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### Adv One

#### Advantage One is Federalism

#### The status quo upholds “Parker immunity” – a doctrine that doesn’t account for interstate spillovers.

Rosch 12 [J. Thomas Rosch, Commissioner, Federal Trade Commission 10-3-2012 https://www.ftc.gov/sites/default/files/documents/public\_statements/returning-state-action-doctrine-its-moorings/121003stateaction.pdf]

The FTC’s State Action Report

Over a decade ago, the FTC became concerned that the lower courts had expanded the scope of the state action doctrine beyond what the Supreme Court had intended. In 2001, the FTC established a State Action Task Force, which issued a Report two years later that analyzed the current state of the law, identified areas of concern, and recommended clarifications to the law.28 The Report observed that the scope of the state action doctrine had expanded dramatically since first articulated by the Supreme Court in 1943. The doctrine had become unmoored from its original objectives, the report concluded, and was frequently invoked to protect private commercial interests with no relation to state policy.

The report identified a number of specific concerns with the way in which some lower courts had applied the state action doctrine. Chief among these was a persistent weakening of the clear articulation and active supervision requirements. In particular, some courts had found that a legislative grant of general corporate powers satisfied the clear articulation requirement. Although the exercise of these powers in the private sector had no particular antitrust significance, some courts had reached the opposite conclusion when the powers were granted through legislation.

The Report also found that there was a lack of clear standards to guide the application of the active supervision requirement. Without guidance on how to implement the various formulations of the requirement articulated by the lower courts, the active supervision requirement had had a minimal impact.

The Task Force raised several other concerns. Some courts, according to the Report, had interpreted the state action doctrine in a manner that ignored interstate spillovers, which forced the citizens of one state to absorb the costs imposed by another state’s regulations. In addition, some courts had interpreted the doctrine to shield virtually any municipal activity, despite the fact that municipalities were increasingly engaging in business on a for-profit basis, while simultaneously using their law-making power to block competitive challenges.

#### Our arg is not “State’s Rights are categorically good”. Rather, failing to account for out-of-State externalities means State reforms seem better than they truly are. Limiting Parker is key.

Sack 21 [John Sack, J.D., Duke Law School, Class of 2022, B.S. University of Michigan, 2019, 2021 – modified for language that may offend - https://scholarship.law.duke.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1196&context=djclpp\_sidebar]

III. DOCTRINAL CRITICISM

Although the Court has continued to re-affirm Parker v. Brown’s central holding, many have criticized the Parker doctrine. Both scholars and the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) have highlighted problems with the doctrine and offered a number of solutions for how to remedy its faults.63

The first common critique of the doctrine is that it does not account for out-of-state economic effects. Unless a regulation runs afoul of another constitutional barrier, no consideration of interstate spillovers applies.64 One need not look farther than Parker itself to see how the state action doctrine can impose costs on out-of-state residents, even though those residents have diminished political capital in the state. At the time Parker was decided, between 90 and 95 percent of raisins produced in California entered interstate commerce and California provided almost all of the nation’s raisins.65 Most American raisin consumers lived outside of California and had no political means to oppose the state’s legislative program, yet they bore the costs of California’s state-sanctioned monopoly.66

Second, similar concerns about political representation animate critiques of Parker immunity. The policy at issue in Parker restricted output and artificially raised prices, two results federal antitrust law generally seeks to prohibit.67 Although the benefits of such a program were borne almost exclusively by California, the costs of the program were incurred by raisin consumers across the nation.68 The political incentives to promote such a program follow closely with economic costs and benefits.69 California raisin producers have a strong incentive to lobby their own government to install such a program, but it would be nearly impossible for non-California residents to challenge such a policy through the normal political channels.70 The government of California is not the appropriate body to properly weigh the benefits to in-state raisin producers with the costs to out-of-state consumers, yet the Parker doctrine grants California per se immunity on federalism grounds.71 Although the California program was implicitly endorsed by Congress, one is just as likely to find similar programs with no similar implicit endorsement.72

The U.S. Constitution embodies a system of federalism where the federal government is sovereign in some respects, and the several states are sovereign in others.73 This system of federalism gives states the power to regulate local matters and the federal government the power to regulate issues that states are less suited to regulate.74 When costs spill over into other states, the national government becomes the appropriate body to regulate the costs and benefits of such a program.75 The Court has recognized such spillover effects, and how political actors, even government entities, can act solely in self-interest.76 Such state self-interest can directly harm consumers outside of its territorial jurisdiction.77

Parker immunity, as it ~~stands~~ (exists), runs counter to longstanding ideals of national unity that harken back to the Founding era. The law has long prohibited states from imposing excessive costs on the nation as a whole, solely for the purpose of furthering its own intrastate policy interests. McCulloch v. Maryland illustrates the Court’s wariness of self-serving state action.78 In McCulloch, Chief Justice Marshall held that states may not tax the national bank, as they would be wielding power against the whole of the United States, even though the whole of the United States is not represented by each state.79 Similar to a state tax being problematic since it is the part acting on the whole, anticompetitive restraints by the states would unduly impose costs on the nation. The people of the United States, acting through Congress, christened competition and free markets through the Sherman Act.80 Just as one state could not tax the resources of the United States, one state should not be allowed to use state policy to burden the national economy. Because the potential costs to state-created monopolies are so high,81 federal policy should prohibit states from allocating those costs beyond their borders. Any state that wishes to impose monopoly costs outside of its borders to benefit itself and undermine competition should be carefully scrutinized when it does so. This scrutiny would not be fatal-in-fact for the legislation, but it should be enough for states to second-guess an attempt to enrich itself to the detriment of its sister states.

IV. PROPOSED SOLUTIONS

The Sherman Act, and specifically Parker immunity, should be interpreted in light of the above concerns. After all, the Sherman Act is the standard-bearer for the U.S. free market system, and so our interpretation of it should evolve with our understanding of constitutional principles and economic conditions.82 Justice Burger’s concurrence in City of Lafayette elaborates on this point:

Our conceptions of the limits imposed by federalism are bound to evolve, just as our understanding of Congress’ power under the Commerce Clause has evolved. Consequently, since we find it appropriate to allow the ambit of the Sherman Act to expand with evolving perceptions of congressional power under the Commerce Clause, a similar process should occur with respect to “state action” analysis under Parker. That is, we should not treat the result in the Parker case as cast in bronze; rather, the scope of the Sherman Act’s power should parallel the developing concepts of American federalism.83

As states impose costs on each other through state-sanctioned monopolies, the Court’s understanding of federalism and the Commerce Clause counsels scrutiny of the Parker doctrine. An entirely new doctrine is not necessary to curtail Parker immunity. Rather, the issue can be resolved by applying Parker immunity in light of the American dual system of federalism and the Commerce Clause. Modern scholarship critiques the lack of concern for interstate spillovers. By that token, the modern Parker doctrine fails to account for economic efficiency and undermines political representation values meant to be protected by federalism.84 So while scholars almost universally recognize that interstate economic spillovers are problematic, there is no consensus on what remedy is most appropriate.

#### Well-crafted models are ideal – but the iterative learning process is only *accurate* if costs are internalized

Adler 12 [Jonathan, John Verheij Memorial Professor of Law and Director of the Center for Busi‐ ness Law & Regulation, Case Western Reserve University School of Law, “INTERSTATE COMPETITION AND THE RACE TO THE TOP,” March 2, www.harvard-jlpp.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/.../35\_1\_89\_Adler.pdf]

Not only does decentralization enable policymakers to take advantage of localized information about policy problems and their potential solutions, but decentralization and interjurisdictional competition also foster policy discovery and policy entrepreneurship. Decentralization allows for states to act, in Jus‐ tice Brandeis’s famous characterization, as “laboratories of democracy.”32 Different states may adopt different approaches to various public policy concerns, whether because of regional differences, variable preferences, or different expectations about the viability or practicality of competing policy approaches. State‐level policy initiatives often are experiments from which others may learn. States learn from each others’ successes and failures, fostering an iterative process through which state‐level policy can improve over time.

Allowing state‐level experimentation also reduces the risks of policy failures. When states try different things, all of the proverbial eggs are not in a single basket. If the policy succeeds, other states retain the ability to follow suit (as does the federal government, which has often modeled federal measures on successful state initiatives).33 If the policy fails, however, only one jurisdiction must undo it, and others can learn to avoid such mistakes. This discovery process can be slow and messy, but the federal alternative—as it exists in practice—is no better.

Even though there is a strong case for presuming that decentralization is favorable, it is rebuttable. Leaving policy questions in state hands might be desirable more often than not, but in some instances there are persuasive justifications for federal intervention. Appropriate federal intervention can even reinforce the competitive dynamic across jurisdictions.

Perhaps the most compelling case for federal intervention is the existence of interstate spillovers, such as pollution generated in one state that crosses into another.34 If, for example, pollution generated in one state causes problems in another state, there is a case for federal action. Allowing such spillovers to exist undermines interjurisdictional competition because spillovers enable states to extraterritorialize the costs of their own policy decisions onto other jurisdictions.35 In a truly competitive dynamic, on the other hand, each jurisdiction would bear the costs and reap the benefits of its own decisions.

#### Pricing-in State spillovers improves the data set that informs well-crafted actions.

Adler 12 [Jonathan, John Verheij Memorial Professor of Law and Director of the Center for Busi‐ ness Law & Regulation, Case Western Reserve University School of Law, “INTERSTATE COMPETITION AND THE RACE TO THE TOP,” March 2, www.harvard-jlpp.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/.../35\_1\_89\_Adler.pdf]

Federalism is an essential part of the Constitution’s design. The division of sovereign power between the States and the federal government helps foster interjurisdictional competition, which, in turn, checks government power.1 Provided a right of exit is maintained, the excessive imposition of economic burdens in one jurisdiction will cause taxpayers and businesses to flee to other jurisdictions. For this reason, federalism often is seen as a friend of the free market.2 The existence of competing jurisdictions disciplines state intervention in the marketplace.3 But it would be a mistake to assume that interjurisdictional competition invariably favors market‐oriented policies, at least insofar as alternative policy measures would enhance the welfare of state residents. Federalism is not just for free marketeers.

Provided states cannot externalize the costs of their own policy choices, robust interjurisdictional competition facilitates the enactment of better public policy at the state level.4 Rather than inducing a “race to the bottom,” such competition can create a race toward the top.5 Although those of us who generally favor freer markets believe federalism will advance that cause, those who believe more stringent regulation is welfare‐enhancing should support interjurisdictional competition too. On both theoreticaland empirical grounds, competition among jurisdictions is a powerful means to discover and promote the policies that are most effective at providing people with what they desire.

#### With or without government, biological and synthetic tech is inevitable. Accurate data from state regulatory experiments avoids downsides and maximize benefits.

McGinnis 11

(John, George C. Dix Professor of Law, Northwestern Law School, “LAWS FOR LEARNING IN AN AGE OF ACCELERATION,” <http://scholarship.law.wm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3404&context=wmlr>)

The twenty-first century’s information age has the potential to usher in a more harmonious and productive politics. People often disagree about what policies to adopt, but the cornucopia of data that modern technology generates can allow them to better update their beliefs about policy outcomes on the basis of shared facts. In the long run, convergence on the facts can lead incrementally to more consensus on better policies. More credible factual information should over time also help make for a less divisive society, because partisans cannot as easily stoke social tensions by relying on false facts or exaggerated claims to support conflicting positions. Thus, a central task of contemporary public law is to accelerate a politics of learning whereby democracy improves a public reason focused on evaluating policy consequences. Government should be shaped into an instrument that learns from the analysis of policy consequences made available from newly available technologies of information.1 Greater computer capacity is generating more empirical analysis.2 The Internet permits the rise of prediction markets that forecast policy results even before the policies are implemented.3 The Internet also creates a dispersed media that specializes in particular topics and methodologies, gathers diverse information, and funnels salient facts about policy to legislators and citizens.4 But a public reason focused on policy consequences will improve only if our laws facilitate it. For instance, constitutional federalism must be reinvigorated to permit greater experimentation across jurisdictions, because with the rise of empiricism, decentralization has more value for social learning today than ever before.5 Congress should include mandates for experiments within its own legislation making policy initiatives contain the platforms for their own selfimprovement.6 Creating a contemporary politics of democratic updating on the basis of facts is a matter both of great historical interest and of enormous importance to our future. In the historical sweep of ideas, a government more focused on learning from new information moves toward fulfilling the Enlightenment dream of a politics of reason—but a reason based not on the abstractions of the French Revolution, but instead on the hard facts of the more empirical tradition predominating in Britain. By displacing religion from the center of politics, the Enlightenment removed issues by their nature not susceptible to factual resolution, permitting a focus on policies that could be improved by information.7 The better democratic updating afforded by modern technology can similarly increase social harmony and prosperity by facilitating policies that actually deliver the goods. For the future, a more consequentially informed politics is an urgent necessity. The same technological acceleration that potentially creates a more information-rich politics also generates a wide range of technological innovation—from nanotechnology to biotechnology to [AI] artificial intelligence. Although these technologies offer unparalleled benefits to mankind, they may also create catastrophic risks, such as rapid environmental degradation and new weapons of mass destruction.8 Only a democracy able to rapidly assimilate the facts is likely to be able to avoid disaster and reap the benefits inherent in the technology that is transforming our world at a faster pace than ever before. Every industry that touches on information—book publishing, newspapers, and college education to name just a few—is undergoing a continuous series of revolutionary changes as new technology permits delivery of more information more quickly at lower cost. The same changes that are creating innovation in such private industries can also quickly create innovation in social governance. But the difference between information-intensive private industries and political institutions is that the latter lack the strong competitive framework for these revolutions to occur spontaneously. This Essay thus attempts to set out a blueprint for reform to make better use of some available information technologies. Part I describes the reality of technology acceleration as the acceleration both creates the tools for democratic updating and prompts its necessity. Technological acceleration is the most important development of our time—more important even than globalization. Although technologists have described and discussed its significance, its implications for law and political structure have been barely noticed. Part II briefly discusses how better social knowledge can change political results. A premise of the claim is that some political disagreements revolve about facts, not simply values. As a result, better social knowledge can help democracies design policies to achieve widely shared goals. Social knowledge energizes citizens to act on those encompassing interests, like improved public education, because they come to better recognize the policy instruments to advance those interests. Better social knowledge provides better incentives for citizens to vote on these interests. Part III considers the mechanisms for creating a contemporary politics of democratic updating that begins to meet the needs of the age of accelerating technology. It focuses on two of the new resources that can have substantial synergies in improving social common knowledge and shows how an increase in common knowledge can systematically improve political results by providing better incentives for citizens to work for encompassing social goods. First, Part III considers the improvement in empirical analysis of social policy that flows from increasing computational capacity. It then discusses how specialized and innovative media does much more than disseminate opinions: it widely distributes facts and factual analysis. The combination of these technologies can better discipline experts and representatives, providing stronger incentives for them to update on the basis of new facts. Part IV discusses the information-eliciting rules that will maximize the impact of new technologies of information. These steps include a program of restoring, where possible, governmental structures that permit appropriate decentralization for experimentation, empirical testing, and learning. Congress and regulatory agencies should structure legislation and regulations to include social experiments when such experiments would help resolve disputed matters of policy. The Supreme Court should generally refrain from imposing new substantive rights for the nation so that it is easier to evaluate the consequences of different bundles of rights chosen by the states. But it should also protect the dispersed media, like blogs, from discriminatory laws, because this dispersed media plays a crucial role in modern policy evaluation. In short, the Supreme Court needs to emphasize a jurisprudence fostering social discovery and the political branches need to create frameworks for better social learning. Constitutive structures encouraging and evaluating experimentation become more valuable in an age where better evaluation of social experiments is possible. I. TECHNOLOGICAL ACCELERATION It is the premise of this Essay that technological acceleration is occurring and that our political system must adapt to the world it is creating. The case for technological acceleration rests on three mutually supporting kinds of evidence. First, from the longest-term perspective, epochal change has sped up: the transitions from hunter-gatherer society to agricultural society to the industrial age each took progressively less time to occur, and our transition to an information society is taking less time still. Second, from a technological perspective, computational power is increasing exponentially, and increasing computational power facilitates the growth of other society-changing technologies like biotechnology and nanotechnology. Third, even from our contemporary perspective, technology now changes the world on a yearly basis both in terms of hard data, like the amount of information created, and in terms of more subjective measures, like the social changes wrought by social media. From the longest-term perspective, it seems clear that technological change is accelerating and, with it, the basic shape of human society and culture is changing.9 Anthropologists suggest that for 100,000 years, members of the human species were hunter-gather- ers.10 About 10,000 years ago humans made a transition to agricultural society.11 With the advent of the Industrial Revolution, the West transformed itself into a society that thrived on manufacturing.12 Since 1950, the world has been rapidly entering the information age.13 Each of the completed epochs has been marked by a transition to substantially higher growth rates.14 The period between each epoch has become very substantially shorter.15 Thus, there is reason to extrapolate to even more and faster transitions in the future. This evolution is consistent with a more fine-grained evaluation of human development. Recently, the historian Ian Morris has rated societies in the last 15,000 years on their level of development through objective benchmarks, such as energy capture.16 The graph shows relatively steady, if modest, growth when plotted on a log linear scale, but in the last 100 years development has jumped to become sharply exponential.17 Morris concludes that these patterns suggest that there may be four times as much social development in the world in the next 100 years than there has been in the last 14,000.18 The inventor and engineer Ray Kurzweil has dubbed this phenomenon of faster transitions “the law of accelerating returns.”19 Seeking to strengthen the case for exponential change, he has looked back to the dawn of life to show that even evolution seems to make transitions to higher organisms ever faster.20 In a more granulated way, he has considered important events of the last 1000 years to show that the periods between extraordinary advances, such as great scientific discoveries and technological inventions, have decreased.21 Thus, both outside and within the great epochs of recorded human history, the story of acceleration is similar. The technology of computation provides the second perspective on accelerating change. The easiest way to grasp this perspective is to consider Moore’s Law. Moore’s Law—named after Gordon Moore, one of the founders of Intel—is the observation that the number of transistors that can be fitted onto a computer chip doubles every eighteen months to two years.22 This prediction, which has been approximately accurate for the last forty years,23 means that almost every aspect of the digital world—from computational calculation power to computer memory—is growing in density at a similarly exponential rate.24 Moore’s Law reflects the rapid rise of computers to become the fundamental engine of mankind in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.25 The power of exponential growth is hard to overstate. As the economist Robert Lucas has said, once you start thinking about exponential growth, it is hard to think about anything else.26 The computational power in a cell phone today is a thousand times greater and a million times less expensive than all the computing power housed at MIT in 1965.27 Projecting forward, the computing power of computers twenty-five years from now is likely to prove a million times more powerful than computing power today. To be sure, many people have been predicting the imminent death of Moore’s Law for a substantial period now,29 but it has nevertheless continued. Intel—a company that has a substantial interest in accurately telling software makers what to expect—projects that Moore’s Law will continue at least until 2029.30 Ray Kurzweil shows that Moore’s Law is actually part of a more general exponential computation growth that has been gaining force for over a 100 years.31 Integrated circuits replaced transistors that previously replaced vacuum tubes that in their time had replaced electromechanical methods of computation.32 Through all of these changes in the mechanisms of computation, its power increased at an exponential rate.33 This perspective suggests that other methods under research—from carbon nanotechnology to optical computing to quantum computing—are likely to continue growing exponentially even when silicon-based computing reaches its physical limits.34 Focusing on the exponential increase in hardware capability may actually understate the acceleration in computational capacity in two ways. First, a study considering developments in a computer task using a benchmark for measuring computer speed over a fifteen-year period suggests that the improvements in software algorithms improved performance even more than the increase in hardware capability.35 Second, computers are interconnected more than ever before through the Internet, and these connections increase collective capacity, not only because of the increasing density among computer connections, but because of the increasing density of connections among humans made possible by computers. The salient feature of computers’ exponential growth is their tremendous range of application compared to previous improvements. Almost everything in the modern world can be improved by adding an independent source of computational power. That is why computational improvement has a far greater social effect than improvements in technologies of old. Energy, medicine, and communication are now being continually transformed by the increase in computational power.36 As I will discuss in Part II, even the formulation of new hypotheses in natural and social science will likely be aided by computers in the near future. The final perspective on accelerating technology is the experience that the contemporary world provides. Technology changes the whole tenor of life more rapidly than ever before. At the most basic level, technological products change faster.37 Repeated visits to a modern electronics store—or even a grocery store—reveal a whole new line of products within very few years. In contrast, someone visiting a store in 1910 and then again in 1920—let alone in 1810 and 1820—would not have noticed much difference. Even cultural generations move faster. Facebook, for instance, has changed the way college students relate in only a few years,38 whereas the tenor of college life would not have seemed very different to students in 1920 and 1960. Our current subjective sense of accelerating technology is also backed by more objective evidence from the contemporary world. Accelerating amounts of information are being generated.39 Information, of course, is a proxy for knowledge. Consistent with this general observation, we experience exponential growth in practical technical knowledge, as evidenced by the rise in patent applications.40 Thus, the combination of data from our present life, together with the more sweeping historical and technological perspectives, makes a compelling case that technological acceleration is occurring. It is this technological acceleration that creates both the capacity and the need for improving collective decision making. As technology accelerates, it creates new phenomena, from climate change to biotechnology to artificial intelligence of a human-like capacity. These technologies may themselves have very large positive or negative externalities and may require government decisions about their prohibition, regulation, or subsidization to forestall harms and capture their full benefits. They may also cause social dislocations, from unemployment to terrorism, that also require certain collective decisions. Society can best handle these crises not only by making better social policy to address them directly but by improving social policy more generally to create both more resources and more social harmony to endure them. Thus, society must deploy information technology in the service of democratic updating if it is to manage technological acceleration

#### Synthetic-Bio viruses already sit in labs. They cannot be wished away. Lab accidents will kill millions. Some positive regulatory scheme is needed.

