

TIMELINE

CONTENTS

1800s

p. 2

1900-1990

p. 2-3

1991-2000

p. 4

A Snapshot: Direct Care Workforce Facts and Trends, 2000-2020

p. 5-8

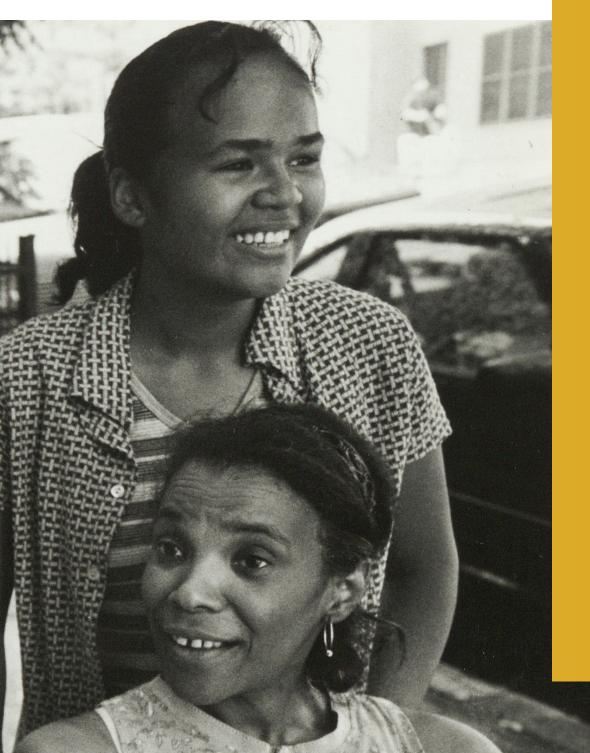
2001-2010

p. 9-10

2011-2022

p. 11-16





THE LAST FEW YEARS have been monumental for direct care workers. The COVID-19 pandemic, the passage of the American Rescue Plan Act (which has temporarily resourced many states to improve direct care jobs), the Build Back Better debate, and the stated commitment of the Biden-Harris administration to strengthen this essential workforce and the long-term care sector have all brought unprecedented attention to our country's 4.6 million home care workers, residential care aides, and nursing assistants.

But we didn't arrive at this point in history overnight. As with the wins of other social movements, today's direct care policy victories are due to decades of hard-fought struggles led by workers, older adults, people with disabilities, and a growing constellation of organizations and advocates that have dared to imagine a new reality for the direct care workforce—and then made it happen.

Here are our thoughts on the key historical moments that have defined the direct care workforce movement.

1893

Lillian Wald, the country's first public health nurse and a renowned human rights advocate, begins delivering home health services throughout New York City, establishing what would become one of the oldest and largest non-profit home health care agencies in the country, Visiting Nurse Service of New York. Today, VNSNY is part of a national long-term care sector that includes more than 12.000 home health agencies. nearly 29,000 residential care communities, and more than 15,000 nursing homes.1



Critical employment rights for U.S. workers are established in law through the National Labor Relations Act (1935) and the Fair Labor Standards Act (1938), including collective bargaining rights and wage and overtime protections.² However. agricultural and domestic workers are intentionally excluded from these rights and protections. Despite their specific skill set and responsibilities (which only become more complex over time), home care workers are among these excluded workers-which perpetuates poor job quality in the direct care sector for decades and impoverishes a largely female, people of color workforce.3



President Franklin D. Roosevelt signs the National Labor Relations Act on July 5, 1935, while Rep. Theodore A. Peyser (D-NY), U.S. Labor Secretary Frances Perkins and U.S. Sen. Robert F. Wagner (D-NY); (back row, from left to right) commemorate the signing.

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The New York Times

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AX BILL PASSES,
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The Social Security Act is signed into law, guaranteeing adults aged 65 and above a post-retirement income, among other provisions.⁴ Social Security serves as the foundation of the contemporary long-term services and supports (LTSS) system in the United States.

1965

Medicare and Medicaid are created through amendments to the Social Security Act, with LTSS set up under Medicaid as a meanstested program (i.e., accessible only to eligible individuals under a certain income level) rather than a universal benefit.⁵ Over the next few decades, various policy decisions limit the large-scale impact of Medicaid and create profound racial disparities in

health care access; these policies include limiting desegregation in nursing homes, delinking Medicaid eligibility from other public assistance programs during the "welfare reform" era, making Medicaid expansion under the Affordable Care Act optional rather than mandatory, and defunding Medicaid and other public benefit programs with ideological attacks, among others.6 As a result, these actions end up harming consumers, who need affordable health and long-term care coverage, and direct care workers, whose jobs are financed significantly through Medicaid dollars.

