The Maladaptation of Miranda to Advance Directives: A Critique of the Implementation of the Patient Self-Determination Act

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INTRODUCTION

WHEN A PATIENT IS ADMITTED into a federally funded hospital, even for the simplest of procedures,¹ she must be given a copy of the hospital’s policy and a statement of the relevant state law regarding advance directives.² This is required by the Patient Self-Determination Act (PSDA) of 1990,³ which not only requires that hospitals recognize and honor advance directives when they are made, but also requires that hospitals inform patients of their right to make them in the first place.⁴

¹ See Compassion in Dying v. Washington, 79 F.3d 790, 819 n. 80 (9th Cir. 1996), (en banc) (recognizing that Congress favors allowing adult patients to refuse life-sustaining treatment by advance directives and even requires hospitals receiving federal funds to notify adult patients of their right to execute such instruments upon admission to the hospital), overruled on other grounds sub. nom. Washington v. Glucksberg, 521 U.S. 702 (1997).

² See 42 U.S.C. § 1395cc(f)(2)(A) (1994) (stating that the “[t]he written information . . . shall be provided to an adult individual, in the case of a hospital, at the time of the individual’s admission as an inpatient”). But cf. Henry R. Glick et al., Advanced Medical Directives in U.S. Hospitals and Nursing Homes: The Implementation and Impact of the Patient Self-Determination Act, 14 POL. & LIFE SCI. 47, 52 (1995) (reporting that over one-third of institutions do not provide advance directive information to psychiatric, incompetent, demented, comatose, or intoxicated individuals, obstetrical patients, emergency room patients, and those held overnight for observation).


⁴ See 42 U.S.C. § 1395cc(f)(1)(A) (requiring service providers to give individuals written information concerning state laws on advance directives and the right to accept or refuse medical treatment, as well as information on the policies of the service provider regarding implementation of individual rights). The right to refuse lifesaving treatment was constitutionally guaranteed under the Fourteenth Amendment by Cruzan v. Dir. Mo. Dep’t of Health, 497 U.S. 261, 277-78 (1990) (holding that if Nancy Cruzan had left clear and convincing evidence of her health care prefer-
According to a 1995 General Accounting Office (GAO) report and a 1995 Robert Wood Johnson Foundation study, U.S. hospitals have generally complied with the PSDA and do inform patients of their right to complete an advance directive. U.S. hospitals do not, however, do very much to inform these patients how to meaningfully and effectively exercise that right. Although providers comply with the PSDA's formal requirements, they "merely follow the letter of the law" and fail to meet the PSDA's underlying purpose of protecting patient autonomy and self-determination. In short, the PSDA's legal requirements have be-

ences before she became incompetent, then Missouri would have had to respect her expressed wishes). The PSDA is regulatorily implemented by the Health Care Financing Administration (HCFA).

5 Patient Self-Determination Act — Providers Offer Information on Advance Directives but Effectiveness Uncertain, GAO/HEHS Doc. No.95-135, at 4 (1995) (reporting on the result, to date, of the effectiveness and implementation of advance directives under the Patient Self-Determination Act) [hereinafter GAO REPORT].

6 Alfred F. Connors, Jr. et al., A Controlled Trial to Improve Care for Seriously Ill Hospitalized Patients: The Study to Understand Prognoses and Preferences for Outcomes and Risks of Treatment (SUPPORT), 274 JAMA 1591 (1995) (confirming the existence of barriers to optimal end-of-life patient care and demonstrating increased patient-physician communication is inadequate to address the problem); see also Bernard Lo, End-of-Life Care After Termination of SUPPORT, HASTINGS CENTER REP., Nov.-Dec., at S6 (explaining the SUPPORT study findings and exploring what could be done to improve the process of dying).

7 Glick et al., supra note 2, at 57 (explaining that the PSDA is not as effective as it could be because it merely requires hospitals and nursing homes to make patients aware of advance directives; thus, the PSDA does not provide adequate incentives for the institutions to explain more fully to patients their options; see also John La Puma et al., Advance Directives on Admission: Clinical Implications and Analysis of the Patient Self-Determination Act of 1990, 266 JAMA 402, 404 (1991) ("[I]mposing a minimal standard of behavior... may become the maximum standard performed").

8 See Edward J. Larson & Thomas A. Eaton, The Limits of Advance Directives: A History and Assessment of the Patient Self-Determination Act, 32 WAKE FOREST L. REV. 249, 259, 267 (1997) (examining the legislative history of the PSDA); see also Glick et al., supra note 2, at 52 ("Making patients aware... of advance directives satisfies the basic requirements of the PSDA, but the effectiveness of the law can be increased if hospitals... develop procedures to guarantee that most consumers understand their options... ".)
come a ceiling instead of a floor. Well-intentioned objectives have been transformed into "paper formalities." This minimalistic compliance is exemplified in a metaphor often applied to the PSDA. The PSDA has been described as health care's own "Miranda warning," referring to the Fourth Amendment reading of rights at arrest. The metaphor is accurate but unfortunate. Empirical research establishes that most suspects do not understand the Miranda warnings. Although "Miranda

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9 See Susan M. Wolf et al., Sources of Concern about the Patient Self-Determination Act, 325 New Eng. J. Med. 1666, 1670 (1991) (warning that the legal requirements of advance directives may reduce the discussion of treatment options if they become a ceiling, rather than a floor, for discussion). Indeed, Larson and Eaton explain that "meaningless formality" was a recognized consequence of making the bill modest and politically viable. Larson & Eaton, supra note 8, at 265-66.


11 Senator John C. Danforth of Missouri introduced the bill this way. Senate to Debate Federal Legislation, SOC'Y FOR RIGHT TO DIE NEWSL. (Society for the Right to Die, New York, N.Y.), Spring 1990, at 1, 7 (referring to the Patient Self-Determination Act of 1989 proposed by Senators Danforth and Moynahan). See also Michael A. Refolo, Comment, The Patient Self-Determination Act of 1990: Health Care's Own Miranda, 8 J. CONTEMP. HEALTH L. & POL'Y 455 (1992) (using the Miranda reference to characterize the PSDA); Paul Cotton, Providers to Advise of Medical Miranda, 265 JAMA 306 (1991) (presenting requirements of the Patient Self-Determination Act and examples of health care provider responses); Doug Podolsky, A Right to Die Reminder: A New Law Requires Hospitals to Read You Your Medical Rights, U.S. News & World Rep., Dec. 2, 1991, at 74 (explaining that under the PSDA, hospitals are required to provide patients with a written "medical Miranda" outlining their rights as patients); Leonard Sloane, '91 Law Says Failing Patients Must be Told of Their Options, N.Y. Times., Dec. 8, 1990, at A4 (discussing federal legislation that requires hospitals and nursing homes to tell patients if their state law allows them to refuse treatment).

12 "The person must be warned that he has a right to remain silent, that any statement he does make may be used as evidence against him, and that he has a right to the presence of an attorney either retained or appointed." Miranda v. State of Arizona, 384 U.S. 436, 444 (1966) (holding that for statements made by a suspect to be admissible in court, the suspect must have been told of his constitutional rights prior to the time the statements were made).

provides a convenient presumption that [a] confession was voluntary,"\textsuperscript{14} "merely reciting the \textit{Miranda} warnings may be insufficient to clearly inform a suspect of the right to counsel [or silence] because recitation of rights does not guarantee that the suspect will understand them."\textsuperscript{15} Similarly, advance directives completed pursuant to the PSDA are \textit{presumed} to accurately reflect the health care preferences of the incompetent individuals later bound by them. However, this presumption, like that associated with \textit{Miranda}, is empirically unfounded. In fact, patients do not understand how to exercise their right to control their post-autonomous health care. By erroneously assuming this understanding, the PSDA promotes advance directives which, in fact, do not adequately promote self-determination.

Health care providers regard advance directives in a "narrow, legalistic way."\textsuperscript{16} This is exemplified by the fact that the current emphasis in the medical literature is on the \textit{rates} of advance directives completed rather than the \textit{quality} of the advance directives completed.\textsuperscript{17} The result, as the GAO report notes but under-emphasizes, is that "advance directives may not always be implemented as patients intend,"\textsuperscript{18} wholly undermining the purpose of the PSDA, of advance directives in general, and of the common law, and the constitutional right to medical self-determination.

The focus of this Article is "pragmatic" in that it stresses increased attention to the clinical context, to the specific characteristics of the patients such as diagnosis, prognosis, and values.\textsuperscript{19} It


\textsuperscript{16} NANCY M. P. KING, \textit{MAKING SENSE OF ADVANCE DIRECTIVES} 113 (rev. ed. 1996) (explaining the tendency of doctors and administrators to disregard advance directives if they do not conform precisely to a specific law).

\textsuperscript{17} See infra notes 97-100.

\textsuperscript{18} GAO REPORT, supra note 5, at 12 (contrasting provider groups' general support for advance directives with their lack of implementation).

is important to identify and legislate rules for the use of advance directives. Yet, it is just as important to pay attention to the empirical effects of following those rules.\textsuperscript{20} "Merely proclaiming or even legislating rights does not make them real for those who need them."\textsuperscript{21} It is no success to allow, advise, and even encourage patients to execute advance directives, if those directives fail to reflect the actual health care preferences of those patients.\textsuperscript{22} As long as patients complete advance directives without a thorough understanding of what they are doing, the formal requirements of the PSDA will fail to protect patient autonomy.\textsuperscript{23} Unless the imple-
mentation of these formal requirements is guided by actual clinical experience, by what is actually required for patient understanding, the danger of placing an undue emphasis on procedure over substance looms.  

This Article calls for vastly improved standards of informed consent in the advance directive context. Only with such standards will advance directives reflect, with sufficient accuracy, the preferences of those individuals who are bound by them. Section I of this Article is an introduction both to the PSDA and to advance directives. Section II reviews the empirical literature assessing the implementation of the PSDA. This evidence compels the conclusion that although the PSDA's current focus on making patients aware of their legal rights is laudable, without adequate medical understanding, patients cannot effectively exercise those legal rights. After placing this evidence into a normative framework, I argue that patients' lack of understanding is a serious and fundamental problem because the PSDA has not successfully helped patients preserve their autonomy through directing their post-autonomous medical care.

I propose that the solution to this problem, identified in Section III, is informed consent. Informed consent, although always required for clinical interventions, is not now required in the advance directive context. Nevertheless, it should be and must be implemented in this context. In Section IV, I argue that "safe-

the PSDA not only because it is one viable option, but also because the PSDA already purports to protect patients' "self-determination."

24 See Alexander Morgan Capron & Vicki Michel, Law and Bioethics, 27 Loy. L. Rev. 25, 29 (1993) (explaining that bioethics remains a legal field dominated by concern for substance, but is being encroached upon by procedure); see also 1 Alan Meisel, The Right to Die, § 3.10, at 91 (2d ed. 1995) (noting that "[a]mong health care professionals, there is a tendency to equate the execution of a consent form with obtaining informed consent").

25 See 1 Meisel, supra note 24, §§ 2.1-2.11 (discussing the state of the law pertaining to the forgoing of life-sustaining treatment); 2 Meisel, supra note 24, § 10.3 at 6-7. I argue that this is intrinsically important. Nevertheless, a concomitant concrete benefit of having more reliable advance directives is that physicians and others would be less willing to ignore them. See Ashwini Sehgal et al., How Strictly Do Dialysis Patients Want Their Advance Directives Followed?, 267 JAMA 59 (1992) (discussing generally the need for advance directives to be completed and the benefits associated with having the physician and patient discuss the limits of the directive before it is even needed).

guards” are necessary to assure that a (future) incompetent self, bound by the choices of an (earlier) competent self, would have made substantially the same choices. Indeed, these safeguards must be so rigorous that they are properly characterized as paternalistic. This paternalism is necessary to assure, as best as possible, that the advance directive embodies preferences genuine to the self bound by it.

I. THE PURPOSE OF THE PATIENT SELF-DETERMINATION ACT

There are “incommensurable and unbridgeable differences between what individuals consider good for themselves or in their best interest.” This lack of axiological consensus has led to the preeminence of autonomy as “the dominant value prescribed by bioethicists and legal scholars for mediating provider/patient interactions.” Because there is no one true or correct way to die, individuals are free to decide their medical futures for themselves. The right to die is a legally, and even a constitutionally protected

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27 Caplan, supra note 20, at 257 (arguing that there is a broad consensus as to what individuals feel is in their best interest). Caplan explains how “autonomy is firmly rooted at the foundation of the contemporary bioethical canon.” Id. at 259.

28 Id. at 256; see also Hackler, supra note 22, at 4; Paul Starr, The Social Transformation of American Medicine 445 (1982) (explaining that today's medical community places more emphasis on health care as a marketable commodity, making both physician and patient autonomy a dominant issue in any interaction); Lawrence O. Gostin et al., Privacy and Security of Health Information in the Emerging Health Care System, 5 Health Matrix 1, 2 (1995) (suggesting that “a complex health care system information infrastructure is emerging in the American health care system” and, consequently, that there will be a need to access high quality information for informed decisions to be made); Hans-Martin Sass, Advance Directives, in Encyclopedia of Applied Ethics 41, 42 (Ruth Chadwick ed., 1998) (“[A]dvance health care planning by the patient or prospective patient, including the execution of advance directives, must be regarded as indispensable for good clinical practice, as it alone will provide . . . the necessary and vital information to define the salgu sedgroit, the “good of the patient”).


30 See Cruzan v. Dir., Mo. Dep’t. of Health, 497 U.S. 261 (1990) (holding that “a competent person has a Constitutionally protected liberty interest in refusing unwanted medical treatment”). The Constitutional right to die only encompasses passive euthanasia. See Washington v. Glucksberg, 117 S. Ct. 2258 (1997) (holding that there is no due process right to active euthanasia); Vacco v. Quill, 117 S. Ct. 2293 (1997) (holding that there is no equal protection right to active euthanasia). Nevertheless, although not constitutionally protected, active euthanasia is not constitutionally prohibited either. Accordingly, the state of Oregon has legally provided for active euthanasia with its Death with Dignity Act. See Ann Alpers & Bernard Lo, Phy-
right. Nevertheless, even ten years after the first advance directive statutes were enacted in the late 1970s,31 few individuals exercised this right, often simply because they were unaware they had it.32 This is where the PSDA came in.

The PSDA, which became effective December 1, 1991, requires health care providers to maintain written policies and procedures that will educate patients and the public as to their right to execute advance directives and to direct their post-autonomous medical care (i.e., direct care provided after the point in time at which they lose the decision-making capacity to do so contemporaneously).33 As a federal law, jurisdictional constraints require that the PSDA apply only to institutions receiving Medicaid34 and Medicare35 funds. Nevertheless, this includes most providers.36

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32 See Larson & Eaton, supra note 8, at 258 (explaining that few people write advance directives because most people do not know that option is available to them).
33 See ALAN D. LIEBERSON, ADVANCE MEDICAL DIRECTIVES 539 (1992) (describing the PSDA and the responses to it).
34 See 42 U.S.C. §§ 1396(a)(57) - (58) (1994) (regulating grants to states for medical assistance programs, including requiring the maintenance of written policies and procedures regarding advance directives); 42 U.S.C. §1396(v) (1994). The language in the Medicaid and Medicare provisions is the same. Therefore, for purposes of illustration, I shall refer to only the Medicare provisions at 42 U.S.C. §1395cc (1994) (regulating health insurance for the aged and disabled, in particular, agreements with providers of these services).
35 See 42 U.S.C. § 1395cc(a)(1)(Q) ("Any provider . . . shall be eligible for payments . . . if it files with the Secretary an agreement . . . to comply with the requirement of subsection (f) of this section.") (relating to maintaining written policies and procedures respecting advance directives).
Although this Article discusses only hospitals’ implementation of the PSDA, the statute also applies to skilled nursing facilities, home health agencies, hospice programs, and managed care organizations.

The requirements of the PSDA are relatively simple. Providers and eligible organizations must provide written materials to all adult individuals receiving medical care by or through the provider or organization (hereinafter “hospitals”) regarding an individual’s rights under state law to make decisions concerning such medical care, including the right to accept or refuse medical or surgical treatment, and the right to formulate advance directives. The hospital must also provide written information concerning the written policies of the hospital respecting the implementation of such rights. The hospital shall document prominently on the individual’s medical record whether or not the individual has executed an advance directive. The hospital cannot, however, condition the provision of care on whether or not the individual has executed an advance directive. Hospitals must comply with state laws respecting advance direc-

37 See 42 U.S.C. § 1395cc(f)(2)(B) (1994). Nursing homes generally have better implementation than hospitals for those residents who are included. However, a different problem in the nursing home context is that many residents are presumed incompetent and are excluded from advance directive discussions. See Mathy Mezey et al., Implementation of the Patient Self-Determination Act in Nursing Homes in New York City, 45 J. AM. GERIATRICS Soc’Y 43 (1997) (examining implementation of PSDA, verbal directives, procedures for determination of residents’ decision-making capacity, and role of ethics committees in nursing homes in New York City); Elizabeth Bradley et al., Assessing Capacity to Participate in Discussions of Advance Directives in Nursing Homes: Findings from a Study of the Patient Self-Determination Act, 45 J. AM. GERIATRICS Soc’Y 79 (1997) (proposing that the implementation of the PSDA in long-term care must be better understood).