Wilson ‘13

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States should consider creating an international treaty to regulate emerging technologies if they perceive these technologies to pose a GCR/ER. This section considers the current and future risks and benefits posed by three emerging technologies--bioengineering, [\*313] nanotechnology, and AI. This section concludes that bioengineering is the only emerging technology that poses an immediate GCR/ER, while nanotechnology and AI pose future GCR/ERs. 1. Bioengineering Simply defined, bioengineering is the "engineering of living organisms." n23 Bioengineering is commonly associated with genetically modified ("GM") foods made from crops that scientists develop to have qualities like pest resistance or increased nutrition. However, bioengineering is rapidly expanding beyond agriculture into fields like medicine, disease control, and life-extension. The technology behind bioengineering has also developed quickly, with scientists now able to understand and manipulate life at the molecular level such that biology is viewed as a "machine" that can be tweaked, like in genetic engineering, or even built from the ground up, like in synthetic biology. n24 While breakthroughs in bioengineering research could significantly benefit mankind and the environment, bioengineering research can also be misused to the detriment of humans, animals, and environmental health. n25 Such "dual use" research currently poses significant risks to humankind and even greater risks in the future. Furthermore, both current and future bioengineering technologies pose the risk of an accident that has significant detrimental effects. In exploring these issues, this section demonstrates that bioengineering poses an immediate GCR/ER. a. Current technology Bioengineering is already widely used to modify existing organisms, and scientists are on the cusp of creating entirely synthetic organisms. For example, scientists controversially use bioengineering to "improve" natural biological products and activities, resulting in increased nutrient value, bigger yields, and insect and disease resistance n26 in various types of crops. n27 In 2011, ninety-four percent by acre of soybeans in the [\*314] United States were genetically engineered, while seventy-three percent of all U.S. corn was genetically engineered to be insect resistant and sixty-five percent to be herbicide tolerant. n28 Another controversial current bioengineering technology is genetically engineered viruses, highlighted by the 2011 genetic engineering of the H5N1 virus to become highly contagious amongst ferrets. Many scientists argue that creating this genetically engineered virus was necessary to develop a remedy in case the H5N1 virus mutates naturally, but skeptics argue that the modified H5N1 virus is dangerous because of risks that the virus will escape or that malicious actors will engineer a similar virus. n29 Another example of recent advancements in bioengineering is a project spearheaded by biologist Craig Venter that transplanted a completely synthetic DNA sequence, or "genome," into an E. coli bacteria. Scientists then also added DNA "watermarks" such as the names of researchers and famous quotes. Craig Venter termed this "the first self-replicating species we've had on the planet whose parent is a computer." n30 Bioengineering has also become vastly cheaper and more accessible to the general public. For example, massive databases of DNA sequences are available online from the Department of Energy Joint Genome Institute ("JGI") and the National Center for Biological Information's GenBank(R) database. n31 To materialize these DNA sequences, individuals can order custom genomes online for a few thousand dollars, which are "printed" from a DNA synthesis machine and shipped to them, opening the door for amateur biologists to engage in genetic engineering. n32 DNA synthesis machines can print DNA strands long enough for certain types of viruses, which untrained [\*315] individuals can obtain within six weeks of purchase. n33 Even the synthesizing machines themselves can be purchased on the Internet on sites like eBay. n34 Much like bioengineering costs, the necessary expertise to engage in bioengineering is also plummeting. For example, since 2003, teams of entrepreneurs, college students, and even high school students submitted synthetic biology creations to the International Genetically Engineered Machine ("IGEM") competition, such as UC Berkeley's "BactoBlood" creation--a "cost-effective red blood cell substitute" developed by genetically engineering E. coli bacteria. n35 b. Forthcoming technology Perhaps the greatest forthcoming development in bioengineering is synthetic biology, which includes techniques to "construct new biological components, design those components and redesign existing biological systems." n36 This is in contrast to the traditional form of bioengineering that utilizes "recombinant DNA" techniques in which the DNA from one organism is stitched together with DNA from other organisms or synthetic DNA. n37 One method of synthetic biology involves "cataloguing" DNA sequences like "Lego bricks" and assembling them in unique ways (assembling natural molecules into an unnatural system, like combining the molecules from several types of bacteria to create new bacteria with novel properties). Another method of synthetic biology involves using DNA synthesizers to create life "entirely from scratch" n38 in what has been called the "the biological equivalent of word processors" n39 (using unnatural molecules to emulate a natural system, like creating the synthetic equivalent of a natural strand of influenza). n40 One way to generate synthetic DNA is to insert [\*316] the DNA into a "biological shell"--an organism, often a bacteria, that had its own genes removed--that can run the synthetic DNA like a computer runs software. n41 And while the technology to create eukaryotic cells (i.e., "a cell with a nucleus, such as those found in animals, including human beings") is a long ways away, synthetic viruses and bacteria are just around the comer. n42 c. Benefits of bioengineering Bioengineering is already demonstrating its potential to remedy major human health and environmental problems. For example, bioengineering is responsible for some important pharmaceuticals and vaccines, such as modern insulin and a vaccine for Hepatitis B, while "gene therapy" employs genetically engineered viruses to help treat cancer. n43 Environmental benefits resulting from the 15.4 million farmers who grew genetically modified crops in 2010 include increased yield of six to thirty percent per acre of land, pest-resistant crops that require fewer pesticides (resulting in 17.1 percent less pesticide use globally in 2010), lower water use for drought-resistant crops, decreased CO[2] emissions, and crops that do not require harmful tilling practices. n44 Forthcoming benefits to human health could be a new wave of ultra-effective drugs (e.g. antimalarial and antibiotic drugs), bioengineered agents that kill cancer cells, and the ability to rapidly create vaccines in response to epidemics. n45 Bioengineering could also serve as a beacon of human diagnostics by analyzing "thousands of molecules simultaneously from a single sample." n46 Meanwhile, forthcoming benefits to the environment could be organisms that remedy harmful pollution and superior forms of biofuel, for example. n47 Bioengineering could also spur an environmental revolution in which industries reuse modified waste from biomass feedstock and farmers grow [\*317] bioengineered crops on "marginally productive lands" (e.g. switchgrass). n48 d. Risks from bioengineering While bioengineering offers current and future benefits to humans and the environment, there are also significant yet uncertain risks that could devastate human life, societal stability, and the environment. n49 This paper focuses on three predominant GCR/ER risks arising from bioengineering: (1) the accidental release of harmful organisms (a "biosafety" issue), (2) the malicious release of harmful organisms ("bioterrorism"), and (3) the bioengineering of humans. The first two are current GCRs/ERs, while the third is a future GCR/ER. i. Risk of an accident The accidental release of a bioengineered microorganism during legitimate research poses a GCR/ER when such a microorganism has the potential to be highly deadly and has never been tested in an uncontrolled environment. n50 The threat of an accidental release of a harmful organism recently sparked an unprecedented scientific debate amongst policymakers, scientists, and the general public in reaction to the creation of an airborne strain of H5N1. n51 In September 2011, Ron Fouchier, a scientist from the Netherlands, announced that he had genetically engineered the H5N1 virus--his lab "mutated the hell out of H5N1," he professed--to become airborne, which was tested on ferrets; a laboratory at the University of Wisconsin-Madison similarly mutated the virus into a highly transmittable form. n52 The "natural" H5N1 killed approximately sixty percent of those with reported infections (although the large amount of unreported cases means that this is higher than the actual death rate), but the total number of fatalities--346 people--was relatively small because the virus is difficult to transmit from human to human. The larger risk comes from the possibility that a mutated virus would spread more easily amongst [\*318] humans, n53 which could result in a devastating flu pandemic amongst the worst in history, if not the very worst. n54 To put this in context, about one in every fifteen Americans--twenty million people--would die every year from a seasonal flu as virulent as a highly transmittable form of H5N1. n55 Lax regulations and a rapidly growing number of laboratories exacerbate the dangers posed by bioengineered organisms. While lab biosafety n56 guidelines in the United States and Europe recommended that projects like reengineering the H5N1 virus be conducted in a BSL-4 facility (the highest security level), neither laboratory that reengineered the H5N1 virus met this non-binding standard. n57 Meanwhile, a 2007 Government Accountability Office ("GAO") report indicated that BSL-3 and BSL-4 labs are rapidly expanding in the United States. While there is significant public information about laboratories that receive federal funding or are registered with the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention ("CDC") and the U.S. Department of Agriculture's ("USD") Select Agent Program, much less is known about the "location, activities, and ownership" of labs that are not federally funded and not registered with the CDC or the USD Select Agent Program. n58 The same report also concluded that no single U.S. agency is responsible for tracking and assessing the risks of labs engaging in bioengineering. n59 While some claim that critics are overreacting to the risk from this genetically engineered H5N1 virus, there have been a series of accidental releases of microbes from laboratories that demonstrate the risks of largely unregulated laboratory safety. In 1978, an employee died from an accidental smallpox release from a laboratory on the floor below her. n60 Many scientists believe that the global H1N1 ("swine flu") [\*319] outbreak in the late 2000s originated from an accidental release from a Chinese laboratory. n61 Reports concluded that the accidental releases of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome ("SARS") in Singapore, Taiwan, and China from BSL-3 and BSL-4 laboratories all resulted from a low standard of laboratory safety. n62 In the United States, a review by the Associated Press of more than one hundred laboratory accidents and lost shipments between 2003 and 2007 shows a pattern of poor oversight, reporting failures, and faulty procedures, specifically describing incidents at "44 labs in 24 states," including at high-security labs. n63 In 2007, an outbreak of Foot and Mouth Disease likely came from a laboratory that was the "only known location where the strain [was] held in the country" n64 because of a leaky pipe that had known problems. n65 This long history of faulty laboratory safety is why some experts, such as Rutgers University chemistry professor and bioweapons expert Richard H. Ebright, believe that the H5N1 virus will "inevitably escape, and within a decade," citing the hundreds of germs with potential use in bioweapons that have accidentally escaped from laboratories in the United States. n66 While the effects of such lapses in laboratory safety have not yet been felt aside from relatively small events such as the swine flu outbreak mentioned above, the increasing ability of less-sophisticated scientists to engineer more deadly organisms vastly increase the possibility that a lapse in biosafety will have detrimental effects. An accidental or purposeful release of a bioengineered organism has potentially grave consequences. For example, researchers in Australia recently accidentally developed a mousepox virus with a 100 percent [\*320] fatality rate when they had merely intended to sterilize the mice. n67 Scientists in the United States also created a "superbug" version of mousepox created to "evade vaccines," which they argue is important research to thwart terrorists, sparking a debate amongst scientists and policymakers about whether the benefits of such research is worth the associated risks. n68 If such a bioengineered organism escaped from a laboratory, the results would be unpredictable but potentially extremely deadly to humans and/or animals.

#### Our arg is goldilocks – it’s not that SynBio is good or bad. It’s that regs needs to be well-crafted.

Miller ‘12

et al; Henry I. Miller, a physician, is also the Robert Wesson Fellow in Scientific Philosophy and Public Policy at Stanford. He was also the founding director of the Office of Biotechnology at the FDA. This piece wasco-authored with Drew L. Kershen, who is the Earl Sneed Centennial Professor of Law (Emeritus), University of Oklahoma College of Law – Forbes – Aug 29th – modified for language that may offend - http://www.forbes.com/sites/henrymiller/2012/08/29/will-overregulation-in-europe-stymie-synthetic-biology/

Will Overregulation In Europe Stymie Synthetic Biology? The promising new field of “synthetic biology” involves the design and construction of new biological components, devices and systems, as well as the re-design of existing, natural biological systems. It is intended to move microbiology and cell biology closer to the approach of engineering so that standardized biological parts can be mixed, matched and assembled similar to the way that off-the-shelf chassis, engines, transmissions and so on can be combined to build a hot-rod. Building on the foundations of molecular biology, biological chemistry, gene sequencing informatics, systems biology and systems engineering, synthetic biology is not fundamentally new but involves the synergistic combination of many areas of science and technology. It could offer scientists unprecedented opportunities for innovation and better enable them to craft made-to-order microorganisms and plants with improved abilities of many kinds — for example, to produce vaccines, clean up toxic wastes, and obtain (or “fix”) nitrogen from the air (obviating the need for chemical fertilizers). In any one of several fields of endeavor, synthetic biology could lead to technology’s Next Big Thing. Synthetic biology is only just emerging into public awareness. As it progresses, the field will present several dilemmas to both public opinion and existing legal and regulatory regimes. Two recent publications do much to introduce synthetic biology to the general public: “A synthetic biology roadmap for the UK,” from Research Councils UK; and “Planted Obsolescence: Synagriculture and the Law,” by Andrew Torrance, in the Idaho Law Review. In his article Torrance explains that several organizations – for example, BioBricks (www.biobricks.org) and the International Genetically Engineered Machine (http://igem.org/About) – actively promote biotechnology as an open source discipline, a sharing of genetic designs, systems and modular components with no or minimal protection of intellectual property. The open source movement in biology, as in software, is antagonistic to corporate control and attempts to democratize the inventive process in biology. Taking it a step further, Torrance describes organizations such as DIYBio.org and BioCurious.org that promote “garage science” – amateurs tinkering at home using basic biological tools and supplemented by modular genetic components ordered from the Internet. This harkens back to the small-scale inventiveness of the likes of Thomas Edison, Alexander Graham Bell and Thomas Fogarty (who invented a critical and widely used catheter as a medical student). (Some would say it’s redolent as well of the Unabomber, but that’s a subject for another day.) The future success of synthetic biology depends in large part on whether public policy toward its applications is well-crafted. Policymakers should learn from the regulatory ~~missteps~~ (errors) inflicted on genetic engineering that illustrate how choosing how choosing a flawed paradigm has critical implications for a technology.

#### We’re NOT arguing malevolent release – instead, risks of accidents require well-crafted regs.

Specter ‘12

Michael Specter may be the most prominent and credentialed health reporter alive. He has been a staff writer at The New Yorker since 1998, and has written frequently about AIDS, T.B., and malaria in the developing world, as well as about agricultural biotechnology, avian influenza, and synthetic biology. Before joining the Times, he served as the Washington Post’s national science reporter and, later, as its New York bureau chief. He has twice received the Global Health Council’s annual Excellence in Media Award: in 2002, for “India’s Plague,” and in 2005, for “The Devastation,” about the ethics of testing H.I.V. vaccines in Africa. The New Yorker: Annals of Medicine – March 12, 2012 Issue – “The Deadliest Virus” – Modified for potentially offensive language – http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2012/03/12/the-deadliest-virus

To ignite a pandemic, even the most lethal virus would need to meet three conditions: it would have to be one that humans hadn’t confronted before, so that they lacked antibodies; it would have to kill them; and it would have to spread easily—through a cough, for instance, or a handshake. Bird flu (H5N1) meets the first two criteria but not the third. Virologists regard cyclical pandemics as inevitable; as with earthquakes, though, it is impossible to predict when they will occur. Flu viruses mutate rapidly, but over time they tend to weaken, and researchers hoped that this would be the case with H5N1. Nonetheless, for the past decade the threat of an airborne bird flu lingered ominously in the dark imaginings of scientists around the world. Then, last September, the threat became real. At the annual meeting of the European Scientific Working Group on Influenza, in Malta, several hundred astonished scientists sat in silence as Ron Fouchier, a Dutch virologist at the Erasmus Medical Center, in Rotterdam, reported that simply transferring avian influenza from one ferret to another had made it highly contagious. Fouchier explained that he and his colleagues “mutated the hell out of H5N1”—meaning that they had altered the genetic sequence of the virus in a variety of ways. That had no effect. Then, as Fouchier later put it, “someone finally convinced me to do something really, really stupid.” He spread the virus the old-fashioned way, by squirting the mutated H5N1 into the nose of a ferret and then implanting nasal fluid from that ferret into the nose of another. After ten such manipulations, the virus began to spread around the ferret cages in his lab. Ferrets that received high doses of H5N1 died within days, but several survived exposure to lower doses. When Fouchier examined the flu cells closely, however, he became alarmed. There were only five genetic changes in two of the viruses’ eight genes. But each mutation had already been found circulating naturally in influenza viruses. Fouchier’s achievement was to place all five mutations together in one virus, which meant that nature could do precisely what he had done in the lab. Another team of researchers, led by Yoshihiro Kawaoka, at the University of Wisconsin, created a slightly different form of the virus, which, while not as virulent, was also highly contagious. One of the world’s most persistent horror fantasies, expressed everywhere from Mary Shelley’s “Frankenstein” to “Jurassic Park,” had suddenly come to pass: a dangerous form of life, manipulated and enhanced by man, had become lethal. Fouchier’s report caused a sensation. Scientists harbored new fears of a natural pandemic, and biological-weapons experts maintained that Fouchier’s bird flu posed a threat to hundreds of millions of people. The most important question about the continued use of the virus, and the hardest to answer, is how likely it is to escape the laboratory. “I am not nearly as worried about terrorists as I am about an incredibly smart, smug kid at Harvard, or a lone crazy employee with access to these sequences,” Michael T. Osterholm, the director of the Center for Infectious Disease Research and Policy at the University of Minnesota Health Center, told me. Osterholm is one of the nation’s leading experts on influenza and bioterrorism. “We have seen many times that accidental releases of dangerous microbes are not rare,” he said. Osterholm’s anxiety was based in recent history. The last person known to have died of smallpox, in 1978, was a medical photographer in England named Janet Parker, who worked in the anatomy department of the University of Birmingham Medical School. Parker became fatally ill after she was accidentally exposed to smallpox grown in a research lab on the floor below her office. In the late nineteen-seventies, a strain of H1N1—“swine flu”—was isolated in northern China, near the Russian border, and it later spread throughout the world. Most virologists familiar with the outbreak are convinced that it came from a sample that was frozen in a lab and then released accidentally. In 2003, several laboratory technicians in Hong Kong were infected with the SARS virus. The following year, a Russian scientist died after mistakenly infecting herself with the Ebola virus.

#### Some regs are needed to minimize lab risks. But, poorly-informed ones hamper SynBio’s upsides.

Philp ‘14

et al; Jim C. Philp – formerly a Reader in Environmental and Industrial Biotechnology at Edinburgh Napier University. The report was drafted primarily by Jim Philp with significant contributions from Mineko Mohri. Mohri earned her law degree at Keio University in Tokyo. She has also served as a lecturer at Keio University. From: “Emerging Policy Issues in Synthetic Biology”, which was published June 4th, 2014. Available in full text via Google Books. p. 117-126 – THIS SPECIFIC PORTION IS FROM PAGE 118

The potential for improper or malicious use of synthetic biology challenges the need for regulation, at least at the level of DNA synthesis. Among the greatest challenges facing those who develop such regulations will be weighing the costs and benefits of rules and developing an effective enforcement system. The situation in the United States and the European Un-ion is described by Bar-Yarn et al (2012), bearing in mind that many other countries have their own procedures. Policies for regulating synthetic biology should aim to ensure the implementation of well-crafted regulations that do not hinder beneficial research. The most critical difference for regulation between synthetic biology and genetic modification (GM) lies in the ability to make tailored DNA sequences. GM technology is restricted to complex laboratory operations. In synthetic biology, the design of DNA can theoretically be done from a computer in any location, without organisational regulation Biigl (2007) argues that modern DNA synthesis challenges the existing recombinant DNA safety framework on two fronts: 1. DNA can be readily designed in one location, constructed in a second and delivered to a third. The resulting use of the material can therefore take place far from its originators. 2. Synthesis max provide an effective alternative route for those who seek to obtain specific pathogens in order to cause harm, thereby circumnavigating national or international approaches to ensuring biosecurity. Although much additional expertise would be needed to produce infectious agents from the resulting genetic material, such work may not be subject to review or oversight. The DNA synthesis industry requires regulatory protocols to ensure that it does not become a vehicle for biosafety biosecurity violations. The industry can only continue to advance and realise the potential of synthetic biology if it supports best practices in biological safety and security. Sec. for example. IASB on the effective deterrence and investigation of criminal uses of synthetic DNA."

#### SynBio’s upsides are important since the way to counter accidental releases is re-utilizing SynBio against itself.

Philp ‘14

et al; Jim C. Philp – formerly a Reader in Environmental and Industrial Biotechnology at Edinburgh Napier University. The report was drafted primarily by Jim Philp with significant contributions from Mineko Mohri. Mohri earned her law degree at Keio University in Tokyo. She has also served as a lecturer at Keio University. From: “Emerging Policy Issues in Synthetic Biology”, which was published June 4th, 2014. Available in full text via Google Books. p. 40

Synthetic biology principles are providing new opportunities for the design of attenuated pathogens for use as vaccines. Wimmer and Paul (2011) described the first synthesis of a virus (poliovirus) in 2002 accomplished outside living cells. They commented on the reaction of lay people and scientists to the work, which shaped the response to de novo syntheses of other viruses. In pioneering a safe live vaccine Coleman et al (2008) synthesised de novo large DNA molecules for the rational design of live attenuated poliovirus vaccine candidates. They postulated that this strategy could be used to attenuate many kinds of viruses. Similarly, the synthetic attenuated virus engineering approach was applied to influenza virus strain A/PR/8/34 for the rational design of live attenuated influenza virus vaccine candidates. Mueller et al. (2010) state that the approach can be applied rapidly to any emerging influenza virus in its entirety, an advantage that is especially relevant for seasonal epidemics and pandemic threats, such as H5N1 or the 2009 H1N1 influenza. During the latter pandemic, vaccines for the virus became available in large quantities only after human infections peaked. To accelerate vaccine availability for future pandemics, a synthetic approach that rapidly generates vaccine viruses from sequence data has been developed (Dormitzer et al.. 2013).

(Note: A/PR/8/34 - internally referenced – is a strain of influenza)

### Plan

#### The United States Federal Government should pivot-away from the legal protection it affords to anti-competitive practices via the state action immunity doctrine.

### Adv Two

#### Adv Two is Practitioner Shortages:

#### Antitrust authority would check such shortages. The FTC does challenge State-Level “*Scope Of Practice*” restrictions on Nurse Practitioners. But they lose due to Parker immunity. An untouched market can’t solve - local elites use leverage to cement a physician-only squo.