1965



Congress passes the Older Americans Act (OAA), constructing a national federal and state infrastructure for aging services, and the federal Administration on Aging (now

Lillian Wald

known as the Administration for Community Living).⁷ With a focus on supporting older adults to age in place, the OAA establishes the foundation for the home and community-based services (HCBS) system.



CHCA serves as a national model for home care worker training, workforce development, and employee-owned home care businesses, inspiring the worker cooperative movement nationwide.⁹

1985

A small team of workforce experts and home health aides found

Cooperative Home Care Associates (CHCA), a first-of-its-kind worker-owned home care agency in the South Bronx. Since then, CHCA grows exponentially from 12 home health aides to more than 1,700 workers, becoming the largest worker cooperative in the country.⁸



1985

California becomes the first state to pass a "wage pass-through" (WPT) law, which increases Medicaid funding for long-term care settings with requirements that these additional funds be "passed through" to direct care workers in the form of increased compensation. However, the California WPT law is not recognized until 1999.

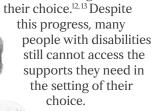
Meanwhile, in 1990, Michigan becomes the first state to pass and implement a WPT law. As of December 2019, 22 states have valid WPT laws.¹⁰

1987

Through the Omnibus **Budget Reconciliation Act** of 1987, the federal government establishes a requirement that nursing assistants receive at least 75 hours of entry-level training and adopts a similar requirement for home health aides in 1989. Although states have been able to provide personal care through their Medicaid programs since 1975, federal leaders have never enacted any training requirement for personal care aides. As of May 2022, 43 states have adopted some level of training requirements for these workers, but most of these states have varying requirements for personal care aides working in specific Medicaid programs versus for private-pay home care agencies. Seven states still do not regulate training for personal care aides at all.

1990

The Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 is enacted, prohibiting discrimination based on disability and paving the way for future decisions that expand access to HCBS and build the direct care workforce; various significant amendments are added to this legislation in 2008.¹¹ In 1999, the *Olmstead v. L.C.* Supreme Court decision establishes the civil rights of individuals with disabilities to receive services in their homes and communities. and in 2014. CMS issues a final rule on Medicaid-funded HCBS to ensure that consumers receive services in the most integrated LTSS setting of



The Paraprofessional Healthcare Institute (now known as PHI) is formed as the non-profit partner of CHCA and focuses over the next decade on operating CHCA's entry-level training program and supporting the creation of other home care cooperatives, including Home



Care Associates in Philadelphia (1993) and Cooperative Home Care of Boston (1994-1999), while expanding employeecentered models in Detroit and New Hampshire. As it grows. PHI cements itself firmly as the nation's leading expert on the direct care workforce, rooted in the belief that quality direct care jobs are the foundation for delivering quality care. In the decades that follow, many national organizations dedicate themselves to strengthening the direct care workforce. including (in alphabetical order): American

Geriatrics Society,

the Center for Caregiver
Advancement, the Community
Living Policy Center at the
University of California, San
Francisco (UCSF), the Health
Workforce Research Center
on Long-Term Care at UCSF,
Healthcare Career Advancement
Program, the Institute for
Community Integration at
the University of Minnesota,
LeadingAge, the National
Association of Health Care



Assistants, the National Alliance for Direct Support Professionals, the National Employment Law Project, National Fund for Workforce Solutions, National Skills Coalition, the National Domestic Workers Alliance, PHI, the Service Employees International Union, and The ICA Group, among many others. This constellation of organizations at all geographic levels, including an extensive network of state and

local groups, has flourished in recent years, reflecting the direct care workforce movement's growing importance and effectiveness.

1996

The National Association of **Direct Support Professionals** (NADSP) is founded, becoming over time the preeminent voice for direct support professionals (i.e., direct care workers who support people with intellectual and developmental disabilities).14 Among its many accomplishments, NADSP works with the U.S. Department of Labor to craft apprenticeship standards for direct support professionals (DSPs) (2001); creates the first-ever national credentialing program for DSPs (2007); and co-authors on behalf of the President's Committee for People with Intellectual Disabilities the formative report, America's Direct Support Workforce Crisis: Effects on People with Intellectual Disabilities, Families, Communities and the U.S. Economy (2017).15

1996

The Cash & Counseling demonstration project is initially launched in three states (Arkansas, Florida, and New Jersey) and later expanded to

12 other states, generating the evidence needed to support the widespread adoption of the consumer-direction model in LTSS.¹⁶ This model has expanded the direct care workforce significantly to include family members and friends as well as other "independent providers" serving self-directing consumers.