39 See id. § 1395cc(f)(2)(D).

40 See id. § 1395cc(f)(2)(E). Id. §§ 1395l(a)(1)(A) (defining “providers”), 1395mm(a) (including HMOs in particular).


42 See 42 U.S.C. § 1395cc(f)(1)(A)(ii) (requiring the provider to provide written information concerning their written policies for the implementation of such rights). Cf. CHOICE IN DYING, ADVANCE DIRECTIVE PROTOCOLS AND THE PATIENT SELF-DETERMINATION ACT: A RESOURCE MANUAL FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF INSTITUTIONAL PROTOCOLS (1991) (providing guidelines for facilities in the development of their own protocols by summarizing the PSDA, its goals and requirements, and listing components, specific characteristics, and functions of an advanced protocol).

43 42 U.S.C. § 1395cc(f)(1)(B) (1994) (requiring a provider to document in the individual’s medical record whether the individual has an advance directive).

44 Id. § 1395cc(f)(1)(C) (prohibiting providers from discriminating against an individual based on whether the individual executed an advance directive).
Nevertheless, a hospital with conscience objections can alert the patient in its policy statements and need not follow advance directives in conflict with its policy. Finally, hospitals must provide for the education of staff and community on issues concerning advance directives. The whole thrust of the Act is to alert and educate patients and the public about advance directives. But what exactly is an advance directive?

A. Advance Directives

Advance directives are written instructions such as a living will or a durable power of attorney for health care, recognized under state law, relating to the provision of health care when an individual's condition makes him or her unable to express his or her wishes. Essentially, either legal form (living will or durable power of attorney for health care) allows individuals to establish binding "directives" relating to their care on health care providers in "advance" of being in a condition in which they might be unable to make or to communicate such directives. The basic underlying and motivating idea is that "[e]very human being of adult years and sound mind has a right to determine what shall be done with

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45 Id. § 1395cc(f)(1)(D).
46 Id. § 1395cc(f)(1).
48 In 1992, Pennsylvania was the fiftieth state to enact advance directive legislation. 20 PA. CONS. STAT. ANN. §§ 5401-16 (West 1998).
49 See GAO REPORT, supra note 5, at 1, 3-4 (explaining and defining advance directives). For a comprehensive analysis of the meaning, legal status, and implementation of advance directives, see 2 MEISEL, supra note 24, § 10.1-13.38 and LIEBERSON, supra note 33.
50 "Do Not Resuscitate" Orders (DNRs) are technically, but not legally, a type of advance directive. See COMMITTEE ON CARE AT THE END OF LIFE, INST. OF MED., APPROACHING DEATH: IMPROVING CARE AT THE END OF LIFE 198-99 (1997) (noting that, although a DNR is technically a physician's order, because the order is placed in the patient's chart only after a doctor-patient consultation and discussion regarding the patient's decision to forego certain forms of life-prolonging treatment, the order takes on the characteristics of a living will in advance-care planning). Typically these are orders that tell health care providers not to perform CPR or not to place the patient on a ventilator if that becomes necessary. See 1 MEISEL, supra note 24, §§ 9.4-9.8, at 543-56. See also Vassyl A. Lanchyna, To Resuscitate or Not... In the Operating Room: The Need for Hospital Policies for Surgeons Regarding DNR Orders, 6 ANNALS HEALTH L. 209 (1997) (describing DNRs and how medical personnel should treat DNRs when caring for a patient).
his body."51 Later incompetence or decisional incapacity52 shall be no bar to autonomous decision-making, for although advance directives cannot reproduce the contemporaneous decision-making of a competent individual, they do allow individuals to "direct their medical care, even when [they] cannot do so directly."53

1. The Living Will

The first form of advance directive is the living will. "Living wills are documents that give instructions to health care providers about particular kinds of medical care that an individual would or would not want to have to prolong life."54 Living wills were first proposed in 1969 in response to newly developing technology that prolonged the dying process,55 so that individuals would have a means to avoid becoming "passive prisoner[s] of medical technology."56 Seven years later the New Jersey Supreme Court decided the famous Quinlan case.57

51 Schloendoff v. Soc'y of N. Y. Hosp., 105 N.E. 92, 95 (N.Y. 1914) (Cardozo, J., dissenting) (holding that the hospital is not liable for surgery performed without consent when the hospital did not have notice of lack of consent).
52 "Capacity" typically refers to a factual status regarding one's ability to make a particular type of decision, while "competence" typically refers to a legal status. See 1 MEISEL, supra note 24, § 4.5, at 114. Like Meisel, however, I will use these terms synonymously. See id. § 4.2, at 113.
54 2 MEISEL, supra note 24, § 10.4, at 8.
55 See Luis Kutner, Due Process of Euthanasia: The Living Will, A Proposal, 44 IND. L.J. 539 (1969) (presenting the living will as a method by which a competent patient could maintain autonomy by pre-dictating his treatment wishes in the event of incompetency).
56 Cruzan v. Dir., Mo. Dep't. Health, 497 U.S. 261, 302 (1990) (Brennan, J., dissenting) (stating that Nancy Cruzan's fundamental right to choose to die with dignity should outweigh the interests of the state).
57 In re Quinlan, 355 A.2d 647 (N.J. 1976), cert. denied, 429 U.S. 922 (1976) (holding that the father of a 21-year-old woman who was in a persistent vegetative state could be appointed as her guardian, and upon the conclusion of attending physicians and the hospital ethics committee that there was no possibility of her re-emergence to a cognitive state, could request that her life-support systems be withdrawn). For more background on this landmark case, see JOSEPH & JULIA QUINLAN, THE QUINLANS TELL THEIR STORY (1977), which discusses the struggle of Karen Ann Quinlan and the difficulties her family faced in being her surrogate decision-makers. See also B.D. COLEN, KAREN ANN QUINLAN: DYING IN THE AGE OF ETERNAL LIFE
Karen Ann Quinlan was a twenty-one-year-old woman condemned to a persistent vegetative state (PVS) after ingesting some combination of narcotic drugs. Although she exhibited motor reflexes, she evinced no indicia of significant cognitive function. Her condition was virtually certainly permanent. Karen Ann’s father sought judicial approval to disconnect his daughter’s respirator and let her body die. Unfortunately, Karen Ann had no advance directive. There was no written evidence of her preferences, goals, or values regarding whether she would want substantial technology keeping her alive under conditions where she could not think, feel, or communicate. There was only informal evidence of Karen Ann’s wishes, i.e. oral communications to friends.

The New Jersey court accepted this informal evidence, holding that Karen Ann’s autonomy ought not be discarded merely because she could not contemporaneously exercise it. The court wrote, “[w]e have no doubt... that if Karen were herself miraculously lucid for an interval (not altering the existing prognosis of the condition to which she would soon return) and perceptive of her irreversible condition, she could [and would] effectively decide upon discontinuance of the life-support apparatus, even if it meant the prospect of natural death.”

Although the Quinlan court accepted this informal evidence of Karen Ann’s preferences, casual verbal comments are typically far less likely to reflect careful deliberations and are generally less reliable evidence of preferences. Thus, the need for living wills was recognized and states began to enact legislation authorizing them. Nevertheless, because they anticipate and plan for events
that might never occur, living wills often require substantial interpretation (e.g. what is meant by “extraordinary treatment”). So, upon the recommendation of the 1983 Presidential Commission for the Study of Ethical Problems in Medicine and Biomedical and Behavioral Research,\(^6\) state legislatures began to enact statutes authorizing durable powers of attorney for health care.\(^6\)

2. The Durable Power of Attorney for Health Care

The durable power of attorney for health care (DPAHC) is an instrument by which an individual designates another to make health care decisions for her.\(^6\)\(^4\) The DPAHC “evades problems of [living wills’] interpretation, but it provides no real direction for decisions beyond the naming of a proxy.”\(^6\)\(^5\) This proxy or surrogate decision-maker has the flexibility to respond to the various clinical situations that might arise, and as long as the patient is incompetent, the proxy has the authority to make health care decisions on behalf of the patient.

In some states this authority is constrained by the directive contained in a living will executed concomitantly with the DPAHC. This makes the directive more useful because it confines the proxy’s role “to implement[ing] the general desires of a person as expressed in the ‘living will’”\(^6\)\(^6\) and provides assurance that the proxy “is implementing to the greatest extent possible the patient’s wishes.”\(^6\)\(^7\) Yet, even without a concomitant living will, the DPAHC is an instrument by which patients can exercise their autonomy by making non-contemporaneous decisions regarding their health care.

B. The PSDA and the Execution of Advance Directives

Ideally, advance directives should be completed outside the hospital, within the context of the patient-physician relationship


\(^{63}\) See CHOICE IN DYING, supra note 29 (collecting state DPAHC statutes).

\(^{64}\) See 2 MEISEL, supra note 24, § 12.2 (defining the term “health care power of attorney”).

\(^{65}\) Lynn & Teno, supra note 53, at 573 (comparing living will and durable power of attorney with regard to interpretation and instructing provisions).


\(^{67}\) 2 MEISEL, supra note 24, § 12.1 at 128. See infra notes 211-22.
when the patient is healthy and before she "experiences the dislocation that often attends inpatient admission." Moreover, the discussion should represent the beginning, not the end, of a dialogue. This is what patients and physicians want, and it is what the PSDA aims to accomplish by requiring community education.

This community education is supposed to lead patients and physicians to initiate discussions in the doctor's office, before hospitalization. This outpatient discussion has several advantages to hospital discussion. First, the discussion can be conducted over several visits, leaving the patient time to consider matters and seek further counsel in family and friends. Second, there is time to plan to include family, friends, clergy, or lawyers in the discussion. The advantages of outpatient completion of advance directives are apparent. The American Hospital Association has observed that "[a]s a practical matter in many cases when the patient arrives at the hospital it is too late really to effectively deal with the situation." One commentator has even proposed state legislation, modeled on the PSDA, which would legally require physicians to provide the information to patients whenever they arrive for an office visit.

68 Wolf et al., supra note 9, at 1667; see Larson & Eaton, supra note 8, at 262-64 (discussing the Congressional testimony of medical association representatives).
69 See La Puma et al., supra note 7, at 405.
70 See Sarah Coate Johnston et al., The Discussion About Advance Directives: Patient and Physician Opinions Regarding When and How It Should Be Conducted, 155 Arch. Intern. Med. 1025,1025 (1995) (reporting the results of a multi-centered study of 329 patients and 554 physicians and explaining that patients felt that the discussion of advance directives should occur earlier than physicians did).
71 See 42 U.S.C. § 1395cc(f)(1)(E) (1994) (requiring providers to educate staff and community on issues concerning advance directives); see also GAO REPORT, supra note 5, at 10 (listing selected surveys that investigated whether the goals of the PSDA are being met).
72 See Maria Torroella Carney & R. Sean Morrison, Advance Directives: When, Why, and How to Start Talking, Geriatrics, April 1997, at 65, 70 (noting a discussion of advance directives can take place over multiple office visits and can involve input about family and friends); see also Faden & Beauchamp, supra note 26, at 315 ("Empirical evidence suggests that . . . the more [it] is part of a participatory process that extends over time, the greater the degree of patient involvement in communication and decision-making").
The implementation of the community education requirement provides the most visible evidence of the PSDA’s beneficial effects. Across the country, hospitals and other health care providers produce videotapes and informational booklets, deliver lectures, and conduct workshops. Local papers and publications for seniors regularly publish notices of these educational opportunities. In addition, the Health Care Financing Administration (HCFA), which administers Medicare and Medicaid, has done its part to alert patients of their right to prepare advance directives through its consumer publications. As a result, individuals are more aware of advance directives than ever before. This is especially true in the wake of the deaths of national figures such as ex-President Richard M. Nixon who had an advance directive which allowed him to die without use of a ventilator.

Yet, despite increased public awareness, only ten to twenty-five percent of the adult population has completed a formal advance directive. There are many reasons why individuals do not...

75 See, e.g., Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations for 1999: Hearings Before the Subcomm. of the House Comm. on Appropriations, 105th Cong. 1659 (1998) (statement of Nancy Munro, Critical Care Nurse Specialist, Georgetown University Hospital) (describing efforts of the American Association of Critical Care Nurses in educating people about the PSDA by stressing definition and documentation of patient preferences); New Guide Available on Making Living Wills, CHAPEL HILL HERALD, Feb. 21, 1998, at 3 (describing a magazine published by the University of North Carolina regarding advance directives); Tony Cappaso, Seminar Explains Options for Medical Directives, STATE J.-REG., Mar. 19, 1998, at 18 (describing medical directives, what options are available, and where additional information can be obtained).


78 Richard A. Knox, Americans Changing How They Die, TAMPA TRIB., May 29, 1994, at 18 (describing how Americans are foregoing lifesaving measures with increasing frequency).

79 See GAO REPORT, supra note 5, at 8 (estimating the number of individuals completing formal advance directives). It has been noted, however, that only “about 50% of patients have an estate will, so perhaps this represents an upper limit of ex-
execute advance directives. Many patients complain that it is either just too difficult to talk about, or that they plan to do it later.

Many providers, on the other hand, are reluctant to discuss the issue because: (1) they do not know how to formulate advance directives, (2) they do not see advance directives as necessary for young and healthy patients, (3) they are uncomfortable discussing end-of-life issues, or (4) they are not paid for the time it takes to discuss the issue.

The PSDA addresses this low completion rate. It was enacted specifically because so few individuals complete advance directives and because "the living will, and its close relative, the durable power of attorney [were] counted as abject failures with respectable advance directive use." Linda Leah Emanuel, Advance Directives: Do They Work?, 25 J. AM. C. CARDIOLOGY 35, 36 (1995) (analyzing the use of advance directives with the use of estate wills).

A related problem mentioned by the GAO report is that hospitals are unable to acquire the advance directives of even those patients who have actually completed them. GAO REPORT, supra note 5, at 13. This problem should be ameliorated, however, with services provided by companies like Advance Directives, Inc. in Columbia, SC, and the National Electronic Archive of Advance Directives (NEAAD) in Cleveland, OH, which maintain electronic registries. See High-Tech Advance Directives, PEOPLE'S MED. SOC. NEWSLETTER, (People's Med. Soc., Allentown, Pa.) Feb. 1996, at 5 (explaining the function of the NEAAD in maintaining advance directives and quickly producing them when needed).

See Henry J. Silverman et al., Implementation of the PSDA in a Hospital Setting: An Initial Evaluation, 155 ARCHIVES INTERNAL MED. 502, 505 (1995) (determining that nurse-dependent PSDA programs in hospitals could be more effective); see also Glick et al., supra note 2, at 56 (listing common reasons for not signing advance directives); Larry VanderCreek & Deborah Frankowski, Barriers That Predict Resistance to Completing a Living Will, 20 DEATH STUD. 73, 78 (1996) (identifying potential barriers and benefits of completing living wills, through a scientific study of medical outpatients).

spect to the protection of autonomy."\textsuperscript{83} The PSDA aims to accomplish at hospital admission, what was not being accomplished before admission. Admittedly, hospital admission is not the ideal time to obtain an advance directive. Patients are often "ill, traumatized, or simply overwhelmed."\textsuperscript{84} Yet, the time of hospital admission is often the last chance to do so before the patient becomes incompetent.\textsuperscript{85}

Hospitals, through their agent physicians and staff, are not required to obtain an advance directive from patients, and, in fact, may not demand it as a condition of treatment.\textsuperscript{86} Nevertheless, hospitals should still try to replicate as closely as possible the advance directive discussion that takes place – or should take place – at physicians' offices. There is little point in obtaining an advance directive from a patient if the preferences memorialized in that patient's advance directive fail to accurately reflect what, when later incompetent, the patient would have chosen for herself. Yet, unfortunately this is exactly what happens in hospitals across the country.

\section*{II. THE PROBLEMS WITH THE PSDA}

In the six years since the PSDA has been in effect, more than one hundred articles, books, and reports analyzing the law have been published. After exhaustive analysis of this research, one reaches one inescapable conclusion: the PSDA is a failure by its own terms.\textsuperscript{87} The fundamental flaw upon which I focus is that the

\textsuperscript{83} \textsc{Caplan, supra} note 20, at 261 (arguing that living wills and powers of attorney do not promote patient autonomy). Professors Larson and Eaton trace the political history of the PSDA and identify six "clearly distinguishable goals of the Act," but nevertheless recognize one "overarching objective" of "individual self-determination" and promotion of "autonomy values." Larson \& Eaton, \textit{supra} note 8, at 249, 256, 267.

\textsuperscript{84} \textsc{GAO Report, supra} note 5, at 12 (explaining how the discussion about end-of-life treatment preferences at the time of admission is a possible barrier to the development of advance directives).

\textsuperscript{85} "Over 80\% of Americans die in hospitals. Among those who die in hospitals, many, indeed perhaps most, are incompetent ... for some period of time before their deaths." \textsc{Allen E. Buchanan \& Dan W. Brock, Deciding for Others: The Ethics of Surrogate Decision-Making} 1-2 (1989) (citation omitted).

