Reforming the Toxic Substances Control Act How well do the Senate and House bills fix America's 40-year-old chemical law?

December 2015

Richard A. Denison, Ph.D. Lead Senior Scientist



Finding the ways that work

## Main U.S. chemical safety legislation

- Toxic Substances Control Act of 1976 (TSCA)
  - Covers most chemicals used in industry and in commercial/consumer products
  - Excludes:
    - uses in drugs, cosmetics, food and food packaging regulated by FDA
    - uses in pesticides covered by EPA under FIFRA

- Basic provisions have never been amended

## Drivers for chemical policy reform

# **Chemicals are ubiquitous**

- 10 trillion pounds produced per year in the U.S.
  - 90 pounds per person per day
- Used to make 96% of all materials and products
- 85,000 chemicals on Toxic Substances Control Act (TSCA) Inventory – not all in use today
- Chemical production:
  - 25x ↑ globally since '76
  - Projected to grow by more than 4x by 2050

### Science drivers: Connecting the dots

- Certain chronic diseases are on the rise
- Certain chemicals are linked to those same chronic diseases
- Many of those same chemicals are in us

### **Diseases linked to chemical exposures**

- Cancer
- Learning and Developmental Disabilities
- Parkinson's and Alzheimer's Disease
- Reproductive Health and Fertility Problems

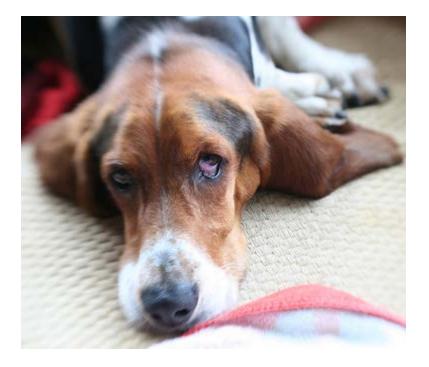
- Asthma
- Diabetes
- Obesity
- Immune disorders
- Cardiovascular disease

# Why legislative reform?

### **TSCA:** Problems with current paradigm

- Presumption of innocence: TSCA grandfathered 62,000 chemicals
- High hurdle to require testing
- Even higher hurdle to regulate
- Government must prove harm
  - Contrast to pesticides, drugs
- Excessive trade secret allowances

### TSCA, the dog that didn't even bark



#### By the numbers:

- **62,000** chemicals grandfathered in when TSCA was passed in 1976
- Required testing on <300 in 39 years
- **5** chemicals have been regulated in limited ways
- **24 years** since EPA last tried (and failed) to regulate a chemical: *asbestos*



## **Drivers for TSCA reform**

- State legislation
- Top priority of last 2 EPA Administrators
- Market demand, esp. from downstream users
- Retail regulation: Walmart, Target, CVS
- Major reform of others' policies:
  - European Union's REACH Regulation (2006)
  - Canadian Environmental Protection Act (1999)

## Industry position shifts

"The <u>public's confidence</u> in the federal chemical management system has been challenged."

> Cal Dooley, President, American Chemistry Council Congressional testimony, February 26, 2009

"In the absence of reforms to TSCA we are seeing a plethora of <u>State actions</u> that are serving to create <u>tremendous uncertainty</u> in our markets."

> Linda Fisher, Chief Sustainability Officer, DuPont Congressional testimony, March 9, 2010

# TSCA reform bills

- Frank Lautenberg was key champion
- First bill: Kid-Safe Chemicals Act of 2005
- Bills in 6 successive Congresses
- No bipartisan support until May '13
- Lautenberg negotiated a bill with Sen. David Vitter
  - First bipartisan TSCA reform legislation
  - Introduced 11 days before his death
  - Gained 26 cosponsors (13 D, 13 R)

## The Lautenberg Act (S. 697)

The Frank R. Lautenberg Chemical Safety for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Act

- Introduced on March 10, 2015
- Sens. Tom Udall, David Vitter main sponsors
- Heavily renegotiated version of 2013
   Lautenberg-Vitter bill
- Passed Senate EPW Cmte on April 28 on a bipartisan 15-5 vote
- Now has 25 D+35 R very diverse cosponsors

### **Basic framework of Lautenberg Act**

- Identify all chemicals in active commerce
- Prioritize them as high- or low-priority
- Low-priority chemicals are set aside until and unless new information emerges
- High-priority chemicals must undergo:
  - safety assessments
  - safety determinations as to whether they meet safety standard
- If a chemical fails the standard, EPA must issue a regulation banning or restricting the chemical