McMichael ‘20

Internally quoting the Udalova and MEPS data sets. Benjamin McMichael – Faculty, University of Alabama School of Law. McMichael earned a BS in Mathematical Economics from Wake Forest University and a JD and PhD in law and economics from Vanderbilt University. Before joining the faculty at Alabama, Benjamin served as a law clerk to Judge Carolyn Dineen King on the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit. Benjamin’s research is interdisciplinary, relying on empirical methods developed in the social sciences—particularly economics—to generate new insight into the ways in which the law influences the provision of healthcare - “Occupational Licensing and the Opioid Crisis” 54 U.C. Davis L. Rev. 887 - December, 2020 – some footnotes included for context and elaboration – but no text omitted other than the OG Table of Contents after the opening abstract - #E&F - https://lawreview.law.ucdavis.edu/issues/54/2/articles/files/54-2\_McMichael\_color.pdf

The United States’ affordable care crisis and chronic physician shortage have required nurse practitioners to assume increasingly important roles in the healthcare system. Nurse practitioners can address critical access-to-care problems, provide safe and effective care, and lower the cost of care. However, restrictive occupational licensing laws — specifically, scope-of-practice laws — have limited their ability to care for patients. Spurred by interest groups opposed to allowing nurse practitioners to practice independently, states require physician supervision of nurse practitioners. Research has discredited many of the traditional reasons for these restrictive laws, but emerging arguments assert that independent practice will deepen the ongoing opioid crisis by allowing unsupervised nurse practitioners to overprescribe opioids. The opioid crisis has become one of the defining public health emergency of this generation, so these arguments warrant serious investigation. If granting nurse practitioners independence will exacerbate the opioid epidemic, restricting their practices may be justified despite the clear benefits that independence could create for patients and the healthcare system.

This Article provides new empirical evidence on the role of nurse practitioner independence in opioid prescriptions by analyzing a dataset of approximately 1.5 billion individual opioid prescriptions. Containing information on approximately 90% of all prescriptions filled at outpatient pharmacies between 2011 and 2018, this dataset provides unprecedented insight into the ongoing opioid epidemic. An analysis of these data reveals that allowing nurse practitioners to practice independently reduces the quantity of opioids prescribed across all physicians and nurse practitioners. Thus, this Article demonstrates that, contrary to exacerbating the opioid crisis, granting nurse practitioners independence is a valid policy option for addressing this crisis. These results can inform the ongoing state and national debates over nurse practitioner scope-of-practice laws and the opioid epidemic more generally. And based on these results, the Article proposes several policy options at the state and federal levels that could both address restrictive scope-of-practice laws and ameliorate the ongoing opioid crisis.

INTRODUCTION

For many people, access to healthcare means the difference between life and death, the difference between constant pain and the ability to get out of bed in the morning, or the difference between an all-consuming mental illness and the ability to remain an active member of society. Even nearly a decade after the passage of the Affordable Care Act (“ACA”), however, access to healthcare continues to dominate local and national health policy debates, and the issue remains unresolved. The ACA certainly reinvigorated the country’s interest in access to care in unprecedented ways, and it drastically altered healthcare and healthcare provision in the United States. Unfortunately, it effected both of these changes with a near laser-like focus on increasing access to health insurance.1 For all of its virtues, this treatment of access to healthcare as effectively coextensive with access to health insurance has obscured a more fundamental problem with access to care as the following example from the New York Times illustrates.

A lifelong resident of rural Nebraska and registered nurse, Murlene Osburn saw a desperate need for mental health care in her community.2 To meet this need in an area where psychiatrists refused to practice, Osburn completed a master’s degree and a national certification process to become a psychiatric nurse practitioner (“NP”).3 Unfortunately, when she was ready to begin caring for patients, Osburn found herself stymied by the problem that spurred her to action in the first place: the lack of psychiatrists. Nebraska law prohibited NPs from practicing without physician supervision, and the nearest physician who could supervise her “was seven hours away by car and wanted to charge her $500 a month” for that supervision.4

This example illustrates the importance of access to healthcare providers in addition to access to health insurance. 5 And access to providers is far from given, with many areas of the country experiencing shortages of healthcare providers that experts expect to worsen over the next decade. 6 The New York Times example also highlights both a viable policy option to address these shortages - the increased use of NPs to provide care - and an important obstacle to implementing this policy - restrictive laws.

NPs are registered nurses who have undergone additional training to provide healthcare services historically provided by physicians. 7 They represent the principal source of care in many geographic areas 8 and are more likely than physicians to practice in rural and underserved communities. 9 This makes the 200,600 practicing NPs a natural option to address chronic, critical, and worsening physician shortages across the country. 10 While NPs provide healthcare services across the country, their ability to do so is not equal in all areas. State scope-of-practice ("SOP") laws - a subset of the occupational licensing laws that govern NPs and many other professionals - determine what services [\*891] NPs may provide and the conditions under which they may provide those services.

States often justify SOP laws as necessary to ensure patient safety by preventing unqualified individuals from providing care. 11 Though these laws can further this goal, excessively restrictive SOP laws undermine the ability of NPs to care for patients. Prior work has shown that eliminating restrictive SOP laws and allowing NPs to practice independently of physicians can facilitate access to care, 12 improve the quality of care, 13 reduce the use of intensive medical procedures, 14 and reduce the price of some healthcare services. 15 Based on this evidence, the Obama and Trump administrations along with the National Academy of Medicine and other organizations have urged states to relax their SOP laws. 16 A minority of states have responded by granting NPs the authority to practice independently, but the ongoing debate and [\*892] political battle over SOP laws has only intensified over the last decade. 17 Physician organizations, in particular, vigorously oppose the relaxation of these laws and have been successful in discouraging states from granting NPs independence. 18

9 See Peter I. Buerhaus, Catherine M. DesRoches, Robert Dittus & Karen Donelan, Practice Characteristics of Primary Care Nurse Practitioners and Physicians, 63 NURSING OUTLOOK 144, 144-50 (2015) [hereinafter Practice Characteristics] (finding that NPs are more likely to care for Medicaid patients, vulnerable populations, and rural populations); Grant R. Martsolf, Hilary Barnes, Michael R. Richards, Kristin N. Ray, Heather M. Brom & Matthew D. McHugh, Employment of Advanced Practice Clinicians in Physician Practices, 178 JAMA INTERNAL MED. 988, 988-89 (2018) (finding that NPs are likely to be employed in primary care).

10 Occupational Employment and Wages, May 2019, 29-1171 Nurse Practitioners, U.S. BUREAU LAB STAT., https://www.bls.gov/oes/current/oes291171.htm (last visited Nov. 11, 2020) [https://perma.cc/5A4C-9H7S].

11 See Morris M. Kleiner, Enhancing Quality or Restricting Competition: The Case of Licensing Public School Teachers, 5 U. ST. THOMAS J.L. & PUB. POL’Y 1, 3, 8 (2011) (“The general rationale for licensing is the health and safety of consumers. Beyond that, the quality of service delivery . . . [is] sometimes invoked.”).

12 Benjamin J. McMichael, Beyond Physicians: The Effect of Licensing and Liability Laws on the Supply of Nurse Practitioners and Physician Assistants, 15 J. EMPIRICAL L. STUD. 732, 764-65 (2018) [hereinafter Beyond Physicians]; Jeffrey Traczynski & Victoria Udalova, Nurse Practitioner Independence, Health Care Utilization, and Health Outcomes, 58 J. HEALTH ECON. 90, 103-04 (2018); see also John A. Graves, Pranita Mishra, Robert S. Dittus, Ravi Parikh, Jennifer Perloff & Peter I. Buerhaus, Role of Geography and Nurse Practitioner Scope-of-Practice in Efforts to Expand Primary Care System Capacity, 54 MED. CARE 81, 83-88 (2016).

13 Traczynski & Udalova, supra note 12, at 97

14 See, e.g., Sara Markowitz, E. Kathleen Adams, Mary Jane Lewitt & Anne L. Dunlop, Competitive Effects of Scope of Practice Restrictions: Public Health or Public Harm?, 55 J. HEALTH ECON. 201, 209-16 (2017) (showing a reduced probability of intensive procedures related to pregnancies in states that allow nurse practitioners to practice with no barriers).

When opposing NP independence, physician groups often argue that requiring physician supervision promotes patient safety and the delivery of high-quality care. 19 Although existing clinical evidence undermines these claims, 20 physician groups have recently emphasized the troubling possibility that allowing NPs to practice independently will increase opioid prescriptions. 21 The reasoning offered is straightforward: If NPs can prescribe opioids without physician supervision, then they will inappropriately overprescribe opioids and deepen the ongoing opioid crisis. 22 This Article engages with the debate [\*893] over NP SOP laws by empirically analyzing the impact these laws have on opioid prescriptions. Given the severity of the ongoing opioid crisis, the claim that allowing NP independence will deepen that crisis by increasing opioid prescriptions warrants careful consideration. On one hand, allowing NPs to practice independently can address critical access-to-care issues and improve the healthcare system in other important ways. On the other hand, restricting the practices of NPs may be justified despite these benefits if doing so avoids exacerbating the opioid crisis. This Article provides critical new evidence on the effect that NP SOP laws have on opioid prescriptions. Specifically, I analyze a dataset of approximately 1.5 billion individual opioid prescriptions, which represent approximately 90% of all opioid prescriptions filled at outpatient pharmacies between 2011 and 2018. This dataset provides unprecedented insight into the ongoing opioid epidemic and the role of healthcare providers in that epidemic. Because this dataset covers nearly the universe of opioid prescriptions in the United States over eight years and is organized at the individual-prescription level, I am able to develop more complete and more granular evidence on the role of NP SOP laws in opioid prescriptions than has previously been possible. The analysis reveals that allowing NPs to practice independently reduces the quantity of opioids prescribed across all physicians and NPs by approximately 4.4%. 23 In contrast to physician groups' claims, the evidence developed here suggests that relaxing NP SOP laws reduces opioid prescriptions. Thus, this Article demonstrates that, rather than exacerbating the opioid crisis, granting NPs independence is a valid policy option for addressing that crisis. These results can inform the ongoing debates over both NP SOP laws and the opioid epidemic more generally, and this Article uses this evidence to recontextualize the debate over SOP laws and offer specific policy recommendations. In addition to joining various scholars and [\*894] organizations in urging states to reform their SOP laws, this Article engages with potential federal policy options that can both address the dire healthcare provider shortages across the country while ameliorating the opioid crisis. Federal options, such as the ones discussed below, will become increasingly relevant as state legislation has proven difficult to obtain in certain states. 24 This Article proceeds in four parts. Part I details the contributions that NPs make to the healthcare system and the ways SOP laws impact their ability to do so. 25 Part II provides context for the empirical analysis that is the focus of the Article by detailing the progression of the opioid crisis. 26 Part III discusses the empirical methodology and reports the results of the empirical analysis. 27 Part IV engages with the policy implications stemming from the results of that analysis, 28 and a brief conclusion follows.

I. REGULATING HEALTHCARE PROVIDERS

Historically, physicians have delivered most of the healthcare in the United States. While other providers, such as registered nurses, have always played important roles in healthcare, physicians have been responsible for directing most care delivery. Physician dominance, however, has begun to recede as NPs and other types of healthcare providers are providing "[a] growing share of health care services." 29 And this trend will likely continue because the growth rate of NPs outstrips that of physicians, 30 which only adds urgency to resolving the debate over NP SOP laws. To provide context to that debate, this Part [\*895] begins by discussing the role of NPs in the healthcare system before outlining the contours of the debate over the SOP laws that regulate NPs.

A. Nurse Practitioners and the Laws that Govern Them

To qualify as an NP, an individual must first become a registered nurse, which often involves completing a bachelor's degree in nursing. 31 Most registered nurses practice for several years before returning to complete a master's or doctoral degree to become an NP. 32 Their training involves clinical and didactic courses that prepare future NPs to diagnose and treat patients, order and interpret tests, and prescribe medication. 33 Following their training, NPs practice in a wide variety of medical settings, but over 60% choose to provide some form of primary care. 34 With this training, NPs provide care alongside physicians across the country, 35 but where they choose to practice and which patients they choose to care for often differs substantially from the choices made by physicians. Relative to physicians, NPs more often choose to practice in primary care and to care for underserved populations, including Medicaid patients. 36 They also provide care in rural or underserved areas to a [\*896] greater extent than physicians. 37 The predilection of NPs to practice in isolated areas and care for patients who have difficulty accessing care is particularly important in an era of worsening physician shortages. For example, the Association of American Medical Colleges estimates that, by 2032, the United States will face a physician shortage of between 46,900 and 121,900. 38 Such a shortage has implications for the country generally, but it will impact rural areas to a greater degree. Recent estimates suggest that the number of physicians practicing in these areas could decline by 23% by 2030. 39 With approximately 200,600 NPs delivering care in 2019 40 NPs can alleviate physician shortages in rural and other areas. Indeed, NPs outnumber primary care physicians, 41 practice in convenient locations like retail and urgent care clinics, 42 and represent the principal source of healthcare in many parts of the country. 43 However, the ability of NPs to function as the principal source of healthcare depends heavily on the SOP laws in place. Prior work has [\*897] classified NP SOP laws in slightly different ways. 44 Each classification system has advantages and disadvantages, but I adopt a classification scheme based on two recent studies that that focus on specific statutory and regulatory language. 45 Where necessary, I updated the classifications based on more recent statutory and regulatory information. This approach to classification eliminates the risk of mis-classification that can occur by relying on inconsistent secondary sources. It also isolates the specific statutes and regulations that policymakers may change to achieve specific results in their healthcare systems. 46 Using these statutes and regulations, I classify each state in each year as either allowing NPs to practice independently or restricting the practices of NPs. To be classified as allowing "independent practice," a state must (1) have no requirement that physicians supervise NPs and (2) grant NPs full prescriptive authority, i.e., allow NPs to prescribe the same range of medications as physicians. 47 States that either require physician supervision of NPs or restrict their prescriptive authority fall into the "restricted practice" category. [\*898] Figure 1 provides an overview of NP SOP laws during the time period analyzed here. In 2011, fourteen states allowed NPs to practice independently, and thirty-seven states restricted the practices of NPs. 48 Of the thirty-seven states restricting NP practice, fourteen changed their laws prior to the end of 2018 to allow NPs to practice independently. 49 Figure 1 separately highlights each of the states that always allowed NPs to practice independently, always restricted NP practice, and changed from restricted to independent practice. As Figure 1 illustrates, the trend among states decidedly favors NP independence, with half of all states that currently allow independent practice adopting a law to that effect in the last decade. This trend has not emerged without opposition, however, and the debate between opponents of relaxing NP SOP laws and advocates of greater NP autonomy has become quite heated. The next subpart engages with this [\*899] ongoing debating, tracing the contours of each side's arguments and the evidence that supports their arguments.

B. The Scope-of-Practice Debate

As NPs have assumed greater roles in the delivery of care, some groups have objected to liberalizing the SOP laws that govern NPs to allow them to provide more services and practice with greater autonomy. Principal among the opponents of relaxing NP SOP laws are physician groups, with the American Medical Association ("AMA") offering some of the strongest resistance to granting NPs greater independence. 50 Advocates of greater NP autonomy include nursing groups, policy think tanks of various political orientations, the National Academy of Medicine, and the Obama and Trump administrations. 51 Opponents of greater NP autonomy often emphasize the greater education completed by physicians and argue that NPs cannot provide safe or high-quality care without physician supervision. 52 Proponents often respond that NPs deliver care of similar quality as physicians and that allowing greater NP autonomy lowers the cost of care and improves access to care. 53 This Part engages with each of these sets of arguments in turn.

1. Independent Nurse Practitioners and the Quality of Care

Perhaps the most contentious point in the debate over NP SOP laws concerns the ability of NPs to deliver high-quality care without physician oversight. Opponents of NP independence generally argue that, without physician supervision, NPs cannot safely care for patients. For example, the California Medical Association has stated that it "opposes any attempts to remove physician oversight over [NPs] and believes that doing so would put the health and safety of patients at risk." 54 Some groups frame their arguments about quality of care in [\*900] terms of the different levels of education completed by NPs and physicians. 55 These arguments require the additional inferential step that more education is required to provide the type of care delivered by NPs, but they are effectively equivalent to statements that unsupervised NPs cannot safely care for patients. 56 Advocates of greater NP autonomy respond to these arguments by pointing to the available evidence that demonstrates NPs generally deliver care of comparable quality to that delivered by physicians. 57 Multiple studies have investigated the ability of NPs to deliver high-quality care, often comparing NP-supplied care to physician-supplied care. 58 A recent comprehensive analysis compared the quality of care delivered to Medicare beneficiaries by NPs and physicians and found that physicians perform better on certain quality measures and NPs perform better on other measures. 59 Related work has found no meaningful differences between NPs and physicians in caring for HIV [\*901] patients, 60 managing diabetes, 61 providing primary care, 62 prescribing medications, 63 or providing critical care. 64 Reviewing the evidence, the National Academy of Medicine concluded "that access to quality care can be greatly expanded by increasing the use of ... [NPs] in primary, chronic, and transitional care." 65 Opponents of broader NP SOP laws have criticized this evidence as irrelevant because these studies are often "performed in a setting of physician oversight and collaboration." 66 They argue that "using data from studies of nurse practitioners working under physician supervision to demand independent practice is a flawed practice, as there is no proof that nurse practitioner care without physician oversight is either safe or effective." 67 However, studies that have explicitly examined the role of relaxing NP SOP laws - as opposed to the role of NPs generally - in promoting the delivery of high-quality care have concluded that NP independence either improves or has little effect on the quality of care delivered. A 2017 study found that NP "independence had no statistically significant effect on any of the three [clinically verified indicators of [\*902] healthcare quality] studied." 68 In contrast to claims that NP SOP laws are necessary for the protection of patients, 69 this study "did not substantiate the use of [SOP] restrictions for the sole purpose of consumer protection." 70 A separate study "cast[] further doubt on the theory that state regulations limiting NPs practice are associated with quality of care." 71 Examining patient-reported quality across many years of a nationally representative dataset, a recent study found that NP independence increases the probability that patients report being in excellent health. 72 Another study found that NP independence had no effect on infant mortality rates, an important indicator of healthcare quality. 73 Overall, existing evidence does not support the contention that unsupervised NPs provide unsafe or low-quality care. To be sure, physician groups are correct in their assertion that NPs are not trained to provide the same range of services as physicians - NPs do not perform surgery, for example. Within the scope of their training, however, the evidence demonstrates that NPs perform similarly to physicians.

72 Traczynski & Udalova, supra note 12, at 98, 99 tbl.7.

2. Scope-of-Practice Laws and the Cost of Healthcare

Though healthcare quality tends to receive the most attention from experts within the SOP law debate, concerns over the cost of care predominate among the patients who are most affected. Indeed, the health policy conversation over the last two decades has focused heavily [\*903] on the ability of patients to obtain affordable care. 74 Advocates of greater NP autonomy have argued that removing restrictive SOP laws will facilitate the use of lower cost providers and ultimately reduce costs within that system. For example, Kathleen Adams and Sara Markowitz have explained that "achieving productivity gains is one way to reduce cost pressures throughout the health-care system" and that such gains can be realized "by using lower-cost sources of labor to achieve the same or better outcomes." 75 The "high payment rates for physicians in the United States" makes the increased use of NPs a particularly appealing strategy for cost-reduction. 76 Recent research has demonstrated that abrogating restrictive SOP laws can reduce costs within the healthcare system to the benefit of patients and the public. A study by Morris Kleiner and others found that granting NPs independence reduces the price of a common medical examination by between 3% and 16%. 77 A separate economic evaluation estimated that liberalizing SOP laws would save approximately $ 543 million annually in emergency department visits alone. 78 Though specific to certified nurse midwives instead of NPs, a recent study found that eliminating restrictive SOP laws for nurse midwives would save $ 101 million by reducing reliance on more intensive forms of care during birth. 79 Other studies have found that payments in connection with Medicare beneficiaries cared for by NPs were between 11% and 29% lower than those cared for by physicians, 80 the savings achieved by using retail health clinics in lieu of emergency departments are higher when NPs have more independence, 81 and Medicaid costs either decrease or remain flat when NPs are granted more autonomy. 82 On the other side of the debate, opponents of NP independence can point to some evidence that NPs and SOP laws allowing them to practice independently may increase healthcare costs. In a recent report, the [\*904] Medicare Payment Advisory Commission ("MedPAC") highlighted several studies finding that NPs tend to increase costs. 83 One study found that NPs utilized more healthcare resources in caring for patients than physicians, suggesting that more extensive use of NPs may increase costs. 84 A separate study found that NPs order more medical imaging services than physicians in primary care settings. 85 Medical imaging, such as magnetic resonance imaging ("MRI") and computed tomography ("CT") scans can be expensive, so this study suggests that NP independence may increase costs over time. More recent work that examines a larger population contradicts these results, however. Examining data on Medicare and commercial insurance claims, a 2017 study found that NP independence does not result in more medical imaging and does not increase healthcare costs. 86 Similarly, research conducted by economists at the Federal Trade Commission ("FTC") revealed no evidence that relaxing NP SOP laws increases healthcare costs or prices. 87 Overall, a growing body of research suggests that allowing NPs to practice independently can reduce costs and the prices patients must pay for care, while only a few studies have found evidence to the contrary. 88

3. Nurse Practitioners and Access to Healthcare

Turning to the debate over the role of SOP laws in access to healthcare, the evidence more heavily favors advocates of greater NP autonomy than it does in either the cost or quality debates. Advocates of greater NP autonomy have argued that "by unnecessarily limiting the tasks that qualified [NPs] can perform, SOP restrictions exacerbate [healthcare provider] shortages and limit access to care." 89 An Obama administration report noted that "easing scope of practice laws for APRNs represents a viable means of increasing access to certain primary care services," 90 and the evidence generally supports this conclusion. For example, one study concluded that states with less restrictive SOP laws "overall had more geographically accessible" NPs. 91 Similarly, a 2018 study found that relaxing SOP laws increases access to healthcare generally but has the largest positive effect in counties that have the least access to healthcare. 92 This evidence suggests that "restrictive licensing laws limit the growth in the supply of [NPs] who could deliver care in communities with relatively few practicing physicians." 93 Extending this evidence to more specific measures of healthcare access, a third study concluded that granting NPs more autonomy increases the likelihood that individuals receive a routine check-up, have access to a usual source of care, and can obtain an appointment with a provider. 94 NP independence also reduces the use of emergency departments for conditions that can be addressed in less intensive (and less expensive) settings, as patients can more easily access a healthcare provider when NPs can practice independently. 95 [\*906] The response to the argument that allowing NPs greater autonomy increases access to healthcare by opponents of NP independence often does not focus explicitly on healthcare access. While not every study has found that relaxing SOP laws increases access to healthcare providers, 96 the existing evidence generally supports this conclusion. 97 Opponents, therefore, typically offer only indirect arguments on the access issue. In opposing a bill that would relaxing California's SOP laws, the president of the California Medical Association offered an example of a common argument: "We must ensure that every American, regardless of age or economic status, has access to a trained physician who can provide the highest level of care. Expanding access to care should not come at the expense of patient safety and we will not support unequal standards of care... ." 98 In other words, expanding access to NP-supplied care does not amount to expanding access to care generally because NPs provide inferior care. Though framed as an access-to-care argument, this contention is more accurately characterized as an argument about the quality of care provided by NPs, which as addressed above, appears to be equal in basic practice areas.

