

### 117TH CONGRESS 2D SESSION

# H. R. 8373

To protect a person's ability to access contraceptives and to engage in contraception, and to protect a health care provider's ability to provide contraceptives, contraception, and information related to contraception.

# IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

July 14, 2022

Ms. Manning (for herself, Ms. Williams of Georgia, Ms. Jacobs of California, Ms. Craig, Ms. DeLauro, Ms. DeGette, Ms. Escobar, Ms. LEE of California, Mr. NADLER, Ms. LOIS FRANKEL of Florida, Mrs. FLETCHER, Ms. CLARK of Massachusetts, Ms. Underwood, Ms. Titus, Mr. Carter of Louisiana, Mr. Vargas, Ms. Ross, Ms. Bonamici, Ms. WILD, Ms. Scanlon, Mr. Tonko, Mr. Bowman, Ms. Castor of Florida, Mr. Torres of New York, Mr. Veasey, Ms. Bourdeaux, Mr. LOWENTHAL, Ms. BARRAGÁN, Mr. JONES, Ms. CLARKE of New York, Ms. Velázquez, Ms. Meng, Mr. Doggett, Ms. Wilson of Florida, Mr. DAVID SCOTT of Georgia, Mrs. CAROLYN B. MALONEY of New York, Mr. AUCHINCLOSS, Mr. CONNOLLY, Mr. MEEKS, Mr. GRIJALVA, Mrs. LEE of Nevada, Mrs. Watson Coleman, Mr. Sherman, Mr. Brown of Maryland, Mrs. Bustos, Mr. Pocan, Ms. Sherrill, Mr. Welch, Ms. Dean, Ms. Brown of Ohio, Ms. Tlaib, Ms. Newman, Ms. Wasserman SCHULTZ, Ms. PINGREE, Ms. CHU, and Mr. TAKANO) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Energy and Commerce

# A BILL

To protect a person's ability to access contraceptives and to engage in contraception, and to protect a health care provider's ability to provide contraceptives, contraception, and information related to contraception.

- 1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
- 2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
- 3 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.
- 4 This Act may be cited as the "Right to Contraception
- 5 Act".
- 6 SEC. 2. DEFINITIONS.
- 7 In this Act:
- 8 (1) Contraception.—The term "contracep-
- 9 tion" means an action taken to prevent pregnancy,
- including the use of contraceptives or fertility-aware-
- 11 ness based methods, and sterilization procedures.
- 12 (2) Contraceptive.—The term "contracep-
- tive" means any device or medication used to pre-
- vent pregnancy, whether specifically used to prevent
- pregnancy or for other health needs, including all
- 16 contraceptive products approved, cleared, or granted
- de novo classification by the Food and Drug Admin-
- istration, such as oral contraceptives, long-acting re-
- versible contraceptives, emergency contraceptives, in-
- ternal and external condoms, injectables, vaginal
- barrier methods, transdermal patches, and vaginal
- rings, or other contraceptives.
- 23 (3) GOVERNMENT.—The term "government"
- includes each branch, department, agency, instru-

- mentality, and official of the United States or a
   State.
- 3 (4) HEALTH CARE PROVIDER.—The term
  4 "health care provider" means any entity or indi5 vidual (including any physician, certified nurse-mid6 wife, nurse, nurse practitioner, physician assistant,
  7 and pharmacist) that is engaged or seeks to engage
  8 in health care services.
- 9 (5) STATE.—The term "State" includes each of 10 the 50 States, the District of Columbia, the Com-11 monwealth of Puerto Rico, and each territory and 12 possession of the United States, and any subdivision 13 of any of the foregoing, including any unit of local 14 government, such as a county, city, town, village, or 15 other general purpose political subdivision of a 16 State.

## 17 SEC. 3. FINDINGS.

- 18 Congress finds the following:
- 19 (1) The right to contraception is a fundamental 20 right, central to a person's privacy, health, well-21 being, dignity, liberty, equality, and ability to par-22 ticipate in the social and economic life of the Nation.
- 23 (2) The Supreme Court has repeatedly recog-24 nized the constitutional right to contraception.