2000

With the first major federal grant or contract to support direct care workers, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) funds the establishment of the National Clearinghouse on the Direct Care Worker, a historic online resource of publications on the direct care workforce. PHI and the Institute for the Future of Aging Services (now known as the LeadingAge LTSS Center @UMass Boston) co-lead this initiative, which is instrumental in raising early awareness in this country about the critical role of direct care workers. The clearinghouse evolves into the National Direct Care Workforce Resource Center, as relaunched and updated by PHI in 2020, which now serves as the country's premier online library of information on these workers.

(timeline continued on p. 9)

















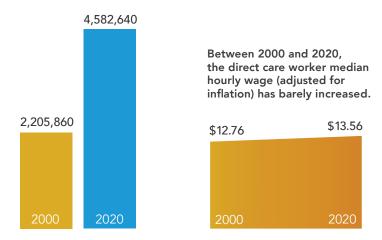




From 2000 to 2019, the direct care workforce more than doubled in size—from 2.2 million to nearly 4.6 million workers. Yet as the following charts illustrate, these diverse workers continue to struggle financially in poor-quality jobs that do not reflect their worth. Women, people of color, and immigrations represent most of these workers. Additionally, despite the high demand for these workers, primarily spurred by

an aging population, inflation-adjusted wages have been relatively stagnant over the last 20 years, with some modest improvements in the previous three years. Overall, direct care workers continue to face immense economic instability—their inflation-adjusted annual earnings and poverty status have been essentially static from 2000 to 2019. More than ever, this workforce deserves a significant investment from the public and private sectors.

From 2000 to 2020, the direct care workforce grew from 2.2 million workers to nearly 4.6 million workers.



Charts Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), Division of Occupational Employment and Wage Statistics (OEWS). 2021a. May 2000 to May 2020 National Industry-Specific Occupational Employment and Wage Estimates. https://www.bls.gov/oes/current/oes_nat.htm; analysis by PHI (December 2021).





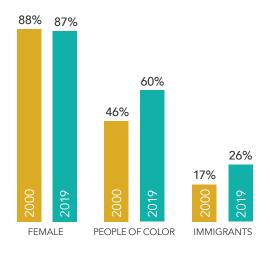




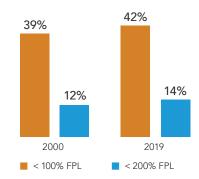




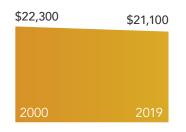
Between 2000 and 2019, women, people of color, and immigrants made up the majority of direct care workers.



The percentage of direct care workers living in or near poverty increased from 39 percent in 2000 to 42 percent in 2019.



Adjusted for inflation, median annual earnings for direct care workers decreased from \$22,300 in 2000 to \$21,100 in 2019.



Charts Source: Ruggles, Steven, Sarah Flood, Sophia Foster, Ronald Goeken, Jose Pacas, Megan Schouweiler, and Matthew Sobek. 2021. IPUMS USA: Version 11.0. https://doi.org/10.18128/D010.V11.0; analysis by PHI (December 2021).



















Editor's Note: These photographs were taken in the first decade of PHI's and Cooperative Home Care Associates' existence. While the precise detail of these photographs is unknown, they nevertheless capture the importance and emotion of direct care work and the emergence of two major organizations in the national landscape of this job sector. (Photographer: Marilyn Humphries)





A 4-year initiative ("Better Jobs Better Care") led by PHI and the American Association of Homes and Services for the Aging (now known as LeadingAge) tests and demonstrates the correlation between quality direct care jobs and quality care.¹⁷ This major initiative also produces a new framework for promoting job quality in direct care. Organized across three dimensionscompensation, opportunity, and supports—*The Nine Elements* of a Quality Caregiving Job becomes a seminal framework in the long-term care sector, shaping workforce interventions, public policy, and research in the many years that follow.

2002

As evidence of some of the earliest federal investments in direct care workers, the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services (CMS) funds PHI to produce a series of publications to help state agencies, service providers, and individual consumers recruit, train, and retain home care workers.

Three years later, HHS again funds PHI and the Institute for the Future of Aging Services to create a collection of papers exploring public policies and industry practices related to recruiting and retaining direct care workers.