#### The TSCA Modernization Act (H.R. 2576)

- First draft issued on April 7, 2015
- Bill formally introduced May 26
- Reps. Shimkus, Pallone main sponsors
- Passed House E&C Cmte on June 3
- Passed full House on June 24 on a 398-1 vote on suspension
- Far more skeletal reform of TSCA

Problem in TSCA	Senate Bill	House Bill
Paralyzing Regulatory Hurdle, Failure to Protect Most Vulnerable	Health-Only Safety Standard that Protects Vulnerable Populations	Health-only Safety Standard that Protects Vulnerable Populations
Requires onerous cost- benefit analysis that has left dangerous chemicals unregulated.	Prohibits EPA from considering costs in safety determinations.	Prohibits EPA from considering costs in risk evaluations.
No requirement to consider elevated risks to children, pregnant women, the elderly.	Expressly requires the protection of those most susceptible to harm from chemicals.	Precludes finding a chemical does not present unreasonable risk if any potentially exposed populations face such risk.
Chemicals are Presumed Innocent	Mandate to Review All Chemicals	Limited Mandate to Review Chemicals
No requirement to review the safety of existing chemicals.	Requires prioritization of all chemicals, safety determinations on all those not deemed low-priority.	Limited process, evidentiary burden, to identify chemicals for reviews. Virtually unlimited pathway
	Limited pathway for industry- requested reviews.	for industry-requested reviews.

Problem in TSCA	Senate Bill	House Bill
New Chemicals Lack Adequate Safety Check	Safety Finding for New Chemicals Before Use	No Change Is Made to Status Quo
New chemicals are allowed onto market without affirmative EPA safety decision.	New chemicals can enter the market only after an affirmative safety finding standard by EPA.	Draft makes no changes to TSCA Section 5.
Weak Testing Powers	New Testing Authority	Some New Testing
Test rules take years.	EPA can order testing, with	Authority
EPA must first show potential	justification.	EPA can order testing.
risk/high exposure, a Catch-	Catch-22 is eliminated.	Catch-22 NOT eliminated
22.		except for tests needed to do risk evaluations.
Insufficient Funding	Broad Dedicated Fees	Limited Fees
Fees only for new chems, \$2,500/co cap. Don't go to EPA.	Fees cover all parts of program. Go directly to EPA.	Fees only for industry- requested chemicals. Go directly to EPA.

Problem in TSCA	Senate Bill	House Bill
Excessive CBI Claims	Greater Transparency	Partial Transparency
Companies can claim virtually any info CBI. Rare EPA reviews. Can't share with public, states, health providers.	Upfront justification for most claims. EPA review of most claims, past and future. State must be given access, no prior notification. Health providers are given access, prior notification except in emergencies.	<ul> <li>Upfront justification for all new claims. No EPA review of past or future claims mandated.</li> <li>State may be given access, prior notification required.</li> <li>Health providers are given access, no prior notification required.</li> </ul>
CBI Kept Indefinitely	Time Limits, Reviews for	Time Limits Only for New
Claims have no time limits, and remain in place unless the EPA challenges them.	Past and New Claims Claims expire after 10 years if not re-justified. EPA to review most past and new claims.	Claims, No EPA Reviews Past claims don't expire, no EPA review. New claims subject to 10 years, but no EPA review.

Problem in TSCA	Senate Bill	House Bill
Limited preemption	More preemption	More preemption
EPA requirements on new or existing chemicals generally preempt states' existing or new requirements. EPA may grant waivers.	Preemption after EPA final action limited to state <u>restrictions</u> (e.g., not disclosure). Preemption applies only to existing chemicals. No <u>new</u> state restrictions on a chemical under EPA review except via a	Preemption after EPA final action extends to any <u>requirements</u> "designed to protect against exposure." Preemption applies to new and existing chemicals. No early preemption of new requirements.
	waiver.	non roqui ontono.
	Higher bar for final waiver; state can challenge denial.	Lower bar for final waiver; but state can't challenge denial.

# Start of a paradigm shift

- <u>Current</u>: Unless there is evidence of harm, assume safety and don't look any further
- <u>Needed</u>: Require affirmative evidence of safety to enter or remain on the market

## For more information

#### EDF's Chemicals Policy Webpage www.edf.org/health/policy/chemicals-policy-reform

#### EDFHealth Blog http://blogs.edf.org/health/