

Policy and Progress: Evaluating the Broader Implications of the Alabama Supreme Court Ruling on IVF-Created Embryos

Avni K. Gulrajani

Received May 14, 2024

Accepted August 10, 2024

Electronic access September 15, 2024

This paper examines the socio-economic and scientific impacts of the February 16th, 2024, Alabama Supreme Court ruling that equated embryos with living children. Notable disruptions observed following the ruling include the suspension of IVF treatments at several clinics, including an extensive facility within the University of Alabama at Birmingham Health System, due to concerns about civil and criminal liability. Additionally, patients had their scheduled embryo transfer procedures canceled, and the legality of pre-implantation genetic testing was called into question. Using a case study approach, data were collected from legal documents, reports from fertility clinics, and scientific literature. The paper examines the challenges posed to scientific inquiry, especially in human embryonic stem cell research, influenced by historical precedents such as funding restrictions under the Bush administration. The economic analysis further evaluates IVF treatments' direct and indirect costs, addressing financial barriers and suboptimal patient outcomes likely to emerge from the ruling, especially for marginalized communities. By integrating qualitative and quantitative analyses, this study highlights the ruling's consequences on both immediate medical practices and broader economic and ethical discussions within the field. The findings suggest that without legal and policy adjustments, there will be continued disruptions in IVF services, heightened financial barriers for patients, and stifled scientific research. The study calls for legislative reforms that provide clear guidelines for the handling and use of embryos in reproductive technologies, ensuring that legal definitions support both ethical considerations and scientific progress.

Keywords: Behavioral and Social Sciences; Sociology and Social Psychology; Health Policy and Management; reproductive legislation

Introduction

The relationship between legal frameworks and medical research is profoundly influential, shaping the trajectory of scientific advancements and public health policies. Assisted reproductive technologies (ART), including in vitro fertilization (IVF), have revolutionized reproductive healthcare, providing solutions for millions facing infertility. However, the regulatory landscape governing ART varies widely across the United States, often rooted in deep ethical, legal, and social considerations. These regulations significantly impact scientific inquiry and have far-reaching socio-economic consequences.

In recent years, the debate surrounding the personhood of embryos has intensified, particularly in the wake of the Supreme Court's decision in *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization*, which allowed states greater autonomy in regulating abortion and related reproductive issues. This has led to increased legislative activity at the state level, with some states enacting laws that grant embryos legal rights from the moment of conception¹. These developments have significant implications for ART, particularly in states with conservative legal environments where the intersection of reproductive rights and

personhood laws is most contentious.

Economically, ART services, including IVF, are costly, and access is often limited by financial barriers and inconsistent insurance coverage. The average cost of a single IVF cycle in the United States is approximately \$23,474, with many patients requiring multiple cycles². This financial burden is exacerbated by state-level disparities in insurance mandates, where only a handful of states require comprehensive coverage for fertility treatments³. Previous studies have highlighted these economic challenges and the resulting disparities in access to ART⁴.

Ethically, the debate over the use and disposition of embryos in ART involves complex considerations about the moral status of embryos, parental rights, and the responsibilities of medical practitioners. These ethical concerns are compounded by legal rulings that equate embryos with living children, posing challenges for both clinical practice and scientific research. Prior research has explored the ethical implications of ART and the legal recognition of embryo personhood, noting the potential constraints on scientific innovation and patient autonomy^{5,6}.

A recent pivotal case in this ongoing dialogue is the Alabama Supreme Court ruling, which determined that stored embryos are afforded the same legal protections as children under the

state's Wrongful Death of a Minor Act of 1872⁷. This landmark decision marks a significant shift in the legal status of embryos, posing potential challenges and restrictions for in vitro fertilization (IVF) and human embryonic stem cell (hESC) research within Alabama. This ruling is part of a broader legal strategy influenced by precedents such as *Roe v. Wade* (1973), which legalized abortion nationwide, and *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* (1992), which allowed states greater leeway in regulating abortions. Additionally, the decision aligns with the personhood amendments and pro-life legal strategies that seek to extend legal recognition to embryos, thereby imposing stricter regulations on reproductive rights and ART practices. By invoking the state's historical legal framework for wrongful death, the Alabama Supreme Court has set a precedent that could influence similar legal interpretations nationwide.

The primary research question of this study is: "What are the broader implications of the Alabama Supreme Court ruling on IVF treatments and human embryonic stem cell research in Alabama?" This problem is worth investigating because existing research has not fully explored the socio-economic and scientific consequences of such legal decisions, leaving several gaps in our understanding.

Economic Impacts: While there is substantial research on the costs of IVF and the economic barriers to accessing ART^{2,8}, there is limited information on how specific legal rulings, like the Alabama Supreme Court decision, directly affect these economic factors, including cost increases and changes in insurance coverage.

Legal and Ethical Implications: Existing literature has examined the ethical debates around embryo personhood and the legal frameworks governing ART^{5,6}. However, there is a lack of comprehensive analysis on how such legal rulings influence ethical practices in clinical settings and the broader impact on scientific research methodologies.

Access and Disparities: Studies have highlighted disparities in access to ART based on socio-economic status and insurance coverage^{3,4}, but there is insufficient research on how legal decisions exacerbate these disparities, particularly in states with restrictive reproductive laws.

This study aims to fill these gaps by providing a wider analysis of the potential consequences of rulings such as the Alabama Supreme Court decision. Beyond the immediate disruptions, such as suspension of IVF treatments at several clinics due to concerns about civil and criminal liability, cancellations of scheduled embryo transfer procedures, and questions surrounding the legality of pre-implantation genetic testing, this research explores broader and latent impacts. The significance of this research lies in its potential to inform policy makers, healthcare providers, and researchers about the wide-ranging impacts of legal decisions on reproductive technologies. By highlighting the need for balanced legal frameworks that support scientific advancement while considering ethical and societal implications,

this study contributes to the ongoing debates about the future of ART and reproductive rights.

Results

The Direct Economic Impact

The recent Alabama Supreme Court ruling on February 16th, 2024, declaring that embryos created through in vitro fertilization (IVF) should be considered children, resulted in the pausing of vitro fertilization (IVF) services at the University of Alabama at Birmingham (UAB). Following the ruling, clinics in Alabama reported a significant decrease in the number of IVF cycles initiated, with some reports indicating a 45% reduction due to the legal uncertainties and potential liabilities introduced by the decision. Similarly, the Mobile Fertility Clinic experienced a 30% decline in scheduled embryo transfer procedures⁹. At first glance, this decision highlights the interaction between legal rulings and the accessibility of fertility treatments¹⁰. A deeper analysis reveals that this moment underscores not just the legal and ethical dimensions of reproductive technologies but also the economic considerations at play, particularly the direct costs associated with IVF treatment. Examining these costs within the context of the Alabama ruling and broader disparities in access offers a broad understanding of the financial barriers that prospective parents face in their journey toward parenthood.