2003



Between 2003 and 2019. at least 11 states create **16 statewide** workgroups to analyze the challenges facing direct care workers and produce action-oriented reports with clear recommendations on compensation, training, public awareness, and data collection (among other issue areas).¹⁸ This trend illustrates how advocacy for direct care workers has also become a state-level priority, as more and more states have begun grappling with and addressing their direct care workforce challenges.

2006

CMS establishes the Direct Service Workforce Learning Collaborative and the National Direct Service Workforce Resource Center to develop innovative strategies for the direct service workforce (i.e., direct care workers).¹⁹ The Lewin Group coordinates these activities and works with organizations like PHI and the Center for Applied Research (no longer active) to develop a range of online resources and provide technical assistance to state leaders on how to strengthen this workforce.

2006

PHI begins publishing detailed data on the U.S. direct care workforce, giving policymakers and industry leaders unprecedented, up-to-date figures on this workforce while creating several benchmarks to assess how this workforce changes over time.²⁰ The latest version of this research. Direct Care Workers in the U.S.: Key Facts, is released in September 2021.21



2007

Care.com is founded. which serves as an online platform to assist families with finding workers to support their caregiving needs while helping paid caregivers find jobs. Over the years, countless care-related technology companies emerge, bringing their innovations to the direct care workforce and advancing technology to support this job sector; a few of these companies include Caring.com (2007), Honor (2014), Carina (2015), CareAcademy (2016), and many others.²²

2007



The U.S. Supreme Court considers Long Island Care at Home, Ltd. v. Coke, a historic case brought by Evelyn Coke, a Jamaican immigrant and home health aide, against her former employer for not paying her

the minimum wages and overtime wages. Although the Supreme Court rules against Coke, this case lays the foundation for years of advocacy to extend FLSA protections to home care workers.²³

2007

At a domestic workers' gathering at the first United States Social

Forum, more than 50 domestic workers-including home care workers-decide to form the National Domestic Workers Alliance (NDWA).²⁴ As a national federation of 70 affiliate grassroots organizations, seven local chapters, and a national membership organization of housekeepers, childcare workers, and home care workers. NDWA becomes a leading progressive social movement organization, enacting Domestic Worker Bill of Rights laws nationwide, advancing many policy measures for domestic workers, and leading

a host of other

accomplishments.

2007

Washington State enacts a law that forms the **Long-Term Care Worker** Training Workgroup to upgrade Washington's training requirements for personal care aides while also creating the SEIU 775 Benefits Group, a partnership between the state and the unionto manage the training of all consumer-employed aides.²⁵ In 2012, the state approves a ballot initiative that overhauls the training system for long-term care workers, among other measures. Today, SEIU 775 Benefits Group leads a model training program for home care workers in the state that includes entry-level training and continuing education courses.²⁶ It also offers home care workers affordable health coverage, a secure retirement plan option, and job matching. Nationally, SEIU, SEIU 775, and 1199SEIU are key leaders for the home care workforce, representing hundreds of thousands of home

> care workers nationwide and helping raise the bar on job quality in this sector through their organizing and advocacy.²⁷

2008

The Institute of Medicine (IOM: now the National Academies of Sciences, **Engineering, and Medicine**) releases a groundbreaking report, Retooling for an Aging America, which investigates the readiness of our country's health care workforce to support a growing population of older adults.²⁸ The report includes an extensive chapter on the direct care workforce-informed by PHI at the request of IOM-and recommends that the federal government set minimum training requirements at 120 hours for home health aides and nursing assistants while also recommending that states establish some type of training standards for personal care aides. Retooling for an Aging America also calls for improved compensation, training, career advancement, and more for these workers.

2009

In response to Retooling for an Aging America, PHI and the American Geriatrics Society establish the Eldercare Workforce Alliance to jointly advocate for policy solutions that strengthen the long-term care



workforce.²⁹ Originally comprised of 25 member organizations, the Eldercare Workforce Alliance now includes 35 national organizations representing consumers, family caregivers, the direct care workforce, and other health care professionals.

2009

Through the National Direct Service Workforce Resource Center created by CMS and coordinated by the Lewin Group, PHI authors a report recommending a first-ever national minimum data set on the direct care workforce. The Need for Monitoring the Long-Term Care Direct Service Workforce and Recommendations for Data Collection recommends that workforce data be collected to measure at least three core areas:

workforce volume (i.e., the number of part-time and full-time workers), workforce stability (i.e., turnover rates and vacancies), and worker compensation (i.e., wages and benefits).