\textsuperscript{86} \textsc{See} 42 U.S.C. \$ 1395cc(f)(1)(C) (1994) (stating providers may not "condition the provision of care or otherwise discriminate against an individual based on whether or not the individual has executed an advance directive").

\textsuperscript{87} \textsc{See} Larson \& Eaton, \textit{supra} note 8, at 284 (concluding the PSDA is only a "modest success" at achieving the goals identified in its legislative history). \textsc{See also Committee on Care at the End of Life, supra} note 50, at 202-03 (listing various problems which have been discovered with the implementation of the Patient Self-Determination Act).
PSDA, in spite of its title, not only fails to assure self-determination but actually promotes uninformed and under-informed advance directives.

The problem, as one commentator explained, is that the "[m]edical preferences expressed in an advance [directive] are . . . not usually adequately based upon reasoning and understanding . . ." This, of course, is an empirical point. To determine that this is a problem and that better understanding ought to be required, I turn in the second half of this section to present two popular normative positions toward advance directives: the orthodox position which grants too much deference to advance directives and the reductionist position which grants them no deference. I reject both of these positions and, taking the middle ground, argue that we ought to respect advance directives, but only if they reflect with sufficient accuracy, the preferences of those individuals upon whom they are binding.

A. The Empirical Research

There is a real danger that implementation of the PSDA by U.S. hospitals is merely a formal attempt to comply with the law rather than a real and substantial attempt to comply with the principles of patient self-determination. My argument is that hospitals should not apply the law in a vacuum, ignoring the quality and integrity of the advance directives they solicit. Nevertheless, empirical studies of the PSDA indicate that this is exactly what is being done when hospital-executed advance directives fail to reflect patient preferences.

1. Legal Rights vs. Medical Knowledge

The PSDA focuses on making patients aware of their legal rights. This is important, because not every patient has heard the ordeals of Ann Quinlan or Nancy Cruzan. Not all patients have read their state law authorizing advance directives. The PSDA is aimed at remedying this ignorance, requiring hospitals to "simply suggest [the] subject," informing their patients that there exist laws in their state that give them control over their post-competent destinies.

This narrow focus on legal rights is inappropriate. Awareness of one's legal right to control post-autonomous medical care is only the beginning. The right to execute advance directives, like any legal right, is illusory without the requisite understanding to

88 Sanchez-Gonzalez, *supra* note 20, at 288 (evaluating the role and effect of advance directives outside of their original North American context).
89 La Puma et al., *supra* note 7, at 403-04.
effectively exercise it. Awareness of a right to prospective self-determination takes the patient from a stage of pre-contemplation (not aware of a need for an advance directive) to a stage of contemplation (consideration of completing an advance directive).\textsuperscript{90} Yet, to take patients only to this stage presumes too much of them.\textsuperscript{91} They also need substantive information.

Awareness of a legal right does not necessarily imply the ability to exercise it. For example, under federal law, subjects for biomedical research are made aware of their "legal right" to discontinue the research at any time.\textsuperscript{92} They are even asked for written consent to participate. Yet, it is well-established that with regard to a subject's awareness of self-determination, "legal" rights is merely a threshold matter. The right of a research subject to withdraw at any time is meaningless if the material risks are not disclosed. The subject would not have the relevant information with which to make her own personal risk-benefit analysis. If the subject has not been told that there is a risk of sterilization, for example, then she would be unable to take this into account in deciding whether to exercise her legal right not to participate in the research. Without adequate disclosure of risks, a subject's legal rights are effectively eliminated, because the subject would not know either when or how to exercise them. Similarly, patients completing advance directives also need disclosure in order to adequately exercise their legal rights. Unfortunately, they do not get it.\textsuperscript{93}

Patients completing advance directives need to understand two categories of issues: legal issues and medical issues.\textsuperscript{94} Current implementation of the PSDA focuses only on a patient's understanding of the legal issues only. Patients are given a copy of their state's laws on advance directives and an informational booklet explaining in simple language just what these laws mean.\textsuperscript{95} This

\textsuperscript{90} See Pearlman et al., \textit{supra} note 22, at 355 (discussing the five basic stages of change that a patient goes through during advance-care planning).

\textsuperscript{91} It is not clear whether most hospitals go even this far and convey information on legal rights in more than a perfunctory manner. See Larson & Eaton, \textit{supra} note 8, at 269-70 (reviewing empirical studies).


\textsuperscript{93} See La Puma et al., \textit{supra} note 7, at 403 (stating that consent forms generally do not give patients a clear understanding of the procedure, for reasons such as readability problems).

\textsuperscript{94} They should also reflect upon social, familial, and religious issues, however, I leave those outside the scope of this Article.

\textsuperscript{95} See, e.g., Medicare and Medicaid Programs: Advance Directives: Final Rule, 60 Fed. Reg. at 33, 263-65 (giving notice to patients of their rights regarding PSDAs). The blueprint for many of these booklets is the Senate Special Comm. on
IMPLEMENTATION OF PSDA


See Larson & Eaton, supra note 8, at 256-62, 267. See, e.g., Frank J. Landry et al., Increasing the Use of Advance Directives in Medical Outpatients, 12 J. GEN. INTERNAL MED. 412 (1997) (studying whether educational intervention would increase patient completion of advance directives); John E. Heffner et al., Outcomes of Advance Directive Education of Pulmonary Rehabilitation Patients, 155 AM. J. RESPIRATORY CRITICAL CARE MED. 1055 (1997) (discussing survey results of patients who have completed an education program and their tendency to complete timely advance directives); Anna Maria Cugliari et al., Factors Promoting Completion of Advance Directives in the Hospital, 275 JAMA 578d (1996) (investigating whether the requirement to distribute information to hospital patients increased completion of the health care proxy); K.K. Ishihara, Advance Directives in the Emergency Department: Too Few Too Late, 3 ACADEMIC EMERGENCY MED. 50 (1996); Henry S. Perkins, Are Advance Directives Becoming an Endangered Species? 109 CHEST 299, 299 (1996) (explaining the obstacles that patients, physicians, and hospitals have regarding advance directives); Herman Small, Increasing Completion of Advance Directives, 271 JAMA 1907 (1994) (stating in a letter to the editor of JAMA that a simple educational intervention does not necessarily increase the completion of advance directives); Denise C. Park et al., Implementation and Impact of the Patient Self Determination Act, 87 S. MED. J. 971 (1994) (analyzing the PSDA and its impact on the number of patients using advance directives); Linda L. Emanuel et al., Advance Directives for Medical Care – A Case for Greater Use, 324 NEW ENG. J. MED. 889 (1991) (concluding from a survey of the general population that many people can complete an advance directive in 15 minutes or less).

See, e.g., David Orentlicher, The Limitations of Legislation, 53 MD. L. REV. 1255, 1260 (1994) (focusing on the percentages of adults who have completed advance directives); Refolo, supra note 11, at 455,457 (pointing to an expected increase in the use of advance directives as a result of the PSDA’s enactment).

See, e.g., Greg A. Sachs, Increasing the Prevalence of Advance Care Planning, HASTINGS CENTER REP., Nov.-Dec. 1994, at S13 (discussing the need to increase the use of advance-care planning after analysis of the variables and procedures of other studies). See also, e.g., Glick et al., supra note 2, at 55 (“The most direct indicator of the value of the PSDA is the percentage of patients . . . who have signed advance directives . . .”). But see Joan Teno, et al., Advance Directives for Seriously Ill Hospitalized Patients: Effectiveness with the Patient Self-Determination Act and
completed, and not on the quality of the advance directives themselves. Through employing the narrow measure of completion rate, the PSDA seems to have "reinforce[d] misconceptions about what counts as a valid advance directive."Arguably, the PSDA has not even done a good job of making patients aware of their legal rights. However, even if it had, awareness of legal rights or rates of completion are not proper measures of success. The PSDA has failed to make patients aware of how they are to meaningfully exercise those rights. It has failed to assure patients' substantial understanding of the medical issues to which their legal rights relate.

Just as a research subject cannot meaningfully exercise her legal rights without adequate disclosure, a patient completing an advance directive cannot exercise his legal rights without adequate disclosure. "For a subject's consent to have meaning...she must know that the consent is for research rather than for therapy...[and] [t]he nature of the research[,] and its potential risks must be known." Certainly, both research subjects and patients completing advance directives can sign a consent form or a durable power of attorney for health care. But, as described earlier, these are merely formal exercises that fail to affirm the patients' autonomy and protect them in the way the laws were intended. Signing a consent to medical treatment or a contract is a merely formal exercise of legal rights. That consent and that contract will be invalid if material information was withheld because under such circumstances a patient would not have known what she was doing. Patients cannot properly exercise their legal rights under advance

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the SUPPORT Intervention, 45 J. AM. GERIATRICS SOC'Y 500, 500 (1997) (observing that increasing rates of advance directive completion may not, by itself, substantially improve their effectiveness).

100 King, supra note 16, at 111.

101 See Larson & Eaton, supra note 8, at 285 (stating that "[m]ost studies suggest that the distribution of PSDA materials has done little to increase the public's level of understanding of advance directives").

102 King, supra note 16, at 46.

103 See, e.g., Ahem v. Veterans Admin., 537 F.2d 1098, 1101 (10th Cir. 1976) (holding plaintiff's consent invalid because defendant physicians did not disclose the experimental nature of treatment); Bang v. Charles T. Miller Hosp., 88 N.W.2d 186 (Minn.1958) (holding consent not valid when plaintiff was not told that sterilization was an inevitable outcome). See also, e.g., MICHAEL J. TREBILCOCK, THE LIMITS OF FREEDOM OF CONTRACT 102-26 (1993) (discussing the validity of contracts with respect to the informed status of the contracting parties); Melvin Aron Eisenberg, The Limits of Cognition and the Limits of Contract, 47 STAN. L. REV. 211 (1995) (arguing that an understanding of the psychological constraints on decision-making is essential for the development of contract doctrine).
directive statutes without adequate disclosure of material information.\textsuperscript{104}

Faden and Beauchamp draw a clear distinction between formal and real exercises of consent. "Sense\textsubscript{2}" or "formal" consent refers only to legally or institutionally effective authorization.\textsuperscript{105} It is sufficient for Sense\textsubscript{2} consent that the subject or patient execute the directive in the appropriate manner, for example, having the directive signed, dated, witnessed, notarized, and attested to.\textsuperscript{106} "Sense\textsubscript{1}" or "real" consent, on the other hand, requires the subject or patient to do more than "express agreement with, acquiesce in, yield to, or comply with an arrangement or a proposal."\textsuperscript{107} To give sense\textsubscript{1} consent, the subject or patient must substantially understand that to which she consents. Using Faden and Beauchamp's terminology, the problem with the PSDA is that it ensures only sense\textsubscript{2} or formal consent. Patients must know not only that they are completing an advance directive, but also what they authorize when they execute that advance directive.\textsuperscript{108} The PSDA ought to, but does not now, require sense\textsubscript{1} informed consent.

A few years ago, Alan Meisel, a leading expert on death and the law, wrote an article for practicing physicians dispelling legal myths about terminating life support.\textsuperscript{109} These myths included the belief that anything that is not specifically permitted by law is prohibited, and the belief that the patient must be terminally ill for life-sustaining treatment to be stopped. Meisel wanted to dispel these myths, because "[p]hysicians who are not knowledgeable about legal consideration in the care of dying patients and are aware of the limits of their knowledge are in a better position to seek advice, and therefore less likely to do harm, than those physicians who are unaware of the limits of their own knowledge."\textsuperscript{110}

\textsuperscript{104} In the next section, I will argue that mere disclosure of information is insufficient. Patients need more than just the data; they also need an understanding, a real appreciation of what that information means.

\textsuperscript{105} FADEN \& BEAUCHAMP, supra note 26, at 280 (explaining that consent obtained through a legally valid procedure may not necessarily reflect a patient's truly informed consent).

\textsuperscript{106} See 2 MEISEL, supra note 24, §§ 13.12-.20 (discussing the formalities of executing an advance directive).

\textsuperscript{107} FADEN \& BEAUCHAMP, supra note 26, at 278 (explaining that in actual informed consent situations, the patient is authorizing treatment rather than merely assenting to the physician's authority).

\textsuperscript{108} Cf. id. at 300 (explaining that although patients may be informed of medical treatment and may go through consent procedures, they may not know that they are giving authorization for treatment).

\textsuperscript{109} Alan Meisel, Legal Myths about Terminating Life Support, 151 ARCHIVES INTERNAL MED. 1497 (1991).

\textsuperscript{110} Id. at 1497.
Those who practice medicine have learned the law. It is time that the law learned the medicine. At present, the PSDA's "only
teeth is to require that patients be fully informed of what they can
legally do in their state." Without also ensuring adequate medi-
cal understanding, the PSDA can, at best, only encourage patients
to execute more numerous but less reliable advance directives that
neither reflect their medical preferences nor provide sufficient
guidance to health care professionals.

It might be argued that patients can simply ask advice if
they need assistance in completing an advance directive. The
Georgetown University Hospital policy statement, for example,
does inform patients that they may seek counsel from the De-
partments of Pastoral Care or Social Work. I will discuss this
counseling below, but here it will suffice to recall the words of
Socrates: "[I]t is likely that neither of us knows anything
worthwhile, but he thinks he knows something when he does
not, whereas when I do not know, neither do I think I know; so I
am likely to be wiser than he to this small extent, that I do not
think I know what I do not know." Patients might seek coun-
sel if they know that they do not understand, but they will
probably not seek counsel if, like the uninformed research sub-
ject, they think that they already understand, unaware of the
limits of their own knowledge. Tellingly, in a recent study only
two percent of patients requested to receive additional informa-
tion on advance directives.

111 Unfortunately, because medical information must be tailored to individual
patients, this cannot be done in a medical journal article.
112 Scott Obemberger, When Love and Abuse Are Not Mutually Exclusive: The
added) (arguing that more government intervention in parents' health care decisions
for their children is a necessity).
113 See KING, supra note 16, at 235 (arguing that the PSDA discourages patients
from expressing their true wishes by discouraging them from providing more infor-
mation than a standard form would require).
114 See Georgetown University Medical Center Policy Statement No. 501, Patient
Self-Determination Act (Aug. 9, 1993) (on file with the hospital); see also University
of Chicago Hospital's Policy: Patient Self-Determination Act Implementation, (vis-
html>(stating that the hospital will assign a social worker to a patient who has ques-
tions regarding advance directives); see also Bryan Memorial Hospital, Advance
that hospital staff are available to assist patients in completing advance directives).
115 PLATO, Apology, in FIVE DIALOGUES § 27d ( G.M.A. Grube trans., Hacket
Pub. Co., 1981) (referring to a realization by Socrates that the "public m[a]n" with
whom he was speaking was no wiser than he).
116 Silverman et al., supra note 81, at 505 (explaining the results of a survey of
patients who participated in a hospital PSDA program).
2. The Medical Knowledge

The research subject is very well-protected by federal law. The subject must be made aware of what the research entails by an explanation of those procedures that would not be performed but for the research. Risks, benefits, and alternatives to participation must be described. Moreover, institutional review boards (IRBs) endeavor to ensure that the language used in consent forms is neither jargonistic nor unduly influential on a potential subject's decision to participate. All material information must be disclosed to the subject. Moreover, it is not sufficient that all the information is simply "presented" to the research subject. It must be presented in a way that is meaningful. Otherwise, it might as well have not been presented at all.

Information about potential medical circumstances is just as material to the patient completing an advance directive as to the research subject. The advance directive form which the George-town University Hospital gives to its patients includes a section "Words You Need to Know," which defines eleven terms used in other sections of the form. These terms are defined outside both their medical and social context. For example, a patient can learn that organ donation is "[w]hen a person permits his/her organs . . . to be removed after death to be transplanted for use by another person." Yet, the patient does not learn (1) that these organs include everything from corneas to saphenous vein in the leg; (2) that these organs are urgently needed for transplant, therapy, research, and education; and (3) that her body might still be properly prepared for funeral rituals. Any or all of these might be important.

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117 See 45 C.F.R. §§ 46.101 to 46.409 (1997) (detailing the protections available to a variety of human research subjects, including children, pregnant women, and prisoners).


119 See infra notes 252-83 and accompanying text.


121 Georgetown University Medical Center, supra note 120, at 1.
considerations to a patient completing section three of George-town’s advance directive form.

It might be objected here that it is not the role of the hospital to encourage patients to complete their advance directives in any particular way, for example, by encouraging organ donation. Instead, information should be presented in an objective manner. This is a compelling point, but it is well-recognized in today’s post-Enlightenment world that any context in which information is presented can be only yet another narrative. While there can be no truly objective presentation, there may be a discernable difference between informing patients of the context of their decisions and biasing their decisions.