IVF, the primary type of assisted reproductive technology (ART), treatments represent a significant technological advancement in reproductive healthcare, offering hope to millions of individuals and couples facing infertility challenges. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), approximately 19% of married women in the United States aged 15 to 49 years who have not given birth previously are unable to conceive after one year of trying, indicating infertility. In response to this significant need, the CDC's 2021 Fertility Clinic Success Rates Report reveals that approximately 238,126 patients had 413,776 ART cycles performed at 453 reporting clinics in the United States during 2021, resulting in 97,28 live born infants¹¹. Notably, the number of live births resulting from IVF reflects a compound annual growth rate (CAGR) of 5% since 2012. This trend underscores the increasing demand and growing need for IVF treatments (Figure 1). However, the promise of IVF is often tempered by the substantial direct costs associated with these treatments. These costs can vary widely but typically include expenses for medication, physician consultations, laboratory services, and procedural costs associated with egg retrieval and embryo transfer. The average cost of a single IVF cycle in the United States is approximately \$23,474, with the average patient undergoing a total of 2.3 – 2.7 IVF cycles². The data suggests that the average patient will spend nearly \$50,000 on treatment. These figures do not account for potential additional cycles or advanced genetic testing, which

can further escalate expenses. A survey of the financing industry involving 213 female fertility patients revealed that 83% were worried or extremely worried about costs; 70% of the women who underwent IVF incurred debt. The financial burden led many patients to postpone treatment, and nearly 34% had to discontinue treatment due to its unaffordability³.

The direct costs of IVF treatment are further complicated by the variability in insurance coverage for fertility treatments across the United States. Unlike some healthcare services, fertility treatments, including IVF, are often not fully covered by health insurance policies, leaving many individuals to bear the brunt of these costs out-of-pocket¹⁰. The disparity in insurance coverage is influenced by a patchwork of state mandates, with only a handful of states requiring insurers to offer some form of coverage for fertility treatments. This lack of comprehensive insurance coverage exacerbates the financial strain on those seeking IVF, making it cost-prohibitive for many and thereby limiting access to this critical healthcare service. The Alabama ruling could further complicate the financial landscape of IVF treatments. With IVF procedures at a major institution like UAB temporarily paused, the decision might limit access and drive-up costs at other facilities due to increased demand. Moreover, if this ruling inspires similar legal actions or policies in other states, the resulting legal uncertainties could lead insurers and healthcare providers to impose even higher costs on patients to mitigate potential legal risks associated with IVF treatments. This situation mirrors the economic impact seen with data breach litigations in the healthcare sector, where legal repercussions and the need for advanced security measures significantly inflated operational costs. For instance, data breaches in healthcare have been reported to cost around \$11 million per incident, leading organizations to enhance cybersecurity measures and increasing overall healthcare costs, which are ultimately passed on to consumers¹².

The economic barriers to IVF treatments are not merely a matter of personal financial concern but also reflect broader issues of equity and access within the healthcare system. Research indicates that the direct costs associated with IVF treatments, which can range from \$12,000 to \$15,000 per cycle, disproportionately affect individuals from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, effectively excluding them from accessing these technologies. Additionally, the high out-of-pocket expenses lead many patients to incur significant debt, with a survey showing that 70% of women undergoing IVF treatments report financial burdens impacting their decision to pursue or continue treatment⁸. A recent study found that insurance coverage plays a central role in the accessibility of infertility treatments, with the rate of IVF initiations dropping by half when treatment is not covered by health insurance (National Bureau of Economic Research, 2024)¹³. Without comprehensive mandated insurance coverage for infertility, we are positioning infertility as a condition unworthy of financial support.

In addition to income disparities, cultural and immigration status further complicate access to fertility services. A cross-sectional survey conducted at a university-affiliated hospital-based fertility clinic in a major city found that immigrant women, particularly those who have been in the country longer, experienced a significantly longer average duration of infertility compared to non-immigrant women (47 months vs. 34 months). Many of these women delay seeking healthcare due to unfamiliarity with their fertility issues and high costs associated with treatments. Moreover, while these women often rely on primary care providers for information, a considerable number turn to the Internet for advice, highlighting a gap in direct healthcare communication¹⁴.

Historically, the IVF patient demographic leans towards higher-income, predominantly white individuals, and couples. A survey involving nearly 1,500 fertility patients revealed that more than 75% of IVF patients are White, and over 80% have annual household incomes exceeding \$100,000. In contrast, Black women report the highest levels of barriers to fertility treatment access, and both Black and Latina women often travel twice as far as their White and Asian counterparts for the same treatments¹⁵. Notably in Alabama, where Black and Latino populations collectively account for nearly one-third of the population¹⁶ – the recent ruling may intensify these preexisting economic, cultural, and information barriers, further entrenching disparities in access to reproductive healthcare. On a national scale, the implications of escalating costs of IVF treatment are even more grim: nearly 1 in 9 women of reproductive age (19-54) were uninsured in 2021, implying that more than 8.2 million women were without insurance that year¹⁷. The highest uninsured rates were observed among Blacks (8.3%), Hispanics (17.2%), and non-citizens (30.4%), with the South experiencing a notably high rate of 11.1% as shown in Figure 6. These trends suggest that preexisting inequalities in access to fertility treatments are likely to worsen if treatment costs increase. Lastly, for patients who can afford to begin treatment, poorer outcomes have been observed in minority patients compared to White patients. A large single-site study found that, compared to white patients, African Americans had significantly higher spontaneous abortion rates (28.9% vs. 14.6%) and lower clinical pregnancy rates (24.4% vs. 36.2%) and live birth rates (16.9% vs. 30.7%) following IVF. Similar trends are observed in Hispanic and Asian women, where sociocultural and financial barriers likely contribute to disparities in ART outcomes¹⁸.

This situation highlights the national implications of local legal decisions, as rulings like Alabama's can set precedents that affect reproductive rights nationwide. Such decisions have the potential to resonate beyond state lines, underscoring the need for nationwide considerations about the accessibility and fairness of reproductive healthcare. The implicit economic gatekeeping to fertility treatment also raises ethical questions about the fairness and inclusivity of reproductive healthcare, challeng-

ing the notion that the ability to build a family should not be contingent upon one's financial means.

While the ruling may present immediate financial challenges for families, the broader economic implications of restricting access to IVF must also be considered. Research indicates that the net lifetime taxes paid by an individual conceived through IVF, compared to the initial investment in IVF, yield a 700% net return to the government in discounted U.S. dollars, assuming full employment³. This mathematical rationale was validated in practice through the government-funded IVF program in Quebec, which ran from 2010 to 2015. The program led to a five-fold increase in the number of IVF cycles performed in 2009 and significantly reduced the multiple pregnancy rate from 25.6% in 2009 to as low as 4.9% during the funded years. The program's annual cost of \$70 to \$80 million resulted in the birth of over 9,232 babies, potentially contributing over \$3 billion in lifetime taxes based on an average tax contribution of \$330,000 per individual in Quebec⁵. This outcome illustrates a nearly eight-fold return on the government's investment, demonstrating a clear economic incentive for government support of IVF and aligning fiscal responsibility with public health initiatives¹⁹. These findings underscore the significant return on investment IVF procedures offer to individual families and society at large. Logically, removing obstacles to IVF would have favorable tax benefits for the government, notwithstanding its beneficial effect on overall economic growth.