- 1 (3) In Griswold v. Connecticut (381 U.S. 479 2 (1965)), the Supreme Court first recognized the 3 Constitutional right for married people to use con-4 traceptives.
  - (4) In Eisenstadt v. Baird (405 U.S. 438 (1972)), the Supreme Court confirmed the constitutional right of all people to legally access contraceptives regardless of marital status.
    - (5) In Carey v. Population Services International (431 U.S. 678 (1977)), the Supreme Court affirmed the constitutional right to contraceptives for minors.
    - (6) The right to contraception has been repeatedly recognized internationally as a human right. The United Nations Population Fund has published several reports outlining family planning as a basic human right that advances women's health, economic empowerment, and equality.
    - (7) Access to contraceptives is internationally recognized by the World Health Organization as advancing other human rights such as the right to life, liberty, expression, health, work, and education.
  - (8) Contraception is safe, essential health care, and access to contraceptive products and services is central to people's ability to participate equally in

- economic and social life in the United States and globally. Contraception allows people to make decisions about their families and their lives.
  - (9) Contraception is key to sexual and reproductive health. It is critical to preventing unintended pregnancy, is highly effective in preventing and treating a wide array of often severe medical conditions, and decreases the risk of certain cancers.
  - (10) Family planning improves health outcomes for women, their families, and their communities and reduces rates of maternal and infant mortality and morbidity.
  - (11) The United States has a long history of reproductive coercion, including the childbearing forced upon enslaved women, as well as the forced sterilization of Black women, Puerto Rican women, indigenous women, immigrant women, and disabled women, and reproductive coercion continues to occur.
  - (12) The right to make personal decisions about contraceptive use is important for all Americans, and is especially critical for historically marginalized groups, including Black, indigenous, and other people of color; immigrants; LGBTQ people; people with disabilities; people with low incomes; and people liv-

- ing in rural and underserved areas. Many people who are part of these marginalized groups already face barriers—exacerbated by social, political, economic, and environmental inequities—to comprehensive health care, including reproductive health care, that reduce their ability to make decisions about their health, families, and lives.
  - (13) State and Federal policies governing pharmaceutical and insurance policies affect the accessibility of contraceptives, and the settings in which contraception services are delivered.
  - (14) People engage in interstate commerce to access contraception services.
  - (15) To provide contraception services, health care providers employ and obtain commercial services from doctors, nurses, and other personnel who engage in interstate commerce and travel across State lines.
  - (16) Congress has the authority to enact this Act to protect access to contraception pursuant to—
    - (A) its powers under the commerce clause of section 8 of article I of the Constitution of the United States;
- 24 (B) its powers under section 5 of the Four-25 teenth Amendment to the Constitution of the

| 1  | United States to enforce the provisions of sec-        |
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| 2  | tion 1 of the Fourteenth Amendment; and                |
| 3  | (C) its powers under the necessary and                 |
| 4  | proper clause of section 8 of article I of the         |
| 5  | Constitution of the United States.                     |
| 6  | (17) Congress has used its authority in the past       |
| 7  | to protect and expand access to contraception infor-   |
| 8  | mation, products, and services.                        |
| 9  | (18) In 1970, Congress established the family          |
| 10 | planning program under title X of the Public Health    |
| 11 | Service Act (42 U.S.C. 300 et seq.), the only Fed-     |
| 12 | eral grant program dedicated to family planning and    |
| 13 | related services, providing access to information,     |
| 14 | products, and services for contraception.              |
| 15 | (19) In 1972, Congress required Medicaid to            |
| 16 | cover family planning services and supplies, and       |
| 17 | Medicaid currently accounts for 75 percent of Fed-     |
| 18 | eral funds spent on family planning.                   |
| 19 | (20) In 2010, Congress enacted the Patient             |
| 20 | Protection and Affordable Care Act (Public Law         |
| 21 | 111–148) (referred to in this section as the "ACA").   |
| 22 | Among other provisions, the ACA included provi-        |
| 23 | sions to expand the affordability and accessibility of |