4. The State of the Scope-of-Practice Debate

The debate over NP SOP laws is not new, and multiple national organizations - both governmental and non-governmental - have weighed in on this debate after conducting extensive reviews of the available evidence. Perhaps the most relevant organization to opine on SOP laws to date has been the National Academy of Medicine (formerly, the Institute of Medicine). The Academy criticized restrictive SOP laws, noting that "what nurse practitioners are able to do once they graduate varies widely for reasons that are related not to their ability, education or training, or safety concerns, but to the political decisions of the state in which they work." 99 Calling for an end to restrictive SOP laws, the Academy clearly stated that NPs "should practice to the full extent of their education and training." 100

[\*907] Researchers at the FTC reached a similar conclusion, albeit for somewhat different reasons. The FTC has no authority to enforce federal antitrust laws against states that restrict the practices of NPs with SOP laws because these laws fit squarely within the state-action immunity articulated in Parker v. Brown. 101 However, FTC researchers applied the economic principles that underlie those antitrust laws and concluded that restrictive SOP laws "deny[] health care consumers the benefits of greater competition." 102 They further concluded that the harms to healthcare services markets - higher prices and decreased access to care - associated with restrictive SOP laws were not offset by any attendant benefits. 103 Consistent with these conclusions, the FTC has regularly opposed state laws that restrict the practices of NPs and supported the passage of bills that relax the SOP laws. 104

#### Scope of Practice (SOP) restrictions *block access* and *hamper options for patient health*.

LDI ‘20

Internally quoting Dr. Margo Brooks Carthon - LDI Senior Fellow, a Nurse Practitioner, PhD, RN, FAAN, and is also an Associate Professor at Penn’s School of Nursing. The LDI is the Leonard Davis Institute of Health Economics at the University of Pennsylvania (Penn). Six expert panelists are quoted and we are quoting the section from Margo Brooks Carthon – “Scope of Practice Restrictions and Vulnerable Populations: LDI Virtual Conference Explores The Issue's Changing Dynamics” - November 21, 2020 - #E&F - https://ldi.upenn.edu/our-work/research-updates/scope-of-practice-restrictions-and-vulnerable-populations/

The most heavily publicized debates around the SOP issue over the last 60 years have been about nurse practitioners whose work is often focused on underserved communities that lack the most basic kinds of medical care. Panelist and LDI Senior Fellow Margo Brooks Carthon, PhD, RN, FAAN, is an NP and health services researcher in that field. She is also an Associate Professor at Penn’s School of Nursing, and a core faculty member at the Penn Center for Health Outcomes Policy Research.

“There are over two hundred thousand NPs in the United States working under varying degrees of scope of practice restrictions, depending on the states where they’re employed,” Carthon said. “These barriers have implications for population health as well as health equity.”

“Twenty-two states and the District of Columbia fully license NPs to practice independently. Others require career-long collaborative agreements with a supervising physician. Some require a physician to review a percentage of NP charts — ten percent every year in Alabama and Georgia; twenty percent every 30 days in Tennessee. NPs are often limited in the distance they can be from a physician and are required to jump through other hoops just to provide basic care.”

#### Solvency is *empirical* and the *impact is significant*. Some States have relaxed SOP restrictions to differing degrees. Studies confirm this has saved many lives *per day* *per State*.

Chung ‘20

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Nurse practitioners (NP) are well-trained health care personnel for primary, acute, and specialty care in the US. However, 32 states have restrictions on their scope of practice and Illinois is one of them.

In response to the shortage of health care workers during the coronavirus pandemic, twenty-one states granted NP full practice authority to cope with the increasing demand for health care services. In the Midwest, Kansas, Indiana, Michigan, Missouri, and Wisconsin, adopted a more expansive scope of service for NP.

This report evaluates the effect of this policy change on the rate of COVID-related deaths in the Midwest states, which expanded NP authority and sheds light on healthcare policy in Illinois.

Findings:

NP in Illinois have full practice authority only if they have had 4,000 hours of clinical experience and completed 250 training hours.

Illinois and Ohio are the only two Midwest states, which did not expand the scope of practice for NP during the pandemic.

In the states that did expand the scope of practice for NP, COVID related deaths were potentially reduced by 10 cases per day

If Illinois had expanded the scope of practice, 8% fewer COVID-19 deaths would have occurred in Cook County, which is the most affected area in the state.

The findings reveal that granting NP full practice authority is effective in easing the shortage of health care workers and improves health care quality. Our result echoes the findings by other healthcare researchers that granting NP independent practice authority improves patient outcomes. This report recommends that health care regulators in Illinois grant all NP independent practice authority in order to meet the states’ growing health care demand.

Introduction

The shortage of healthcare professional in the US has been a notable concern among health policy makers. According to the Bureau of Health Workforce, in 2017 only 55 percent of the need for primary care professional was met.1 For Illinois, the Bureau estimated that 468 extra primary care health providers were needed to address the shortage problem, which is roughly 188% of the existing number of primary care providers in the state. The shortage problem is the biggest in the Midwest.

The nationwide healthcare labor force shortage manifests itself even more during the COVID-19 pandemic. To address the health workforce shortage, a number of states temporarily expanded the scope of practice for nurse practitioners (NP). NP are well-trained health care personnel, typically requiring post-graduate training. According to the American Association of Nurse Practitioners (AANP), NP with full autonomy are authorized to \evaluate patients; diagnose, order and interpret diagnostic tests; and initiate and manage treatments".2 Although they are well-prepared to provide primary, acute, and specialty care, their scope of practice varies by state. According to the classification by AANP, in a state with "restricted/reduced practice," NP need to have a collaborative agreement with, or work under direct supervision of a licensed health professional (e.g. physician, dentist). The limited authority of NP has not only reduced health access in rural areas, but also significantly increased the administrative burden of the supervising personnel. It has also reduced the amount of time dedicated for patient care (Traczynski and Udalova, 2018). Healthcare researchers have claimed that granting NP independent practice authority would have a positive impact on patient outcomes.

This report estimates the impact of expanding the scope of practice for NPs on COVID mortality in the Midwest. In the region, seven states were classified prior to the pandemic as "restricted/reduced NP practice" by the AANP. Among those, Kansas, together with Indiana, Michigan, Missouri, and Wisconsin granted NPs independence, whereas Illinois and Ohio did not implement changes.3 In the empirical exercise, we leverage on this quasi-experimental setting to compare daily COVID mortality in the treated states with that in Illinois and Ohio before and after the emergency response. Although the discussion evaluates the recent emergency response under the pandemic, the finding here contributes to the ongoing debate of whether NP should be granted independent authority.

According to our estimates, expanding the scope of practice for NPs potentially reduced COVID-related deaths by ten per day. To put this figure into context, the number amounts to a reduction of 8% of in those states that implemented the changes the average death toll in Cook County during the sample period. These results add support to granting NP full independent authority to ease the healthcare workforce shortage.

Restriction on NP and State Emergency Response

The scope of practice for nurse practitioners varies by state. According to the American Association of Nurse Practitioners (AANP), five of the Midwest states allow full practice (light blue in Figure 1a), meaning that NP can work independently and are authorized for patient diagnosis and prescription.

Illinois with four other Midwest states (Figure 1a) classify NP under "reduced practice" restrictions. Illinois regulations amended in 2017 do allow a subset of NP full practice authority, but the change only applies to NP who have had at least 4,000 hours of clinical experience and completed 250 training hours.4 In contrast, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Minnesota and Iowa permit a full scope of practice for all NP without a minimum threshold of accrued work hours.

In Illinois, NP are required to have a collaborative agreement with a health professional (e.g. licensed physician), listing the types of care, treatment and procedures the NP is allowed to perform. NP in Illinois and five other Midwest states can work quasi-independently because physicians are not required to be physically present with the NP. Prior to the pandemic outbreak, Missouri and Michigan had the most restrictive rules, requiring that NP work under direct supervision of a physician (Figure 1a).

As the pandemic unfolded, states with reduced or restricted practice authority began to expand the scope of practice for NP. The aim of the change was to enlarge the healthcare workforce capable of providing COVID-19 care.

Among the Midwest states shown in Figure 1b, Missouri and Indiana were the first to waive part of the supervision requirements. At the date of this report, Illinois and Ohio were the only two states, which have not taken action to expand the scope of practice for NP.

Policy Effect on COVID-related Mortality

To evaluate the effectiveness of expanded scope of practice, this report looks into the impact on COVID-related mortality. Data on county level daily mortality are retrieved from the New York Times.5

To estimate a cause-and-effect relationship between expanded scope of practice and COVID-19 mortality, this report employs the synthetic control method (Abadie and Gardeazabal, 2003; Abadie, Diamond, and Hainmueller, 2010). The essence of this statistical technique is to construct a counterfactual which mirrors the post-policy mortality that would have been observed had the policy not happened. We then obtain the daily policy effect by directly comparing the counterfactual mortality with the observed mortality. To ensure the counter-factual offers a valid comparison, we make use of several important indicators that would predict COVID-related deaths. These include the pre-policy number of COVID death, pre-policy number of confirmed cases (also retrieved from the New York Times database), and county characteristics (number of NPs, population size, percent of 65+ population, percent of black, number of hospital, and number of beds) obtained from the Area Health Resource Files (AHRF, 2020).

An important property of the synthetic control technique is that the pre-policy number of COVID death has to be informative enough to produce reliable post-policy predictions. In other words, we rely on the pre-policy trend to predict the post-policy movement. This limits the start of the sample period to late March because many counties did not record any COVID deaths until then. For this reason, we are not able to produce a dependable counterfactual for the counties in Missouri and Indiana because they granted authority to NP prior to reporting any COVID-19 deaths.

Figure 2, shows the estimation result for Kansas, Wisconsin, and Michigan. The solid line of each graph represents the actual daily mortality of a state (average of all counties), whereas the dotted line shows the predicted counterfactual using the synthetic control technique. The red vertical line in the middle of each graph represents the day before the policy takes place. For example, in the top-left corner, the solid line shows that Kansas counties recorded an increasing number of COVID-related death with a modest decline in magnitude since April 22, which is the date Kansas started to authorize temporary independent practice for NPs. The trend afterward clearly diverges from the predicted no-policy counterfactual, which implies that the policy slowed down the death toll. Until the end of the sample period, the maximum impact by the policy reduces the daily death toll by 10 cases. We also observe a similar pattern in Wisconsin and Michigan, though the magnitude of death reduction in Michigan is smaller.

There is however the possibility that the reduction in deaths was caused by some other concurrent policies and any reduction in fatalities would then be falsely attributed to the expanded scope of practice. This concern is particularly valid because there were many policies adopted in response to the nationwide health risk.

Therefore, to check the robustness of our prediction of reduced deaths associated with NP scope of authority, we tested to see if the social distancing policy, a major attempt by states in response to the pandemic, had the same associated improvement on the cases of COVID-19 deaths.

For Kansas, Wisconsin, and Michigan, social distancing measures were implemented in late March. We therefore implemented the same estimation procedures using the synthetic control method but moving the treatment date in each state to correspond to the start of the state's shelter-in-place order. As shown in Figure 3, in each of the three states, the actual cases of death continues to grow at a higher rate than the predicted counterfactual. This finding suggests that the lock down policies did not produce the same reduction in the number of COVID-related fatalities as the expanded scope of practice

Conclusion and Policy Implication

Amid the unprecedented health crisis, it is important that state regulators consider the cost of occupational regulations.

The argument for occupational licensing is that it protects the consumer. In the case of NPs scope of practice, regulators often worry about the quality of service if the scope is widened. This report however suggests there is empirical evidence that granting NPs independent authority has contributed to a reduction in COVID-19 deaths.

#### Only pairing the ACA with nurse practitioners tempers ongoing provider crunches.

Auerbach ‘13

et al., David Auerbach is on the faculty of the Pardee RAND Graduate School.He is a former RAND policy researcher specializing in the health care workforce and on the Affordable Care Act. He is a leading national expert on the nursing and advanced-practice nursing workforce in particular, as well as primary care providers and new models of care delivery. “New Approaches for Delivering F Could Reduce Predicted Physician Shortages, Research Highlight”- Rand Corporation, Research Briefs RB9752, 2013, http://www.rand.org/pubs/research\_briefs/RB9752.html.

Numerous forecasts have predicted shortages of physicians in the United States, particularly in light of the expected increase in demand from the Affordable Care Act (ACA). Such predictions, however, might be far from the mark. Several recent innovations are attempting to change the way primary care is delivered — by expanding who provides care (e.g., physicians, nurse practitioners, physician assistants) and how care is coordinated (e.g., through teams).

RAND researchers analyzed the potential impact of two emerging models of care — the patient-centered medical home (PCMH) and the nurse-managed health center (NMHC) — on future shortages of primary care physicians. The PCMH delivers primary care using a team of providers, including physicians, advanced practice and other nurses, physician assistants, pharmacists, nutritionists, social workers, educators, and care coordinators. NMHCs, also known as nursing centers or nurse-led clinics, are managed and operated by nurses, with nurse practitioners functioning as the primary providers.

The study found that projected shortages of primary care physicians could be substantially reduced by increasing the prevalence of these new models of care — without increasing the number of physicians. Researchers also developed an interactive online tool that allows users to change the assumptions used in this research and see the effect on future shortages or surpluses of physicians, nurse practitioners, and physician assistants.

Estimating the Supply and Demand for Primary Care Providers

Researchers used published estimates of supply and demand for primary care providers, accounting for expected increases in demand resulting from the ACA. To estimate supply and demand for providers under the alternative models of care, researchers combined published estimates with data from observing actual staffing at a number of practices.

The figure shows the projected supply of providers in each category in 2025. The share of primary care providers who are physicians is expected to shrink from 71 percent to 60 percent in 2025. In 2010, there were nearly four primary care physicians for every nurse practitioner in primary care, but the RAND team estimated that in 2025 there would be just over two physicians per nurse practitioner.

The Effect of New Care Models on Provider Shortages

RAND researchers combined these supply estimates with published forecasts of demand for primary care providers to derive shortage estimates for the year 2025 under several alternative scenarios, as described below. As is standard practice, researchers assumed that supply and demand for providers were balanced in 2010. Results are shown in the table.

Status Quo. If primary care practices use the same mix and combinations of providers in 2025 as they did in 2010, these assumptions would lead to a forecast shortage of 45,000 primary care physicians in 2025 (i.e., 20 percent below demand), together with a surplus of 34,000 nurse practitioners (48 percent above demand) and of 4,000 physician assistants (10 percent above demand).

Increasing the Prevalence of Alternative Models of Primary Care. Increasing the prevalence of alternative models of primary care reduced the projected shortage of primary care providers, especially when the prevalence of both alternatives increased.

#### Malleability holds in contingent instances - Health access is distinct from other modes of violent power. Claiming it as “liberalism” creates false equivalencies. Such State-Alarmism is wrong and generates support for ACA rollback.

Schotten ’15

Dr. C. Heike Schotten is an Associate Professor of Political Science and an affiliated faculty in Women’s and Gender Studies at The University of Massachusetts-Boston. What following is from Schotten’s own faculty bio: Her research lies at the unlikely intersection of Nietzsche studies, queer theory, and revolution. “Against Totalitarianism: Agamben, Foucault, and the Politics of Critique,” Foucault Studies, No. 20, pp. 155-179, December 2015, Modified for language that may be objectionable - #E&F – the letter “u” is moved from Capitalized to a lower-case in one instance – this is for readability. <http://rauli.cbs.dk/index.php/foucault-studies/article/view/4935/5361>

III. Moralism and Totalitarianism

Foucault’s methodological and political commitments are all the more significant in light of Agamben’s demanded corrective of Foucaultian biopolitics and understanding of sovereignty. For even as Foucault expands his methodological rejection of the state as ahistorical political principle or sociological object, Agamben effects not simply a return to sovereignty, as already argued, but a return to sovereignty in what, following Foucault, we must recognize as totalitarian forms. This is the case not only methodologically, as will become clear, but also morally, an aspect of political critique that does not even enter into the Foucaultian schema. Methodologically, Agamben’s persistent focus on Auschwitz as the West’s political paradigm and Nazism as the teleological culmination of sovereignty’s political trajectory results in his offering an “anti-totalitarian” theory of sovereignty that renders any other historical or political outcome besides totalitarianism impossible. Hence Agamben’s dispute with Foucault is actually a “corrective” of Foucault, a disappointingly moralizing rebuke rather than a constructive scholarly engagement.

In BB, Foucault says his choice to talk about governmentality rather than the state is purposeful, a methodological choice that is “obviously and explicitly a way of not taking as a primary, original, and already given object, notions such as the sovereign, sovereignty, the people, subjects, the *state, and civil society*, that is to say, all those universals employed by sociological analysis, historical analysis, and political philosophy.”92 Rather, Foucault says, he would like to do “exactly the opposite” and, instead of using “state and society, sovereign and subjects, etcetera” as points of departure, he wants to show how they “were actually able to be formed” so that their status can be called into question.93 At one level, this is simply Foucault’s methodological preference. At another level, as we have seen, it is a political commitment, insofar as refusing to begin with these sociological givens facilitates resistance to the power-effects of what he calls “totalitarian theories.” While, in “SMBD,” these totalitarian theories were Marxism and psychoanalysis, in BB the target is now what Foucault calls “historicism,” which he describes as a practice of taking universals and running them through the mill of history in order to deduce their “meaning.” Significantly, historicism, like Marxism and psychoanalysis, unfolds a similarly reductive and deductive logic that “starts from the universal and, as it were, puts it through the grinder of history.”94 Instead, Foucault suggests the supposition “that universals do not exist. And then I put the question to history and historians: How can you write a history if you do not accept a priori the existence of things like the state, society, the sovereign, and subjects?”95 Insofar as historicism in BB functions the way Marxism and psychoanalysis do in “SMBD,” then historicism can also be considered a totalitarian theory that Foucault seeks to critique. In seeking to undertake an analysis that is “exactly the opposite of historicism,”96 Foucault is in some sense continuing his practice of thwarting or undermining totalitarian theories, a methodology that is animated by a specifically political commitment to insurrection.97

Foucault is also cautious about indulging the fearful discourse of the all-powerful state. He names this anxiety “state ~~phobia~~” 98 (“state alarmism”) and says it has two related versions: first,

the idea that the state possesses in itself and through its own dynamism a sort of power of expansion, an endogenous imperialism constantly pushing it to spread its surface and increase in extent, depth, and subtlety to the point that it will come to take over entirely that which is at the same time its other, its outside, its target, and its object, namely: civil society.99

If this leaves the impression of a kind of suffocating beast whose tentacled grasp is ever extending over and sliding in between any cracks of resistance to its domination, this is no accident: Foucault refers to this as the “cold monster” version of the state, the “threatening organism above civil society.”100 Foucault does not spend much time unpacking the problems with this theory, presumably because they are self-evident on the basis of his earlier work: not only is the state here presupposed as a causal entity that exists “above” its subjects, but it is also possessed of a kind of vitalism or life principle that Foucault dismisses out of hand as an inadequate or irresponsible account of power. The state as “cold monster” is, quite literally, yet another version of the Leviathan, the great sea monster from the book of Job, for whose beheading Foucault has already vigorously advocated.

The second bit of “critical commonplace”101 regarding the state that Foucault seeks to avoid is the notion that there are no significant differences between or among different forms of it. This is the notion that, as Foucault puts it,

there is a kinship, a sort of genetic continuity or evolutionary implication between different forms of the state, with the administrative state, the welfare state, the bureaucratic state, the fascist state, and the totalitarian state all being, in no matter which of the various analyses, the successive branches of one and the same great tree of state control in its continuous and unified expansion.102

Here Foucault explicitly puts totalitarianism and the state together in order to distinguish “the totalitarian state” as a *distinct*ive state form, rather than the paradigm case of the state itself.

Indeed, here we might understand Foucault as attempting to disentangle a kind of doubling of totalitarianism in state phobia, wherein the cold monster view anoints the state with the kind of omniscience and omnipotence often ascribed to totalitarian versions of it. This specifically totalitarian version ultimately becomes synonymous with the state itself.