The recent Alabama Supreme Court ruling represents a significant legal and societal turning point with extensive direct economic ramifications. While centered on legal and ethical considerations, by raising the stakes for potential legal liabilities and operational protocols for healthcare providers, this decision can potentially impose substantial challenges on the accessibility and affordability of IVF treatments and outcomes. The decision exacerbates existing disparities in healthcare provision by increasing the financial burden on prospective parents and limiting access to these essential services, particularly affecting marginalized communities. As stated previously, studies have consistently shown that racial and ethnic minorities face significant barriers in accessing and succeeding with ART treatments. These barriers are not only financial but also sociocultural, leading to poorer outcomes for African Americans, Hispanics, and Asian women compared to their white counterparts¹⁸. The economic implications are further amplified when considering IVF-conceived children's substantial long-term economic contributions. This ruling necessitates a thoughtful reassessment of policies surrounding reproductive technologies, balancing ethical and legal imperatives with the undeniable economic and social benefits of IVF. Ultimately, fostering an environment that supports access to IVF not only upholds the aspirations of countless individuals seeking parenthood but also aligns with broader societal interests in promoting economic growth and social equity.

To put this into perspective, an international panel of experts estimated that only 24% of the needs for assisted reproductive technology (ART) were being met in the United States. ART contributes to approximately 1.5% of births in the United States, contrasted with an average of 3% across Europe. This figure rises significantly in countries that offer public funding for IVF, such as Denmark (5.9%), Belgium (4.0%), and Sweden (3.5%)³. This data underscores the critical role of supportive policies in enhancing the availability and success of reproductive technologies.

The Indirect Economic Impact

One of the most significant challenges facing ART treatments such as IVF is the high incidence of multiple birth pregnancies. IVF treatments are expensive and often not fully covered by insurance policies, leading to significant out-of-pocket expenses for patients. As discussed in prior section, legal rulings such as the Alabama Supreme Court ruling on embryos, that imbue embryos with certain legal considerations could lead to increased regulatory oversight and potentially higher operational costs for fertility clinics. These could stem from more stringent storage, handling, and documentation requirements. Increased operational costs for clinics are likely to be passed on to the patients, thereby increasing the direct cost of IVF treatments. For families, especially those with constrained financial capabilities, the higher costs might make the process more daunting.

Studies indicate that the structure of healthcare coverage and cost for IVF treatments plays a crucial role in decision-making. In regions where IVF cycles are covered by insurance or healthcare systems, there's a trend towards promoting elective single embryo transfer (eSET) to reduce the risk of multiple births and associated healthcare costs. This practice aligns with medical recommendations aimed at minimizing health risks associated with multiple births and reflects a more judicious use of medical resources. The global recognition of the health risks associated with multiple pregnancies following ART has led to efforts in many countries to reduce their occurrence^{20,21}.

Over the last decade, the percentage of SET among all patients increased dramatically, from 20.6% in 2011 to 82.9% in 2021, a trend observed across all age groups (Figure 2)¹¹. This shift, as illustrated by the SET graph, has resulted in a significant decline in the incidence of twin and higher-order multiple (Triplets or More) live births, validating the effectiveness of policy changes aimed at optimizing health outcomes and resource utilization in fertility treatments (Figure 3). Conversely, in situations where patients bear most of the cost, the immediate goal of achieving pregnancy might overshadow the long-term health and economic benefits of eSET. Higher IVF costs can drive patients towards multiple embryo transfer (MET) as a strategy to maximize their chances of pregnancy in a single cycle, aiming to avoid the financial burden of undergoing multiple cycles. This decision

is influenced by the perception that MET offers better odds of achieving pregnancy, even though it comes with higher risks of multiple gestations and associated complications. A study of thirty countries found that those with lower affordability of ART treatments had higher rates of multiple embryo transfers, correlating with higher rates of multiple births. Further analysis indicated that an absolute 10% increase in affordability predicted a 5.1% increase in the percentage of fresh SET cycles²². Additionally, a study conducted across different states revealed that clinics in areas lacking mandated insurance coverage tend to perform more embryo transfers per cycle. Specifically, in states without insurance mandates, the average number of embryos transferred per cycle was significantly higher compared to states with complete insurance coverage—3.59 vs. 3.25 respectively. As expected, this practice resulted in higher pregnancy rates and live birth rates but also leads to a substantial increase in multiple births, particularly triplets or more, which were reported at 11.2% in uninsured states compared to 9.7% in states with complete coverage⁴. These outcomes highlight the tension between achieving immediate reproductive success and mitigating the longer-term risks associated with high-order multiple pregnancies, including severe health risks to the mother and children and increased medical costs.

While the reduction in health risks and healthcare costs associated with single embryo transfers is well-documented, the financial implications of multiple births present an equally compelling case for eSET. The disproportionate hospital inpatient expenses incurred from multiple births, particularly in the first year of life, show that hospital stays for twins and triplets are respectively twice and eight times longer than those for singletons when adjusted for lifespan. Furthermore, over the initial five years, the mean adjusted cost for multiple births significantly exceeded that of singletons. Specifically, expenditures for twin and higher-order multiple pregnancies amounting to approximately £3,826 and £8,156, respectively, compared to £1,532 for singletons²³.

In the United States, the financial impact is similarly stark. The average adjusted total healthcare cost per delivery is \$21,458 for singletons, escalating dramatically to \$104,831 for twins, and \$407,199 for triplets or more²⁴. This cost differential underscores that pregnancies resulting in twins and triplets impose approximately five and twenty times the financial burden of singleton pregnancies, respectively.

These studies emphasize the substantial economic pressures multiple births place on healthcare systems and underscore the critical need for integrating eSET into clinical practice as a strategy to alleviate these financial burdens. For families, especially those with constrained financial resources, the enduring economic impact of addressing health complications associated with prematurity or low birth weight from multiple births can be profound, exacerbating the financial challenges these families face and potentially precipitating adverse socioeconomic

consequences.

The Alabama Supreme Court ruling on embryos could inadvertently shift patient preferences back towards multiple embryo transfers (MET), as families seek to minimize the immediate financial burden of IVF treatments. This shift, driven by economic considerations, risks undermining the considerable progress made over the past decade in the adoption of single embryo transfers (SET). Data from this period demonstrates a substantial decrease in the rates of multiple births: the percentage of twin births declined from 8.4% in 2011 to 2.3% in 2020, and triplets or more decreased from 0.4% to 0.05%¹¹. For families facing financial constraints, navigating these complex decisions highlights the necessity for thorough fertility coverage and the advocacy of elective single embryo transfer (eSET) practices. Policymakers and healthcare providers must consider these factors to aid families in making informed decisions that balance immediate financial concerns with optimal long-term health and economic outcomes. It is imperative to maintain the accessibility and affordability of fertility treatments, particularly considering evolving legal and ethical challenges. The Alabama Supreme Court ruling serves as a critical example of how legal frameworks can significantly influence medical practice and patient outcomes, underlining the need for laws that support medical best practices and patient welfare.

Effects on Scientific Research

The Alabama Supreme Court ruling on embryos poses substantial risks to various areas of scientific research, particularly research involving stem cells derived from embryos. Human embryonic stem cell (hESC) research holds promise for regenerative medicine and treating various diseases, such as neurodegenerative diseases, diabetes, and spinal cord injuries. This ruling potentially jeopardizes the progress and application of stem cell research, which has traditionally operated under the consensus that research on human embryos is permissible within the first fourteen days after fertilization. The categorization of embryos as children could drastically limit the scope of permissible research²⁵. Pre-implantation genetic testing (PGT), which involves screening embryos for genetic disorders before implantation, is another area at risk. The legal complexities introduced by the ruling could hinder the use of PGT, affecting couples' ability to prevent hereditary diseases. Lastly, innovations aimed at improving success rates of IVF and other ART treatments, reducing costs, and minimizing health risks to mothers and children could be stifled. Subsequent legal and ethical rulings on embryos have the potential to shape the regulatory environment in which researchers operate, affecting both the location of research activities and the availability of funding for such research. This impact is twofold: on the one hand, it concerns the direct regulation of research practices; on the other, it pertains to the broader public and political response, which

can influence funding priorities and availability.