contraception by requiring that most health insur-

- ance plans provide coverage for preventive health
   care with no patient cost-sharing.
  - (21) Despite the clearly established constitutional right to contraception, access to contraceptives, including emergency contraceptives and long-acting reversible contraceptives, has been obstructed across the United States in various ways by Federal and State governments.
    - (22) In 2021 alone, at least 4 States tried to ban access to some or all contraceptives by restricting access to public funding for these products and services. Also, State violations of the Medicaid free choice of provider requirement, thus far in Arkansas, Mississippi, Missouri, and Texas, have infringed on people's ability to access their contraceptive care.
    - (23) Providers' refusals to offer contraceptives and information related to contraception based on their own personal beliefs impede patients from obtaining their preferred method, with laws in 12 States as of the date of introduction of this Act specifically allowing health care providers to refuse to provide services related to contraception.
    - (24) States have attempted to define abortion expansively so as to include contraceptives in State

- bans on abortion and have also restricted access to
   emergency contraception.
- 25) In June 2022, Justice Thomas, in his concurring opinion in Dobbs v. Jackson Women's
  Health Organization (597 U.S. \_\_\_\_ (2022)), stated
  that the Supreme Court "should reconsider all of
  this Court's substantive due process precedents, including Griswold, Lawrence, and Obergefell" and
  that the Court has "a duty to correct the error established in those precedents" by overruling them.
  - (26) In order to further public health and to combat efforts to restrict access to reproductive health care, congressional action is necessary to protect access to contraceptives, contraception, and information related to contraception for everyone, regardless of actual or perceived race, ethnicity, sex (including gender identity and sexual orientation), income, disability, national origin, immigration status, or geography.

#### 20 SEC. 4. PERMITTED SERVICES.

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- 21 (a) General Rule.—A person has a statutory right
- 22 under this Act to obtain contraceptives and to engage in
- 23 contraception, and a health care provider has a cor-
- 24 responding right to provide contraceptives, contraception,
- 25 and information related to contraception.

| 1  | (b) Limitations or Requirements.—The statu-                  |
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| 2  | tory rights specified in subsection (a) shall not be limited |
| 3  | or otherwise infringed through any limitation or require-    |
| 4  | ment that—   |
| 5  | (1) expressly, effectively, implicitly, or as imple-         |
| 6  | mented singles out the provision of contraceptives,          |
| 7  | contraception, or contraception-related information;         |
| 8  | health care providers who provide contraceptives,            |
| 9  | contraception, or contraception-related information;         |
| 10 | or facilities in which contraceptives, contraception,        |
| 11 | or contraception-related information are provided;           |
| 12 | and  |
| 13 | (2) impedes access to contraceptives, contracep-             |
| 14 | tion, or contraception-related information.                  |
| 15 | (c) Exception.—To defend against a claim that a              |
| 16 | limitation or requirement violates a health care provider's  |
| 17 | or patient's statutory rights under subsection (b), a party  |
| 18 | must establish, by clear and convincing evidence, that—      |
| 19 | (1) the limitation or requirement significantly              |
| 20 | advances access to contraceptives, contraception, and        |
| 21 | information related to contraception; and                    |
| 22 | (2) access to contraceptives, contraception, and             |
| 23 | information related to contraception or the health of        |
| 24 | patients cannot be advanced by a less restrictive al-        |
| 25 | ternative measure or action.                                 |

#### 1 SEC. 5. APPLICABILITY AND PREEMPTION.

2 (a) IN GENERAL.—

under subsection (b), this Act supersedes and applies to the law of the Federal Government and each State government, and the implementation of such law, whether statutory, common law, or otherwise, and whether adopted before or after the date of enactment of this Act, and neither the Federal Government nor any State government shall administer, implement, or enforce any law, rule, regulation, standard, or other provision having the force and effect of law that conflicts with any provision of this Act, notwithstanding any other provision of Federal law, including the Religious Freedom Restoration Act of 1993 (42 U.S.C. 2000bb et seq.).

