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## THE ROLE OF LITIGATION IN FORMING PUBLIC HEALTH POLICY: TOBACCO

#### Peter D. Jacobson, JD, MPH



Center for Law, Ethics, and Health University of Michigan School of Public Health

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#### PRESENTATION OUTLINE

- Policy context
- Role of litigation
- Tobacco control policy and litigation
- Applicability to other public health issues
- Conclusion

#### **POLICY CONTEXT**

#### The issues

- Role of litigation
  - Relative to political process in forming public health policy
  - Relative to other available public health remedies
- Unprecedented scope and objectives of current tobacco and gun control litigation

#### POLICY CONTEXT (cont.)

#### **Policy context**

- Regulatory failure
- Role of local health agencies relative to state agencies
  - Tobacco litigation mostly initiated at state level
  - Gun control litigation mostly initiated at local level
- Litigation as political issue and as shaping public health policy

#### THE LITIGATION ENVIRONMENT

#### **Functions of litigation**

- Compensation
- Deterrence
- Accountability
- Equity
- Corrective functions vs. promoting social goals

#### **TOBACCO LITIGATION**

#### **Three Waves**

- First two waves based on negligence and strict liability
  - No damages paid
  - Individual responsibility defense

#### TOBACCO LITIGATION (cont.)

- Third wave more expansive
  - State Attorneys General Medicaid litigation
  - Public health policy goals more explicit
    - 4 Evolved from damages to public health
    - 4 State settlements somewhat erode public health focus

#### FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

#### Rosenberg model

- Dynamic view
- Constrained view

#### Comparative institutional analysis

- Political processes
- The market
- The courts

Rule-shifting vs. culture-shifting effects

#### **Tobacco Control Policies**

#### **Economic**

- Excise Taxes
- Damage awards from litigation

#### Regulatory/Legislative

- Youth access restrictions
- Restrictions on smoking
- Advertising restrictions
- Marketing curbs (i.e., on logos and sporting event scholarship)
- Enforcement activities

#### **Tobacco Control Policies** (cont.)

#### Information/Education

- Education about the harms from tobacco products
- Disclosure of tobacco industry documents
- Settlement negotiations with the tobacco industry
- Shifting the public health debate
- Smoking cessation programs
- Research in tobacco control policy or in tobacco-related diseases
- Counter advertising (i.e., anti-smoking ads)

### Role of Litigation in Changing Tobacco Policy

#### **Exclusive domain**

Damage awards

#### **Direct effects**

Corrective measures shared with legislatures

### Role of Litigation in Changing Tobacco Policy (cont.)

#### **Indirect effects**

- Disclosure of incriminating documents
- Educational function
- Stimulate other policymakers to act
- Influence changes in industry behavior

### ROLE OF POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS IN CHANGING TOBACCO POLICY

#### **Direct**

• Every policy instrumentality except damages

#### **Indirect**

 Stimulate negotiations with the industry

### ARGUMENTS FAVORING JUDICIAL POLICYMAKING

#### **Pragmatic**

- Legislative/regulatory failure
- Damage awards forcing large price increases
- Motivating public support through disclosing documents
- Forcing tobacco industry to negotiate

## ARGUMENTS FAVORING JUDICIAL POLICYMAKING (cont.)

#### **Philosophical**

- Courts are inherently policymakers
- Blurring of the lines between the political and judicial processes

### OBJECTIONS TO JUDICIAL POLICYMAKING

#### **Philosophical**

- Separation of powers
- Legitimacy of courts as policymakers
- Procedural constraints limit ability of judges to evaluate policy alternatives

## OBJECTIONS TO JUDICIAL POLICYMAKING (cont.)

#### **Pragmatic**

- Novel legal theories being tested
- Courts might not get it "right"
- Diverts resources from other policy efforts
- Reliance on litigation as a solution

### ROLE OF THE COURTS IN PUBLIC HEALTH POLICY

#### **Institutional choice**

- Preconditions to litigation
  - Building the moral and political case
  - Not necessarily present in other public health battles
- Litigation as second-best solution
  - Distinct role in more comprehensive strategy
  - Concern about over-reliance on litigation

## ROLE OF THE COURTS IN PUBLIC HEALTH POLICY (cont.)

#### **Individual choice and responsibility**

- Balance between industry culpability and individual freedom
- Tobacco as extreme case
- Applicability to other public health issues

# **Applicability to Other Public Health Issues**

- Obesity
- Gun control
- Gambling addiction
- Differences?
- Similarities?

#### CONCLUSION

- Complex interactions between political theory and pragmatic policymaking realities.
- Blurring of the line between litigation and politics of public health
  - Opponents must confront legislative/regulatory failure
  - Proponents must recognize possibility that litigation will not change policy.

#### **QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION**

- (1) Which issues are amendable to litigation? Tobacco? Alcohol? Guns? Obesity?
- (2) What is achievable through litigation that cannot be obtained from other public health approaches?
- (3) From your perspective, what are the costs and benefits from pursuing litigation as a policy strategy?