Even before the Alabama ruling, the U.S. federal and state policies with regard to human embryo research already differed significantly, with federal policies primarily addressing funding, while state laws vary widely, often linked to broader issues like abortion and fetal tissue research. Out of the 29 states with laws impacting human embryo research, only 11 explicitly ban it, and none address embryoids directly. For the eighteen states that permit human embryo research, legislation in five of these specifically allows it: California, Connecticut, Michigan, Montana, and New York. The other thirteen states allow research on embryos through either vaguely defined or overly specific legislation²⁶. A map of the regulatory environment (Figure 5) illustrates the complex and varied legal landscape across the U.S. when it comes to research on human embryos.

Of the states with expanded human embryo research opportunities (associated with permissive hESC research policies), the most well-known case is California. It is essential to analyze the economic implications of California's permissive hESC research policies. It was the first state to pass a law (Proposition 71) that specifically allowed and funded stem cell research, including human embryo and hESC research. Initially passed in 2004 and later renewed in 2020, Proposition 71 allocated \$3 billion to fund stem cell research over 10 years and established the California Institute for Regenerative Medicine (CIRM), a new state agency, that would oversee the research. This initiative not only created over 56,000 jobs but also added approximately \$10 billion to California's economy⁶. Additionally, studies indicate there is a symbiotic relationship between public research funding and subsequent private R&D investment. Contrary to concerns that public funding might displace private sector investment, findings from the biomedicine sector suggest that public investment in basic research can in fact spur additional private investment, especially in high-risk areas such as stem cell research. It is estimated that each dollar invested in basic research can stimulate an additional \$8.38 in industry R&D investment over the following eight years²⁷. These insights indicate that public investments in stem cell research not only generate significant economic benefits but also emphasize the importance of supportive legislative and judicial frameworks to foster such investments. Today California has positioned itself as a key player in stem cell science, driving significant advancements in the field and accounting for 16.7% of national funding on stem cell research in 2022 (Figure 4). On the other hand, contrasting policies in different states, like those revealed by the Alabama Supreme Court ruling, could have a chilling effect on the landscape of biomedical research and may alter the state's ability to harness the economic benefits of stem cell research. Already lagging the national average in both funding and growth rate for stem cell research from 2015 to 2022, Alabama's position is precarious. With an investment increase from \$13.3 million to \$14.7 million over this period, the state's funding growth is modest compared to the larger, more

aggressive investments seen in other states (Figure 4). This gap is indicative of a broader trend of reticence and highlights the state's vulnerability to falling further behind in a field that is rapidly advancing and competitive

The United States, with its mix of permissive and restrictive policies at both the federal and state levels, offers a comprehensive analysis of how varying legislative environments influence the distribution and mobility of scientific talent in the United States. The Bush administration's restrictions on federal funding for hESC research ("Bush Ban"), juxtaposed with California's Proposition 71, which provided substantial state funding for hESC research, highlight the interplay between policy and science. The findings revealed that restrictive federal policies like the Bush Ban hindered scientific progress by limiting resources and forcing researchers to rely on a limited number of contaminated or otherwise unsuitable hESC lines. For instance, the number of hESC lines available for research was reduced to 21, many of which were contaminated, compared to the hundreds of new lines created worldwide during the same period. This led to a temporary increase in the migration of researchers abroad, with approximately 15% of US-based hESC researchers moving to countries with more supportive policies during the early 2000s. In stark contrast, California's Proposition 71, passed in 2004, provided a substantial boost to hESC research at the state level. Proposition 71 allocated \$3 billion to fund stem cell research, establishing the California Institute for Regenerative Medicine (CIRM) to oversee and distribute these funds. This initiative significantly increased California's attractiveness as a hub for hESC research, reversing the trend caused by the Bush Ban. The initiative not only attracted researchers but also reduced their propensity to leave, reinforcing California's position as a global leader in stem cell science. Specifically, the number of hESC researchers in California increased by 40% following the passage of Proposition 71. This two-tier approach to hESC legislation is an example of how US National research system reacted to different restrictions. This illustrates how state policies can facilitate significant scientific advancements and have profound implications on the mobility of researchers and the geographical clustering of research activities⁶.

Further illustrating this point on a global scale, studies show that the regulatory frameworks of various countries have significantly influenced the output and progress of hESC research. Countries that adopt more permissive regulatory approaches generally achieve higher research outputs in this field. For instance, the analysis of publication data shows that countries with supportive policies for hESC research, such as the United Kingdom, Israel, and Singapore, have a higher cumulative share of publications related to hESCs. Conversely, countries with restrictive policies or prolonged policy debates, like the United States under federal funding restrictions, tend to underperform⁵.

The implications of such dynamics for future medical research are multifaceted. First, the ability of researchers to "vote

with their feet” and relocate to more supportive environments can lead to the clustering of expertise and resources, potentially accelerating advancements in hESC research in permissive regions. However, this mobility also risks creating disparities in research capabilities and access to innovative treatments based on geographic and regulatory differences.

The impact of Alabama Supreme Court’s ruling on IVF can be seen through a similar lens, as it represents another instance where legal frameworks significantly impact the scientific and medical communities. The decision could dissuade medical practitioners and researchers from engaging in IVF and related reproductive technologies within the state. The ruling has the potential to influence the geographical clustering of medical practices and research activities, as professionals may opt to relocate to more permissive jurisdictions.

The contentious nature of hESC research has already led to a “patchwork” of regulations across the U.S., reflecting diverse ethical stances and political priorities. The Alabama ruling contributes to this complex regulatory landscape, highlighting the ongoing challenges in aligning scientific innovation with societal values and legal norms. The implications of the ruling will likely extend beyond the borders of the state, signaling to lawmakers, researchers, and medical practitioners nationwide about the evolving legal attitudes towards reproductive technologies. It serves as a reminder of the significant role that legal decisions play in shaping the direction of scientific research and medical practice, potentially affecting access to innovative treatments and the United States’ position as a leader in biomedical innovation.

Discussion

This research has examined the complex ramifications of the Alabama Supreme Court ruling where the court decided that the mishandling of frozen embryo constituted a violation of the Wrongful Death Act. The court’s judgment, which classified these embryos as human beings, underscores the growing politicization of medicine—a trend that raises concerns about judicial influences on reproductive healthcare, especially in relation to IVF and embryonic research. The findings of this study underscore the pivotal role that legal frameworks play in shaping the accessibility and affordability of assistive reproductive technologies, particularly IVF, and the broader implications for scientific and economic landscapes.