Information that is presented may be framed in certain ways that will influence or encourage patients to reach particular decisions about their medical care. Yet, this cannot mean that the information must simply be left out. The organ donation question is included on the form in the first place for a particular reason: there is a tremendous and urgent need for organs. That reason should be passed along to the patient. Similarly, describing what is involved in artificial nutrition may affect the patient’s decision to request it. Nevertheless, to ask the patient to decide whether she would want artificial nutrition without providing her with a good understanding—perhaps even a false understanding—of what it entails makes the patient’s advance directive a less reliable indication of her health care preferences. This undermines its central purpose to protect and promote patient autonomy.

The GAO report notes that vague terms like “heroic measures” and “terminal” employed in advance directives limit the effectiveness of the advance directive. This is absolutely correct. Without an adequate understanding of these concepts, a patient might be able to make a decision—albeit an uninformed decision—regarding artificial nutrition and hydration depending upon whether or not it was, for example, “the main treatment keeping

123 See Timothy R. Malloy et al., The Influence of Treatment Descriptions on Advance Medical Directive Decisions, 40 J. Am. Geriatrics Soc’y 1255, 1258-59 (1992) (indicating that the wording of treatment descriptions can have major effects on patient decisions to accept or reject particular medical interventions).
125 GAO REPORT, supra note 5, at 14 (discussing how terms that can be interpreted differently limit the effectiveness of advance directives).
me alive,” as the Georgetown advance directive states. Yet, this decision would not be very useful to health care professionals if the patient later becomes incompetent. It would be unclear, for example, whether the patient would want the treatment with only: (1) a small chance of recovery, (2) a limited recovery, (3) a recovery which would not allow her to leave the hospital, (4) a recovery that would leave her permanently unconscious, (5) a recovery that would leave her with mental capacity but permanently unconscious, (6) a recovery with permanent pain, or (7) a recovery requiring ongoing and expensive treatment.

Meisel warns that “it is critical when specifying treatments to be forgone that the conditions under which they are to be forgone are also made clear.” For example, if through her advance directive, a patient intended to avoid CPR in the context of an incurable illness, it would be unfortunate if CPR were forgone in response to a cardiac arrest in unrelated routine elective surgery from which the patient could have been fully restored to her preoperative condition. Such a result would probably not be what the patient intended. Yet, such unintended results are probable. The poor readability of advance directives prevents thorough understanding and adversely influences choices in ways that thwart the true desires of patients.

The very fact that an advance directive is unclear indicates that the patient did not have an adequate understanding of the issues when she completed the directive in the first place. Karen Orloff Kaplan, executive director of Choice in Dying, the leading organization promoting the use of advance directives, in an interview stated that “[a]dvance directives are a two-part challenge. . . . The first is to get the documents properly executed, but people often stop there. If they don’t take steps to ensure the documents are honored, the first step is of no value.” What Kaplan overlooks is a third step in which the patient gains sufficient understanding in order to meaningfully execute the advance directive in the first place. Without this third step, neither of the other steps is of any value.

Patients’ understanding of advance directives is influenced by “syntactic complexity, concept density, abstractness, organization, coherence, sequence of ideas, page format, length of line of print,

126 Georgetown University Medical Center, supra note 120, at 2.
127 MEISEL, supra note 24, § 13.23, at 236.
128 Clear Language Key in Making Sure Client’s Advance Directive is Honored, SERVING ELDERLY CLIENTS, Mar. 1996, at 1 (finding the factors most likely to interfere with the implementation of a client’s advance directive are the attitudes of health care providers, the wishes of family members, and the availability or specificity of the actual document).
length of paragraph, punctuation, illustrations, color, and reader interest.\textsuperscript{129} Unfortunately, most advance directive forms currently in use often have neither a reasonable scope nor depth.\textsuperscript{130} They do not ask all the right questions and they do not ask those questions in a manner that elicits clear responses.

Fortunately, with the advance directive forms themselves, hospitals provide pamphlets that explain both the PSDA and advance directives. Thus, it seems there need not be, as some argue, an irreconcilable tension between designing "advance directive documents that are simple enough for patients to complete but [comprehensive enough to] give future decision makers enough information to make decisions that accurately reflect patient wishes."\textsuperscript{131}

One new consumer booklet asks patients to ask themselves why they have the goals for medical treatment that they do.\textsuperscript{132} "If you would not want to be kept alive by a ventilator, what is it about being on a ventilator that troubles you? Is it the loss of mobility, the lack of independence, or some other factor? Would it matter if you needed a ventilator for only a few days rather than many months? The answers to these kinds of questions will reflect important values that you hold and that will help you shape your goals of treatment."\textsuperscript{133} The careful deliberation that this booklet

\textsuperscript{129} Barbara B. Ott & Thomas L. Hardie, Readability of Advance Directive Documents, 29 IMAGE: J. NURSING SCHOLARSHIP 54 (1997) (advocating revision of advance directive documents); see also Karl Koenke, Readability Formulas: Use and Misuse, 40 THE READING TCHR. 672, 674 (1987) (describing a Bell Labs computer program that gives students readability feedback in several categories).

\textsuperscript{130} See KING, supra note 16, at 101 (identifying this as a problem with the "communication" goal of advance directives). Indeed, there is a demonstrated problem that physicians routinely ignore advance directives. See Phillip G. Peters, Jr., The Illusion of Autonomy at the End of Life: Unconsented Life Support and the Wrongful Life Analogy, 45 U.C.L.A. L. REV. 673 (1998) (discussing doctors' failures to follow advance directives and analyzing the legal consequences). Nevertheless, I am concerned that poor validity and reliability of advance directive forms causes them, even if followed to the letter, to be inconsistent with treatment.

\textsuperscript{131} Gary S. Fischer et al., Can Goals of Care Be Used to Predict Intervention Preferences in an Advance Directive? 157 ARCHIVES INTERNAL MED. 801, 801 (1997) (analyzing study of physicians where medical interventions are considered with general goals of care).


\textsuperscript{133} Id. See also DAVID J. DOUKAS & WILLIAM REICHEL, PLANNING FOR UNCERTAINTY: A GUIDE TO LIVING WILLS AND OTHER ADVANCE DIRECTIVES FOR HEALTH CARE (1993) (defining and describing what values are, and discussing their impact on health care decision-making).
prompts individuals to make should lead to clearer and more reliable advance directives. Unfortunately, such efforts at patient education are rare.

The patient must be made aware of her potential future medical circumstances. Otherwise, her advance directive is useless at best, and at worst, it is just wrong. As the Encyclopedia of Bioethics puts it, "[a] dvance directives can...be hazardous if written without understanding." Nevertheless, some experts estimate that only seven to forty-two percent of medical choices benefit from accurate instructional decision-making. That means fifty-eight to ninety-three percent of choices are not implemented as intended, making the PSDA "counterproductive." So, the PSDA, rather than promoting autonomy has "done a disservice to most real patients and their families and caregivers." It has promoted the execution of uninformed and under-informed advance directives, and has undermined, not protected, self-determination. The PSDA looks like a utter failure. But before we draw any final conclusions, we must identify the normative problems with more specificity.

B. The Two Extreme Normative Positions on Advance Directives

There are two popular normative views of advance directives. The first view, exemplified in In re Martin, takes the advance directive as almost conclusive evidence of the patient’s health care preferences, because it presumes that the decision-making that went into the drafting of the directive was sound. The problem with this position is that this presumed condition rarely obtains, especially when the advance directive was completed pursuant to the PSDA. The second position, most famously espoused by Re-

134 Lynn & Teno, supra note 53, at 575 (discussing the possibility of an advance directive being applicable in particular situations).
135 Emanuel, supra note 79, at 36 (citing low impact of accurate instructional directives on medical decisions).
136 See La Puma et al., supra note 7, at 404 (stating that patients could be misinformed about their rights).
137 Rebecca Dresser, Confronting the "Near Irrelevance" of Advance Directives, 5 J. CLINICAL ETHICS 55, 56 (1994) (discussing the need to develop formal standards to govern the care of patients to assist them in making informed decisions about their care).
138 Professors Larson and Eaton evaluated the PSDA on both process- and outcome-oriented goals for the PSDA expressed by its political proponents. Larson & Eaton, supra note 8, at 267. I am evaluating the PSDA against its central and implicit promise to promote patient "self-determination."
139 Of course, not all advance directives are completed pursuant to the PSDA. Indeed, some advance directives completed pursuant to the PSDA might be compre-
becca Dresser, is more responsive to new empirical evidence. Yet, it pessimistically holds that advance directives can never be morally valid no matter how careful the decision-making that went into them because the drafter of the advance directive and the patient later bound by it are different “selves.” Dresser’s position, which accords no respect to advance directives, represents the opposite extreme of the dominant approach exemplified by Martin, which accords too much respect. I turn now to examine each of these positions in more detail.

1. Martin and Too Much Deference to Advance Directives

In 1995, the Michigan Supreme Court handed down its opinion in In re Martin, in which it decided that seemingly probative evidence not recorded in an advance directive does not satisfy Michigan’s evidentiary standard for determining the health care preferences of incompetent patients. Remarkably, however, the court suggested that even less probative evidence would satisfy the evidentiary standard if it simply were formally recorded in an advance directive.

Michael Martin was injured in an automobile accident “impair[ing] his physical and cognitive abilities, leav[ing] him unable to walk or talk, and render[ing] him dependent on a colostomy for defecation and a gastronomical tube for nutrition.” Michael’s wife petitioned the probate court for authorization to withdraw Michael’s nutritive support. Eventually, upon being remanded, the probate court granted the petition, holding that there was clear and convincing evidence that termination is what Michael himself would have wanted. The Michigan Supreme Court reversed, concluding that there was no such clear and convincing evidence, as required by the Michigan statute.

The court, noting that Michael’s right to refuse life-sustaining treatment survived his incompetency, applied a subjective analysis to determine what Michael himself would choose if he were

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hensive and accurate. Nevertheless, the empirical evidence suggests that most advance directives completed pursuant to the PSDA are completed under conditions not conducive to good decision-making.

140 In re Martin, 538 N.W.2d 399 (Mich. 1995) (holding that the clear and convincing evidentiary standard must be met to forego life-sustaining treatment).
141 Id. at 402.
142 Id.
143 Id. at 404.
144 Id. at 413.
145 There is a continuum of decision-making standards for incompetent patients that can be collectively identified as employing a “subjective” analysis. See 1
able to choose for himself.\(^{146}\) The court held that self-determination requires that the patient "make" the choice if possible.\(^{147}\) One way in which Michael might have done this (albeit prospectively) is through an advance directive. Unfortunately, he did not have one. The court, however, rightly still tried to give effect to Michael's wishes, rather than to use an objective best-interest analysis to determine whether to continue his nutritive support. The court turned to what evidence it did have, which included testimony regarding Michael's expressed preferences before his accident, that "he would rather die than be dependent on people and machines."\(^{148}\)

The evidentiary standard in Michigan, as in most jurisdictions, requires that evidence of what an incompetent patient would have wanted must be "clear and convincing."\(^{149}\) This standard is more demanding than the usual civil standard of preponderance of the evidence.\(^{150}\) The court noted that in evaluating oral statements, it looks to their remoteness, consistency, specificity, and solemnity.\(^{151}\) The court stated it would accord oral statements authority only when they "illustrate a serious, well thought out consistent decision to refuse treatment under these exact circumstances, or circumstances highly similar to the current situation."\(^{152}\) The court held that this standard was not met because there was no clear evidence that Michael Martin's statements were directed precisely at the situation in question. Michael, when he made the statements that were entered as evidence, "was not presently experiencing and likely had never experienced the form of 'helplessness' he supposedly disliked."\(^{153}\) He was only commenting on the condition of others rather than making a serious statement of purpose after careful reflection.

\(^{146}\) MEISEL, supra note 24, § 7.3. The basic goal of this analysis is to identify -- at some level of specificity -- the patient's "wants" as opposed to her "needs."

\(^{147}\) In re Martin, 538 N.W.2d 399, at 406-08 (Mich. 1995).

\(^{148}\) Id. at 408.

\(^{149}\) Id. at 402, 411-12.

\(^{150}\) Id. at 410.

\(^{151}\) See 2 MEISEL, supra note 24, § 10.34 (discussing that courts generally require that an advance directive be proved by clear and convincing evidence).

\(^{152}\) In re Martin, 538 N.W.2d 399, at 411 (Mich. 1995).

\(^{153}\) Id. (emphasis added).

\(^{154}\) Id. See also In re Westchester County Med.Ctr., 531 N.E.2d 607, 613-14 (N.Y. 1988) (holding that there must be more than speech to "persuade the fact finder that her expressions were more than just immediate reactions" and that "the inquiry must always be narrowed to the patient's expressed intent"); Eichner v. Dillon, 420 N.E.2d 64, 72 (N.Y. 1981) (holding that oral evidence is followed only when it is specific and a "solemn pronouncement").
The Michigan Supreme Court required a subjective standard to be established by clear and convincing evidence. It held the standard was not met because there was no such evidence. Remarkably, though, the court indicated that the clear and convincing standard would have been met, had Michael simply executed an advance directive -- even if he had done so with no more (and probably even less) understanding than that found in his oral statements. This is merely *obiter dicta*, but it is troubling.

The Michigan Supreme Court was correct to set high evidentiary standards to assure that patients are bound only by their "serious, well thought out, consistent decisions to refuse treatment under highly similar circumstances." After all, self-determination requires that the individual be bound by only her "self" (i.e. her authentic preferences) and not by just any stated or expressed preference. The preferences by which a patient is bound must "be the same as [the patient's] would have been had she been confronted with the prospect of her situation while competent." This requirement of understanding should apply not only to patients without advance directives, but also to patients executing advance directives.

The *Martin* court, like other courts and other decision makers, employed different evidentiary standards depending upon whether the evidence at issue was in the form of an advance directive. In *Martin*, the Michigan Supreme Court demanded that Michael Martin's oral statements constitute sense, informed consent. But at the same time the court would have accepted a sense-deficient advance directive as evidence of Michael Martin's preferences. In

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154 I use the term "subjective" in its broadest sense to encompass any decision-making standard that is more concerned with the patient's evaluative interests than her experiential interests. See generally Ronald Dworkin, *Autonomy and the Demented Self*, 64 MILBANK Q. 4 (Supp. 2 1986) (discussing pre- and post-dementia rights of patients with regard to the autonomy interests).

155 In re Martin, 538 N.W.2d 399, at 410 (Mich. 1995). Compare id. at 416 (Levin, J. dissenting) (criticizing the majority for demanding a formal advance directive as the only adequate clear and convincing evidence), with Eichner v. Dillon, 420 N.E.2d at 72 (noting that written statements do have more indicia of solemnity).

156 In re Martin, 538 N.W.2d 399, at 410-11; see also In re Edna M.F. v. Eisenberg, 563 N.W.2d 485, 487 (Wis. 1997) (denying petition to withdraw petition because "the only evidence presented ... regarding [the incompetent's] views on the use of life-sustaining medical treatment involves a statement made in 1966 or 1967 ... in which [she remarked] she would rather die of cancer than lose [her] mind"). But see Brophy v. New England Sinai Hosp., Inc., 497 N.E.2d 626 (Mass. 1986) (finding non-contemporaneous statements sufficient evidence of incompetent's preferences).

157 Cruzan v. Dir., Mo. Dep't of Health, 497 U.S. 261, 286 (1990) (stating that the state may choose to defer only to the wishes of the patient considering the fact that the views of close family members cannot be assumed to coincide with the views of the decision the patient would make if she were competent).
other words, the court suggested that either sense$_1$ or sense$_2$ informed consent would be sufficient if in the form of an advance directive.

The Martin court assumed that sense$_2$ informed consent in the form of an advance directive necessarily implied sense$_1$ informed consent. This is somewhat reasonable. After all, the formalities of execution do impress one "with the seriousness of purpose with which the maker of the instrument acts."$^{158}$ Still, this assumption is erroneous. "The mere existence of an advance directive does not mean that it should be blindly followed."$^{159}$ The court's inconsistent treatment of oral and written statements of preferences highlights the deference wrongly granted to advance directives just because of their formal sense$_2$ characteristics. An advance directive is, as Fenella Rouse describes it, "considerably better than nothing." Nevertheless, "they may not always demonstrate a specific and informed refusal of the treatment at issue in the patient's current circumstances."$^{160}$

2. Rebecca Dresser and the Metaphysical Objection to Advance Directives

Unquestionably, it is important that patients completing advance directives understand the medical circumstances to which they might later be subject. Professor Rebecca Dresser, among others, has applied this principle very strictly, arguing that such understanding is important not to ensure the autonomy of the decision-maker, but to ensure the autonomy of the incapacitated person.$^{161}$ Legally these two persons are the same (e.g. both Michael Martin), but they are very different "selves" (e.g. Michael Martin before and Michael Martin after the accident). On the reductionist theory of personal identity, which Dresser espouses, the radical differences in values, attitudes, and similar attributes which individuals often undergo when they become incompetent make the

$^{158}$ 2 MEISEL, supra note 24, § 13.11, at 227 (observing that formalities enhance the enforceability of advance directives) see also KING, supra note 16, at 104 (observing that just completing an advance directive "encourag[es] more thoughtful choices"); Fenella Rouse, Does Autonomy Require Informed and Specific Refusal of Life-Sustaining Medical Treatment? 5 Issues L. & Med. 321, 328 (1989) (observing that courts prefer written statements "on the theory that they demonstrate that the person formally and deliberately set out her wishes after giving thought to her precise instructions in the circumstances delineated in the writing").