2010



The Affordable Care Act is signed into law, overhauling the U.S. health care system and broadening access to health coverage for millions of Americans, including direct care workers.30 Between 2010 and 2014, half a million direct care workers gain health coverage and the uninsured rate among these workers drops by 26 percent.31

2010

As part of the Affordable Care Act, the federal government launches the Personal and Home Care Aide State Training Demonstration Program (PHCAST), which supports six states in adapting

and scaling competency-based personal care aide training programs.32 The six PHCAST states—California, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, and North Carolina—develop programs that collectively train approximately 4,500 new and incumbent direct care workers over three years. PHI plays a lead role in designing the federal PHCAST program and provides technical assistance to PHCAST initiatives in four of the six states (California, Massachusetts, Michigan, and North Carolina) to advance the field in establishing a common educational platform for all personal care aides entering the field. Though evaluation methods vary across the states. PHCAST trainees overall report high levels of satisfaction with the program and increased knowledge due to the training. Each state also reports that PHCAST strengthened its overall training capacity.

2010

The Office of Management and Budget adopts PHI's recommendations to redefine federal occupational titles and definitions for key groups within the direct care workforce, including personal care aides,

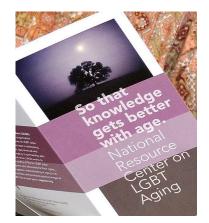
home health aides, and nursing

assistants. Eleven years later,

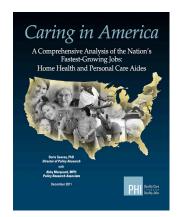
as the understanding on this workforce has evolved. PHI recommends that OMB work with long-term care and workforce experts to update these codes so that they characterize the direct care workforce more accurately. PHI and other advocates specifically call on OMB to establish a Direct Support Professional Standard Occupational Classification code to distinguish these workers from nursing assistants, home health aides, and personal care aides.

2010

HHS seeds the country's first technical assistance resource center on lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) aging. PHI partners with SAGE, the center's lead organization, to design an evidence-based LGBT competence training for longterm care staff across the country, including direct care workers.



2011



PHI publishes the groundbreaking report, Caring in America: A Comprehensive Analysis of the Nation's Fastest-Growing Jobs: Home Health and Personal Care Aides, which describes the state of home care workers and their employers, as well as the complex service delivery systems supporting older adults and people with disabilities.

2011

Advocates form Caring Across Generations, a national organization dedicated to creating a world where everyone can age with dignity, and caregivers are respected and supported. Central to their strategies are

coalition efforts in key states to form a "caring majority" that can advance policy reforms, including raising worker compensation and enacting state-based LTSS social insurance programs (among others); culture change strategies that partner with the entertainment industry, workers, and consumers to tell powerful stories about caregiving; and national advocacy in partnership with leading organizations to bolster the care movement.

2011



PHI launches an online national workforce data center that allows state and federal leaders, researchers, advocates, and others to access customized data on the direct care workforce.³³ Today, thousands of online users download up-todate state and national snapshots on the direct care workforce, including data on demographics, job characteristics, and projected job openings.

2011

Drawing on extensive guidance from PHI, CHCA, **Independence Care System** (ICS), and several model employers in New York City, New York State enacts the New York State Home Care Worker Parity Law, which establishes minimum compensation requirements for Medicaid-funded home care workers, creating "wage parity" among various types of home care workers in New York City and Nassau, Suffolk, and Westchester counties.34 In the vears that follow. New York State and New York City-like many other parts of the country—enact various laws that embody the potential for state and local policy change on this workforce. Some notable actions include creating the Office of Labor Policy & Standards for Workers in New York City (2014), establishing an Advanced Home Health Aide job category for home health aides (2016), and forming New York City's Division of Paid Care (2016)

to provide outreach and support to home care workers (and child care and other domestic workers) throughout the city, among other responsibilities.35

2013

As a result of decades of progress and years of collective advocacy by numerous national and state organizations, the U.S. Department of Labor issues a federal rule that extends wage and overtime protections under FLSA to more than 2 million home care workers nationwide.36 The initial rule relies heavily on PHI's research and analysis. After a court delay and two years of grassroots organizing, the rule goes into effect in October 2015.