What links the “cold monster” view and the “genetic continuity” view is their consideration of the state as a malevolent principle in itself, such that distinctions among types become irrelevant and *any state action* can be interpreted as a sign of its increasing repressiveness and violence. Foucault uses the example of an unduly harsh criminal sentence, which he says can be interpreted as evidence of the increasing fascism of the state, regardless of whatever may actually be true—this is once again a correct answer produced by the particular truth mill that is “state phobia.” Foucault warns that this kind of thinking can verge on ~~paranoid~~ (alarmist) fantasy, which ~~sees~~ (perceives) evidence of the ever-growing, increasingly-fascistic state everywhere it looks. In this case, one’s “grasp of reality”103 is not what matters, but rather the endless confirmation and reproduction of the theory itself. It can also issue in absurd (illogical) conclusions, such as the following:

As soon as we accept the existence of this continuity or genetic kinship between different forms of the state, and as soon as we attribute a constant evolutionary dynamism to the state, it then becomes possible not only to use different analyses to support each other, but also to refer them back to each other and so deprive them of their specificity. For example, an analysis of social security and the administrative apparatus on which it rests ends up, via some slippages and thanks to some plays on words, referring us to the analysis of concentration camps. And, in the move from social security to concentration camps the *requisite* specificity of analysis is diluted.104

While Foucault is referencing right-wing fantasies about governmental power (one is reminded of Sarah Palin’s warnings about “death panels” should Obama’s Affordable Health Care Act pass the U.S. Congress), his caution is also apposite to left anarchist discourses that similarly ~~see~~ (perceive) the state as a malevolent principle in itself. In suggesting that the state has no essence or is “nothing else but the mobile effect of a regime of multiple governmentalities,”105 Foucault is not claiming that we should be uncritical of the state or exercises of state power. Quite the opposite. In destabilizing the operative presumptions about the state in history, sociology, philosophy, and politics, Foucault is instead working to make the state something that is possible to critique and resist. We lose sight of this possibility when the state is presumed to be a prime mover of history or politics, an omnipotent principle or an essentially annihilatory institution that culminates, inevitably, in the genocidal logic of concentration camps. Part of the task of proceeding in the exact opposite manner as that of historicism is admitting that mechanisms of power *are* transferable and that they do not exhaustively characterize any particular society.106 Foucault’s resistance to historicism and state phobia, then, are yet further resistances to totalitarianism—of theory (or science) but also of specific state forms and beliefs about the state and its forms that function in totalitarian ways.

As is perhaps already evident, Agamben’s approach to the state in Homo Sacer epitomizes both the historicism and state ~~phobia~~ (“state alarmism”) that Foucault explicitly rejects. Rather than seeking, from below, to untangle and document the subjugated knowledges that have produced existing dominations, Agamben instead seeks to read these latter for what they reveal about the essential workings of Western politics. Indeed, Agamben presumes that power inheres in the sovereign demarcation of the zoē/bios divide, the status of which exhaustively defines life and politics in “the West” (itself an underspecified geographical and historical entity). The method of Homo Sacer is thus clearly expressed in Foucault’s description of “historicism”: Agamben starts from a universalist claim regarding the sovereign exception and then proceeds to examine how history has inflected it in the West. This is what allows him to conflate all versions of the state with the totalitarian one and also to suggest that all versions of sovereignty culminate inevitably in the Nazis’ creation of concentration camps. As he says, the camp is “the hidden paradigm of the political space of modernity, whose metamorphoses and disguises we will have to learn to recognize.”107

Like all declension narratives, this one too echoes the chronology of the fall from grace, except that, in Agamben’s version, the pre-lapsarian moment dates from Aristotle rather than the Creation. The result, however, is a valorized hypostatization of an at-best questionable moment of origin, from which the logic of the events of Western history can be understood to have unfolded and to be still in the process of unfolding to this day.108 At one end, then (at “the beginning,” or archē), stands the Aristotelian distinction between zoē and bios; at the other end (“now,” or in modernity), lie the Nazi death camps. These two moments are tied inevitably, irretrievably together by the exceptional logic of sovereignty:

The totalitarianism of our century has its ground in this dynamic identity of life and politics, without which it remains incomprehensible. If Nazism still appears to us as an enigma, and if its affinity with Stalinism (on which Hannah Arendt so much insisted) is still unexplained, this is because we have failed to situate the totalitarian phenomenon in its entirety in the horizon of biopolitics. When life and politics—originally divided, and linked together by means of the no-man’s-land of the state of exception that is inhabited by bare life—begin to become one, all life becomes sacred and all politics becomes the exception (148, original emphasis).

Nazism will remain “an enigma,” on this telling, insofar as we fail to “situate” it within the essential principle of Western biopolitics—the sovereign exception, the zoē/bios divide. Once we do that, however, the meaning of Nazism becomes clear and we understand how there could ever have been death camps, perhaps the real question Agamben is trying to answer in this text. Already latent in the zoē/bios divide, then, is the concentration camp, which is why its historical development inevitably culminates there.

Agamben’s political theory thus not only re-iterates the assumptions of the sovereign model as Foucault explains it, but itself becomes a kind of totalitarian theory of sovereignty in the West that can only ever issue in the same answer over and over again: the camp. Agamben’s methodological historicism is what allows him to come to the political conclusions Foucault explicitly repudiates above; namely, that there is no meaningful difference between democratic states and totalitarian ones, and this because the sovereign exception is a formation of power that fundamentally defines the entity “Western politics” from its earliest days through to its catastrophic contemporaneity. Thus it is perhaps also unsurprising that Agamben concludes there is no difference between democratic and totalitarian regimes insofar as their “fundamental referent” is bare life; the “only real question to be decided,” he says, is “which form of organization would be best suited to the task of assuring the care, control, and use of bare life.”109 As well, Agamben’s state ~~phobia~~ (“state alarmism”) , in which we can recognize both the “cold monster” and “genetic” versions, predictably culminates, as do the absurdist theories Foucault documents, with nothing other than concentration camps. U(u)nless the enigma of the sovereign exception is solved, Agamben insists, we will remain mired in totalitarianism and death camps: “Today politics knows no value (and, consequently, no nonvalue) other than life, and until the contradictions that this fact implies are dissolved, Nazism and fascism—which transformed the decision on bare life into the supreme political principle— will remain stubbornly with us.”110 The consequence of Agamben’s methodology here is not simply a return to sovereignty, then, but in fact a resurrection of the sovereign and the restoration of his omnipotence in what, following Foucault, can be called totalitarian forms. Agamben’s reading of the text of Western politics from the guiding principle of the sovereign exception leaves us no other option, no other conclusion, than that with which Foucault claims his work is constantly being misinterpreted as saying: “This is the way things are; you are trapped.”111 This outcome is all the more ironic, of course, given that the entire exercise of Homo Sacer was ostensibly spurred by Agamben’s desire to “correct” Foucault’s oversight regarding 20th century totalitarian regimes and, presumably, overcome the disastrous legacy of Nazism and totalitarianism.

\*Note to students: the word “endogenous” means having an internal cause or origin)

#### Elements of the squo echo this call for an untouched market. That pro-rollback perspective would place *millions of lives at risk*.

Gee ‘20

et al; Emily R. Gee is a senior fellow and the senior economist for Health Policy at American Progress. In her role, she guides policy development and advocates for reforms to expand coverage and improve care. Her areas of expertise include health coverage and affordability, health care financing, and the Affordable Care Act. She has been quoted and her work has been cited in The New York Times, The Washington Post, Politico, Forbes, Vox, and other publications. Prior to joining American Progress, she was an economist in the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation at the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and worked on implementation of the Affordable Care Act. Gee also served as an economist on the staff of the Council of Economic Advisers in the Obama White House, tracking health care coverage and reviewing regulation related to provider payments, prescription drugs, and insurance. Gee earned her doctorate in economics from Boston University, where she researched health insurance markets and taught health economics. She holds a bachelor’s degree in government from Harvard College. “10 Ways the ACA Has Improved Health Care in the Past Decade” - March 23, 2020 - #E&F – modified for language that may offend - https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/healthcare/news/2020/03/23/482012/10-ways-aca-improved-health-care-past-decade/

Ten years ago this month, the Affordable Care Act (ACA) was signed into law. Since then, the law has transformed the American health care system by expanding health coverage to 20 million Americans and saving thousands of lives. The ACA codified protections for people with preexisting conditions and eliminated patient cost sharing for high-value preventive services. And the law goes beyond coverage, requiring employers to provide breastfeeding mothers with breaks at work, making calorie counts more widely available in restaurants, and creating the Prevention and Public Health Fund, which helps the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) and state agencies detect and respond to health threats such as COVID-19.

Despite the undeniably positive impact that the ACA has had on the American people and health system, President Donald Trump and his allies have (~~been on a mission~~ (strived) to dismantle the law and reverse the gains made over the past decade—first through Congress and now through a lawsuit criticized by legal experts across the political spectrum. Even if the U.S. Supreme Court rules the ACA constitutional after it hears the California v. Texas health care repeal lawsuit this fall, President Trump’s administration cannot be trusted to put the health of the American people ahead of its political agenda. Trump’s administration hasn’t delivered on Trump’s commitment to “always protect patients with pre-existing conditions.”

The consequences of ACA repeal would be dire:

Nearly 20 million people in the United States would lose coverage, raising the nonelderly uninsured rate by more than 7 percent.

135 million Americans with preexisting conditions could face discrimination if they ever needed to turn to the individual market for health coverage.

States would lose $135 billion in federal funding for the marketplaces, Medicaid, and the Children’s Health Insurance Program (CHIP).

Insurance companies would no longer be required to issue rebates when they overcharge Americans. In 2019, insurance companies returned $1.37 billion in medical loss ratio rebates to policyholders.

The tax revenue that funds the expanded health coverage under the ACA would become tax cuts for millionaires, who would receive an average of $46,000 each.

As the nation awaits a final ruling on the lawsuit, the Center for American Progress is celebrating how the ACA has helped the American people access affordable health care in the past decade. In honor of the law’s 10th anniversary, here are 10 ways in which it has changed Americans’ lives for the better. Each of these gains remains at risk as long as the Trump administration-backed lawsuit remains unresolved.

1. 20 million fewer Americans are uninsured

The ACA generated one of the largest expansions of health coverage in U.S. history. In 2010, 16 percent of all Americans were uninsured; by 2016, the uninsured rate hit an all-time low of 9 percent. About 20 million Americans have gained health insurance coverage since the ACA was enacted. The ACA’s coverage gains occurred across all income levels and among both children and adults, and disparities in coverage between races and ethnicities have narrowed.

Two of the biggest coverage expansion provisions of the ACA went into full effect in 2014: the expansion of Medicaid and the launch of the health insurance marketplaces for private coverage. Together, these programs now cover tens of millions of Americans. Nationwide, 11.4 million people enrolled in plans for 2019 coverage through the ACA health insurance marketplaces. Medicaid expansion currently covers 12.7 million people made newly eligible by the ACA, and the ACA’s enrollment outreach initiatives generated a “welcome-mat” effect that spurred enrollment among people who were previously eligible for Medicaid and CHIP.

2. The ACA protects people with preexisting conditions from discrimination

Prior to the ACA, insurers in the individual market routinely set pricing and benefit exclusions and denied coverage to people based on their health status, a practice known as medical underwriting. Nearly 1 in 2 nonelderly adults have a preexisting condition, and prior to the ACA, they could have faced discrimination based on their medical history if they sought to buy insurance on their own.

The ACA added a number of significant new protections for people with preexisting conditions. One group of reforms involved changes to the rating rules, prohibiting insurers from making premiums dependent on gender or health status and limiting their ability to vary premiums by age. The ACA also established guaranteed issue, meaning that insurers must issue policies to anyone and can no longer turn away people based on health status.

Another crucial protection for people with preexisting conditions is the ACA’s requirement that plans include categories of essential health benefits, including prescription drugs, maternity care, and behavioral health. This prevents insurance companies from effectively screening out higher-cost patients by excluding basic benefits from coverage. The law also banned insurers from setting annual and lifetime limits on benefits, which had previously prevented some of the sickest people from accessing necessary care and left Americans without adequate financial protection from catastrophic medical episodes.

3. Medicaid expansion helped millions of lower-income individuals access health care and more

To date, 36 states and Washington, D.C., have expanded Medicaid under the ACA, with 12.7 million people covered through the expansion. While the Medicaid program has historically covered low-income parents, children, elderly people, and disabled people, the ACA called for states to expand Medicaid to adults up to 138 percent of the federal poverty level and provided federal funding for at least 90 percent of the cost.

Medicaid expansion has led to better access to care and health outcomes for low-income individuals and their families across the country. A large body of evidence shows that Medicaid expansion increases utilization of health services and diagnosis and treatment of health ailments, including cancer, mental illness, and substance use disorder. Medicaid expansion is associated with improvements in health outcomes such as cardiac surgery outcomes, hospital admission rates for patients with acute appendicitis, and improved mortality rates for cardiovascular and end-stage renal disease. Beyond health outcomes, evidence points to improved financial well-being in Medicaid expansion states, including reductions in medical debt and improved satisfaction with one’s current financial situation. A study that assessed eviction rates in California found that Medicaid expansion is “associated with improved housing stability.”

Evidence shows that Medicaid expansion saves lives. According to a 2019 study, Medicaid expansion was associated with 19,200 fewer deaths among older low-income adults from 2013 to 2017; 15,600 preventable deaths occurred in states that did not expand Medicaid. As the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities points out, the number of adults ages 55 to 64 whose lives would have been saved in 2017 had all states expanded Medicaid equals about the number of lives of all ages that seatbelts saved in the same year.

#### We do not defend the law in all instances – but in the contingent realm of health provision, government policy is much better than the de facto Alt of an untouched market.

Parento ‘12

Professor Emily Whelan Parento is as Associate Professor and the Gordon D. Schaber Health Law Scholar at McGeorge School of Law at the University of the Pacific. Her primary scholarly focus is the intersection of domestic health law and policy with the human rights framework for the right to health and health equity. The author holds a JD and LLM, from The Georgetown University Law Center and a BBA, from the University of Notre Dame. Earlier in her career she served as a federal judicial clerk and practiced litigation at Davis Polk & Wardwell in New York and California. From the article: “Health Equity, Healthy People 2020, and Coercive Legal Mechanisms as Necessary for the Achievement of Both” - 58 Loyola Law Review 655 - Fall, 2012 - #CutWithRJ – Modified for potentially offensive language – This Loyola Law Review article was re-published at Racism.org – http://www.racism.org/index.php?option=com\_content&view=article&id=1424:racisthealthcare&catid=88&Itemid=274&showall=1&limitstart=

Although health equity was not a part of seventeenth-century political discourse, Montesquieu accurately captured the conflict that surrounds the concept today. In theory, people are born with equal potential for healthy lives, yet the minute their lives begin, a confluence of factors render some people immensely more likely than others to have the capability to lead healthy lives. These disparities in individuals' capabilities to achieve good health raise important social justice questions--What obligation does society have to take measures to reduce health disparities based on race or ethnicity, socioeconomic status (SES), gender, sexual orientation, education, disability, and other factors, particularly where behavioral risk factors are a contributing factor to disease? Stated differently, how much “choice” do individuals *truly* possess regarding their health, and what can and should government do to address the societal influences that negatively impact health status?

Routinely, society looks at an individual health outcome and ascribes the result to modifiable lifestyle choices, good or bad, with the implicit assumption that people who are healthy deserve praise for their responsible choices and those who are not deserve at least partial blame for failing to act in ways that would improve their health. However, this personal responsibility framework fails at a population level. It is well-documented that there is a socioeconomic gradient to health, in which individuals are likely to be healthier as their socioeconomic status increases. But no serious scholar ascribes population level socioeconomic health disparities to the superior willpower of the wealthy in making healthy lifestyle choices. Similarly, there is a persistent racial and ethnic component to health that is not explained by other factors, pursuant to which certain racial and ethnic groups are more likely to have worse health outcomes than others. But no one argues that African-Americans have worse health outcomes on average than whites because African-Americans are not as motivated as whites to protect their health. There is no basis for making such population-wide generalities about motivation regarding health behavior. Yet in the face of these widespread and presumptively inequitable disparities, the law has done little. This paper argues that coercive legal mechanisms are an essential element of eliminating health disparities and achieving health equity. Moreover, the paper argues that Healthy People 2020 (HP 2020), which is the nation's “master blueprint for health” and explicitly seeks to achieve health equity, has not fully incorporated the principles of health equity in the formulation of its objectives and indicators because HP 2020 fails to recognize the varying distributive effects of policies that could achieve population health targets. To truly incorporate the principles of health equity, HP 2020 should advocate for those demonstrably effective coercive legal mechanisms that would both achieve its population health objectives and reduce health disparities.

The federal government has monitored health disparities in one form or another since at least 1985 and has advocated for the elimination of health disparities since at least 2000, with the release of the Healthy People 2010 goals. However, decisive action on the reduction of disparities has been lacking, and, on average, disparities have not improved over at least the past fifteen years. Although health equity is a mainstay of health law and policy discourse, the concept has not had a significant role in mainstream political discussions. As it is commonly understood, health equity exists when “all people have an equal opportunity to develop and maintain their health, through fair and just access to resources for health.” There are strong philosophical and social justice reasons that support government action to reduce disparities--among them are human rights principles of equality underlying the right to health; Nussbaum's theory of health as an essential human capability necessary to fully function in life; Amartya Sen's theory of the capability for health as an instrumental human freedom; and principles of equality and nondiscrimination among people based on characteristics such as SES, race or ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religion, disability, rural/urban geography, and other characteristics historically linked to discriminatory treatment.

The question, then, is, What means are both necessary and effective for reducing health disparities and achieving health equity? It is here that distributive consequences of policies become important, leading to the conclusion that coercive legal mechanisms such as direct regulation and taxation are essential to a serious strategy to reduce disparities. While coercive legal mechanisms are not suited to solve every problem and must always be balanced against concern for personal liberties and principles of autonomy, there are many instances in which coercive legal mechanisms are demonstrably *the most effective way of reducing health dispariti*es and improving population health. Unfortunately, when discussing these mechanisms, advocates are often cowed by advocates of “personal choice” into watering down interventions to the point that the likely result is--even with an improvement in population health--no change or a worsening in health disparities. This approach is problematic from a health equity standpoint, given that health equity by its nature requires the elimination of health disparities associated with social disadvantage.

The U.S. government has made the achievement of health equity and the elimination of health disparities a national priority in HP 2020, recognizing the importance of working toward the realization of health equity. Every ten years since 1979, the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) issues new “Healthy People” nationwide health goals for the forthcoming decade, the most recent of which are HP 2020. The essential aim of the Healthy People project (the Project) is to establish national health priorities by setting targets for improvement of health across a broad spectrum of topics, ranging from access to health services to environmental health to more discrete diseases such as cancer and heart disease and, for the first time in HP 2020, including the social determinants of health. In some instances, HP 2020 advocates the adoption of specific coercive legal mechanisms that would both further a population health goal and reduce disparities--for example, passage of smoke-free legislation would both reduce overall population exposure to secondhand smoke and more strongly affect disadvantaged groups (who have higher rates of smoking and are more likely to work in places where smoking is permitted), thereby resulting in a reduction in the disparity in rates of exposure to secondhand smoke. This advocacy is laudable. However, in most instances, HP 2020 chooses to set broad, population-based targets for health measures without expressing a preference between means of achieving those targets, as in the case of access to health insurance coverage, where HP 2020 sets a target of 100% coverage without acknowledging the obvious--that there is no evidence that anything other than a coercive legal mechanism is a realistic way to achieve that goal.

The determination of which coercive legal mechanisms HP 2020 supports appears to be made not on the ground of epidemiological evidence of a policy's effectiveness; rather, HP 2020 seems to be willing to advocate for direct regulation only in areas that are relatively politically uncontroversial, such as helmet laws and certain tobacco control measures. This paper argues that a true internalization of the principles of health equity requires that HP 2020 acknowledge the predictably different distributive consequences of various policy interventions and urge the adoption of those coercive legal mechanisms that are demonstrably effective in reducing health disparities. Without such a framework under which to operate, the likely result is that, even if overall population health improves, health disparities will widen between the most vulnerable population groups and the already advantaged, or remain essentially stagnant, as they did under HP 2010.

More broadly, this paper argues that health equity demands the use of coercive legal mechanisms in certain circumstances given the existence of current disparities and the evidence of effectiveness of direct regulation as compared to its alternatives. This is true for a number of reasons, including that purely voluntary policy initiatives often result in little impact on the most vulnerable populations (e.g., in the case of trans fat initiatives, discussed infra Part III.B.3), and because market-based initiatives have failed to adequately account for the health needs of certain population groups (as in the case of access to health services, discussed infra Part III.B.1). Only with a candid assessment and acceptance of the critical role that coercive legal mechanisms play in furthering population health can progress be made toward the achievement of the HP 2020 goals and ultimately, health equity. Part II of this paper discusses health equity in the U.S. and how HP 2020 incorporates health equity into its goals. Part III discusses the importance of law in public health and health equity and uses specific HP 2020 goals and objectives as examples of the essential role of coercive legal mechanisms in achieving those goals while also furthering health equity. Part IV proposes certain additional legal mechanisms that could inform selection of strategies for achieving the HP 2020 goals and health equity, including the use of a “health in all policies” approach to government, the use of health impact assessments in policymaking, and the use of various indices to measure the effects of various policies and assess progress toward disparities reduction.

#### Medicine once exerted power over patients. Such concerns are increasingly dated – health is *now* a site to invert dyads of power.

Hudson ‘15

Dr. Janella Nicole Hudson is now with The Centers for American Indian and Alaska Native Health at The Colorado School of Public Health. Specifically, the author is a postdoctoral fellow in the department of Health Behavior and Outcomes at the Moffitt Cancer Center where Janella contributes to the study of doctor-patient communication with adolescent and young adult cancer patients. The author also serves as the Program Manager for Education and Research at The Academy of Communication in Healthcare. Janella’s research examines health communication processes with diverse medically underserved groups, including black patients, to produce culturally tailored educational interventions. Janella’s research features expertise in Qualitative Social Research, Communication and Media. The methodology for this paper studied a cohort consisting solely of those that identified as black patients. The cohort was predominately “low income” – which the authors define as having an annual income of less than $30,000.00 per year. The cohort was predominately those that identified as “black women”. The paper is a follow-up to a larger principal study by Dr. Louis Penner of Wayne State University. In that parent study, 98.5% of participants identified as black. This paper was written while the author held an MA and was the author’s dissertation paper for obtaining a PhD. "Agency And Resistance Strategies Among Black Primary Care Patients" (2015). Wayne State University Dissertations. Paper 1340. Submitted to the Graduate School of Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY - #CutWithRJ – One modification – that is not highlighted in the card and doesn’t alter the reading of this evidence – adds the word “century” because it appears to have been left out of editing - <http://digitalcommons.wayne.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2339&context=oa_dissertations>

Despite their benevolent intentions, Pauley (2011) asserts that providers are ultimately gatekeepers, with the power to influence the course of the interaction. As such, negotiations within clinical interactions are not always easy. Physicians may have expert power, but increasingly savvy patients (who increasingly access the Internet and other sources to secure information) complicate the negotiation for power. In addition, physicians should attempt to address the power disparity by improving the patient's bargaining position with efforts such as increased display of personal vulnerability (Pauley, 2011).