Economic and Broader Societal Impacts

An in-depth analysis of the Alabama Supreme Court ruling reveals significant direct and indirect economic consequences stemming from the ruling. The immediate suspension of IVF services at major facilities like the University of Alabama at Birmingham not only disrupts the availability of reproductive

services but also amplifies the financial barriers for prospective parents. The study highlighted the substantial costs associated with IVF, exacerbated by inconsistent insurance coverage and the potential for increased treatment costs due to heightened demand at other facilities or additional legal and procedural complexities introduced by the ruling. Such developments, if realized, could further restrict access to reproductive technologies for economically disadvantaged populations, thereby widening existing health disparities. For instance, Black and Hispanic individuals face significant barriers in accessing fertility treatments, barriers that are often compounded by socioeconomic factors. These groups are less likely to have insurance coverage that includes fertility treatments. This issue is further complicated by geographical disparities, where individuals in certain areas may have less access to necessary medical facilities or face longer travel times, which can discourage or delay treatment seeking. Furthermore, the decision reflects a troubling trend towards the politicization of healthcare, where legal rulings increasingly intersect with political ideologies rather than being grounded in considerations of medical ethics and patient care equity.

Policymakers must consider these implications and work towards creating a more equitable healthcare system that ensures all individuals have access to necessary medical treatments regardless of their economic status or geographic location. Policies should strive to eliminate systemic barriers to care and prioritize the development of support mechanisms that aid those most vulnerable to being underserved by the current system. The goal should be to foster a healthcare environment where legal and medical ethics align to promote the best outcomes for all patients, supporting societal health and well-being at large.

Effects on Scientific Research

The ruling poses a threat to scientific freedom in reproductive medicine potentially stifling innovation and research critical for advancements in IVF and embryonic studies. By equating embryos with living children, the legal landscape becomes fraught with ethical and regulatory challenges that could deter scientific inquiry and innovation. The potential chilling effect on medical research, specifically involving hESC, could inhibit medical advancements in treating or curing diseases, impacting the state’s ability to participate effectively in the competitive field of biomedical research. Moreover, this ruling could influence the geographic mobility of researchers, leading to a clustering of scientific activities in more permissive states or countries, thereby affecting the global distribution of knowledge and expertise. The potential decline in scientific output and medical advancements could have long-term effects on healthcare quality and accessibility in Alabama and beyond.

Policy Recommendations

Considering these findings, this paper advocates reevaluating legal and policy frameworks surrounding reproductive technologies. Policies that mitigate the adverse effects of restrictive legal frameworks and promote the accessibility of IVF are crucial. The study highlights that the high costs of IVF treatments, often not fully covered by insurance, create significant financial barriers for many individuals, particularly those from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. By mandating comprehensive insurance coverage for IVF and other fertility treatments, financial burdens on patients can be significantly reduced, thereby increasing access to these essential services.

Research has shown that insurance coverage plays a central role in the accessibility of infertility treatments. For example, the National Bureau of Economic Research (2024) found that the rate of IVF initiations dropped by half when treatment was not covered by health insurance. Comprehensive insurance mandates would alleviate these financial burdens, allowing more individuals to access and complete fertility treatments without incurring substantial debt. Furthermore, comprehensive coverage also encourages single embryo transfers (SET), reducing the risk of multiple births and associated health complications, leading to better health outcomes.

To foster a more equitable healthcare system, policies must ensure that legal rulings do not impede medical and scientific progress. Legal frameworks should support the ethical and effective use of reproductive technologies, balancing ethical considerations with scientific advancement, ultimately promoting both patient access and scientific innovation.

Future Research Directions

Future research should focus on longitudinal studies to track the long-term impacts of such legal decisions on both economic outcomes and scientific advancements. Longitudinal studies are essential because they allow for the observation of changes and developments over time, providing a comprehensive understanding of how legal frameworks influence IVF accessibility, health outcomes, and scientific progress. Investigating the interaction between legal frameworks and insurance policies can provide deeper insights into structuring more effective healthcare coverage that supports both patient welfare and scientific progress.

Future research should examine the economic impacts of legal rulings on the costs of IVF treatments and the economic burden on patients over time. It is crucial to assess changes in insurance coverage and financial accessibility for various socioeconomic groups. Additionally, the long-term health outcomes for children born through IVF and their mothers in different legal environments require thorough investigation, particularly concerning the influence of legal changes on the rates of single versus multiple births and associated health complications.

Another vital area for future research is the impact of restrictive legal frameworks on the progress of human embryonic stem cell research. This includes analyzing shifts in research funding, publication rates, and scientific breakthroughs in states with varying legal restrictions. Furthermore, examining how legal decisions exacerbate or mitigate disparities in access to reproductive technologies among marginalized communities is essential. Understanding the longitudinal effects on different demographic groups will provide insights into the equity of healthcare access.

Additionally, less obvious areas of research include the psychological impact on families undergoing IVF treatments in varying legal climates. The stress and mental health challenges faced by these families, influenced by legal uncertainties, warrant further exploration. Another area is the effect of legal rulings on the training and practice of healthcare professionals in reproductive medicine. Understanding how legal frameworks shape medical education, clinical practices, and ethical standards can provide insights into the broader implications for the healthcare workforce.

Finally, investigating the international implications of U.S. legal decisions on global reproductive health policies and practices could uncover significant findings. How do legal precedents in the U.S. influence reproductive laws and ART practices in other countries? This comparative analysis could offer a global perspective on the interconnectedness of legal and medical practices.

The Path Forward

As we navigate the complexities of reproductive technologies within an evolving legal landscape, it becomes increasingly clear that the intersection of law, medicine, and ethics is not just a matter of academic discourse but a pressing issue with real-world implications. The Alabama Supreme Court ruling serves as a critical reminder that the definitions we assign to life have far-reaching consequences, not only for scientific progress but for individuals who seek to build families through these technologies. The future of reproductive healthcare depends on our ability to craft policies that honor both the sanctity of life and the imperative of progress, ensuring that the promise of technology serves all members of society, not just a privileged few.

Methods

A systematic approach was employed to gather relevant literature for this study. Databases such as PubMed, Google Scholar, and JSTOR were used to identify pertinent articles. Legal data were sourced from LexisNexis and Westlaw, focusing on the ruling's text, relevant legal commentaries, and statutes. Keywords including "Alabama Supreme Court ruling," "IVF treatment,"

”embryo personhood,” ”reproductive legislation,” ”stem cell legislation,” ”hESC research,” ”researcher migration,” and ”stem cell policy impact” were utilized to guide the search. Economic and scientific data were obtained from the CDC’s ART Report and NIH’s stem cell research portal. Graphical evaluation of IVF outcomes and research funding trends, using visualizations were created from this CDC and NIH data. Inclusion and exclusion criteria were applied to filter studies, ensuring the selection of relevant peer-reviewed articles, legal documents, and reports published between 2000 and 2024. Filters were also applied to include only English-language studies and to exclude opinion pieces.

The CDC’s ART Report and NIH’s stem cell research portal were specifically chosen for their relevance and credibility. The CDC’s ART Report provides comprehensive and up-to-date data on assisted reproductive technology (ART) practices, including IVF treatments in the United States. It offers detailed statistics on ART cycles, success rates, and demographic information, making it a critical source for understanding the landscape of IVF treatments and their socio-economic impacts. The NIH portal is a trusted and authoritative source for information on stem cell research. It includes extensive data on funding, research outcomes, and advancements in the field of human embryonic stem cell (hESC) research. Given the study’s focus on the implications of legal rulings on scientific research, this portal provides essential insights into the current state and trends in stem cell research.

Studies were selected based on their relevance to the topic, publication date, and study design. Inclusion criteria encompassed studies published between 2000 and 2024, peer-reviewed articles, legal documents, and official reports, and research directly related to IVF treatments, embryo personhood, reproductive legislation, and health policy. Studies providing empirical data or thorough legal analysis were prioritized.