2013

The Community Living Assistance Services and Supports Act (CLASS) Act

that was created by the Affordable Care Act is determined to be financially unsustainable and repealed, ending the first federal LTSS social insurance program—before implementation begins.³⁷ Several years later, in 2019, the National Academy of Social Insurance issues a historic report on "universal family care," a social insurance policy framework for states to better fund LTSS, childcare, and paid family and medical leave.38 PHI issues a companion report on designing state-based social insurance programs in LTSS to support direct care workers.³⁹ The same year, Washington State enacts the Long-Term Services and Supports Trust Act, becoming the first state in the country to adopt a state-based social insurance program in long-term care.40 Then in 2021, Congress introduces the Well-Being Insurance for Seniors to be at Home (WISH) Act, which aims to create a federal social insurance program in long-term care.41

2013

Established by the Affordable Care Act, the **CMS Innovation Center** awards the California Long-Term Care Education Center (now the Center for Caregiver Advancement) a three-year, \$11.8 million Health Care Innovation Award to test innovative service delivery models in home care through a pilot project titled "Care Team Integration of the Home-Based Workforce."42 This program results in enhanced care for consumers, reductions in emergency department visits and hospitalizations, cost savings, and improved worker skills related to core competencies.

2015

In support of an ongoing court battle regarding the 2013 federal FLSA rule,

27 organizations submit an amicus brief arguing that home care work requires a broad range of competencies and significant training that go beyond "companionship services," which underscores why these workers deserve wage and overtime protections under FLSA.

PHI, ICS, and three home care agencies collaborate to create the Care Connections Senior Aide role, an advanced role in home care that provides extensive training and enhanced compensation for home health aides. These advanced aides help improve care transitions, solve caregiving challenges in the home, and serve on consumers' interdisciplinary care teams. This demonstration project results in an 8 percent reduction in the rate of emergency room admission among the 1,400



consumers impacted, reduced caregiving strain among family members, and improved job satisfaction among home care workers, among other impacts.⁴³ Throughout the decades, leaders across the field design numerous direct care workforce



interventions, such as training and advanced role programs, matching service registries, pipeline-development approaches, immigrant-focused supports, and much more.

2015

The National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine appoints PHI to its Forum on Aging, Disability, and Independence, strengthening the direct care workforce perspective on the Forum's influential activities and thought leadership.⁴⁴

2016

CMS updates its regulations for more than 15,000 long-term care facilities that receive Medicare and Medicaid funding—representing the first update of its type since 1991.⁴⁵ Among the rule's changes are requirements that long-term care staff members have the skills to provide person-centered care, support individuals with dementia, and prevent elder abuse.

2017

PHI issues the first comprehensive federal priorities report focused exclusively on direct care workforce policy concerns. 46 This report provides analysis and recommendations across five areas critical to this workforce, including wages and benefits, training and advanced roles, data collection and quality, expanding access and cultural competence, and family caregiving.



Amid an increasingly contentious national debate on immigration,

PHI releases a first-ever statistical snapshot of the immigrant direct care workforce, which shows that one in four direct care workers is an immigrant, totaling more than 1 million workers nationwide.47 The study goes viral, spurring news stories in The New York Times. Kaiser Health News. and many other prominent media outlets nationwide.48

The New Hork Times

If Immigrants Are Pushed Out, Who Will Care for the Elderly?



In Dallas, a 93-year-old is worried about the woman who, for years has come to her house four days a week to help with shopping. laundry, housecleaning and driving. "She's just a wonderful person, someone I feel I can trust completely," said the older woman

But because her helper is an undocumented immigrant from Mexico, both women increasingly fear that she'll be detained and deported. (I'm withholding their names for that reason.)

"If this woman gets pulled over today, who will help my mother tomorrow?" said her daughter, an attorney in Oakland, Calif.

The Improvinc Julnerable Old Workforce Ad PHI

Congressional leaders introduce two groundbreaking bills: the Improving Care for Vulnerable Older Citizens through Workforce Advancement Act. which seeks to fund demonstration projects that place direct care workers in advanced roles. and the Direct Creation. Advancement, and Retention of Employment (CARE) Opportunity Act, which aims to fund workforce interventions related to recruitment, retention. and advancement in direct care.49

2017

HHS hosts the first-ever National Research Summit on Care, Services, and **Supports for Persons** with Dementia and Their Caregivers, focusing one of its

12 recommendation themes on building workforce capacity to support persons with dementia and their caregivers.⁵⁰ As part of the second dementia care summit in 2020. PHI co-chairs the Workforce Development Workgroup, which arrives at 10 workforce development recommendations to improve the research and evidence base on the dementia care workforce, including direct care workers.⁵¹

2019



In partnership with researchers from the Harvard Medical School and Health Policy Research Center at Massachusetts General Hospital, PHI releases an indepth report outlining a vision for strengthening the home care workforce and improving home care access and quality, along with evidence-informed recommendations for achieving this vision.52

2020

The COVID-19 pandemic emerges, disproportionately impacting essential workers

(such as direct care workers). older adults, people with underlying conditions, and people of color, among other at-risk groups.⁵³ From the onset of the virus until mid-April 2022, the U.S. has reported more than 80 million COVID-19 cases and nearly 990,000 deaths, with nearly one-quarter of these deaths in nursing homes.54 This unprecedented pandemic reinforces and amplifies the longstanding challenges facing direct care workers related to compensation, training, advancement, data collection, and staffing while surfacing new difficulties related to safety (including access to personal protective equipment and other supplies) and vaccine acceptance.