- (2) Subsequently enacted federal legis-Lation.—Federal statutory law adopted after the date of the enactment of this Act is subject to this Act unless such law explicitly excludes such application by reference to this Act.
- 22 (b) Limitations.—The provisions of this Act shall 23 not supersede or apply to insurance or medical assistance 24 coverage, such as coverage provided under section 25 1905(A)(4)(c) of the Social Security Act and section 2713

- 1 of Public Health Service Act, so long as such coverage
- 2 does not limit the rights established under section 4(a).
- 3 (c) Defense.—In any cause of action against an in-
- 4 dividual or entity who is subject to a limitation or require-
- 5 ment that violates this Act, in addition to the remedies
- 6 specified in section 7, this Act shall also apply to, and
- 7 may be raised as a defense by, such an individual or entity.
- 8 (d) Effective Date.—This Act shall take effect
- 9 immediately upon the date of enactment of this Act.

#### 10 SEC. 6. RULES OF CONSTRUCTION.

- 11 (a) In General.—In interpreting the provisions of
- 12 this Act, a court shall liberally construe such provisions
- 13 to effectuate the purposes of the Act.
- 14 (b) Rule of Construction.—Nothing in this Act
- 15 shall be construed to authorize any government to inter-
- 16 fere with a health care provider's ability to provide contra-
- 17 ceptives or information related to contraception or a pa-
- 18 tient's ability to obtain contraceptives or to engage in con-
- 19 traception.
- 20 (c) Other Individuals Considered as Govern-
- 21 MENT OFFICIALS.—Any person who, by operation of a
- 22 provision of Federal or State law, is permitted to imple-
- 23 ment or enforce a limitation or requirement that violates
- 24 section 4 shall be considered a government official for pur-
- 25 poses of this Act.

#### 1 SEC. 7. ENFORCEMENT.

- 2 (a) Attorney General.—The Attorney General
- 3 may commence a civil action on behalf of the United
- 4 States against any State that violates, or against any gov-
- 5 ernment official (including a person described in section
- 6 6(c)) that implements or enforces a limitation or require-
- 7 ment that violates, section 3. The court shall hold unlawful
- 8 and set aside the limitation or requirement if it is in viola-
- 9 tion of this Act.

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# (b) Private Right of Action.—

- (1) IN GENERAL.—Any individual or entity, including any health care provider or patient, adversely affected by an alleged violation of this Act, may commence a civil action against any State that violates, or against any government official (including a person described in section 6(c)) that implements or enforces a limitation or requirement that violates, section 4. The court shall hold unlawful and set aside the limitation or requirement if it is in violation of this Act.
- (2) HEALTH CARE PROVIDER.—A health care provider may commence an action for relief on its own behalf, on behalf of the provider's staff, and on behalf of the provider's patients who are or may be adversely affected by an alleged violation of this Act.

- 1 (c) Equitable Relief.—In any action under this
- 2 section, the court may award appropriate equitable relief,
- 3 including temporary, preliminary, or permanent injunctive
- 4 relief.
- 5 (d) Costs.—In any action under this section, the
- 6 court shall award costs of litigation, as well as reasonable
- 7 attorney's fees, to any prevailing plaintiff. A plaintiff shall
- 8 not be liable to a defendant for costs or attorney's fees
- 9 in any non-frivolous action under this section.
- 10 (e) JURISDICTION.—The district courts of the United
- 11 States shall have jurisdiction over proceedings under this
- 12 Act and shall exercise the same without regard to whether
- 13 the party aggrieved shall have exhausted any administra-
- 14 tive or other remedies that may be provided for by law.
- 15 (f) Abrogation of State Immunity.—Neither a
- 16 State that enforces or maintains, nor a government official
- 17 (including a person described in section 6(c)) who is per-
- 18 mitted to implement or enforce any limitation or require-
- 19 ment that violates section 4 shall be immune under the
- 20 Tenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United
- 21 States, the Eleventh Amendment to the Constitution of
- 22 the United States, or any other source of law, from an
- 23 action in a Federal or State court of competent jurisdic-
- 24 tion challenging that limitation or requirement.

# SEC. 8. SEVERABILITY.

- 2 If any provision of this Act, or the application of such
- 3 provision to any person, entity, government, or cir-
- 4 cumstance, is held to be unconstitutional, the remainder
- 5 of this Act, or the application of such provision to all other
- 6 persons, entities, governments, or circumstances, shall not
- 7 be affected thereby.

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