$^{159}$ 2 MEISEL, supra note 24, § 10.28, at 66.

$^{160}$ Rouse, supra note 158, at 329 (commenting that a patient's writings often do not demonstrate the patient's intent).

$^{161}$ See infra notes 164, 173-77.
person at the later point in time a different person. In other words, the person who wrote the advance directive is a different “person” from the incompetent person bound by it.

Rebecca Dresser argues that personal identity problems challenge the very idea of advance directives. Dresser argues that an individual’s preferences, as expressed in her advance directive, may be ignored because she is not in the best position to make decisions for her own (future) self. Indeed, if Dresser’s personal identity premise is valid, this argument is quite convincing. Once earlier and later selves are distinguished, the assumption of autonomy implicit in advance directives is undermined: one person, a “stranger,” simply cannot make medical decisions for another person.

In an important sense, Dresser’s premise is valid. The person actually facing death is not the same person as before. “[A] new set of perceptions and feelings that were previously unknown are now part of his or her consciousness.” Arguably, one need not even engage in philosophical or metaphysical discussion to characterize the individual at a future point in time as a different “self.” Empirically, the person is radically psychologically dif-

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163 See KING, supra note 16, at 82-83 (explaining that one justification for ignoring advance directives is that the person who writes the advance directive is a stranger to the same person in an unconscious or demented state).

164 Rebecca Dresser, Life, Death, and Incompetent Patients: Conceptual Infirmities and Hidden Values in the Law, 28 ARIZ. L. REV. 373 (1986) (discussing the possibility that a person’s interests may change over time to the point that a different person exists when the advance directive takes effect). See also Thomas May, Reassessing the Reliability of Advance Directives, 6 CAMBRIDGE Q. HEALTH CARE ETHICS 325, 334 (1997) (“If advance directives do not reflect patient autonomy, why should they be given any weight at all?”); see also Anne Moorhouse & David N. Weisstub, Advance Directives for Research: Ethical Problems and Responses, 19 INT’L J. L. & PSYCHIATRY 107, 120 (1996) (“Projecting the wishes of a previously competent person onto the presently incompetent person is to impose the wishes of one person onto a different person”).


166 There is a debate between reductionist and nonreductionist theorists of personal identity over the moral and legal authority of advance directives. See generally Ben A. Rich, Prospective Autonomy and Critical Interest: A Narrative Defense of the Moral Authority of Advance Directives, 6 CAMBRIDGE Q. HEALTH CARE ETHICS 138 (1997) (describing different views regarding advance directives, specifically those of Rebecca Dresser, Nancy Rhoden, and Ronald Dworkin). A more immediate and practical debate focuses on the degree of psychological continuity between the drafter and the incompetent. See BUCHANAN & BROCK, supra note 85, at 179. See also Sanford H. Kadish, Letting Patients Die: Legal and Moral Reflections, in IN HARM’S WAY: ESSAYS IN HONOR OF JOEL FEINBERG 290, 302 (Jules L. Coleman & Allan Bu-
different, and this alone is sufficient to raise questions as to the authority of earlier decisions embodied in an advance directive over a later, very differently situated and incompetent individual. As Nancy King explains, this psychological difference "challenges the validity of the patient's decision directly, by challenging the patient's ability to make it." Except in special rare circumstances, one individual cannot make medical decisions for another "person."  

Whatever one thinks of the reductionist theory of personal identity, it certainly does not fit neatly with the way Western law treats individuals. In particular, even if the patient qua competent and the patient qua incompetent were different "selves," they would still be considered as the same legal person because they would share the same physical body. This numerical identity suggests that Dresser's argument for overriding and ignoring stated (and even adequately informed) preferences is properly charac-

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167 See JOEL FEINBERG, HARM TO SELF: THE MORAL LIMITS OF THE CRIMINAL LAW 370 (1986) (critiquing living will legislation asking, "[c]an we be sufficiently confident that the earlier self acting on the basis of only a partial anticipation of the eventual situation, would not himself have chosen to revoke had he been able to foresee precisely these circumstances in every relevant detail?"); see also John A. Robertson, Second Thoughts on Living Wills, HASTINGS CENTER REP., Nov.-Dec. 1991, at 6, 7 (indicating that patient interests change radically once they are incompetent and, thus, their original advance directive may no longer be valid or applicable). In fact Parfit, upon whose philosophical work Dresser bases much of her argument, thinks that whether or not we are the "same person" is not an important or meaningful concept. What matters, Parfit argues, is the degree of psychological connectedness, or what he calls R-relations. He concedes, however, that with a sharp psychological discontinuity a new self may emerge. PARFIT, supra note 162, at 304-05. Some have speculated that Donald Cowart changed his name to "Dax" to mark the sharp break in his identification of himself after his accident. See James F. Childress & Courtney C. Campbell, Who is a Doctor to Decide Whether a Person Lives or Dies ? Reflections on Dax's Case, in DAX'S CASE: ESSAYS IN MEDICAL ETHICS AND HUMAN MEANING 23, 36 (Lonnie D. Kliever, ed. 1989) (noting that the name change may serve as a separation of the present and future from the painful past). For an exceptionally lucid statement of the personal identity objection to advance directives, see BUCHANAN & BROCK, supra note 85, at 155-58.

168 KING, supra note 16, at 68.

169 One notable exception is the DPAHC, whereby a proxy is chosen by the patient to make health care decisions on her behalf should the patient become incompetent to do so herself. See supra notes 64-67.

170 The problem is not that competent patients are irrational. In fact, their decisions may be perfectly rational for themselves at the time they are made. The prob-
terized as “hard paternalism.” Unlike traditional hard paternalism, which is justified on the basis of the (same) patient’s subsequent consent, this paternalism is justified on the basis of the hypothetical ratification of the patient very differently situated at a future time.

Dresser asks, “the later self’s best interests are defined by that individual at an earlier point in time, rather than by another party. Ought this difference be sufficient to remove the ethical and legal concerns paternalism typically elicits?” She answers, “the fact that the decision-maker and the subject of paternalism share the same body fails to insulate self-binding arrangements from the scrutiny paternalistic interventions generally receive.” Dresser argues that the decision-maker and the individual bound by the decision are sufficiently different that those decisions made at an earlier time and place should not control the individual at a future time and place. She argues, therefore, that advance directives lack the moral force of a contemporaneous treatment choice, and are

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171 Joel Feinberg, Harm to Self 12 (1986) (defining and comparing “hard paternalism” and “soft paternalism”).

172 See Childress & Campbell, supra note 167, at 34-35 (noting that a physician must appeal to a patient’s values over time in order to justify treatment).

173 Rebecca S. Dresser, Advance Directives, Self Determination, and Personal Identity, in ADVANCE DIRECTIVES IN MEDICINE, 155, 160 (Chris Hackler et al. eds., 1989) (questioning the best-interest issue within an advance directive, where a person makes a future best-interest decision without the particular facts about the event upon which they will decide).

174 Id. This is also known as the issue of the “double reference point.” It is unclear whether obligations run to the wishes of author of the advance directive or to the interests of the incompetent patient. See Moorhouse & Weisstub, supra note 164, at 114.

just "irrelevant"\textsuperscript{176} and "meaningless"\textsuperscript{177} when deciding medical care for the incompetent patient.\textsuperscript{178}

The basic rationale of Dresser's argument has achieved some resonance in bioethical literature and policy. The problems associated with decision-making for differently situated future selves has been recognized in the context of surrogate motherhood contracts.\textsuperscript{179} Martha Field explains that there is a degree of coercion and information failure on the part of the birth mother because she underestimates the strength of gestational bonding and the psychological costs of disrupting those bonds.\textsuperscript{180} The birth mother, like the drafter of an advance directive, has difficulty anticipating future hypothetical circumstances. Accordingly, Field argues that birth mothers should have a short time to opt out of the contract.\textsuperscript{181}

Another context in which personal identity concerns were cogently raised was in the debate over the Oregon Medicaid Demonstration Project.\textsuperscript{182} In 1993, Oregon radically modified the scheme by which the state distributed Medicaid benefits. The state wanted to achieve the greatest health benefit with each dollar it spent. In

\textsuperscript{176} Rebecca Dresser, \textit{Advance Directives: Implications for Policy}, HASTINGS CENTER REP., Nov.-Dec. 1994, at S2, S3 (citing RONALD DWORKIN, LIFE'S DOMINION: AN ARGUMENT ABOUT ABORTION, EUTHANASIA, AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM 226 (1993)).


\textsuperscript{178} Sanford Kadish takes a less-extreme position, holding that advance directives still have some force to be balanced against experiential interests of the incompetent patient. See Kadish, supra note 166, at 302-03, 312.

\textsuperscript{179} Id. at 320, n.179.

\textsuperscript{180} MARTI FIELD, SURROGATE MOTHERHOOD 151-52 (1988) (arguing that surrogate contracts should not be encouraged because of society's interests in preventing the exploitation of women). Cf. \textit{In re Baby M.}, 537 A.2d 1227 (N.J. 1988) (explaining that a mother should fully understand the consequences of her decision to give up her rights to her child and should fully appreciate the importance of that decision).

\textsuperscript{181} FIELD, supra note 180, at 93 (arguing that once a surrogate mother has consented to adoption, she must show proof of coercion or fraud in order to revoke her consent to the adoption). Many states have incorporated Field's advice. See, e.g., FLA. STAT. ch. 63.212(1)(i)(2)(a) (1997) (giving the volunteer mother a "right of rescission" during "any time within 7 days after the birth of the child").

order to do this, Oregon had to measure medical benefit in a wide variety of medical interventions. The state obtained the information to rank over 700 treatments and conditions from severe head injury to sprained wrist, by having citizens complete questionnaires by telephone or mail.

The problem, as soon became evident, was that the perceived benefit of some interventions was undervalued. Particularly undervalued interventions were those for individuals with disabilities. Respondents did not think expensive wheelchairs and portable ventilators were important, because they felt that the disabled quality of life was very low and could not be significantly raised. Nevertheless, not surprisingly, once patients became ill, they were far more likely to prefer a longer life with a disability than a short one without it. The healthy Oregonians failed to vividly imagine what life with a disability would really be like. Similarly, in the advance directive context, competent individuals fail to vividly imagine what life as an incompetent patient would really be like. Yet, like the healthy Oregonian, they still must make decisions for their later selves as very differently situated individuals.

Most persons completing advance directives underestimate the quality of life with disability because individuals with disabilities adapt to their disabilities. In one study "no differences were found with respect to [quality-of-life] indicators: satisfaction with family, friends, work, income, values, activities, community, community.  

183 See David C. Hadorn, The Oregon Priority-Setting Exercise: Quality of Life and Public Policy, HASTINGS CENTER REP., May-June 1991, at 11, 12 (reviewing the Oregon Basic Health Services Act and its treatments that were ranked low in the "poor-outcome" category based on quality of life).


185 See generally Stuart Homett, Advance Directives: A Legal and Ethical Analysis, in EUTHANASIA EXAMINED: ETHICAL, CLINICAL, AND LEGAL PERSPECTIVES 297, 308 & n.64 (John Keown ed., 1995) (noting that in the realm of terminal health care, patients are likely to have an unduly pessimistic view of the quality of life attainable during the process of death).
IMPLEMENTATION OF PSDA

local government, health, quality of life, psychological functioning, anxiety, depression, positive well-being, general mental well-being, daily activities, and work satisfaction." Clearly, some paternalism is needed to counteract natural psychological tendencies to exaggerate unknown risks. Nevertheless, Dresser argues that the problem with advance directives goes much deeper than this. The real problem is that individuals are making decisions for their future selves that those future selves would not want made.

Dresser argues that when individuals make decisions for their future selves they are making decisions for different persons altogether. Therefore, according to Dresser, an advance directive, which allows this future-oriented decision-making, cannot promote autonomy. An advance directive cannot help one be in control of one's life. Instead, according to Dresser, advance directives promote "heteronomy." The directive (nomos) for the future self is made by another (hetero) person.

Dresser takes a radical approach to dealing with the identity/heteronomy problem with advance directives. She writes, "instead of giving presumptive authority to [advance directives], the courts should adopt an objective standard to guide decision-making for incompetent patients. Under such a standard medical decisions regarding incompetent patients are made by weighing the

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187 See Julian Savulescu, Rational Desires and the Limitation of Life-Sustaining Treatment, 8 BIOETHICS 191, 206-07 (1994) (advocating that treatment limitation be in accordance with a patient's rational desires, not merely her expressed desires).

188 Compare the definition of "heteronomy," in THE NEW SHORTER OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY ON HISTORICAL PRINCIPLES 1227 (1993) ("[s]ubjection to an external law or power") with the definition of "autonomy," in id. at 153 ("[i]ndependence, freedom from external control or influence; personal liberty"). See generally Henry E. Allison, KANT'S THEORY OF FREEDOM (1990) (discussing heteronomy and Kant's views on freedom and rational agency, his conception of moral agency, and his attempts to justify moral law). Oliver Johnson, Heteronomy and Autonomy: Rawls and Kant, in MIDWEST STUDIES IN PHILOSOPHY 277 (Peter A. French et al. eds., 1977) (describing Kant's theory that if an individual promotes self-interest by monitoring other's interest, then that person is acting heteronomously and not autonomously).

189 See Rebecca Dresser, Relitigating Life and Death, 51 OHIO ST. L.J. 425, 434 (1990) (arguing that the moral obligation to protect incompetent patients should overrule living wills); Dresser, supra note 164, at 385 (arguing that the court's application of the best interests standard to incompetent patients is improper because these patients are incapable of possessing the interests which are integral to reasonable, competent persons).
benefits and burdens of treatment. The considerations that typically factor into this analysis include the patient’s pain, indignity, quality of life, and social utility. An objective standard holds that “[d]ecisions should rest on observers’ systematic evaluations of the patient’s present capacities and experiences, because these are the only things that now matter to this individual.” While a subjective standard focuses on the patient’s wishes and implements them either as embodied in actual decisions or as inferred from statements and conduct, a best interest standard is unconcerned with the patient’s “wants” and instead focuses on her “needs.” Dresser moves too quickly to an objective standard, and she takes the individual completely out of the picture in deciding her own future. The objective standard is generally considered to be a last resort. The 1983 President’s Commission, for example, recommended that “when possible, decision-making for incapacitated patients should be guided by the principle of substituted judgment, which [best] promotes the underlying values of self-determination . . . .” Nevertheless, Dresser argues that the objective standard is appropriate because any preferences expressed prior to incompetence either orally or in an advance directive are now irrelevant. Therefore, although the subjective standard is preferred, there just cannot be any subjective evidence of what an incompetent patient wants.

Buchanan and Brock agree with Dresser that less confidence should be accorded to advance directives than to the contextual

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190 See 1 MEISEL, supra note 24, §§ 7.11-.25 (proposing the use of the best-interests standard in right-to-die cases).

191 Dresser, supra note 189, at 437 (emphasis added). See also Dresser & Robertson, supra note 177, at 238 (arguing that orthodox advance directives overlook the interests patients may have in continued life in their diminished state).


193 1 MEISEL, supra note 24, § 7.2 (explaining in detail the hierarchy of standards for surrogate decision-making); see also Nancy K. Rhoden, Litigating Life and Death, 102 HARV. L. REV. 375, 404 (1988) (explaining that under the pure-objective test, only a few patients meet the standard to justify non-treatment). Cf AMERICAN MEDICAL ASS’N COUNCIL ON ETHICAL & JUDICIAL AFFAIRS, CODE OF MEDICAL ETHICS: CURRENT OPINIONS WITH ANNOTATIONS § 2.20, at 36-37 (1994) (suggesting that a competent, adult patient’s wishes or the decision of a surrogate decision-maker should be honored absent evidence the directive is not in the patient’s best interests).

194 1983 PRESIDENT’S COMMISSION REPORT, supra note 62, at 136 (comparing substituted judgement with the best interests standard).

195 Dresser would hold there is no difference between Martin and cases like Superintendent of Belchertown State School v. Saikewicz, 370 N.E.2d 417 (Mass. 1977); or In re Storar, 420 N.E.2d 64 (N.Y. 1981), in which the patients in question were severely retarded and, thus, were never able to express their desires. For both sets of patients all that matters is their present experiential interests.
circumstances of the incompetent.\textsuperscript{196} They too recognize that there are, as they describe it, “morally significant asymmetries between the contemporaneous choice of a competent individual and the issuance of an advance directive to govern future decisions.”\textsuperscript{197} Buchanan and Brock concede that “the assumption that a person is the best judge of his or her own interests is weaker in the case of a choice about future contingencies under conditions in which those interests might have changed in radical and unforeseen ways.”\textsuperscript{198} However, in contrast to Dresser, Buchanan and Brock conclude that, in spite of these “asymmetries,” we still ought to recognize advance directives as having force.\textsuperscript{199}

Buchanan and Brock recognize that, in order to protect autonomy, our objective ought to be to provide the care that the now incompetent patient would have chosen had she considered the issue while competent. Buchanan and Brock are reluctant to give up altogether on the idea of advance directives as Dresser would have us do. Instead, they are optimistic that advance directives can serve to promote prospective autonomy.\textsuperscript{200} I am similarly optimistic that we can ensure that advance directives are accurate for those who are bound by them -- even when they are completed at the less-than-ideal time of hospital admission.