An estimated 280,000 direct care workers leave the sector within the first three months of the pandemic.⁵⁵ Although workforce numbers begin stabilizing by the end of 2020, turnover in this job sector remains high, and longterm care employers around the country continue to experience severe staffing shortages that threaten their ability to stay afloat. In the midst of such catastrophe, this workforce experiences a few positive advances: the visibility of these workers grows considerably; several states enact temporary measures for these workers, such as hazard pay and paid leave, illustrating the need for these supports; and a new federal administration enacts the American Rescue Plan Act of 2021, which helps states cover the cost of major direct care job improvements.

2020

Congress passes the **Supporting Older Americans** Act of 2020, which reauthorizes the Older Americans Act for five more years and includes—for the first time in history-a measure to fund recruitment, retention, and career advancement interventions for direct care workers throughout the national Aging Network (which comprises area agencies and state units on aging).56

2020



While running for president, Senator Joe Biden releases

a large-scale plan to "create a 21st-century caregiving and education workforce."57 This 10-year, \$775 billion plan acknowledges that our country is experiencing a "caregiving crisis" and proposes a range of initiatives to elevate and improve direct care iobs, notably through increased wages and enhanced employment benefits for direct care workers (including affordable health insurance and childcare, paid sick leave, and paid family and medical leave). The plan also highlights the need for stronger legal protections for direct care workers, the option to join a union and collectively bargain, and improved access to quality training and meaningful career ladders.

2021

Following an executive order from 2019, California releases its Master Plan for **Aging**, a comprehensive 10-year blueprint designed to improve aging services and supports statewide.⁵⁸ While one of the five broad objectives for the Master Plan focuses on workforce issues ("Caregiving That Works"), the historic plan includes more than 20 concrete areas where the state could support direct care workers through substantial reforms.⁵⁹

2021

On the eve of a new presidency, PHI releases Caring for the Future: The Power and Potential of America's Direct Care Workforce. 60 A follow-up to the organization's 2011 report, Caring *in America*, this report offers an unparalleled, in-depth analysis of the direct care workforce with an extensive list of policy and practice recommendations across



eight issue areas. In July 2021, PHI builds on this framework when it releases a federal priorities report with nearly 50 concrete recommendations for the White House, Congress, and key federal departments and agencies, solidifying its role as the top technical expert on direct care workforce policy and practice.61

2021



President Biden announces the U.S. Citizenship Act of **2021**, which aims to provide Lawful Prospective Immigrant (LPI) status to approximately 11 million undocumented immigrants, including "essential" workers, such as direct care workers—among other measures.62

The American Rescue Plan Act is enacted, allocating **\$1.9 trillion** to mitigate the ongoing impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic.⁶³ That year, every state and DC submit a detailed spending plan for the HCBS portion of these funds, many of which include robust proposals related to direct care workforce compensation, training, advancement, recruitment, retention, and more.64

2021

President Biden announces the American Jobs Plan.

which is the first half of his administration's "build back better" infrastructure initiative.65 This plan proposes a \$2 trillion investment in infrastructure, including \$400 billion for expanding HCBS and raising home care worker wages, among other benefits. The following month, he announces the American Families Plan, which is the second half of "build back better."66 This plan proposes \$1.8 trillion to provide affordable childcare, universal preschool, expanded higher education access, individual and family tax credits, and comprehensive paid leave.