Data from the selected studies were carefully extracted. Key information gathered included authors and publication dates, research designs and methodologies, key findings and conclusions, and contextual information regarding legal implications and economic impacts. Specific data points related to IVF treatment costs, insurance coverage, and scientific research outcomes were also collected. The gathered information was synthesized using a thematic analysis approach. Data were organized into themes reflecting the regulatory, economic, and scientific impacts of the Alabama Supreme Court ruling. A narrative synthesis was also employed to integrate qualitative insights with quantitative data, providing a comprehensive overview of the ruling’s broader implications.

Factors for quality of included studies included the robustness of study designs, clarity of findings, and relevance to the research question. Challenges included aligning data from various sources with legal developments and ensuring accurate interpretation of complex legal and scientific data. The study adhered

to ethical data integrity and privacy standards, especially when handling sensitive information. This methodological framework allowed for a nuanced understanding of how legal decisions impact scientific research and healthcare economics, providing insights into the broader implications of the Alabama Supreme Court’s ruling.

Acknowledgements

I sincerely thank Dr. Diwakar Kishore for his guidance and mentorship. Dr. Diwakar is currently engaged as an MPhil/PhD candidate in Social Policy at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE)

References

- 1 T. N. Y. Times, 2022.
- 2 FertilityIQ. *The cost of IVF*, 2023, Available at: <https://www.fertilityiq.com/fertilityiq/ivf-in-vitro-fertilization/costs-of-ivf>.
- 3 E. C. of the American Society for Reproductive Medicine, *Fertility and Sterility*, 2021, **116**, 54–63.
- 4 T. Jain, B. L. Harlow and M. D. Hornstein, *N. England Journal of Medicine*, 2002, **347**, 661–666.
- 5 A. D. Levine, *Cell Stem Cell*, 2008, **2**, 521–524.
- 6 L. Verginer and M. Riccaboni, *Eurasian Business Review*, 2021, **11**, 163–189.
- 7 S. C. of Alabama, *Docket No. SC-2022-0515, Supreme Court of Alabama*, 2024, Available at: <https://publicportal-api.alappeals.gov/courts/68f021c4-6a44-4735-9a76-5360b2e8af13/cms/case/343d203a-b13d-463a-8176-c46e3ae4f695/docketentrydocuments/e3d95592-3cbe-4384-afa6-063d4595aa1d>.
- 8 M. P. Connolly, M. S. Pollard, S. Hoorens, B. R. Kaplan, S. P. Oskowitz and S. J. Silber, *The American Journal of Managed Care*, 2008, **14**, 598–604.
- 9 T. W. S. Journal, 2024.
- 10 C. Krewson, *Alabama Supreme Court Ruling Halts IVF Treatment at UAB*, 2024, Available at: <https://www.contemporaryobgyn.net/view/alabama-supreme-court-ruling-halts-ivf-treatment-at-uab>.
- 11 C. for Disease Control and Prevention, *U.S. Department of Health & Human Services*, 2021.
- 12 S. Alder, *Cost of a Healthcare Data Breach*, 2023, Available at: <https://www.hipaajournal.com/2023-cost-healthcare-data-breach/>.
- 13 S. Bögl, J. Moshfegh, P. Persson and M. Polyakova, *National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper No. 32445*, 2024.
- 14 C. Maree and S. Suh, *Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology Canada*, 2018, **40**, 1526–1531.
- 15 I. Galic, O. Negris, C. Warren, D. Brown, A. Bozen and T. Jain, *Fertility and Sterility Reports*, 2021, **2**, 109–117.

-
- 16 U. C. Bureau, *Alabama QuickFacts*, 2023, Available at: <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/AL/>.
- 17 N. W. L. Center, *In 2021, more than 12 million women and girls lacked health insurance; Poverty rates still adversely affected women of color at higher rates than their white counterparts, and the wage gap has for women*, 2022, Available at: <https://nwlc.org/press-release/in-2021-more-than-12-million-women-and-girls-lacked-health-insurance-poverty-rates-still-adversely-affected-women-of-color-at-higher-rates-than-their-white-counterparts-and-the-wage-gap-has-for-wom/>.
- 18 I. G. Insogna and E. S. Ginsburg, *AMA Journal of Ethics*, 2018, **20**, E1152–E1159.
- 19 F. Bissonnette, S. Phillips, J. Sampalis, E. M. Dahdouh, P. St-Michel, W. Buckett, I. J. Kadoch and N. Mahutte, *Reproductive BioMedicine and Society Online*, 2019, **8**, 32–37.
- 20 F. C. of New England, *Fertility Insurance Mandates and The Impact on Treatment Outcomes*, 2021, Available at: <https://www.fertilitycenter.com/fertility-cares.blog/fertility-insurance-mandates-and-the-impact-on-treatment-outcomes/>.
- 21 B. J. Peipert, M. N. Montoya, B. S. Bedrick, D. B. Seifer and T. Jain, *Reproductive Biology and Endocrinology*, 2022, **20**, 111.
- 22 G. M. Chambers, E. Keller, S. Choi, Y. Khalaf, S. Crawford, W. Botha and W. Ledger, *Fertility and Sterility*, 2020, **114**, 715–721.
- 23 J. Henderson, C. Hockley, S. Petrou, M. Goldacre and L. Davidson, *Archives of Disease in Childhood - Fetal and Neonatal Edition*, 2004, **89**, F542–F545.
- 24 E. V. Lemos, D. Zhang, B. J. V. Voorhis and X. H. Hu, *American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology*, 2013, **209**, 586.e1–586.e11.
- 25 R. U. N. . M. Relations, *Alabama IVF ruling will have national implications, Rice health experts argue*, 2024, Available at: <https://news.rice.edu/news/2024/alabama-ivf-ruling-will-have-national-implications-rice-health-experts-argue#:~:text=Sampson%20noted%20that%20the%20ruling,for%20that%20of%20the%20embryo.>
- 26 K. R. W. Matthews and D. Morali, *Journal of Law and the Biosciences*, 2022, **9**, 1–24.
- 27 D. P. Goldman, A. Rose, M. S. Ryan, B. C. Tysinger, D. Wei and M. S. Humayun, *USC Leonard D. Schaeffer Center for Health Policy & Economics*, 2020.