There is a presumption in favor of prospective autonomy. Dresser is right to question the conceptual underpinnings of this presumption. Nevertheless, it ought not be rebutted as easily and

\textsuperscript{196} Buchanan & Brock, supra note 85, at 107.
\textsuperscript{197} Id. at 103, 152.
\textsuperscript{198} Id. at 153. See also Kadish, supra note 166, at 300 (“[T]he fact that advance directives are executed as future hypotheticals deprives them of the full moral force of contemporaneous choices. Unforeseen changes, such as new medical treatments, may substantially alter the person’s interests. Moreover, the effect of severe, life-imperiling illness may well effect a marked revision in the attitudes and values of the person,” citing Dresser, supra note 164, at 381); see also May, supra note 164, at 333 (“We must be cautious, then, in ascribing to advance directives the moral weight of a competent patient’s decision”). Id. at 325 (“[W]e should not recognize advance directives as equivalent to the decisions made by a competent patient”); Moorhouse & Weissstub, supra note 164, at 117 (arguing that, for this reason, advance directives for research are too weak to justify nontherapeutic research).
\textsuperscript{199} Buchanan & Brock, supra note 85, at 154 (implying that relying on these asymmetries alone might not be enough justification for limiting the authority of advance directives).
\textsuperscript{200} See May, supra note 164, at 335 (“[A]dvance directives do not reflect autonomy per se, but rather act as predictors of what autonomous decisions would be taken”) (citing L. Emanuel et al., Advance Directives for Medical Care – A Case for Greater Use, 324 New Eng. J. Med. 889-95 (1991)). May, supra note 164, at 337 (“[A]dvance directives do seem to provide a mechanism for incorporating the values of the patient into health care treatment decisions when these values cannot be incorporated directly”).
quickly as Dresser does.\textsuperscript{201} I agree with Nancy King that we can still shore up the "conceptual foundation . . . of advance directives . . . autonomy."\textsuperscript{202} Although the "uncertainty can be improved, [it] . . . can never be eliminated."\textsuperscript{202} This can be done by strengthening the psychological connections between the earlier and later selves and overcoming psychological discontinuity and heteronomy through informed consent.

III. INFORMED CONSENT DOCTRINE PROVIDES THE PROPER FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS OF THE PSDA'S SELF-DETERMINATION

Before proceeding with an informed consent analysis of advance directives and the PSDA, I will establish that this is the appropriate form of analysis. It might be objected that the use of informed consent is improper, because at the time an advance directive is completed, there is no imminent intervention to which consent is required and that there are simply too many potential and unforeseeable interventions for which to obtain informed consent. In this section, I respond to this objection and then develop an independent positive reason why informed consent analysis is appropriate for advance directives.

A. Informed Consent Is Not Just for Contemporaneous Interventions

Informed consent is typically obtained in the contexts of a patient or research subject facing an immediate real-time diagnostic procedure, treatment, or medical intervention.\textsuperscript{204} Only in such

\textsuperscript{201} I cannot here systematically present an ethical foundation for prospective autonomy. Rather, I take it as a starting point. See Norman L. Cantor, \textit{The Real Ethic of Death and Dying}, 94 Mich. L. Rev. 1718, 1730 (1996) (stating "[t]he overwhelming weight of judicial and legislative sentiment endorses prospective autonomy"); see also Norman L. Cantor, \textit{Advance Directives and The Pursuit of Death With Dignity} 23-72, 122-34 (1993) (exploring the effectiveness of advance directives for achieving prospective autonomy, including the issues of drafting and enforcing advance directives). I do assume an evidentiary view of autonomy, that persons are the best judges of their own best interests. \textit{Contra} Ronald Dworkin, \textit{Autonomy and the Demented Self}, 64 Milbank Q. 4, 13 (Supp. II 1986) (taking an "integrity view" that persons ought to govern their lives according to a coherent scheme of value, and arguing, therefore, that "past decisions . . . be respected even if they do not represent, and even if they contradict, the desires [the decision-maker] has when we respect them").

\textsuperscript{202} King, \textit{supra} note 16, at 103.

\textsuperscript{203} Id. at 80.

\textsuperscript{204} Compare State v. McAfee, 385 S.E.2d 651 (Ga. 1989) (patient made contemporaneous decision to discontinue ventilator), with \textit{In re} Martin, 538 N.W.2d 399
circumstances is there a concrete, identifiable intervention to which consent can be given.

In the advance directive context, on the other hand, because any "consent" is contingent on unknowable future events, informed consent is not as zealously pursued. As long as the patient is "competent," it is presumed that she is able to direct her own health care for the period for which she might be incompetent. The patient need only have the "capacity to understand the material information, to make a judgment about the information in light of [one's] values, to intend a certain outcome, and to freely communicate [one's] wish to caregivers." (emphasis added)\(^\text{205}\)

A competence standard is insufficient to protect patient autonomy.\(^\text{206}\) Not just the capacity for understanding, but actual, substantial understanding must be required. The material information must be given. It is not sufficient that the patient be an autonomous person who formally certified (sense\(_2\)) an advance directive. "The autonomous person may fail to act autonomously [sense\(_1\)] in a specific situation . . . ."\(^\text{207}\) The certification itself must be an autonomous act. Therefore, not just competence but informed consent must be required of patients completing advance directives. As the *Encyclopedia of Bioethics* puts it, "[a]dvance directives are limited by being no better than the counseling that preceded them."\(^\text{208}\)

It might be objected that informed consent is too burdensome in the advance directive context, that it is impossible to write a directive that leaves no room for interpretation.\(^\text{209}\) It is impossible to anticipate all the medical conditions which one might confront. "Human foresight being what it is, it is impossible for individuals

\(^{205}\) BEAUCHAMP & CHILDRESS, *supra* note 20, at 135; see also BUCHANAN & BROCK, *supra* note 85, at 23-25 (citing the capacity for understanding and communication, along with the capacity for reasoning and deliberation as two necessary components of establishing competence).

\(^{206}\) See BUCHANAN & BROCK, *supra* note 85, at 136 (arguing that defense should be given to family members of incompetent individuals as the primary decision-makers).

\(^{207}\) FADEN & BEAUCHAMP, *supra* note 26, at 237 (explaining that sometimes autonomous people fail to act autonomously in giving consent, thereby causing their consent to fail even though it was formally certified as informed consent).

\(^{208}\) Lynn & Teno, *supra* note 53, at 575 (arguing that caregivers have an obligation to counsel patients appropriately regarding the use of advance directives).

\(^{209}\) See Linda Emanuel, *What Makes a Directive Valid*, HASTINGS CENTER REP., Nov.-Dec. 1994, at S27, S28. ("[P]re-drafted documents must provide preference options that bear established relationships to the most common decisions that need to be made . . . . Work remains to be done for most pre-drafted instruments to establish such relationships").
to specify with precision all the events that might arise and what sorts of treatment they would or would not want if those conditions were to materialize.\textsuperscript{210}

This foreseeability objection is inapposite because advance directive informed consent would be too burdensome only if it required the \textit{same degree} of particularity as contemporaneous informed consent.\textsuperscript{211} In fact, it does not. Advance directive informed consent need not demand this degree of particularity. Indeed, because such a demand is impossible to meet, it would render advance directives useless. Informed consent can be lower because the availability of durable powers of attorney for health care enables the preferences embodied in a living will to be extrapolated by the proxy.

Typically, DPAHCs take effect when the patient is unable to make or to communicate a health care decision.\textsuperscript{212} The patient, via a proxy, can retain not only the right to control health care decisions, but also the ability to do so with the flexibility that is so often necessary in the clinical context.\textsuperscript{213} Drawing up a living will is like laying down legislation for one’s future incompetent life. Having a DPAHC is like having someone very familiar with the legislative history and intent to be the judge making the statutory interpretation in light of actual circumstances.\textsuperscript{214}

The availability of DPAHC allows informed consent for living wills to be lower than that required for contemporaneous inter-

\textsuperscript{210} 2 MEISEL, supra note 24, § 10.7, at 20. \textit{See also In re Westchester County Med. Ctr.}, 531 N.E.2d 607, 614 (N.Y. 1987) ("[H]uman beings are not capable of foreseeing either their own medical condition or advances in medical technology"); \textit{Cruzan v. Harmon}, 760 S.W.2d 408, 417 (Mo. 1988) ("[I]t is definitionally impossible for a person to make an informed decision – either to consent or to refuse – under hypothetical circumstances"), \textit{aff'd}, 497 U.S. 261 (1990).

\textsuperscript{211} Surprisingly, some judicial opinions actually seem to demand this level of particularity. \textit{See, e.g.}, \textit{Estate of Leach v. Shapiro}, 469 N.E.2d 1047, 1053 (Ohio Ct. App. 1984) ("must satisfy the same standards of knowledge and understanding required for informed consent"); \textit{see also} 2 MEISEL, supra note 24, § 10.7, at 17 n.57 (citing cases from Florida, Maine, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania).

\textsuperscript{212} \textit{See GAO REPORT, supra} note 5, at 4 (discussing how a health care power of attorney works and when it usually takes effect).

\textsuperscript{213} Marion Davis et al., \textit{A Prospective Study of Advance Directives for Life-Sustaining Care}, 324 \textit{NEW ENG. J. MED.} 882, 887 (1991) (suggesting the use of advance directives, but questioning their effectiveness).

ventions. However, it does not mean it can be eliminated. There are two reasons why DPAHCs should be complemented by living wills and the living wills, in turn, should be completed with informed consent. First, surrogate decision makers often desire some guidance. They do not want to feel the full burden of responsibility for “pulling the plug” of a family member or friend. The “well-documented if surprising inability of most spouses . . . to accurately predict [patients’] actual prior wishes” further explains the reluctance of surrogates to act without direction. As long as there is a significant discrepancy between the wishes of previously competent patients and the beliefs of their proxies as to what the patients would want — and the evidence suggests that this is the case — the autonomy of those patients is not preserved. A living will provides a framework within which the DPAHC can be applied. To be a workable framework, the information in the living will must be reliable.

The second reason living wills are needed to supplement DPAHCs is that if the patient herself had no real understanding of what she might have wanted, the surrogate will be in a formally legal, but substantively empty position to exercise the patient’s desires. As Justice Handler of the New Jersey Supreme Court explained, “it is not the mere signing over of authority that makes the resulting decision an expression of the patient’s right of self-determination.” The proxy might be able to learn about the medical prognoses and “apply” the patient’s values. Yet, if the patient never understood her circumstances, the proxy cannot know

215 See Steven R. Stieber, Right to Die: Public Balks at Deciding for Others, HOSPITALS, Mar. 5, 1982, at 72 (stating that only 46% of Americans would be willing to disconnect life support).
216 Emanuel, supra note 79, at 36 (citing evidence that proxies are often unaware of patient preferences).
217 See Cantor, supra note 201, at 1732 n.61 (noting that the problem with the substituted judgment standard lies within its administration because reliance on value and character-related information about the patient may create uncertainty about what the patient would have desired). See also Joel Tsevat et al., Health Values of Hospitalized Patients 80 Years or Older, 279 JAMA 371, 373 (1998) (discussing the results of a study assessing the health values of older hospitalized patients as compared with those of their surrogate decision-makers).
218 See, e.g., KING, supra note 16, at 55-56 (noting the impact of Cruzan v. Dir., Mo. Dep’t of Health, 497 U.S. 261 (1990), on states’ legislative activities with respect to statutory advances in healthcare decision-making rights through living wills).
219 See Rhoden, supra note 193, at 377 (arguing that without a living will, proxy decisions “do not, properly speaking, implement the patient’s right to choose, because the patient has made no actual choice”).
220 Matter of Jobes, 529 A.2d 434, 457 n.10 (N.J. 1987) (Handler, J., concurring) (holding that the right of a patient to refuse life-sustaining medical treatment may be exercised by a family member or close friend).
how the patient's values or desires might have been shaped in light of knowledge of varying medical and life conditions.\textsuperscript{221}

To further illustrate that proxies need the guidance of a living will executed with informed consent, take the Georgetown advance directive. It offers the patient a choice between wanting or not wanting artificial nutrition and hydration based on whether or not it would be the "main treatment keeping me alive." This is a vague expression of treatment preferences. A patient's desire for artificial nutrition and hydration may vary according to prognosis and condition. Artificial nutrition and hydration may be desired if the patient is conscious and has a reversible condition, but unwanted if the patient is in a persistent vegetative state. Unless the patient was aware of these potentially different circumstances at the time she executed her advance directive, it will be difficult for her proxy to extrapolate the expressed desires to unanticipated situations, because those desires just would not have ever been explored with sufficient thoroughness. Thus, as Alan Meisel observes, only a combination directive (a living will in addition to a DPAHC) avoids the pitfalls of either, and "permits the spirit of the declarant's instructions to govern, with [only] the interstices filled in by the proxy."\textsuperscript{222}

B. Informed Consent Shares the Same Theoretical Basis as Advance Directives

A final reason that the informed consent paradigm is appropriate for the analysis of the problems with the PSDA is that advance directives grew out of the "right not to consent, that is, to refuse [medical] treatment," which is itself a "logical corollary of the doctrine of informed consent."\textsuperscript{223} The President's Commission

\textsuperscript{221} See Fischer et al., \textit{supra} note 131, at 806 (explaining that some research has been done on eliciting goals of care from patients and stating that some commentators conclude that general information about patient's values and goals can complement, though not replace, specific intervention preferences).

\textsuperscript{222} 2 MEISEL, \textit{supra} note 24, § 10.4, at 10.

\textsuperscript{223} Cruzan v. Dir., Mo. Dep't of Health, 497 U.S. 261, 270 (1990) (noting that the advance of medical technology has lead to an increase in cases involving the right to refuse treatments). \textit{See also In re} Quinlan, 348 A.2d 801, 819 (N.J. 1975) (discussing the refusal to apply patient's prior informal consent to present medical situation), rev'd, 355 A.2d 647 (N.J. 1976), cert. denied, 429 U.S. 922 (1976). \textit{See generally} 1 MEISEL, \textit{supra} note 24, § 3.5, at 86 n. 20 (discussing the development of the law of informed consent); \textit{Buchanan & Brock, supra} note 85, at 101 ("[c]oncerns about [the] validity . . . [of] advance directives . . . has an analog in the conditions for informed consent"); Holly Coldwell Gieszl & Peggy Addington Velasco, \textit{The Cruzan Legacy: Legislative and Judicial Responses and Insights for the Future}, 24 \textit{Ariz. St. L.J.} 719, 728 (1992) (explaining that competent patients may refuse medical treat-
for the Study of Ethical Problems with Medicine and Biomedical and Behavioral Research wrote that the principle of self-determination is the basis of both informed consent and the right to forgo life-sustaining treatment. Since the time of the President’s Commission in 1983, “[advance directives] have come to be looked upon as a mere extension of the doctrine of Informed Consent.”

Notably, the Supreme Court in Cruzan found a liberty interest in refusing unwanted treatment protected by the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Specifically, the Court, following a long line of state informed consent cases, held that the “doctrine of informed consent is viewed as generally encompassing the right of a competent individual to refuse medical treatment,” even if the refusal is not contemporaneous. In later decisions, the Court clarified that this right was “not simply deduced from abstract concepts of personal autonomy,” but from the “long legal tradition protecting the decision to refuse unwanted medical treatment” and from “well established, traditional rights to bodily integrity and freedom from unwanted touching.” In both theory and practice, the “[l]egal doctrine governing end-of-life medical care [and advance directives relies on] . . . the doctrine of informed consent, a doctrine based on notions of bodily integrity and self-determination.”

Nancy King is right, we must “plac[e] the issue of the patient’s treatment decisions within a larger context of discussion: the principles that properly underlie morally and legally justifiable decision-making in health care [viz.] . . . informed consent.” The concept of informed consent, in turn, must be placed in the context of autonomy, the notion that the individual is “master of his own body.”

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224 See 1983 President’s Commission Report, supra note 62, at 43-45 (discussing the elements of good decision-making and its effect on self-determination).

225 Sanchez-Gonzalez, supra note 20, at 286.

226 Cruzan, 497 U.S. at 277.


229 Cantor, supra note 201, at 1729.

230 KING, supra note 16, at 43.

231 Natanson v. Kline, 350 P.2d 1093, 1104 (Kan. 1960); see also Schoendorff v. Soc’y of N.Y. Hosp., 105 N.E.92, 93 (N.Y. 1914) (holding that a patient has a right not to consent to an operation and stating that “[e]very human being of adult years and sound mind has a right to determine what shall be done with his own body”).
instructions." However, prospective autonomy manifested through advance directives is illusory without adequate informed consent. So, we turn now to examine what informed consent ought to require of advance directives.