2021

The Care Can't Wait Coalition is formed to help realize the Build Back Better

investment in the care economy, co-led by 15 organizations, including Care in Action, SEIU, MomsRising, Paid Leave 4 All, the National Domestic Workers Alliance, and several others.67 Throughout the year, the coalition coordinates sign-on letters. rallies, virtual town halls, social media campaigns, meetings with constituents and elected officials, a multi-million-dollar advertising blitz in support of the Build Back Better reconciliation package, and much more. Public opinion seems to be on the side of this historic investment; a September 2021 poll in 12 key states finds that most likely voters support the "build back

better" agenda.68

2021

The Health, Employment, Labor, and Pensions **Subcommittee and Higher Education and Workforce Investment Subcommittee** under the U.S. Committee on Education and Labor holds a Congressional hearing on the challenges facing direct care workers and how federal leaders should respond.⁶⁹ At the hearing, Congressional leaders discuss the merits of recent federal proposals on this workforce, including the Direct CARE Opportunity Act, which would invest more than \$1 billion over five years in interventions that improve direct care workforce training, recruitment, and retention.70

2021

The U.S. Senate proposes a historic, bipartisan \$1.2 trillion infrastructure **bill** that unfortunately

leaves out the \$400 billion

investment in HCBS proposed in the original \$2 trillion infrastructure package from March 2021.71 Shortly after, Congressional leaders begin moving the Build Back Better Act. a

> \$3.5 trillion budget reconciliation bill that would fund

the expanded investment in HCBS, direct care jobs, and much more.⁷² As part of the mark-up process for the Build Back Better Act, the House Committee on **Education and Labor designates** \$1.5 billion over 10 years to fund direct care workforce interventions related to recruitment, retention, training, and career advancement, and \$5 million to establish a national technical assistance center on direct care workers—among other notable investments. While the Build Back Better Act has not been enacted (as of this timeline's publication date), momentum for direct care workforce measures remains high at the federal and state levels.73

2022

In late February, the Biden-Harris administration

issues a wide range of proposed actions to reform nursing homes, including establishing minimum staffing levels, among several others.74 In early April, the National Academies of Sciences. Engineering, and Medicine releases a comprehensive report on nursing home quality, citing strengthening the nursing home workforce as one of its top actions.⁷⁵

Last updated May 1, 2022

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ABOUT PHI

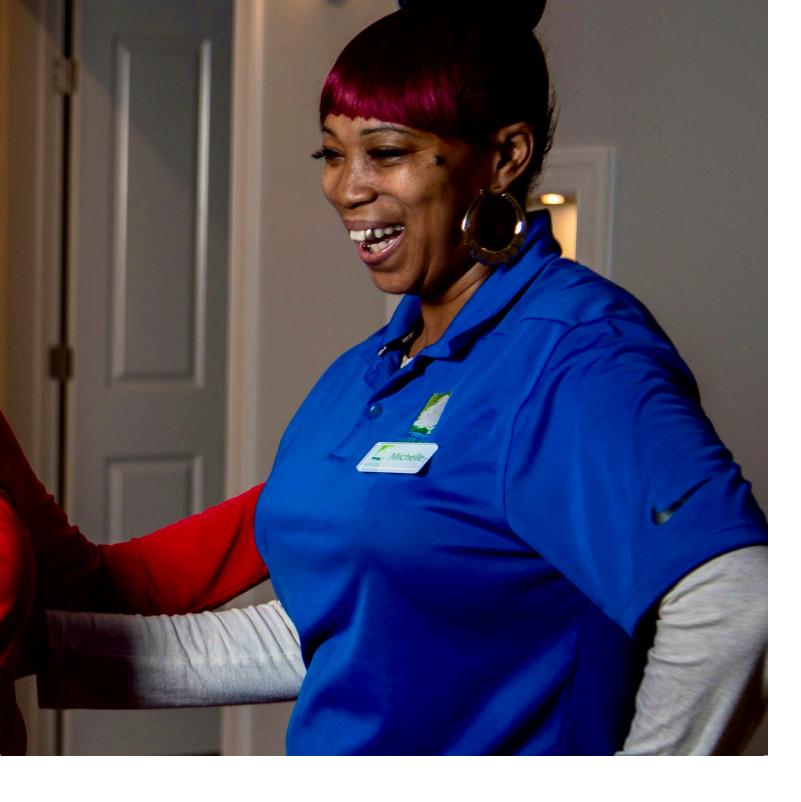
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Creating an in-depth, historical timeline of the direct care workforce movement is a monumental task, one that required making tough editorial choices to both honor the breadth of this history and its many players, while keeping the timeline manageable. As we evolve this timeline, we welcome your suggestions for items to include.

Please email your suggestions to info@PHInational.org

Design: RD Design

Photography: Marilyn Humphries (inside cover; p.3, p.5, far left and right; p.6; p.7-10); Constanza Hevia H. (p.4, far right) @constanzaheviah; Kristen Blush (p.18-19) @kristenblush. All other images: Getty Images or PHI.



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