Indeed, clinical communication represents the struggle for dominance between the physician and patient. Roter and McNeilis (2003) assert:

The medical dialogue is the fundamental instrument through which the battle over paradigms is being waged; the patient problems will be anchored in either a biomedical and disease context or a broader and more integrated illness context that incorporates the patient perspective. In other words, the nature of the patient's problems will be established and the visit's agenda and therapeutic course will be determined by whatever wins out (p. 122).

Mishler (2003) further expands upon this idea and offers recommendations for a change in clinical communication. Referring to the discourse of medicine, which is most often characterized by a physician-dominated interview, Mishler urges practitioners to develop alternative practices that "interrupt the voice of medicine" and give priority to hearing patients' narratives and contextualized explanations of illness that use everyday language" (p.437). Such an approach centralizes the needs of the patient as opposed to allowing the physician to dominate the encounter with a biomedical approach to identifying and treating illness.

Mishler's assertion shows the importance of attending to surrounding context. While physicians may be primarily concerned with attending to the biomedical and technical aspects of the patient's illness, they must also allow room for the patient's "knowledge." All too often, the expert knowledge of practitioners and scholars is given the designation of trusted knowledge, while patient knowledge is given little credence (Airhihenbuwa, 2000). In order to centralize patient needs, physicians must allow for the emergence of the voice of the life world during clinical interactions. This approach promotes the enactment of patient agency, which might manifest in several ways. Such an "interruption" of the voice of medicine (Mishler, 2003) allows the patient and the physician to connect through collaborative discourse. This ultimately empowers the patients to take control of their health plans, actively supporting or resisting suggested treatment plans as they attempt to identify the best contextual fit.

Mishler's recommendation represents an ideal in contemporary healthcare that has resulted from a lengthy evolution in patient-physician literature. Whereas greater patient power is promoted in contemporary patient-physician literature, *previous literature* features an extensive history of a physician-dominated ideal.

The Patient Role

In keeping with the ever-evolving nature of the health care system, conceptualizations of the ideal roles for patients and physicians have evolved over time. For many years, the physicians were expected to exert professional dominance during the clinical interaction and patients were expected to take a submissive role (i.e., paternalism) (Roter & McNeiHs, 2003). In twenty-first (century) health care settings, however, patients are encouraged to assume a greater degree of participation during the clinical interaction (i.e., consumerism). The evolution of the patient and physician roles has provided a platform for a dyad shift in power, setting up a "battlefield" where wars over power and paradigms are waged (Rotter & McNeilis, 2003).

# 2AC

## FISM

#### And, poorly regulated SynBio is an extinction risk – here’s more of the 1AC Wilson card.

Wilson ‘13

(Grant Wilson has an extremely diverse academic and professional background is former Representative for several nations at the 2010 Climate Change Conference in Cancun. Mr. Wilson \*also\* holds a JD, as well as a Certificate in Environmental and Natural Resources Law, both from the Lewis & Clark Law School. He \*also\* has worked on issues related to the environment and human rights in Kenya, South Korea, Hungary, Mexico, Belgium, the United States. He \*also\* is currently the Deputy Director at the Global Catastrophic Risk Institute (GCRI), a nonprofit think tank that engages in research, education, and professional networking in areas related to global catastrophic risks. “MINIMIZING GLOBAL CATASTROPHIC AND EXISTENTIAL RISKS FROM EMERGING TECHNOLOGIES THROUGH INTERNATIONAL LAW” – Virginia Environmental Law Journal – 31 Va. Envtl. L.J. 307 – lexis; allrev)

States should consider creating an international treaty to regulate emerging technologies if they perceive these technologies to pose a GCR/ER. This section considers the current and future risks and benefits posed by three emerging technologies--bioengineering, [\*313] nanotechnology, and AI. This section concludes that bioengineering is the only emerging technology that poses an immediate GCR/ER, while nanotechnology and AI pose future GCR/ERs. 1. Bioengineering Simply defined, bioengineering is the "engineering of living organisms." n23 Bioengineering is commonly associated with genetically modified ("GM") foods made from crops that scientists develop to have qualities like pest resistance or increased nutrition. However, bioengineering is rapidly expanding beyond agriculture into fields like medicine, disease control, and life-extension. The technology behind bioengineering has also developed quickly, with scientists now able to understand and manipulate life at the molecular level such that biology is viewed as a "machine" that can be tweaked, like in genetic engineering, or even built from the ground up, like in synthetic biology. n24 While breakthroughs in bioengineering research could significantly benefit mankind and the environment, bioengineering research can also be misused to the detriment of humans, animals, and environmental health. n25 Such "dual use" research currently poses significant risks to humankind and even greater risks in the future. Furthermore, both current and future bioengineering technologies pose the risk of an accident that has significant detrimental effects. In exploring these issues, this section demonstrates that bioengineering poses an immediate GCR/ER. a. Current technology Bioengineering is already widely used to modify existing organisms, and scientists are on the cusp of creating entirely synthetic organisms. For example, scientists controversially use bioengineering to "improve" natural biological products and activities, resulting in increased nutrient value, bigger yields, and insect and disease resistance n26 in various types of crops. n27 In 2011, ninety-four percent by acre of soybeans in the [\*314] United States were genetically engineered, while seventy-three percent of all U.S. corn was genetically engineered to be insect resistant and sixty-five percent to be herbicide tolerant. n28 Another controversial current bioengineering technology is genetically engineered viruses, highlighted by the 2011 genetic engineering of the H5N1 virus to become highly contagious amongst ferrets. Many scientists argue that creating this genetically engineered virus was necessary to develop a remedy in case the H5N1 virus mutates naturally, but skeptics argue that the modified H5N1 virus is dangerous because of risks that the virus will escape or that malicious actors will engineer a similar virus. n29 Another example of recent advancements in bioengineering is a project spearheaded by biologist Craig Venter that transplanted a completely synthetic DNA sequence, or "genome," into an E. coli bacteria. Scientists then also added DNA "watermarks" such as the names of researchers and famous quotes. Craig Venter termed this "the first self-replicating species we've had on the planet whose parent is a computer." n30 Bioengineering has also become vastly cheaper and more accessible to the general public. For example, massive databases of DNA sequences are available online from the Department of Energy Joint Genome Institute ("JGI") and the National Center for Biological Information's GenBank(R) database. n31 To materialize these DNA sequences, individuals can order custom genomes online for a few thousand dollars, which are "printed" from a DNA synthesis machine and shipped to them, opening the door for amateur biologists to engage in genetic engineering. n32 DNA synthesis machines can print DNA strands long enough for certain types of viruses, which untrained [\*315] individuals can obtain within six weeks of purchase. n33 Even the synthesizing machines themselves can be purchased on the Internet on sites like eBay. n34 Much like bioengineering costs, the necessary expertise to engage in bioengineering is also plummeting. For example, since 2003, teams of entrepreneurs, college students, and even high school students submitted synthetic biology creations to the International Genetically Engineered Machine ("IGEM") competition, such as UC Berkeley's "BactoBlood" creation--a "cost-effective red blood cell substitute" developed by genetically engineering E. coli bacteria. n35 b. Forthcoming technology Perhaps the greatest forthcoming development in bioengineering is synthetic biology, which includes techniques to "construct new biological components, design those components and redesign existing biological systems." n36 This is in contrast to the traditional form of bioengineering that utilizes "recombinant DNA" techniques in which the DNA from one organism is stitched together with DNA from other organisms or synthetic DNA. n37 One method of synthetic biology involves "cataloguing" DNA sequences like "Lego bricks" and assembling them in unique ways (assembling natural molecules into an unnatural system, like combining the molecules from several types of bacteria to create new bacteria with novel properties). Another method of synthetic biology involves using DNA synthesizers to create life "entirely from scratch" n38 in what has been called the "the biological equivalent of word processors" n39 (using unnatural molecules to emulate a natural system, like creating the synthetic equivalent of a natural strand of influenza). n40 One way to generate synthetic DNA is to insert [\*316] the DNA into a "biological shell"--an organism, often a bacteria, that had its own genes removed--that can run the synthetic DNA like a computer runs software. n41 And while the technology to create eukaryotic cells (i.e., "a cell with a nucleus, such as those found in animals, including human beings") is a long ways away, synthetic viruses and bacteria are just around the comer. n42 c. Benefits of bioengineering Bioengineering is already demonstrating its potential to remedy major human health and environmental problems. For example, bioengineering is responsible for some important pharmaceuticals and vaccines, such as modern insulin and a vaccine for Hepatitis B, while "gene therapy" employs genetically engineered viruses to help treat cancer. n43 Environmental benefits resulting from the 15.4 million farmers who grew genetically modified crops in 2010 include increased yield of six to thirty percent per acre of land, pest-resistant crops that require fewer pesticides (resulting in 17.1 percent less pesticide use globally in 2010), lower water use for drought-resistant crops, decreased CO[2] emissions, and crops that do not require harmful tilling practices. n44 Forthcoming benefits to human health could be a new wave of ultra-effective drugs (e.g. antimalarial and antibiotic drugs), bioengineered agents that kill cancer cells, and the ability to rapidly create vaccines in response to epidemics. n45 Bioengineering could also serve as a beacon of human diagnostics by analyzing "thousands of molecules simultaneously from a single sample." n46 Meanwhile, forthcoming benefits to the environment could be organisms that remedy harmful pollution and superior forms of biofuel, for example. n47 Bioengineering could also spur an environmental revolution in which industries reuse modified waste from biomass feedstock and farmers grow [\*317] bioengineered crops on "marginally productive lands" (e.g. switchgrass). n48 d. Risks from bioengineering While bioengineering offers current and future benefits to humans and the environment, there are also significant yet uncertain risks that could devastate human life, societal stability, and the environment. n49 This paper focuses on three predominant GCR/ER risks arising from bioengineering: (1) the accidental release of harmful organisms (a "biosafety" issue), (2) the malicious release of harmful organisms ("bioterrorism"), and (3) the bioengineering of humans. The first two are current GCRs/ERs, while the third is a future GCR/ER. i. Risk of an accident The accidental release of a bioengineered microorganism during legitimate research poses a GCR/ER when such a microorganism has the potential to be highly deadly and has never been tested in an uncontrolled environment. n50 The threat of an accidental release of a harmful organism recently sparked an unprecedented scientific debate amongst policymakers, scientists, and the general public in reaction to the creation of an airborne strain of H5N1. n51 In September 2011, Ron Fouchier, a scientist from the Netherlands, announced that he had genetically engineered the H5N1 virus--his lab "mutated the hell out of H5N1," he professed--to become airborne, which was tested on ferrets; a laboratory at the University of Wisconsin-Madison similarly mutated the virus into a highly transmittable form. n52 The "natural" H5N1 killed approximately sixty percent of those with reported infections (although the large amount of unreported cases means that this is higher than the actual death rate), but the total number of fatalities--346 people--was relatively small because the virus is difficult to transmit from human to human. The larger risk comes from the possibility that a mutated virus would spread more easily amongst [\*318] humans, n53 which could result in a devastating flu pandemic amongst the worst in history, if not the very worst. n54 To put this in context, about one in every fifteen Americans--twenty million people--would die every year from a seasonal flu as virulent as a highly transmittable form of H5N1. n55 Lax regulations and a rapidly growing number of laboratories exacerbate the dangers posed by bioengineered organisms. While lab biosafety n56 guidelines in the United States and Europe recommended that projects like reengineering the H5N1 virus be conducted in a BSL-4 facility (the highest security level), neither laboratory that reengineered the H5N1 virus met this non-binding standard. n57 Meanwhile, a 2007 Government Accountability Office ("GAO") report indicated that BSL-3 and BSL-4 labs are rapidly expanding in the United States. While there is significant public information about laboratories that receive federal funding or are registered with the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention ("CDC") and the U.S. Department of Agriculture's ("USD") Select Agent Program, much less is known about the "location, activities, and ownership" of labs that are not federally funded and not registered with the CDC or the USD Select Agent Program. n58 The same report also concluded that no single U.S. agency is responsible for tracking and assessing the risks of labs engaging in bioengineering. n59 While some claim that critics are overreacting to the risk from this genetically engineered H5N1 virus, there have been a series of accidental releases of microbes from laboratories that demonstrate the risks of largely unregulated laboratory safety. In 1978, an employee died from an accidental smallpox release from a laboratory on the floor below her. n60 Many scientists believe that the global H1N1 ("swine flu") [\*319] outbreak in the late 2000s originated from an accidental release from a Chinese laboratory. n61 Reports concluded that the accidental releases of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome ("SARS") in Singapore, Taiwan, and China from BSL-3 and BSL-4 laboratories all resulted from a low standard of laboratory safety. n62 In the United States, a review by the Associated Press of more than one hundred laboratory accidents and lost shipments between 2003 and 2007 shows a pattern of poor oversight, reporting failures, and faulty procedures, specifically describing incidents at "44 labs in 24 states," including at high-security labs. n63 In 2007, an outbreak of Foot and Mouth Disease likely came from a laboratory that was the "only known location where the strain [was] held in the country" n64 because of a leaky pipe that had known problems. n65 This long history of faulty laboratory safety is why some experts, such as Rutgers University chemistry professor and bioweapons expert Richard H. Ebright, believe that the H5N1 virus will "inevitably escape, and within a decade," citing the hundreds of germs with potential use in bioweapons that have accidentally escaped from laboratories in the United States. n66 While the effects of such lapses in laboratory safety have not yet been felt aside from relatively small events such as the swine flu outbreak mentioned above, the increasing ability of less-sophisticated scientists to engineer more deadly organisms vastly increase the possibility that a lapse in biosafety will have detrimental effects. An accidental or purposeful release of a bioengineered organism has potentially grave consequences. For example, researchers in Australia recently accidentally developed a mousepox virus with a 100 percent [\*320] fatality rate when they had merely intended to sterilize the mice. n67 Scientists in the United States also created a "superbug" version of mousepox created to "evade vaccines," which they argue is important research to thwart terrorists, sparking a debate amongst scientists and policymakers about whether the benefits of such research is worth the associated risks. n68 If such a bioengineered organism escaped from a laboratory, the results would be unpredictable but potentially extremely deadly to humans and/or animals.

## Nurse ADV

#### Here’s more ev establishing unique offense vs. the Alt.

Garrett ‘16

et al; A. Bowen Garrett is an economist and senior fellow in the Health Policy Center at the Urban Institute. His research focuses extensively on health reform and health policy topics, combining rigorous empirical methods and economic thinking with an understanding of the policy landscape to better inform policymaking. Previously, Garrett was chief economist of the Center for US Health System Reform and has taught quantitative methods and economic statistics at Georgetown University. “Who Gained Health Insurance Coverage Under the ACA, and Where Do They Live? ACA Implementation—Monitoring and Tracking” - December 2016 #E&F – modified for language that may offend - https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/86761/2001041-who-gained-health-insurance-coverage-under-the-aca-and-where-do-they-live.pdf

The Affordable Care Act (ACA) became law nearly seven years ago. Today the number of Americans lacking health insurance ~~stands~~ (is) at a historic low, and the ACA is credited with reducing the number of uninsured by about 20 million. In this brief, we take stock of who has gained coverage since 2010 and where they live. Using data from the American Community Survey, we examine health insurance coverage changes from 2010 to 2015 by demographic groups based on age, gender, race/ethnicity, education status, and state. Our main findings are as follows:

• An estimated 19.2 million nonelderly people gained health insurance coverage from 2010 to 2015, based on our analysis that accounts for population changes over the period.

• Coverage gains were broad-based; the number of uninsured fell substantially among all Americans under age 65, for both men and women, and across subgroups based on race/ethnicity, levels of educational attainment, and states.

• An estimated 2.8 million children from birth to age 18 gained coverage, suggesting that coverage expansions under the ACA and other policy changes for children’s coverage implemented from 2010 to 2015 reached children in families above the progress made by prior expansions targeting low-income children.

• The number of uninsured adults ages 19 to 34 declined by 8.7 million (42 percent), and the number of uninsured adults ages 35 to 54 declined by 5.6 million (33 percent). More than 2 million adults ages 55 to 64, who are at or approaching typical retirement ages, gained coverage from 2010 to 2015.

• Approximately 5 million women of childbearing age (19 to 44 years old) gained coverage from 2010 to 2015.

• Among those gaining coverage from 2010 to 2015, 8.2 million (43 percent) were non-Hispanic white, 2.8 million (15 percent) were non-Hispanic black, 6.2 million (32 percent) were Hispanic, and 2.0 million (10 percent) were other non-Hispanics.

• The large majority (87 percent) of adults gaining coverage from 2010 to 2015 did not have a college degree. Among them, 6.2 million were non-Hispanic white and 7.9 million were nonwhite or Hispanic.

• Americans in every state gained health insurance coverage. States that expanded Medicaid under the ACA saw larger percentage reductions in their number of uninsured residents than did states that chose to not expand Medicaid (45 percent compared with 29 percent). Nonetheless, 6.9 million people living in states that did not expand Medicaid gained health insurance.

• California’s uninsured rate fell 53.4 percent, translating into 3.8 million people gaining coverage. More than 2.3 million people gaining coverage from 2010 to 2015 lived in the Midwestern states of Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin, with uninsured rates declining between 38 and 49 percent. Florida and Texas, two non-expansion states in the South, saw about 3.3 million people gain coverage as statewide uninsured rates fell 36 percent and 27 percent, respectively.

Congress is now considering options to repeal and replace the ACA. Repeal of the ACA without new policies capable of maintaining the coverage gains achieved since 2010 would result in millions of Americans, of all ages and backgrounds and in all states, losing health insurance along with the access to health care and financial protections it affords.

#### Independently, the aff is an anti-racist approach to antitrust – Parker immunity blocks enforcement of anticompetitive practices sanctioned by state licensing boards. These boards entrench incumbent interests and exclude communities that lack socio-economic privilege

Weissmann ‘21

Shoshana Weissmann, Senior Manager, Digital Media, Communications; Fellow, 3-11-2021 – modified for language that may offend - https://www.rstreet.org/2021/03/11/we-need-antitrust-reform-for-the-little-guy/

Overhauling antitrust is in vogue. Just last month the House Judiciary Committee launched a new series of hearings to flesh out potential changes to America’s current approach to antitrust enforcement. On Thursday, the Senate Judiciary Committee’s Subcommittee on Competition Policy, Antitrust, and Consumer Rights is having a hearing on antitrust reform. And, in a sign of the times, left-of-center advocates want to ensure antitrust enforcers adopt an “anti-racist” agenda that places marginalized communities at the front of the discussion.

So often when we ~~hear~~ (consider) about antitrust, we think about the government seeking to break up large corporate monopolies. Before Google and Facebook, it was Microsoft. Before that, Ma Bell. But there is plenty of anti-competitive behavior that takes place outside of the realm of big business, and there is a way to reform such behavior that also places an emphasis on protecting disadvantaged communities: Congress can overturn the “state action doctrine” as applied to occupational licensing boards. This doctrine has long allowed semi-governmental occupational licensing boards to act in a blatantly anti-competitive manner—one that has a stark and disproportionate impact on ~~minorities~~ (those lacking socio-economic and-or racial privilege), the poor, and small-business entrepreneurs.

The overwhelming burden these occupational licensing requirements place on these groups is staggering, keeping people from earning an honest living, providing for their families, and contributing to society in the profession of their choice. These requirements include expensive schooling to certify practical skills that can be learned in other ways, or policies that limit participation in fields in the name of “safety,” when those safety issues are overblown.

In the 1950s, 1 out of every 20 people in the United States needed a license to do his or her job. Today, it’s 1 out of every 4. From the Obama administration to President Donald Trump to President Joe Biden, virtually everyone recognizes that something is horribly amiss. Even the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) released a detailed report in 2018 highlighting the dangers of overly burdensome occupational licensing and its disproportionate negative effects.

Bad board behavior is rampant. In recent years, Arizona’s cosmetology board cracked down on a student helping his community by cutting hair for people experiencing homelessness. Had Republican Gov. Doug Ducey not stepped in to help, the student’s career could have been ruined. African hair braider Isis Brantley was once arrested for braiding hair without a cosmetology license—a license that wouldn’t have even taught her to braid hair. In Louisiana, elderly widow Sandy Meadows was prevented by the board from earning a living arranging flowers because Louisiana requires a license to do so and she couldn’t pass an exam with a lower pass rate than the state’s bar exam. When she died, she was living in poverty.

The dirty open secret of occupational licensing boards is that they are often composed almost exclusively of people in the industry who have a direct stake in keeping others out. Cosmetology boards are often stocked with salon owners, for example. This kind of collusive, anticompetitive behavior aimed at entrenching incumbents to the detriment of workers, consumers, and society more broadly is exactly why we have antitrust laws in the first place.

The problem isn’t that enforcers don’t want to act—it’s that they can’t because of the “Parker” or “state immunity” doctrine. For nearly 80 years, there have been severe limits on how federal agencies and private plaintiffs could enforce America’s antitrust laws against a state-sanctioned entity, like an occupational licensing board. Under this doctrine, states are overwhelmingly protected from any kind of antitrust scrutiny, minus a few narrow exceptions.

Thankfully, courts have somewhat pulled back on this doctrine in recent years. In 2015, in a case involving non-dentists who were offering inexpensive teeth-whitening services, the Supreme Court refused to extend this immunity to North Carolina’s state dental licensing board because it was not actively supervised by the government and was composed of self-interested market participants. This decision was a step in the right direction, although its holding was narrow and the Parker doctrine was left largely intact.

Excluding competitors and keeping new entrants out of the market without reason is anticompetitive and should be punished, even when given a state’s stamp of approval. With its laser focus on antitrust, Congress is well-suited to take up the mantle on this issue.

Congress should empower antitrust enforcers like the FTC and DOJ to bring suits against these collusive bodies for their blatantly anticompetitive conduct. It can do this by overturning the state action doctrine’s application to licensing boards and allowing courts to look behind the veil of these “governmental” boards to gauge meaningfully whether they are engaging in intentionally anticompetitive conduct.