IV. A PROPOSAL: INFORMED CONSENT FOR ADVANCE DIRECTIVES

It is to "hyper-rationalize" to presume that patients completing advance directives are able to properly and fully take advantage of the law. Hospital patients are not abstracted, objectively defined, prudent patients. They are patients in need of assistance. Choices regarding future medical treatment cannot be autonomous unless they are both informed and understood.

Patients often do not have sufficient material information to form preferences to express in an advance directive. Moreover, to the extent the necessary information is conveyed to patients, it is not communicated in a way that fosters understanding. Autonomy requires positive duties to promote the conditions for rational informed decision-making. These include not only disclosure of material information but also conveyance of this information in a manner that enhances its understandability. In this section, I will discuss what information ought to be disclosed and how that information ought to be disclosed to ensure adequate understanding.

A. The Material Information

"Patients increasingly expect to know not only their diagnoses, but also details of pathophysiology, treatment options, and prognosis." "To enable the patient to chart his course understandably, some familiarity [on the part of the patient] with the therapeutic alternatives and their hazards becomes essential." The court in the classic informed consent case *Canterbury v.*

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232 Cantor, supra note 201, at 1729.

233 See Carl E. Schneider, *Bioethics With a Human Face,* 69 Ind. L.J. 1075, 1076 (1994) (defining hyper-rationalism as "the tendency to believe, first, that people behave in ways that can so far be predicted a priori that empirical evidence about their behavior is superfluous and, second, that people think and act rationally, seeking always to maximize and exercise autonomy").


Spence explained, "[t]he average patient has little or no understanding of the medical arts, and ordinarily has only his physician to whom he can look for enlightenment" with which to "evaluate knowledgeably the options available and the risks attendant upon each . . . [and] reach an intelligent decision."\[^{237}\] The emphasis has been on a patient-oriented standard by which the physician has a duty to disclose those facts which a reasonable patient would consider material to his decision. The physician must provide appropriate facts to empower the patient to use her values to determine what interventions should be implemented.\[^{238}\]

In the advance directive context, the scope of disclosure should ideally include: (1) a "description of [various potential] life-sustaining treatments," (2) "the patient’s health at the time of discussion," (3) "the chance of surviving," (4) "the probability of full recovery," and (5) "the effects of life-sustaining treatment on the patient’s family."\[^{239}\] Of course, because informed consent in the advance directive context is prospective, the disclosure must anticipate what is material. However, this is not as difficult as it sounds. Some conditions and interventions are more likely to be encountered than others.

Specifically, patients can learn that some procedures, like cardiopulmonary resuscitation (CPR) which is an intervention widely recognized in the general population to be a successful first-aid response to acute reversible cardiac or respiratory arrests, might not be best for them. It would seem anathema to patients to decline CPR when they recognize it to be a simple successful intervention. Nevertheless, in fact, CPR is not desirable under all circumstances.

\[^{237}\] Canterbury v. Spence, 464 F.2d 772, 780 (D.C. Cir. 1972) (holding that a physician has an obligation to supply those facts that a reasonable patient would need in order to make an informed treatment decision).


\[^{239}\] Johnson et al., supra note 70, at 1028 (discussing patient’s beliefs on what they thought should be included in discussions regarding advance directives). Cf. Cobbs v. Grant, 502 P.2d 1, 10-11 (Cal. 1972) (discussing the scope of informed consent). Two new books do a good job of describing the technology of intensive care and guiding the individual through the choices that are embodied in an advance directive. See generally Evan R. Collins, Jr. & Doran Weber, The Complete Guide to Living Wills: How to Safeguard Your Treatment Choices (1991) (a general guide to creating a living will); see generally B.D. Colen, The Essential Guide to A Living Will: How to Protect Your Right to Refuse Medical Treatment (1991) (describing the technology of intensive care and guiding the lay individual through the choices that are embodied in an advance directive).
Recent studies indicate that only 0% to 25% of hospitalized patients who undergo CPR survive to discharge from the hospital, and those have a survival after discharge from the hospital that is often marked by a poor quality of life. When patients learn of these outcomes, they usually curb their overestimation of the value of CPR and request limitations of life-support based on their health at the time CPR may be required, the likelihood of survival after CPR, and their probable health after recovery from resuscitation.240

A recent physician-oriented article suggests that "[a]lthough it is difficult to cover all potential treatments and scenarios . . . [physicians ought to] at least suggest the issues of cardiopulmonary resuscitation (CPR) and the use of artificial nutrition and hydration."241

Another issue which patients should understand, given the likelihood of its materiality, concerns the benefits and risks of administering analgesic or painkilling medications. For example, if the patient wants adequate relief, she should be aware of the risk of death and, in light of the debate on assisted suicide, of physician reluctance to administer such relief in the absence of a clear directive.242

It might be objected that advance directives ought be respected and implemented even in the absence of this disclosure, and that it is ironic that patient autonomy can be best protected by ignoring patients' stated uninformed preferences. In fact, there is no such irony. As Jackson and Younger explained twenty years ago, "superficial and automatic acquiescence" does not protect patient autonomy.243

Informed consent scholars Faden and Beauchamp recognize, "[p]aternalism is at the core of many discussions of informed con-

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241 Carney & Morrisson, supra note 72, at 70 (emphasis added) (noting that patients should make informed decisions about common potential treatments).
242 See 2 MEISEL, supra note 24, § 13.9 (discussing the use of general and specific terms in advance directives). On the other hand, many physicians do prescribe pain-killing medication that happens to hasten death.
243 David L. Jackson & Stuart Youngner, Patient Autonomy and "Death with Dignity," 301 NEW ENG. J. MED. 404, 408 (1979) (analyzing six cases where superficial preoccupation with patient autonomy and death with dignity could have led to inappropriate clinical and ethical decisions).
"Paternalism is the intentional limitation of the autonomy of one person by another, where the person who limits autonomy justifies the action by the goal of helping the person whose autonomy is limited." In the advance directive context in particular, paternalism is represented during the preparation (not the implementation) of the advance directive by the intentional overriding of one's expressed preferences for future medical treatment in order to ensure that preferences recorded in the advance directive are either authentic or rational. Overriding for the sole purpose of ensuring that choices are authentic, i.e. informed and voluntary, is only "soft" paternalism. Soft paternalism involves only a temporary restriction of liberty in order to ensure the individual is acting with adequate knowledge of consequences. It requires that we temporarily ignore stated preferences in order to ascertain that they are authentic, because not just any expressed preferences should be recorded, but only informed and deliberate ones.

Soft paternalism holds that it is proper to intervene in order to benefit a person only if her contrary choices are substantially not already autonomous (informed and voluntary). Soft paternalism holds that intervention is proper specifically only to ensure that those choices really are autonomous. After all, "[p]eople do not always mean what they say; they do not always say what they want; and they do not always want what they say they want." Soft paternalistic intervention, therefore, despite the standard nomenclature, is not really paternalistic at all. Instead, it is antipaternalistic, because there is no baseline of autonomy with which it interferes.

When patients lack sufficient information, the choices they make are not autonomous. To hold otherwise is to narrow the possibility of paternalism by presuming hyperrational patients

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244 FADEN & BEAUCHAMP, supra note 26, at 13 (explaining that paternalism and antipaternalism are generally found in conjunction with moral issues dealing with when consent should be obtained and when refusal of treatment cannot be honored).

245 Tom L. Beauchamp, Paternalism, in ENCYCLOPEDIA OF BIOETHICS, supra note 53, at 1914.

246 Id. at 1915 (citing Joel Feinberg, Legal Paternalism, 1 CAN. J. PHIL. 105, 113 (1971)) (describing the differences between strong paternalism and weak paternalism). See also FEINBERG, supra note 171, at 12-16 (detailing the concept of soft paternalism).

247 Carl Elliott, Meaning What You Say, 4 J. CLINICAL ETHICS 61, 61 (1993) (looking at patients' statements and past behavior to determine motivation behind refusal of treatment).

248 See Allen Buchanan, Medical Paternalism, 7 PHIL. & PUB. AFF. 370, 371-72 (1978) (describing the withholding of information as a form of medical paternalism which acts to interfere with a person's attempt to make an autonomous, informed decision).
whose autonomy can be restricted by nothing short of deception, coercion, or force. If patients' choices are not autonomous, then interference with those choices (soft paternalism) is not paternalistic. There is no usurpation of autonomous decision-making because there was none to usurp. On the other hand, soft paternalism is needed to ensure autonomous decision-making.

A recent analysis of the PSDA asks what constitutes its successful implementation: "[a]re medical institutions merely to hand written information to patients and residents, or should they be certain that consumers fully understand their options and are making conscious decisions about executing forms?" Clearly, the latter is what must be required. Patients must be "informed" and not just "Mirandized" of their right to prospective self-determination. "Even the most appropriate and abundant information . . . may not sufficiently inform . . . [patients] . . . if they are unable to interpret or understand the content of the information."

B. Understanding the Material Information

Once the formalistic focus of the PSDA is characterized as a failure of informed consent, it becomes clear that autonomy cannot be characterized as a negative relation or as non-interference. It is not enough that physicians leave patients (hand off) to make their own (uninformed and under-informed) decisions with regard to advance directives. To do that would push the autonomy model of medical decision-making too far. Mere acquiescence to patients' stated preferences would respect their autonomy only if those

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249 Glick et al., supra note 2, at 48 (arguing that the PSDA does not give sufficient guidance to hospitals regarding its implementation, thus, leaving them to create their own plans, procedures, and objectives).

250 "The idea of informed consent . . . does not contemplate that informed consent be akin to a medical Miranda warning." See Meisel, supra note 24, § 3.7, at 88. See also Cobbs v. Grant, 502 P.2d 1, 11 (Cal. 1972) (discussing the scope of a physician's duty to inform patients of risk thoroughly, but not excessively).

251 President's Advisory Commission on Consumer Protection and Quality in the Health Care Industry, Quality First: Health Care for All Americans, ch.7 (1998) (entitled Strengthening the Hand of Consumers) [hereinafter President's Commission Report]. See also Judith H. Hibbard et al., Informing Consumer Decisions in Health Care: Implications from Decision-making Research, 75 Milbank Q. 395, 396-98 (1997) (explaining that more information is not only not better, but perhaps worse as far as improving decisions).

252 See Ron Hamel, The Reign of Autonomy: Is the End in Sight?, Second Opinion, Jan. 1995, at 75, 78 (discussing how the role of autonomy in medical decision-making often allows a patient's uninformed decisions to trump a physician's professional judgement). See also Schneider, supra note 233 (arguing that patients do not always act in a completely rational manner).
stated preferences were well-formed. Unfortunately, as we have seen, they are not.

Mere disclosure of material information, though necessary, is insufficient to enable patients to understand. "The intent of the PSDA is to empower patients to take part in health care decisions that affect the duration and condition of their lives."253 Such empowerment cannot come from an "informative model" of physician-patient interaction. "[D]isclosure standards . . . , requiring a specified quantity of information are . . . insufficient . . . [instead], [t]he key to effective communication [and understanding] is to invite active participation by patients . . . ."254 What is needed is a deliberative model of physician-patient interaction for the execution of advance directives, in which patients and physicians engage in pedagogical dialogue.

On this model, "individuals [can] critically assess their own values and preferences; determin[ing] whether they are desirable; affirm upon reflection, these values as ones that should justify their actions; and then be free to initiate action to realize the[se] values."255 This is what autonomy requires, and it is what the PSDA should ensure. "What will not do is to presume that a competent person's decision is autonomous."256

[T]he law has not taken a position of entirely uncritical acceptance of an individual's stated preferences, even in matters ultimately viewed as private. In assessing a patient's decision to accept, rather than reject, preferred medical treatment, for example, courts have insisted that an autonomous decision worthy of respect by the courts must be that of an informed individual. Likewise, it would seem that the decision to refuse treatment should be subject to the same test of informed consent.257

Advance directives cannot have moral authority unless the decisions they embody are preceded by informed consent.

On the other hand, requiring informed consent as a matter of federal law may be too demanding. The Missouri Supreme Court observed that "it is definitionally impossible for a person to make

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253 Laine & Davidoff, supra note 235, at 154 (discussing the effects of enacting the PSDA on medical law and patient-centered decision-making).
254 FADEN & BEAUCHAMP, supra note 26, at 307 (explaining why emphasis on patient-physician communication is better than emphasis on physician disclosure when obtaining informed consent).
255 Emanuel & Emanuel, supra note 236, at 2225.
256 Savulescu, supra note 187, at 210 (emphasis added).
257 Beschle, supra note 165, at 339.
an informed decision... under hypothetical circumstances; under such circumstances, neither the benefits nor the risks of treatment can be properly weighed or fully appreciated."258 Because self-determination via advance directive lacks "active, contemporaneous personal choice," there is a greater likelihood that the "patient [does] not adequately envision and consider . . . particular situation[s] within which the actual medical decision[s] must be made."259 To require that patients anticipate what preferences they might have, but be unable to express in a future medical situation, is so demanding so as to challenge the very idea of making advance directives.260

Nancy King explains that "[b]ecause prospective health care decision-making seems to labor under special handicaps of anticipation and imagination, it might be thought that making good advance directives requires a super capacity."261 King recognizes, however, that "full understanding" is not necessary. Instead, it is sufficient that the patient have "substantial understanding," of all the materially important descriptions of situations.262

Like King, Buchanan and Brock are confident that the institutional safeguards that are needed to ensure informed consent for competent patients can be adapted for advance directives. Of course, since the directive must be drafted "so as to cover an indeterminate range of contingencies, [the patient] will not be able to be informed fully."263 Nancy King is right that informed consent ought not be as strictly required as it is with contemporaneous interventions.264 Yet, although full understanding is too much to hope for, substantial understanding can still be a legitimate objective. It is not too much to ask for "thoughtful and circumspect con-

258 Cruzan v. Harmon, 760 S.W. 2d 408, 417 (Mo. 1988), (holding that the guardians of a state hospital patient in a persistent vegetative condition did not have the authority to order the withdrawal of nutrition and hydration), aff'd, 497 U.S. 261 (1990).
259 1983 President's Commission Report, supra note 62, at 137 (cautioning against complete reliance on advance directives).
260 See Wolf et al., supra note 9, at 1668 (discussing pre-treatment directives and their future use).
261 King, supra note 16, at 74.
262 Faden & Beauchamp, supra note 26, at 302 (King was a collaborating author of this book).
263 Buchanan & Brock, supra note 85, at 101.
264 King, supra note 16, at 78 (advocating against requiring anticipation as a prerequisite for creating an advance directive since it cannot be assessed fairly). See Hornett, supra note 185, at 309 ("[T]here are good reasons why the courts should be particularly vigilant to safeguard against ill thought out, misconceived and medically inappropriate refusals . . . and, where appropriate, deny them validity"). See supra notes 211-18.
sideration of relevant medical and non-medical circumstances." As King explains, "[w]e should . . . be demanding of persons writing directives. We should assume that writers of [advance] directives have used foresight and carefully considered the implementations of their choices . . . [and] we must endeavor to make that assumption a reality." It is already recommended that people periodically review, update, and reaffirm their advance directives every five years or when they experience major life changes. There is an increased probability that medical preferences will change dramatically as life conditions do. Moreover, patients should "keep up with increases in their knowledge of their own conditions and with advances in medical treatment." This practice highlights the need to "encourage . . . sophistication and foresight in writing of directives."

My fundamental argument is that to the extent better information can help individuals identify with their later selves, the heteronomy which Dresser argues invalidates advance directives,

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265 King, supra note 16, at 105.
266 Id.
267 Id. at 210. See also Hibbard et al., supra note 251, at 401 ("[I]ndividuals often do not know how they will react to an event, or understand what their needs will be during that event until they experience it").
268 See generally 2 Meisel, supra note 24, §§ 10.32, 13.17 (discussing the need to update advance directives). See also Wolf et al., supra note 9, at 1669 (discussing periodic physician reexamination of directives with patients); Steven H. Miles et al., Advance End of Life Treatment Planning: A Research Review, 156 Archives Internal Med. 1062 (1996) (discussing inherent problems with the current systems utilized for advanced planning); Buchanan & Brock, supra note 85, at 104, 153 (discussing the importance of frequently updating advance directives so that they parallel the individual's wishes in light of new life experiences).
269 Nirtsa Kohut et al., Stability of Treatment Preferences: Although Most Preferences Do Not Change, Most People Change Some of Their Preferences, 8 J. Clinical Ethics 124 (1997) (describing study where 80% of HIV-positive test group changed at least one of their treatment preferences six months after their original treatment preferences were expressed).
270 King, supra note 16, at 81.
271 Id. at 106; see also id. at 73 ("[W]e would like to be able to ensure that medical care decisions and all decisions are mature, well-reasoned, adequately justified, sufficiently informed, and sufficiently appreciative of all relevant issues. Yet agreement is lacking about what constitutes sufficient maturity, appreciation, and reasoning and how they should be measured").
can be eliminated. Moreover, even to the extent it cannot be eliminated, we ought to require very good "reasons to believe that . . . a directive was not an expression of [a patient's autonomy], [before deciding that] it is appropriate to disregard such a directive." The question that must be answered with regard to incompetent patients in order to protect their autonomy is what would the patient want now? We need not, as Dresser argues, determine this hypothetical desire by reference to objective criteria. Instead, we can determine this hypothetical desire and better respect autonomy by ensuring that there is good subjective evidence of prior expressed preferences.

