Dennis Livingston, an attorney hired by the Jolivets them deal with the situation. "Adult Protective Services came in like a bull in a china shol Livingston says. "The presumption was that because Mrs. Carr was in her 90s, she could possibly be competent."

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