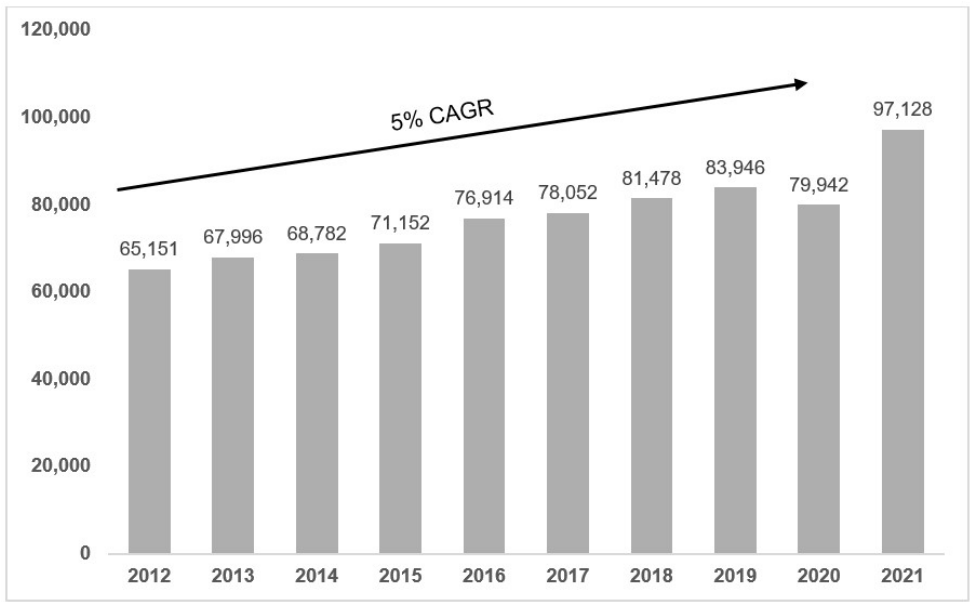


Fig. 1 Number of infants born from 2011 through 2020 who were conceived using ART (Source: CDC)

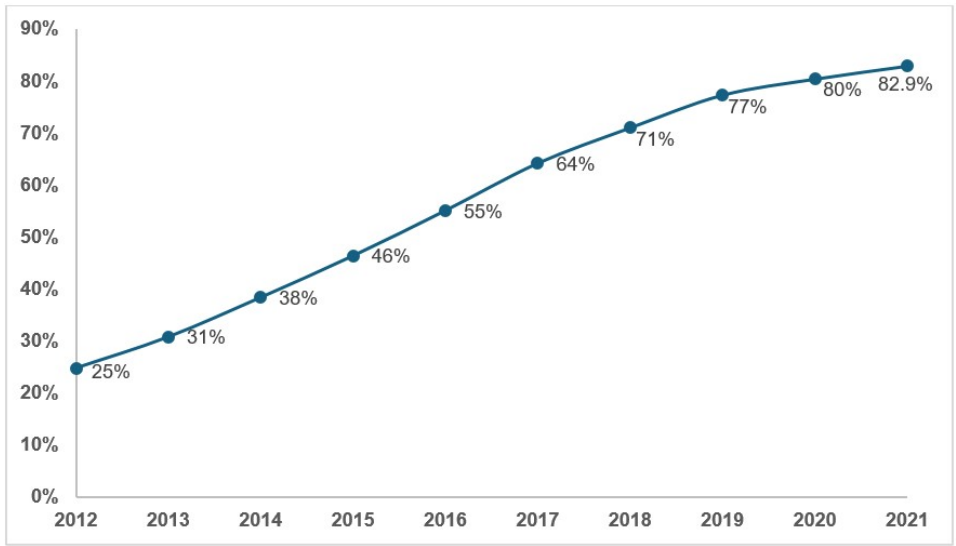


Fig. 2 Percentage of Embryo Transfer Cycles in Which a Single Embryo Was Transferred, United States, 2012–2021 (Source: CDC)

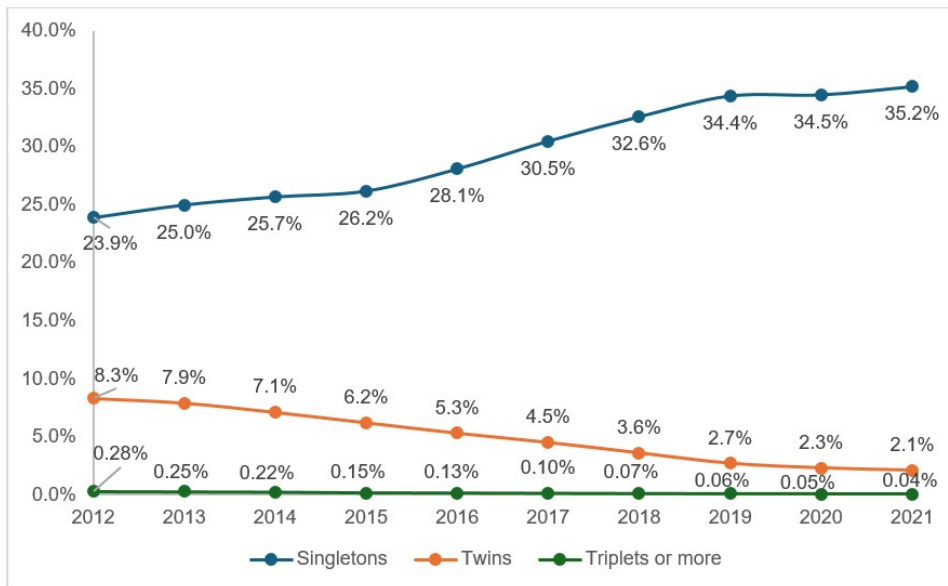


Fig. 3 Percentage of Embryo Transfer Cycles That Resulted in the Live-Birth Delivery of Singletons, Twins, or Triplets or More, United States, 2012–2021 (Source: CDC)

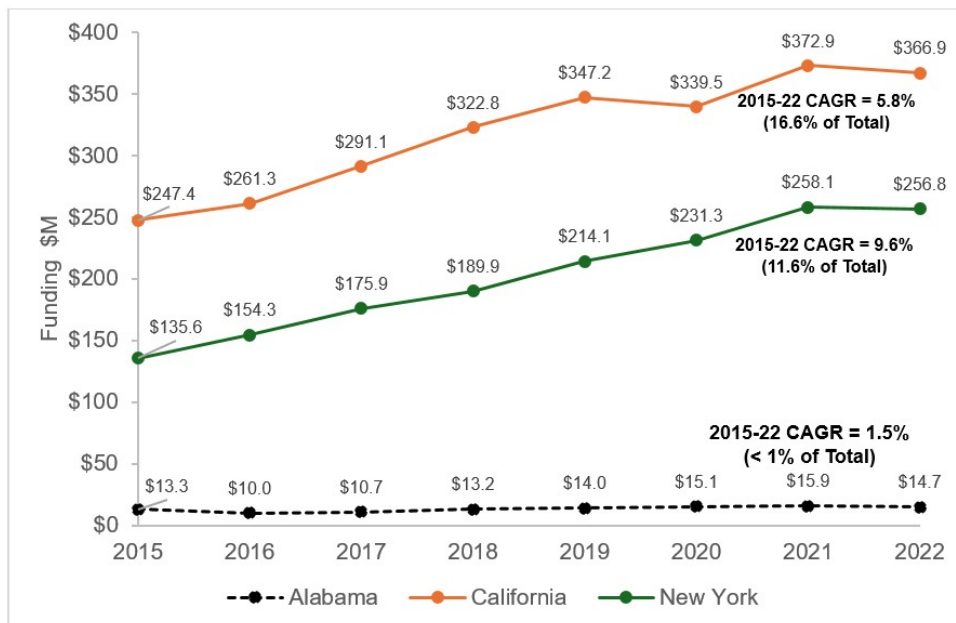


Fig. 4 Stem cell research funding in millions of dollars for Alabama, California, and New York from 2015 to 2022.