With sufficient informed consent the living will can still serve as a valid expression of autonomy. Through sufficient informed consent the earlier self can learn to think like the later self would, and thus reduce the heteronomy inherent in future-oriented decision-making. The requisite level of informed consent should require and, in fact compel, patients to vividly imagine the circumstances in which they might find themselves, so that the earlier self is placed in the best position to make decisions for the

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272 See May, supra note 164, at 335 ("For advance directives . . . additional criteria must be imposed . . . in order to ensure that the [advance directive] is a reasonable predictor of what decision the patient in question would take . . . [because the] decision [is] taken prior to, and independent from, the actual conditions that obtain"). For the same reasons, some have argued that informed consent is needed so that consumers can better choose health plans. See Hibbard et al., supra note 251, at 400-01, 412.

273 Savulescu, supra note 187, at 211. Admittedly, the empirical evidence reviewed in section two of this Article suggests that an advance directive completed pursuant to the PSDA might not deserve to be presumed an expression of a patient's autonomy. Nevertheless, this is a contingent circumstance which ought not reverse the general presumption. See In re Quinlan, 355 A.2d 547, 653, 663-64 (N.J. 1976) (discussing Karen Ann Quinlan's oral informal advance directive).

275 An alternative, compromise solution weighs the authority of the advance directives proportionate to the degree of psychological connectedness. See Buchanan & Brock, supra note 85, at 182-83; see also Mark G. Kuczewski, Whose Will Is It, Anyway? A Discussion of Advance Directives, Personal Identity, and Consensus in Medical Ethics, 8 Bioethics 27, 32-46 (1994) (analyzing Buchanan and Brock's argument).

276 See Pearlman, supra note 22, at 356 (establishing three factors to help patient consider the life-sustaining decisions being made); see also May, supra note 164, at 334-35 ("Advance directives provide a mechanism . . . to as closely approximate the autonomous choice the person in question would take").

277 See Savulescu, supra note 187, at 194-95 (arguing that people should be forced to make complex evaluations about how they would want their lives to go over time when they consider advance directives).
later self. As Nancy King explains, “an advance directive . . . work[s] best when its potential problems are anticipated.”

Some scholars have argued that “no response can be said to be a genuinely informed one until the full reality of the choice is present to the individual.”

The more important a decision is to one’s life, the less reliable abstract speculation about how that decision would be made in the indefinite future becomes. Despite neoclassical microeconomic theory, important life decisions will not turn entirely on the calculus of rational considerations. These decisions will also include assessment of emotions, desires, fears, and other feelings that cannot possibly be made, except in the actual presence of those sentiments. To be “informed” in such circumstances means not merely to have access to data . . . but to be aware of one’s own reaction to the situation in the concrete – information that cannot be obtained apart from actual confrontation with the situation.

This standard is too high. Still, we must require at least substantial understanding of those completing advance directives. Patients must be able to substantially understand the nature of the circumstances to which they might be subject, before making decisions about whether or not to agree to be placed in those circumstances. This is the goal, the standard. In the final section, I suggest how this might be achieved.

See Childress & Campbell, supra note 167, at 33 (writing that doctors ignored Dax Cowart’s requests to die, because they were of the judgment that the “physical and emotional shock of the accident and burns had rendered him incompetent to engage in effective deliberation”); see also Confronting Death: Who Chooses, Who Controls? A Dialogue between Dax Cowart and Robert Burt, HASTINGS CENTER REP., Jan.-Feb. 1998, at 14, 16 (“[U]ntil we are the ones who are on the sick bed, we cannot fully appreciate what the other person is going through”); Videotape: Please Let Me Die (Univ. Tex. Med. Branch, Galveston, 1974) (containing compelling footage of an interview with Dax Cowart soon after his accident).

KING, supra note 16, at 36 (urging patients to take the initiative when talking with their doctors to identify any problems or questions, thus ensuring the advance directive is effective).

Beschle, supra note 165, at 345 (emphasis added).

Id. at 341-42.

Unfortunately, little has been written about the cognitive capacity needed to execute an advance directive. See Seena Fazel et al., Ways of Assessing Capacity to Complete an Advance Directive Should be Developed, 316 BRIT. MED. J. 1321 (1998) (questioning how doctors should assess the capacity of a patient to complete an advance directive); see also Mezey et al., supra note 37, at 44 (explaining that some
Clearly, there are limits to informed consent to interventions on behalf of a future self. New and unanticipated therapeutic options might become available, creating options that were not and could not have been anticipated. Nevertheless, proxies may be able to extrapolate other expressed preferences. As Alan Meisel explains, "[a] requirement that an advance directive meet the standards of information and understanding required of contemporaneous informed consent would render advance directives useless."\textsuperscript{283} It's just impossible for individuals to appreciate and specify all the events that might arise. "Human beings are not capable of foreseeing either their own medical condition or advances in medical technology."\textsuperscript{284} Still, advance directives need not meet some abstract standard of absolute genuineness, but need only be as genuine as humanly possible.

C. The Means to Achieve Adequate Understanding

It is important to vividly imagine the future circumstances in which one might be.\textsuperscript{285} Lachlan Forrow provides a Dr. Seuss example that colorfully illustrates this point. In Forrow's story a patient responds to "physician" Sam-I-Am after Sam-I-Am's repeated and detailed questioning, "I could not, would not, on a boat. I will not, will not, with a goat. I will not eat them in the rain. I will not eat them on a train . . . . I do not like them anywhere. I do not like green eggs and ham!"\textsuperscript{286} In fact, as Forrow observes, the patient has no idea what green eggs and ham tastes like. After the evidence indicates that social workers do not speak in-person with nursing home residents thought to lack decision-making capacity; George J. Agrich, Can The Patient Make Treatment Decisions? Evaluating Decisional Capacity, 64 CLEV. CLINIC. J. MED. 461 (1997) (discussing and evaluating treatment decision-making capacity of patients); D. William Malloy et al., Measuring Capacity to Complete an Advance Directive, 44 J. AM. GERIATRICS SOC'Y 660 (1996) (studying the validity of current reference standards for the assessment of capacity to complete an advance directive); Susan Busby-Mott, The Trend Towards Enlightenment Health Care Decision-making in Lawrence and Doe, 25 CONN. L. REV. 1159, 1179 (1993) (discussing patient decision-making models and the role of courts in these models).

\textsuperscript{283} 2 MEISEL, supra note 24, \S 10.7.

\textsuperscript{284} In re Westchester County Med. Ctr., 531 N.E.2d 607, 614 (N.Y. 1988).

\textsuperscript{285} See Pearlman, supra note 22, at 355 (listing why educational interventions have not generally led to an increase in advance-care planning completion, such as failing to provide the following: "vivid descriptions of common circumstances of mental incapacity," "vivid descriptions of life-sustaining treatments," and "vivid descriptions of possible future health states"). However, can "consent in advance . . . be deemed an informed one . . . ? Need one marshal authority for the proposition that many an 'iffy' inclination is disregarded when the actual facts are at hand." Yale Kamisar, Some Non-Religious Views Against Proposed 'Mercy-Killing' Legislation, 42 MINN. L. REV. 969, 989 (1958).

\textsuperscript{286} Forrow, supra note 234, at S30.
patient tries green eggs and ham, she exclaims in colorful extended verse how much she truly does like them. Similarly, in the advance directive context patients must get as good a sense as possible of the medical green eggs and ham so that they can most accurately predict whether their later selves would like them.

The most obvious means by which to prompt more deliberation is through direct patient-physician interaction. Unfortunately, there has been a demonstrated unwillingness or inability on the behalf of physicians to do this. Of course, this lack of physician input is not so surprising considering advance directive consults are not a reimbursable expense under Medicare and Medicaid. The structure of incentives for today's physician in the managed care context does not permit lengthy discussion about advance directives with each patient. Still, there are various alternative means to facilitate patients' vivid imagination. Georgia's informed consent statute, for example, endorses "the use of video tapes, audio tapes, pamphlets, booklets, or other means of communication." Such approaches have been determined to enable patient comprehension.

One alternative means of patient education is through the advance directive form itself and its accompanying literature. There are many different advance directive forms currently in use in hospitals across the United States with many different levels of detail. However, "it is unlikely in many settings that a written

287 See Hibbard et al., supra note 251, at 400 (stressing the importance that patients “anticipate preferences in those changed circumstances” so they can choose an appropriate health plan for their future).

288 See GAO REPORT, supra note 5, at 11 (discussing the reasons physicians are reluctant to discuss end-of-life care with patients). See also supra notes 79-82.

289 See JAMES M. HOEFLER, MANAGING DEATH 160 (1997) (suggesting Medicare/Medicaid should reimburse for the costs involved with the creation of advance directives).


292 See, e.g., Peter A. Singer, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO JOINT CENTRE OF BIOETHICS, LIVING WILL, (last modified Aug. 7, 1998) <http://www.utoronto.ca/jcb/jcblw.htm> (discussing different directives and commenting that, "[t]o make an instruction for health care decisions, you need to imagine yourself becoming very ill or nearing death. This is not easy to do. To help you do this, we describe in detail some health situations in which a living will might be needed, and the life-sustaining treat-
communication alone, even if well written and augmented with an opportunity to ask questions, will allow for the effective communication of information generally required for substantial understanding. 293 Rather, patient education "may be successful only if illustrations [and] examples...are supplied."294 "Visual materials can also be useful."295

Videotape education has been shown to improve comprehension of living will and CPR concepts.296 This is especially true for those with advanced age and lower educational levels who even more urgently need specially designed educational programs297 and for whom "[w]e need to pursue more effective methods of conveying information about life-sustaining treatments."298 Indeed, Senator Danforth, the PSDA’s proponent in the Senate, testified at a hearing on the bill that people should be "shown video tapes ten years before of how they are going to spend the last month of their lives."299 Nevertheless, although videotapes do help patients ex-

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293 FADEN & BEAUCHAMP, supra note 26, at 315-16 (explaining that the physician’s role in obtaining informed consent is to teach the patient rather than merely disclosing medical information).

294 Id. at 315 (describing tools that aid physicians in communicating with patients).

295 Id. at 319.


297 See id. at 211.

298 Id. at 212.

299 Hearings, supra note 73, at 4 (statement of Sen. John C. Danforth) (discussing the need to communicate effectively the importance and consequence of not having an informed living will).
plore their values, they probably fail to have the interactivity necessary for more careful deliberation.

Customized interactive CD-ROM technology may be one answer to advance directive education. The use of this technology has already been explored in both the classroom and the courtroom. Patient education through CD-ROM may, as a recent Presidential Commission advised: (1) permit information to be tailored to individual patients, (2) allow individuals to choose the level of detail they need, and (3) permit patients to view the information in different formats.

CD-ROM accommodates individual's different learning levels and learning styles. "[I]ndividuals rely on mental structures, called mental models, schemas, or situation models, when they learn and use information." Any attempt to learn begins with what one already believes. Rather than physicians guessing as to

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300 See generally Videotape: Choices (Southwest Prod. 1994) (focusing on the value issues that guide decision-making with respect to advance directives); Videotape: Dax's Case: Who Should Decide? (Unicorn Media 1985); Videotape: A Time to Choose (Choice in Dying 1997) (featuring discussions between non-acutely ill patients, their personal physicians, a lawyer, and an ethicist regarding advance directive choices); Videotape: An Act of Self Determination (Choice in Dying 1997).

301 See Emanuel & Emanuel, supra note 236, at 2225 (stating that the deliberative model is the ideal physician-patient relationship for appropriate interaction regarding advanced health care decision-making).


303 See Martin B. Adams, Malpractice Exhibits Can Persuade, NAT. L.J., June 15, 1998, at B7 (explaining the process of authentication of demonstrative evidence in malpractice trials); see, e.g., Cindy Collins, Educate the Jury and the Verdict will Follow... Difficult and Diverse Cases Drive Robert Ruyak's Civil Litigation Practice, INSIDE LITIG., June 1997, at 6 (discussing a lawyer's use of media, such as films and CD-ROMs, to educate jury members about the case they are hearing).

304 See generally 1983 PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION REPORT, supra note 62, at 231 (discussing the importance of policies regarding resuscitation decisions and their legal status).

305 See generally Pearlman, supra note 22, at 356 (discussing the use of educational materials in helping a patient identify all relevant factors for making an informed decision); see also BEAUCHAMP & CHILDRESS, supra note 20, at 157-60 (explaining problems of information processing).

what and how to explain to each patient, the patient herself can proceed in ways that she finds useful. Not only can patients learn the relevant factors but also how they relate to each other and to their own medical condition. Patients can go at their own pace, writing down questions, and they can learn more about any aspect by "clicking."

Patients can get information about risks, side-effects, interventions, and see in graphic animation the physiology, diagnosis, and technology. People need analogies to understand possibilities, for example, risks presented in terms of percentages. With interactive CD-ROM (and perhaps even virtual reality), they can see them expressed in pie-charts, bar graphs, in terms of examples, or in any other way they want the information expressed.

The introduction of CD-ROM technology should not supplant the physician-patient relationship even regarding advance directives. Yet, this technology clearly has something to offer. It can enable patients to vividly imagine what it will be like to live with various medical conditions and prognoses, and to make advance directives that will be more genuine for their future selves.

V. CONCLUSION

Advance directives are legally considered the most reliable guides to what treatment incompetent patients would want. The implementation of the PSDA, this country's primary force instigating the completion of these declarations, must assure not only

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307 Karen I. Adsit, Multimedia in Nursing and Patient Education, 15 Orthopaedic Nursing, July-Aug. 1996 at 59, 60 (discussing how multimedia in the medical field helps patients and health care providers). See also A Right to Die: The Dax Cowart Case, Routledge, June, 1997 (allowing the user to participate in the right-to-die decisions through interactive CD-ROM technology).

308 See Cathy J. Jones, Autonomy and Informed Consent in Medical Decision-making: Toward a New Self-Fulfilling Prophecy, 47 Wash. & Lee L. Rev. 379 (1990) (explaining that patients do not understand or remember what physicians are telling them, in large part, because the information is too technical); Daniel J. Murphy et al., The Influence of the Probability of Survival on Patients' Preferences Regarding Cardiopulmonary Resuscitation, 330 New Eng. J. Med. 545 (1994) (explaining patient preferences for receiving CPR after understanding the probability of survival after the procedure).


310 Thomas May is right that there is a significant lack of empirical research concerning how advance directives can be designed to reflect patient preferences. May, supra note 164, at 336-37.
that advance directives are preceded by informed consent will advance directives deserve to be respected as an expression written, but also that they are written with sufficient understanding. This will require a “more sophisticated consultation” and will be more costly.311 But only when of what incompetent patients would have wanted. Only with informed consent can we overcome the heteronomy that undermines the moral authority of future oriented medical decision-making.

Legislation introduced in November 1997, the Advance Planning and Compassionate Care Act of 1997,312 “aims to expand and clarify the requirements regulating advance directives.” The bill “builds on the Patient Self Determination Act,” “improves the type and amount of information available to consumers,” and “seeks to ensure that the medical care of patients at the end of their lives reflects their [own] desire[s] [for autonomy].”313 One provision requires hospitals “to provide each individual with the opportunity to discuss issues relating to the information provided to that individual pursuant to [the PSDA].”314

If these or similar amendments are enacted,315 the PSDA will be beneficially strengthened.316 Senator Jay Rockefeller, who introduced the bill with Senator Susan Collins, explained that the “law will direct that patients be counseled with and that they have a very clear idea of what choices are available to them. It injects the personal element much, much more than right now, which is kind of a paper element and it’s not working.”317 This legislation is sorely needed so that individuals can meaningfully exercise con-

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314 S. 1345 § II(a) (clarifying the requirements regarding advance directives in order to “ensure that an individual’s health care decisions are complied with”).
315 Rockefeller’s bill died with the 105th Congress. Similar legislation, however, has already been introduced in the 106th Congress. See, e.g., S. 24, 106th Cong. § 501 (a2B) (1999) (sponsored by Specter) (directing HHS to develop a “national advance directive form”).
316 The operation of the PSDA in some states already requires this because of state law. See, e.g., N.J. STAT. ANN. § 26:2H-65(2) (West 1996) (“A health care institution shall . . . assist patients interested in discussing and executing an advance directive”).
control over their post-autonomous medical care. Right now, "informed consent is well entrenched in theory, but in practice patient autonomy continues to be elusive." Improving patients' understanding of both legal and medical information regarding their advance directives will help preserve their autonomy and self-determination.

It is important to note that improving the reliability of advance directives will only help the small percentage of people who use them. Other will need other vehicles to preserve their autonomy interests. See Larson & Eaton, supra note 8, at 292.