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## CP

#### It’s a collaborative act that uses the settler state against itself---this a prerequisite to political imagination, not assimilation

**Svirsky 14 –** Marcelo Svirsky (School of Humanities and Social Inquiry, Faculty of Law, Humanities and the Arts, University of Wollongong, Australia). “On the Study of Collaborative Struggles in Settler Societies.” Settler Colonial Studies, vol. 4, no. 4, 2014

Introduction Patrick Wolfe claims that binarism is our shared historical positionality in settler societies. As I have stated in the introduction to this special issue, the history and political relevance of empirical binarism are indisputable.1 To refute binarism is in more ways than one to deny that a predatory settler structure has been forced on Native peoples. Therefore, as Wolfe insists, the repudiation of binarism may well be complicit with the settler logic of elimination, regardless of whether that repudiation comes from a critique of settlerism.2 Only that binarism in settler societies is not necessarily a tree that one either must idolise or bark at. A narrow array of assumptions originates this false choice. As Wolfe proves by way of his own anti-settlerism, the recognition of empirical binarism does not necessarily align our position with the Euro-racial attitudes of the doctrine of discovery. On the other hand, as I show in this paper, a critical attitude towards the binary principle does not necessarily reflect a conspiratory desire to assimilate the Native as a way to complete the settlerist project. The question is whether or not, by dethroning the principle from its conceptual and affective primacy, the logics of elimination remains uninterrupted. In other words, binarism invites for positions. By ‘binarising’ binarism and its repudiation in one dialectical stroke, Wolfe takes his moral attitude towards settler colonialism into safe grounds, as if saying – I cannot be fingered as doubting settler maliciousness (or in Wolfe’s own words, ‘I have regularly been accused of binarism – though not once by a Native’).3 The virtue of Wolfe’s argument is that it offers a way of escaping from the coercion to choose between binarism and its repudiation: ‘In addition to characterising the past and the present, however, does our recognition of the structural continuity of settler colonialism predetermine the future?’ he notes.4 My answer to this question is that binarism’s structural continuity does not preclude the future, and more specifically, it does not prevent the emergence of non-settlerist collective forms, however fragile these forms were or are. I define these forms of collectivity as ‘collaborative alliances’, and the struggles led by them as ‘collaborative struggles’. Transcending settlerism is about taking its vital organs – its logics, laws, institutions, and everyday practices – and the relationships between them back into the workshop of history, to remake the body of society.5 Defining them as struggles highlights their minoritarian position in society, as forms that either never reached in the past the necessary maturity and intensity to face the expanding predation of settler machines, or as forms that strive in the present with great difficulty to offer alternative modes of being in specific social spheres. There is something empirically erroneous in Wolfe’s rhetorical question I quoted above. Though it makes room to imagine alternatives in the future, the past and present are given as if nothing new can be said about them. As a history yet to be coherently written, the case of Zionist settlerism is very telling. Researchers have reported of collaborative alliances, of shared life between Palestinian and Jews forged in Ottoman times,6 maintained during the British Mandate,7 and, importantly, sustained even during the very days of the ethnic cleansing of the Palestinians in 1948.8 Henry Reynolds offers such a reading of Australian settlerism in this special issue. Acknowledging the empirical coexistence of binarism and collaborative alliances is not a misrecognition of the former,9 as long as the idea of collaborative alliances does not become synonymous with hybridity,10 or is articulated in ways that blur the fleshy accuracy of settlerist asymmetries. Because it carries a conceptual and affective abuse of history, it is the political misuse of empirical binarism which needs to be challenged. The indisputability of negative binarism as a persistent structural production of settler societies explains the landscapes of our collective memory and it shapes the horizons of our political dispositions, but it does not compel the hermetic obturation of war machines striving to substitute settlerism. To welcome such a view is tantamount to give up on political imagination.

#### There is no “one” Native perspective. They essentialize.

Krupat ‘93

Dr. Arnold Krupat, is a former Professor at Rutgers and currently a Professor of Literature at Sarah Lawrence College. He is not of Native American descent, but is widely recognized as one of the foremost scholars on Native American studies. Such recognition includes expressly receiving honors from Native American organizations – including receiving the prestigious Wordcraft Circle of Native Writers and Storytellers Award for best book of nonfiction prose. The piece for which he was recognized was Here First: Autobiographical Essays by Native American Writers, with Brian Swann. In that piece twenty-seven Native American writers describe their lives and art. Krupat and Swann edited and produced that piece. Internally referencing Dan Littlefield, who is Cherokee is also the director of the Sequoyah Research Center at the University of Arkansas at Little Rock. Littlefield holds a Ph.D. degree from Oklahoma State University and was a classroom teacher for forty-five years “Scholarship and Native American Studies: A Response to Daniel Littlefield, Jr.”. from the Journal: American Studies with American Studies International –Vol. 34, No. 2: Fall 1993 – available via: https://journals.ku.edu/index.php/amerstud/article/viewFile/2844/2803.

This is not to deny the importance (or the lived reality) of having the experience of being Indian; it is to point to the obvious fact that Indian experience is not always and everywhere the same, nor is it ever unproblematically given to consciousness (nor is consciousness unproblematically represented in writing, etc.). All experience must be interpreted, and even people who have the "same" experience—the inverted commas indicate the differences inevitable in any "sameness"—may interpret it differently, reaching very different conclusions about what their experience means and the uses to which that meaning may be put in any attempt to understand Native American culture/history/literature. As it is false and irresponsible to offer essentialized generalizations about what Indians feel, know, think, or understand, so, too, is it false and irresponsible to offer essentialized generalizations about what non-Indians feel, know, think, or understand. The Native/non-Native dichotomy, the thoroughly fictive we/ them that appears in quotation after quotation from Native American scholars in Littlefield's essay, simply inverts and thereby perpetuates the opposition that (as I noted earlier) Littlefield wants to undo. Not only are there abundant differences among non-Native scholars, but, again, abundant differences among Native scholars, too—differences which bear directly on the possible organization of Native American or Indian Studies in relation to American Studies, the subject I will take up in my concluding section.

## K

#### Prefer ballot roles where Affs access their impacts. Anything else means “impact calc is disguise”. Neg impact can’t be the lone criteria – it’s not ethical unless we consider the externalities of the Neg’s failing Alt. This contextualizes bc 1AC accesses social injustice.

Chandler ‘14

(David Chandler is Professor of International Relations at the Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Westminster – “Beyond good and evil: Ethics in a world of complexity” – International Politics, Vol. 51, No. 4 (2014), pp.441-457 Available at: http://www.davidchandler.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/International-Politics-Evil-PUBLISHED-2.pdf)

Self-reflexive ethics redistribute responsibility and emphasize the indirect, unintended and relational networks of complex causation. Collective problems are reconceived ontologically: as constitutive of communities and of political purpose. This is why many radical and critical voices in the West are drawn to the problems of 'side effects', of 'second-order' consequences - of a lack of knowledge of the emergent causality at play in the complex interconnections of the global world. The more these interconnections are revealed, though the work of self-reflexivity and self-reflection, the more ethical authority can be regained by governments and other agents of governance. We learn and learn again that we are responsible for the world, not because of our conscious choices or because our actions lacked the right ethical intention, but because the world's complexity is beyond our capacity to know and understand in advance. The unknowability of the outcomes of our action does not remove our ethical responsibility for our actions, it, in fact, heightens our responsibility for these second-order consequences or side effects. In a complex and interconnected world, few events or problems evade appropriation within this framing, providing an opportunity for recasting responsibility in these ways. The new ethics of indirect responsibility for market consequences can be ~~seen~~ (observed) clearly in the idea of environmental taxation, both state-enforced through interventions in the market and as taken up by both firms and individuals. The idea that we should pay a carbon tax on air travel is a leading example of this, in terms of governmental intervention, passing the burden of such problems on to 'unethical' consumers who are not reflexive enough to consider the impact of package holidays on the environment. At a broader level, the personalized ethico-political understanding that individuals should be responsible for and measure their own 'carbon footprint' shifts the emphasis from an understanding of broader inter-relations between modernity, the market and the environment to a much narrower understanding of personal indirect responsibility, linking all aspects of everyday decision making to the problems of global warming (see, for example, Marres, 2012). The shared responsibility for the Breivik murders is not different -ontologically - from the societally shared responsibility for global warming or other problematic appearances in the world. Through our actions and inactions we collectively constitute the frameworks in which others act and make decisions -failing to raise our voice against 'borderline racism' or extremism in a bar makes us indirectly responsible for acts of racism or extremism in the same way that failing to save water or minimize air travel makes us indirectly responsible for the melting polar ice caps.

#### ( ) Alt fails and policy framework’s is valuable to learn *even if fiat’s not real.*

Bryant ‘12

(Levi Bryant is currently a Professor of Philosophy at Collin College. In addition to working as a professor, Bryant has also served as a Lacanian psychoanalyst. He received his Ph.D. from Loyola University in Chicago, Illinois, where he originally studied 'disclosedness' with the Heidegger scholar Thomas Sheehan. Bryant later changed his dissertation topic to the transcendental empiricism of Gilles Deleuze, “Critique of the Academic Left”, http://larvalsubjects.wordpress.com/2012/11/11/underpants-gnomes-a-critique-of-the-academic-left/)

Unfortunately, the academic left falls prey to its own form of abstraction. It’s good at carrying out critiques that denounce various social formations, yet very poor at proposing any sort of realistic constructions of alternatives. This because it thinks abstractly in its own way, ignoring how networks, assemblages, structures, or regimes of attraction would have to be remade to create a workable alternative. Here I’m reminded by the “underpants gnomes” depicted in South Park: The underpants gnomes have a plan for achieving profit that goes like this: Phase 1: Collect Underpants Phase 2: ? Phase 3: Profit! They even have a catchy song to go with their work: Well this is sadly how it often is with the academic left. Our plan seems to be as follows: Phase 1: Ultra-Radical Critique Phase 2: ? Phase 3: Revolution and complete social transformation! Our problem is that we seem perpetually stuck at phase 1 without ever explaining what is to be done at phase 2. Often the critiques articulated at phase 1 are right, but there are nonetheless all sorts of problems with those critiques nonetheless. In order to reach phase 3, we have to produce new collectives. In order for new collectives to be produced, people need to be able to hear and understand the critiques developed at phase 1. Yet this is where everything begins to fall apart. Even though these critiques are often right, we express them in ways that only an academic with a PhD in critical theory and post-structural theory can understand. How exactly is Adorno to produce an effect in the world if only PhD’s in the humanities can understand him? Who are these things for? We seem to always ignore these things and then look down our noses with disdain at the Naomi Kleins and David Graebers of the world. To make matters worse, we publish our work in expensive academic journals that only universities can afford, with presses that don’t have a wide distribution, and give our talks at expensive hotels at academic conferences attended only by other academics. Again, who are these things for? Is it an accident that so many activists look away from these things with contempt, thinking their more about an academic industry and tenure, than producing change in the world? If a tree falls in a forest and no one is there to hear it, it doesn’t make a sound! Seriously dudes and dudettes, what are you doing? But finally, and worst of all, us Marxists and anarchists all too often act like assholes. We denounce others, we condemn them, we berate them for not engaging with the questions we want to engage with, and we vilify them when they don’t embrace every bit of the doxa that we endorse. We are every bit as off-putting and unpleasant as the fundamentalist minister or the priest of the inquisition (have people yet understood that Deleuze and Guattari’s Anti-Oedipus was a critique of the French communist party system and the Stalinist party system, and the horrific passions that arise out of parties and identifications in general?). This type of “revolutionary” is the greatest friend of the reactionary and capitalist because they do more to drive people into the embrace of reigning ideology than to undermine reigning ideology. These are the people that keep Rush Limbaugh in business. Well done! But this isn’t where our most serious shortcomings lie. Our most serious shortcomings are to be found at phase 2. We almost never make concrete proposals for how things ought to be restructured, for what new material infrastructures and semiotic fields need to be produced, *and when we do*, our critique-intoxicated cynics and skeptics immediately jump in with an analysis of all the ways in which these things contain dirty secrets, ugly motives, and are doomed to fail. How, I wonder, are we to do anything at all when we have no concrete proposals? We live on a planet of 6 billion people. These 6 billion people are dependent on a certain network of production and distribution to meet the needs of their consumption. That network of production and distribution does involve the extraction of resources, the production of food, the maintenance of paths of transit and communication, the disposal of waste, the building of shelters, the distribution of medicines, etc., etc., etc. What are your proposals? How will you meet these problems? How will you navigate the existing mediations or semiotic and material features of infrastructure? Marx and Lenin had proposals. Do you? Have you even explored the cartography of the problem? Today we are so intellectually bankrupt on these points that we even have theorists speaking of events and acts and talking about a return to the old socialist party systems, ignoring the horror they generated, their failures, and not even proposing ways of avoiding the repetition of these horrors in a new system of organization. Who among our critical theorists is thinking seriously about how to build a distribution and production system that is responsive to the needs of global consumption, avoiding the problems of planned economy, ie., who is doing this in a way that gets notice in our circles? Who is addressing the problems of micro-fascism that arise with party systems (there’s a reason that it was the Negri & Hardt contingent, not the Badiou contingent that has been the heart of the occupy movement). At least the ecologists are thinking about these things in these terms because, well, they think ecologically. Sadly we need something more, a melding of the ecologists, the Marxists, and the anarchists. We’re not getting it yet though, as far as I can tell. Indeed, folks seem attracted to yet another critical paradigm, Laruelle. I would love, just for a moment, to hear a radical environmentalist talk about his ideal high school that would be academically sound. How would he provide for the energy needs of that school? How would he meet building codes in an environmentally sound way? How would she provide food for the students? What would be her plan for waste disposal? And most importantly, how would she navigate the school board, the state legislature, the federal government, and all the families of these students? What is your plan? What is your alternative? I think there are alternatives. I saw one that approached an alternative in Rotterdam. If you want to make a truly revolutionary contribution, this is where you should start. Why should anyone even bother listening to you if you aren’t proposing real plans? But we haven’t even gotten to that point. Instead we’re like underpants gnomes, saying “revolution is the answer!” without addressing any of the infrastructural questions of just how revolution is to be produced, what alternatives it would offer, and how we would concretely go about building those alternatives. Masturbation. “Underpants gnome” deserves to be a category in critical theory; a sort of synonym for self-congratulatory masturbation. We need less critique not because critique isn’t important or necessary– it is –but because we know the critiques, we know the problems. We’re intoxicated with critique because it’s easy and safe. We best every opponent with critique. We occupy a position of moral superiority with critique. But do we really do anything with critique? What we need today, more than ever, is composition or carpentry. Everyone knows something is wrong. Everyone knows this system is destructive and stacked against them. Even the Tea Party knows something is wrong with the economic system, despite having the wrong economic theory. None of us, however, are proposing alternatives. Instead we prefer to shout and denounce. Good luck with that.

#### This serves as a materiality add-on and disad to the Alt. Failure to do the Aff means unique modes of violence towards Asian communities.

Clancy ‘13

et al; Dr. Carolyn Clancy, MD is the Assistant Under Secretary for Health for Discovery, Education and Affiliate Networks. Prior to her current position, she served as the VHA Executive in Charge. Dr. Clancy also served as the Deputy Under Secretary for Health for Organizational Excellence overseeing VHA’s performance, quality, safety, risk management, systems engineering, auditing, oversight, ethics and accreditation programs, as well as ten years as the Director, Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality – “2012 NATIONAL HEALTHCARE QUALITY REPORT” - AHRQ Publication No. 13-0002 - May 2013 - #E&F - https://www.ahrq.gov/sites/default/files/publications/files/2012nhqr.pdf

Disparities in access are also common, especially among AI/ANs, Hispanics, and poor people:

Blacks had worse access to care than Whites for one-third of measures, and AI/ANs had worse access to care than Whites for about 40% of access measures (Figure H.2).

Asians had worse access to care than Whites for about 20% of access measures but better access to care than Whites for a similar proportion of access measures.

Hispanics had worse access to care than non-Hispanic Whites for about 70% of measures.

Poor people had worse access to care than high-income people for all measures; low-income people had worse access to care for more than 80% of measures, and middle-income people had worse access to care for about 70% of measures.

Suboptimal health care is undesirable, but we may be less concerned if we observe evidence of vigorous improvement. Hence, the second key function of these reports is to examine change over time. New this year, we assess changes in average performance through 2009 across a fixed panel of quality of care process measures and access to care measures.

Problems with quality of care are decreasing while problems with access to care are increasing:

In 2005, Americans failed to receive about 34% of health care services they should have received; by 2009, this had fallen to 30% of services (Figure H.3).

In 2002, 24% of Americans encountered difficulties accessing health care; by 2009, this had increased to 26% of Americans.

#### Combining unlike ontologies better informs political action than singular viewpoints. Radical refusal causes infinite repetition, engaging with politics solves back the cycle.

**Deudney 13** [Daniel Deudney, Associate Professor and Director of Undergraduate Studies in PoliSci, John Hopkins. ”Theory Talk #60: Daniel Deudney on Mixed Ontology, Planetary Geopolitics, and Republican Greenpeace.” Theory Talks, 2013.] JCH-PF

In many parts of both European and American IR and related areas, Postmodern and constructivist theories have significantly contributed to IR theorists by enhancing our appreciation of ideas, language, and identities in politics. As a response to the limits and blindnesses of certain types of rationalist, structuralist, and functional theories, this renewed interest in the ideational is an important advance. Unfortunately, both postmodernism and constructivism have been marked by a strong tendency to go too far in their emphasis of the ideational. Postmodernism and constructivism have also helped make theorists much more conscious of the implicit—and often severely limiting—ontological assumptions that underlay, inform, and bound their investigations. This is also a major contribution to the study of world politics in all its aspects. Unfortunately, this turn to ontology has also had intellectually limiting effects by going too far, in the search for a pure or nearly pure social ontology. With the growth in these two approaches, there has indeed been a decided decline in theorizing about the material. But elsewhere in the diverse world of theorizing about IR and the global, theorizing about the material never came anything close to disappearing or being eclipsed. For anyone thinking about the relationships between politics and nuclear weapons, space, and the environment, theorizing about the material has remained at the center, and it would be difficult to even conceive of how theorizing about the material could largely disappear. The recent ‘re-discovery of the material’ associated with various self-styled ‘new materialists’ is a welcome, if belated, re-discovery for postmodernists and constructivists. For most of the rest of us, the material had never been largely dropped out. A very visible example of the ways in which the decline in appropriate attention to the material, an excessive turn to the ideational, and the quest for a nearly pure social ontology, can lead theorizing astray is the core argument in Alexander Wendt’s main book, Social Theory of International Politics, one of the widely recognized landmarks of constructivist IR theory. The first part of the book advances a very carefully wrought and sophisticated argument for a nearly pure ideational social ontology. The material is explicitly displaced into a residue or rump of unimportance. But then, to the reader’s surprise, the material, in the form of ‘common fate’ produced by nuclear weapons, and climate change, reappears and is deployed to play a really crucial role in understanding contemporary change in world politics. My solution is to employ a mixed ontology. By this I mean that I think several ontologically incommensurate and very different realities are inescapable parts the human world. These ‘unlikes’ are inescapable parts of any argument, and must somehow be combined. There are a vast number of ways in which they can be combined, and on close examination, virtually all arguments in the social sciences are actually employing some version of a mixed ontology, however implicitly and under-acknowledged. But not all combinations are equally useful in addressing all questions. In my version of mixed ontology—which I call ‘practical naturalism’—human social agency is understood to be occurring ‘between two natures’: on the one hand the largely fixed nature of humans, and on the other the changing nature composed of the material world, a shifting amalgam of actual non-human material nature of geography and ecology, along with human artifacts and infrastructures. Within this frame, I posit as rooted in human biological nature, a set of ‘natural needs,’ most notably for security-from-violence and habitat services. Then I pose questions of functionality, by which I mean: which combinations of material practices, political structures, ideas and identities are needed to achieve these ends in different material contexts? Answering this question requires the formulation of various ‘historical materialist’ propositions, which in turn entails the systematic formulation of typologies and variation in both the practices, structures and ideas, and in material contexts. These arguments are not centered on explaining what has or what will happen. Instead they are practical in the sense that they are attempting to answer the question of ‘what is to be done’ given the fixed ends and given changing material contexts. I think this is what advocates of arms control and environmental sustainability are actually doing when they claim that one set of material practices and their attendant political structures, identities and ideas must be replaced with another if basic human needs are to going to continue to be meet in the contemporary planetary material situation created by the globalization of machine civilization on earth. Is it easy to plug your mixed ontology and interests beyond the narrow confines of IR or even the walls of the ivory tower into processes of collective knowledge proliferation in IR—a discipline increasingly characterized by compartimentalization and specialization? The great plurality of approaches in IR today is indispensible and a welcome change. The professionalization of IR and the organization of intellectual life has some corruptions and pitfalls that are best avoided. The explosion of ‘isms’ and of different perspectives has been valuable and necessary in many ways, but it has also helped to foster and empower sectarian tendencies that confound the advance of knowledge. Some of the adherents of some sects and isms boast openly of establishing ‘citation cartels’ to favor themselves and their friends. Some theorists also have an unfortunate tendency to assume that because they have adopted a label that what they actually do is the actually the realization of the label. Thus we have ‘realists’ with limited grasp on realities, ‘critical theorists’ who repeat rather than criticize the views of other ‘critical theorists,’ and anti-neoliberals who are ruthless Ayn Rand-like self aggrandizers. The only way to fully address these tendencies is to talk to people you disagree with, and find and communicate with people in other disciplines

#### Radical positions that refuse the system *cede the political* – that risks extinction and turns K impacts – it’s try or die for engaging the state.

Boggs 97 [Carl Boggs, Senior Fellow at the National University. “The great retreat: Decline of the public sphere in late twentieth-century America.” Theory and Society, Volume 26, Number 6, December 1997.] A Classic

The decline of the public sphere in late twentieth-century America poses a series of great dilemmas and challenges. Many ideological currents scrutinized here – localism, metaphysics, spontaneism, post-modernism, Deep Ecology – intersect with and reinforce each other. While these currents have deep origins in popular movements of the 1960s and 1970s, they remain very much alive in the 1990s. Despite their different outlooks and trajectories, they all share one thing in common: a depoliticized expression of struggles to combat and overcome alienation. The false sense of empowerment that comes with such mesmerizing impulses is accompanied by a loss of public engagement, an erosion of citizenship and a depleted capacity of individuals in large groups to work for social change. As this ideological quagmire worsens, urgent problems that are destroying the fabric of American society will go unsolved – perhaps even unrecognized – only to fester more ominously in the future. And such problems (ecological crisis, poverty, urban decay, spread of infectious diseases, technological displacement of workers) cannot be understood outside the larger social and global context of internationalized markets, finance, and communications. Paradoxically, the widespread retreat from politics, often inspired by localist sentiment, comes at a time when agendas that ignore or sidestep these global realities will, more than ever, be reduced to impotence. In his commentary on the state of citizenship today, Wolin refers to the increasing sublimation and dilution of politics, as larger numbers of people turn away from public concerns toward private ones. By diluting the life of common involvements, we negate the very idea of politics as a source of public ideals and visions. 74 In the meantime, the fate of the world hangs in the balance. The unyielding truth is that, even as the ethos of anti-politics becomes more compelling and even fashionable in the United States, it is the vagaries of political power that will continue to decide the fate of human societies. This last point demands further elaboration. The shrinkage of politics hardly means that corporate colonization will be less of a reality, that social hierarchies will somehow disappear, or that gigantic state and military structures will lose their hold over people’s lives. Far from it: the space abdicated by a broad citizenry, well-informed and ready to participate at many levels, can in fact be filled by authoritarian and reactionary elites – an already familiar dynamic in many lesser-developed countries. The fragmentation and chaos of a Hobbesian world, not very far removed from the rampant individualism, social Darwinism, and civic violence that have been so much a part of the American landscape, could be the prelude to a powerful Leviathan designed to impose order in the face of disunity and atomized retreat. In this way the eclipse of politics might set the stage for a reassertion of politics in more virulent guise – or it might help further rationalize the existing power structure. In either case, the state would likely become what Hobbes anticipated: the embodiment of those universal, collective interests that had vanished from civil society. 75

#### Only policy demands solve – exclusive focus on social demands gets coopted and destroyed by the right wing. Uniqueness overwhelms the link – radical movements exists in the SQuo and they’re losing.

Chomsky 16 [Aviva, Prof of History and coordinator of Latin American studies, Salem State. “Student Protest, the Black Lives Matter Movement and the Rise of the Corporate University.” Truthout.org, May 22, 2016.] JCH-PF

During the past academic year, an upsurge of student activism, a movement of millennials, has swept campuses across the country and attracted the attention of the media. From coast to coast, from the Ivy League to state universities to small liberal arts colleges, a wave of student activism has focused on stopping climate change, promoting a living wage, fighting mass incarceration practices, supporting immigrant rights, and of course campaigning for Bernie Sanders. Both the media and the schools that have been the targets of some of these protests have seized upon certain aspects of the upsurge for criticism or praise, while ignoring others. Commentators, pundits, and reporters have frequently trivialized and mocked the passion of the students and the ways in which it has been directed, even as universities have tried to appropriate it by promoting what some have called "neoliberal multiculturalism." Think of this as a way, in particular, of taming the power of the present demands for racial justice and absorbing them into an increasingly market-oriented system of higher education. In some of their most dramatic actions, students of color, inspired in part by the Black Lives Matter movement, have challenged the racial climate at their schools. In the process, they have launched a wave of campus activism, including sit-ins, hunger strikes, demonstrations, and petitions, as well as emotional, in-your-face demands of various sorts. One national coalition of student organizations, the Black Liberation Collective, has called for the percentage of black students and faculty on campus to approximate that of blacks in the society. It has also called for free tuition for black and Native American students, and demanded that schools divest from private prison corporations. Other student demands for racial justice have included promoting a living wage for college employees, reducing administrative salaries, lowering tuitions and fees, increasing financial aid, and reforming the practices of campus police. These are not, however, the issues that have generally attracted the attention either of media commentators or the colleges themselves. Instead, the spotlight has been on student demands for cultural changes at their institutions that focus on deep-seated assumptions about whiteness, sexuality, and ability. At some universities, students have personalized these demands, insisting on the removal of specific faculty members and administrators. Emphasizing a politics of what they call "recognition," they have also demanded that significant on-campus figures issue public apologies or acknowledge that "black lives matter." Some want universities to implement in-class "trigger warnings" when difficult material is being presented and to create "safe spaces" for marginalized students as a sanctuary from the daily struggle with the mainstream culture. By seizing upon and responding to these (and only these) student demands, university administrators around the country are attempting to domesticate and appropriate this new wave of activism. In the meantime, right-wing commentators have depicted students as coddled, entitled, and enemies of free speech. The libertarian right has launched a broad media critique of the current wave of student activism. Commentators have been quick to dismiss student protesters as over-sensitive and entitled purveyors of "academic victimology." They lament the "coddling of the American mind." The Atlantic's Conor Friedersdorf has termed students "misguided" in their protests against racist language, ideas, and assumptions, their targeting of "microaggression" (that is, unconscious offensive comments) and insensitivity, and their sometimes highly personal attacks against those they accuse. One of the most vocal critics of the new campus politics, the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education, argues that such rampant "liberalism" and "political correctness" violate academic freedom and freedom of speech. (In this, they are in accord with the liberal American Civil Liberties Union. Free speech advocates Daphne Patai and the ACLU's Harvey Silvergate, for example, bemoan a new diversity requirement at the University of Massachusetts for its "politicization of education.") In a response that, under the circumstances, might at first seem surprising, college administrators have been remarkably open to some of these student demands -- often the very ones derided by the right. In this way, the commentators and the administrators have tended to shine a bright light on what is both personal and symbolic in the new politics of the student protesters, while ignoring or downplaying their more structural and economically challenging desires and demands. The Neoliberal University University administrators have been particularly amenable to student demands that fit with current trends in higher education. Today's neoliberal university is increasingly facing market pressures like loss of state funding, privatization, rising tuition, and student debt, while promoting a business model that emphasizes the managerial control of faculty through constant "assessment," emphasis on "accountability," and rewards for "efficiency." Meanwhile, in a society in which labor unions are constantly being weakened, the higher education labor force is similarly being -- in the term of the moment -- "flexibilized" through the weakening of tenure, that once ironclad guarantee of professorial lifetime employment, and the increased use of temporary adjunct faculty. In this context, universities are scrambling to accommodate student activism for racial justice by incorporating the more individualized and personal side of it into increasingly depoliticized cultural studies programs and business-friendly, market-oriented academic ways of thinking. Not surprisingly, how today's students frame their demands often reflects the environment in which they are being raised and educated. Postmodern theory, an approach which still reigns in so many liberal arts programs, encourages textual analysis that reveals hidden assumptions encoded in words; psychology has popularized the importance of individual trauma; and the neoliberal ideology that has come to permeate so many schools emphasizes individual behavior as the most important agent for social change. Add together these three strands of thought, now deeply embedded in a college education, and injustice becomes a matter of the wrongs individuals inflict on others at a deeply personal level. Deemphasized are the policies and structures that are built into how society (and the university) works. For this reason, while schools have downplayed or ignored student demands for changes in admissions, tuition, union rights, pay scales, and management prerogatives, they have jumped into the heated debate the student movement has launched over "microaggressions" -- pervasive, stereotypical remarks that assume whiteness as a norm and exoticize people of color, while taking for granted the white nature of institutions of higher learning. As part of the present wave of protest, students of color have, for instance, highlighted their daily experiences of casual and everyday racism -- statements or questions like "where are you from?" (when the answer is: the same place you're from) or "as a [fill in the blank], how do you feel about..." Student protests against such comments, especially when they are made by professors or school administrators, and the mindsets that go with them are precisely what the right is apt to dismiss as political correctness run wild and university administrations are embracing as the essence of the present on-campus movement. At Yale, the Intercultural Affairs Committee advised students to avoid racially offensive Halloween costumes. When a faculty member and resident house adviser circulated an email critiquing the paternalism of such an administrative mandate, student protests erupted calling for her removal. While Yale declined to remove her from her post as a house adviser, she stepped down from her teaching position. At Emory, students protested the "pain" they experienced at seeing "Trump 2016" graffiti on campus, and the university president assured them that he "heard [their] message... about values regarding diversity and respect that clash with Emory's own." Administrators are scrambling to implement new diversity initiatives and on-campus training programs -- and hiring expensive private consulting firms to help them do so. At the University of Missouri, the president and chancellor both resigned in the face of student protests including a hunger strike and a football team game boycott in the wake of racial incidents on campus including public racist slurs and symbols. So did the dean of students at Claremont McKenna College (CMC), when protest erupted over her reference to students (implicitly of color) who "don't fit our CMC mold." Historian and activist Robin Kelley suggests that today's protests, even as they "push for measures that would make campuses more hospitable to students of color: greater diversity, inclusion, safety, and affordability," operate under a contradictory logic that is seldom articulated. To what extent, he wonders, does the student goal of "leaning in" and creating more spaces for people of color at the top of an unequal and unjust social order clash with the urge of the same protesters to challenge that unjust social order? Kelley argues that the language of "trauma" and mental health that has come to dominate campuses also works to individualize and depoliticize the very idea of racial oppression. The words "trauma, PTSD, micro-aggression, and triggers," he points out, "have virtually replaced oppression, repression, and subjugation." He explains that, "while trauma can be an entrance into activism, it is not in itself a destination and may even trick activists into adopting the language of the neoliberal institutions they are at pains to reject." This is why, he adds, for university administrators, diversity and cultural competency initiatives have become go-to solutions that "shift race from the public sphere into the psyche" and strip the present round of demonstrations of some of their power. Cultural Politics and Inequality In recent years, cultural, or identity, politics has certainly challenged the ways that Marxist and other old and new left organizations of the past managed to ignore, or even help reproduce, racial and gender inequalities. It has questioned the value of class-only or class-first analysis on subjects as wide-ranging as the Cuban Revolution -- did it successfully address racial inequality as it redistributed resources to the poor, or did it repress black identity by privileging class analysis? -- and the Bernie Sanders campaign -- will his social programs aimed at reducing economic inequality alleviate racial inequality by helping the poor, or will his class-based project leave the issue of racial inequality in the lurch? In other words, the question of whether a political project aimed at attacking the structures of economic inequality can also advance racial and gender equality is crucial to today's campus politics. Put another way, the question is: How political is the personal? Political scientist Adolph Reed argues that if class is left out, race politics on campus becomes "the politics of the left-wing of neoliberalism." As he puts it, race-first politics of the sort being pushed today by university administrators promotes a "moral economy... in which 1% of the population controlled 90% of the resources could be just, provided that roughly 12% of the 1% were black, 12% were Latino, 50% were women, and whatever the appropriate proportions were LGBT people." The student movement that has swept across the nation has challenged colleges and universities on the basics of their way of (quite literally) doing business. The question for these institutions now is: Can student demands largely be tamed and embedded inside an administration-sanctioned agenda that in no way undermines how schools now operate in the world? Feminist theorist Nancy Fraser has shown how feminist ideas of a previous generation were successfully "recuperated by neoliberalism" -- that is, how they were repurposed as rationales for greater inequality. "Feminist ideas that once formed part of a radical worldview," she argues, are now "increasingly expressed in individualist terms." Feminist demands for workplace access and equal pay have, for example, been used to undermine worker gains for a "family wage," while a feminist emphasis on gender equality has similarly been used on campus to divert attention from growing class inequality. Student demands for racial justice risk being absorbed into a comparable framework. University administrators have found many ways to use student demands for racial justice to strengthen their business model and so the micro-management of faculty. In one case seized upon by free-speech libertarians, the Brandeis administration placed an assistant provost in a classroom to monitor a professor after students accused him of using the word "wetback" in a Latin American politics class. More commonly, universities employ a plethora of consulting firms and create new administrative positions to manage "diversity" and "inclusion." Workshops and training sessions proliferate, as do "safe spaces" and "trigger warnings." Such a vision of "diversity" is then promoted as a means to prepare students to compete in the "global marketplace." There are even deeper ways in which a diversity agenda aligns with neoliberal politics. Literary theorist Walter Benn Michaels argues, for example, that diversity can give a veneer of social justice to ideas about market competition and meritocracy that in reality promote inequality. "The rule in neoliberal economies is that the difference between the rich and the poor gets wider rather than shrinks -- but that no culture should be treated invidiously," he explains. "It's basically OK if economic differences widen as long as the increasingly successful elites come to look like the increasingly unsuccessful non-elites. So the model of social justice is not that the rich don't make as much and the poor make more, the model of social justice is that the rich make whatever they make, but an appropriate percentage of them are minorities or women." Or as Forbes Magazine put it, "Businesses need to vastly increase their ability to sense new opportunities, develop creative solutions, and move on them with much greater speed. The only way to accomplish these changes is through a revamped workplace culture that embraces diversity so that sensing, creativity, and speed are all vastly improved." Clearly, university administrators prefer student demands that can be coopted or absorbed into their current business model. Allowing the prevailing culture to define the parameters of their protest has left the burgeoning Millennial Movement in a precarious position. The more that students -- with the support of college and university administrations -- accept the individualized cultural path to social change while forgoing the possibility of anything greater than cosmetic changes to prevailing hierarchies, on campus and beyond, the more they face ridicule from those on the right who present them as fragile, coddled, privileged whiners. Still, this young, vibrant movement has momentum and will continue to evolve. In this time of great social and political flux, it's possible that its many constituencies -- fighting for racial justice, economic justice, and climate justice -- will use their growing clout to build on recent victories, no matter how limited. Keep an eye on college campuses. The battle for the soul of American higher education being fought there today is going to matter for the wider world tomorrow. Whether that future will be defined by a culture of trigger warnings and safe spaces or by democratized education and radical efforts to fight inequality may be won or lost in the shadow of the Ivory Tower. The Millennial Movement matters. Our future is in their hands.

#### We control the vital internal link – lack of health access is a bigger internal link to violence than the Identity-biases of doctors. The Neg’s rep alone is counter-productive.

Weisfeld ‘5

Alix Weisfeld is a research assistant at the MacLean Center for Clinical Medical Ethics at the University of Chicago. Co-authored with Dr. Robert Perlman, MD PhD Professor Emeritus - Department of Pharmacological and Physiological Sciences at The University of Chicago - Perspectives in Biology and Medicine, volume 48, number 1 supplement (winter 2005): S1–S9 © 2005 by The Johns Hopkins University Press - #CutWithRJ - http://npp.uchicago.edu/PDFs/Weisfeld%20and%20Perlman%20Disparities%20and%20Discrimination%202005.pdf

Racial disparities in health care and health outcomes are a disturbing feature of the American health care system. Efforts to reduce or ameliorate these disparities must be informed by an understanding of the factors that underlie and contribute to them. The papers in this issue are based on a recent conference that was held at the University of Chicago to address this problem. Socioeconomic status is an important determinant of health, and socioeconomic disparities *are* major determinants of the racial disparities in health. These socioeconomic disparities are complicated by access to health insurance, geographic factors, and unhealthy behaviors. Geographic dis- parities, both regional and local, also contribute to racial disparities in health. Moreover, current disparities in the health of adult populations may reflect socioeconomic dis- parities that prevailed during their intrauterine or early infant development. There seems little evidence that either overt or unconscious discrimination on the part of physicians is an important cause of racial disparities in health; blaming physicians for this problem is counterproductive. Improving the quality of medical care holds the promise not only of improving health for all Americans, but of decreasing the racial dis- parities in health care that are so troubling today.

#### Article *does* assume Asian-American populations.

Weisfeld ‘5

Alix Weisfeld is a research assistant at the MacLean Center for Clinical Medical Ethics at the University of Chicago. Co-authored with Dr. Robert Perlman, MD PhD Professor Emeritus - Department of Pharmacological and Physiological Sciences at The University of Chicago - Perspectives in Biology and Medicine, volume 48, number 1 supplement (winter 2005): S1–S9 © 2005 by The Johns Hopkins University Press - #CutWithRJ - http://npp.uchicago.edu/PDFs/Weisfeld%20and%20Perlman%20Disparities%20and%20Discrimination%202005.pdf

Public attention and this conference have focused on racial disparities, and especially on black/white disparities, in health care and health outcomes. Other dis-crcpancies in health arc also worthy of attention. We have already discussed socioeconomic disparities in health. Hispanics, Native Americans, and some Asian minority groups also have poorer health care and health outcomes than do non-Hispanic whites. Geographic, linguistic, and cultural barriers to health care—in addition, of course, to socioeconomic disparities—appear to play important roles in the poor health status of these other minority populations. Finally, there are gender disparities in health care. White women, like members of minority groups, are less likely than white men to receive coronary artery bypass grafts for treatment of acute myocardial infarction or kidney transplants for treatment of end-stage renal disease (Harrold et al. 2003; Kayler et al. 2002). Women's longer life expectancy should not blind us to these gender differences in health care; policy responses that are aimed at reducing disparities should be broadly directed at all of these disparities.

# 1AR

#### There’s either no link because we’re Negative Action, or the Alt could never solve.

Dempsey ‘9

Michelle, Professor of Law, Villanova University School of Law, <http://www.academia.edu/352923/Sex_Trafficking_and_Criminalization_In_Defense_of_Feminist_Abolitionism>

42 The unintended consequences of criminalizing the purchase of sex include the harms that may be suffered disproportionately by men who are already socially disem-powered. Given the negative uses of criminal law throughout history and still today, such as racist law-enforcement policies, there is reason to resist using the criminal law as a tool for positive social change. See generally M ICHAEL T ONRY , M ALIGN N EGLECT —R ACE , C RIME , AND P UNISHMENT IN A MERICA (1995) (discussing the disparate impact crime-control policies can have on disadvantaged communities); Angela J. Davis, Be- nign Neglect of Racism in the Criminal Justice System , 94 M ICH . L. R EV . 1660, 1663 (1996)(reviewing T ONRY , supra ) (discussing racial discrimination within the criminal justice system). Since racism is fundamentally inconsistent with feminist commitments to ab-olish all wrongful structural inequalities, feminists should resist any reforms that will tend to exacerbate racism. See D EMPSEY , supra note 9, at 129-35. This risk of unin-tended consequences poses a serious objection to feminist abolitionism. Yet, it is im-portant to bear in mind that feminist-abolitionist reforms like the Swedish model, if adopted in the United States, would not expand the criminal law’s power; it would re-duce it. At present, in most jurisdictions throughout the United States, both sellers and buyers are criminalized. Feminist abolitionist reforms would therefore restrict the power of the criminal law by decriminalizing people who sell sex. Thus, to the extent that current criminal laws are being used in racist and other problematic ways (e.g., by targeting disempowered women of color who sell sex, while allowing relatively power-ful middle-class white men to go free), the proposed reforms would improve the crim-inal justice system by limiting its scope.

#### That applies to all Neg links – including Medical education and the culture of health providers.

Weisfeld ‘5

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As in the rest of society, health care in the United States has a history of racial discrimination and segregation. Of great potential concern is the possibility that racial disparities in health care reflect continued patterns of racial discrimination by physicians and other health care providers, and that this continued racial discrimination may be perpetuated by our system of medical education. Fortunately, there is little evidence for overt or conscious racial discrimination by physicians. The ethic of physicians and of medicine is to provide equal and optimal care to all patients, and most physicians strive to conform to this ethic. Current efforts to improve the "cultural competency" of physicians are unlikely to reduce racial disparities in health. To the extent that these programs are based on the premise that physician behavior is the cause of racial disparities, and that changes in physician behavior will reduce these disparities, these efforts seem to be motivated more by "political correctness" than by reasoned analysis, and strike us as misguided.

Socioeconomic status is a major determinant of health care and of health outcomes (Siegler and Epstein 2003). Not surprisingly, then, socioeconomic disparities are a major cause of the racial disparities in health care and health outcomes. The Institute of Medicine report concluded that racial and ethnic disparities in health care "are associated with socioeconomic differences and tend to diminish significantly, and in a few cases, disappear altogether, when socioeconomic factors are controlled. The majority of studies, however, find that racial and ethnic disparities remain even after adjustment for socioeconomic differences and other healthcare access-related factors" (Smedley, Stith, and Nelson 2003). While we accept this conclusion, we note that the ways in which socioeconomic status affects health are extraordinarily complex, and include such factors as access to health insurance and to information about healthy behaviors, geography, and a sense of personal autonomy and control over one's life; it is difficult to control adequately for all of the manifold mechanisms by which socioeconomic status can affect health and health care. Moreover, estimation of socioeconomic (and racial) disparities in health is affected by the choice of reference population used to calculate age-adjusted morbidity and mortality rates (Krieger and Williams 2001).

We do not mean to minimize the role of other factors that may contribute to racial disparities in health. Nonetheless, it strikes us as hypocritical to express concern over the issue of racial disparities without acknowledging or addressing the underlying socioeconomic causes of these disparities. Blacks are disproportionately represented in lower socioeconomic groups, they have less access to health insurance, they live in more unhealthy neighborhoods and communities, and they have a higher incidence of unhealthful behaviors, such as drug abuse and unsafe sexual practices, than do whites. Removal of the barriers that prevent blacks from achieving socioeconomic parity with whites is a daunting task. Nonetheless, we must recognize the overriding role of socioeconomic status as a determinant of health care and of health outcomes; racial disparities in health are likely to persist as long as there are racial differences in socioeconomic status. Of course, while a reduction in the socioeconomic disparities between blacks and whites would go a long way toward reducing racial disparities in health, it would not by itself eliminate health disparities associated with socioeconomic disparities per se (Wilkinson 1997).

Health insurance is one of the most important determinants of health care. People who have health insurance are more likely to get health care and to access the health care system earlier in the course of disease. One recent study reported that, for patients with colorectal, lung, and breast cancer, the relative risk of death within three years was greater for uninsured patients than for those with private insurance; the increased risk ranged from 19% to 44%, even after controlling for age, stage at diagnosis, and length of follow-up (McDavid et al. 2003). Health insurance, or the lack thereof, is closely correlated with socioeconomic status, making it one of the key factors that contribute to the socioeconomic—and racial—disparities in health care.