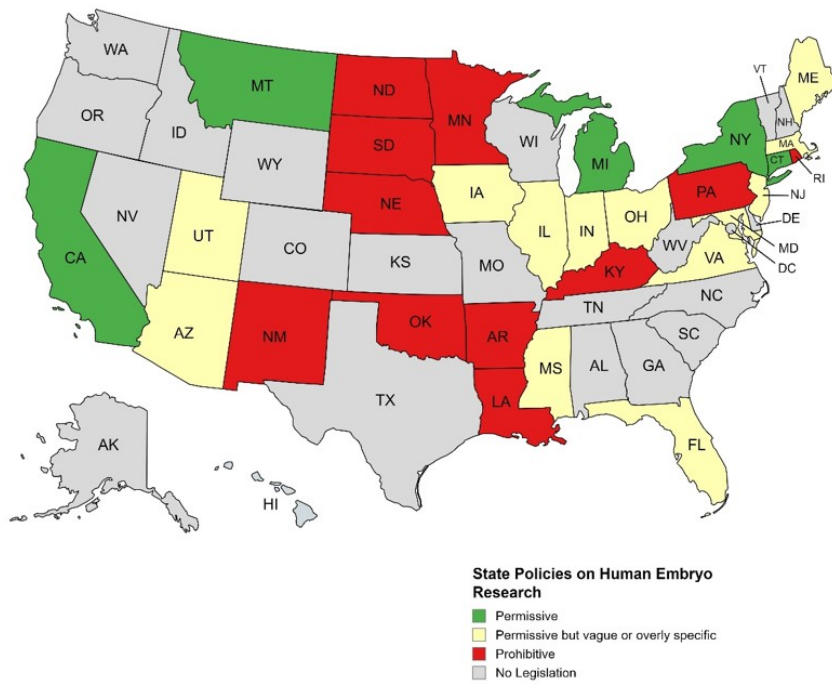


Fig. 5 US federal and state policies guiding human embryo research. Legislation falls into one of four categories: ‘no’ legislation (gray), ‘prohibitive’ (red), ‘permissive’ (green), and ‘vague or specific’ (yellow). In this context, vague or overly specific legislation implies states permit human embryo research but have legislation on the creation of hESCs for research or research using fetal tissue from abortions.

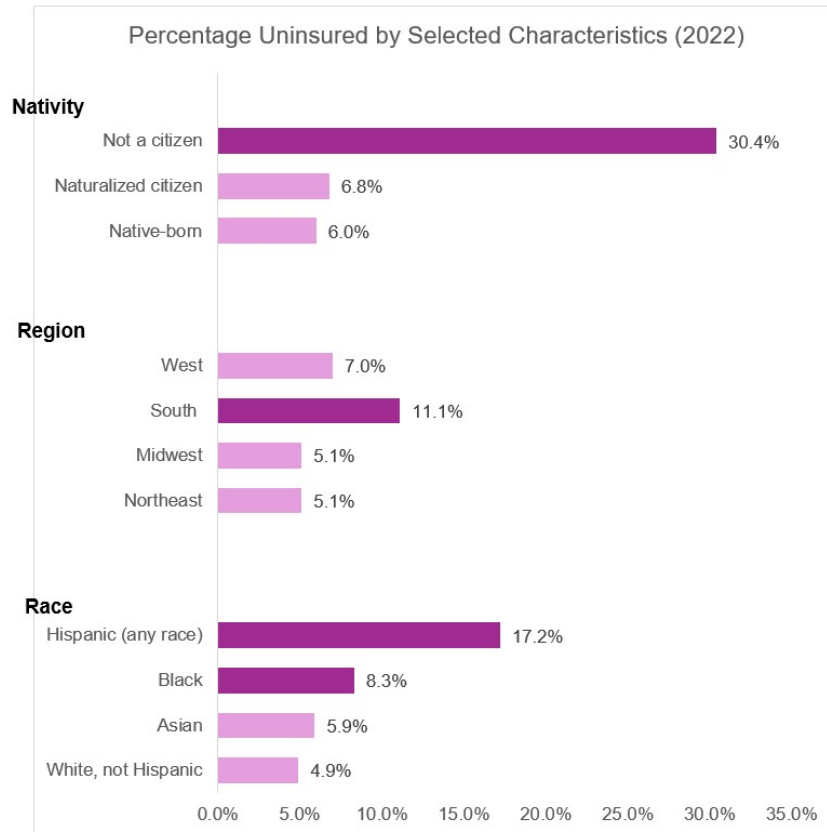


Fig. 6 This figure illustrates variations in health uninsurance rates across different age groups, regions, and racial categories for the year 2022. Data were extracted and analyzed from Appendix A of the Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2022 report. Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Reports, P60-281, Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2022

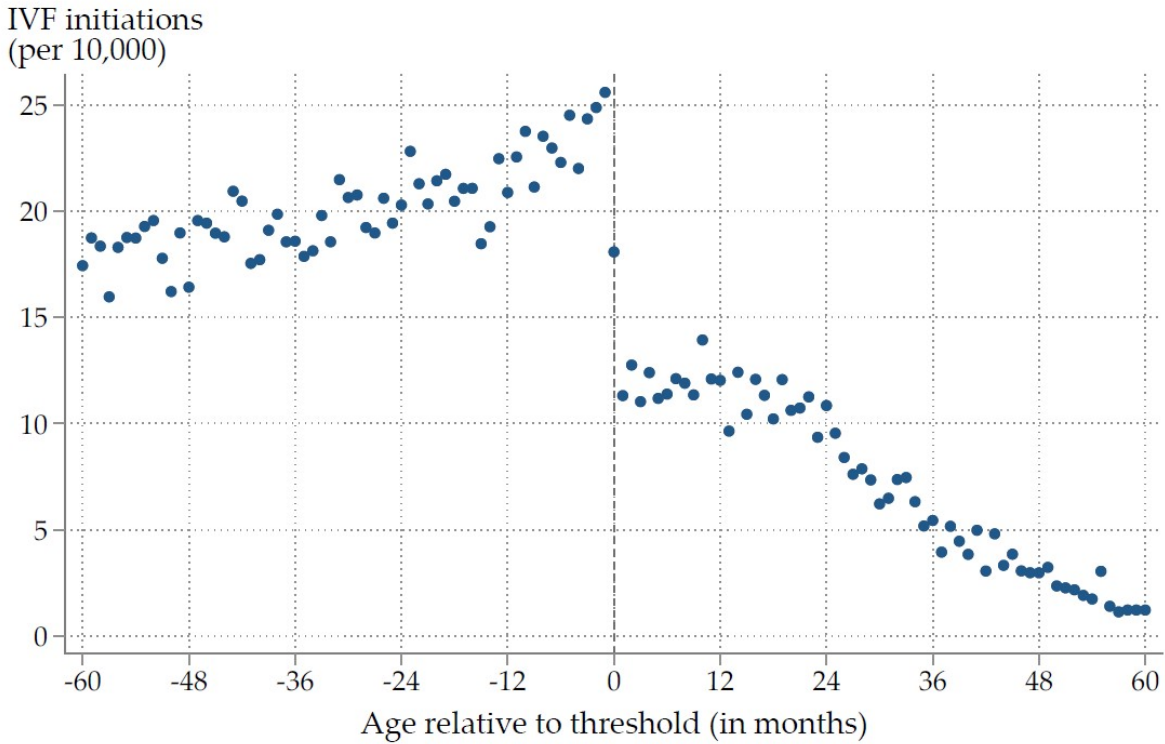


Fig. 7 This figure illustrates the relationship between public health insurance coverage of IVF and the probability of IVF initiation. The x-axis indexes a woman's age in months relative to the insurance eligibility cutoff age, which is specific to the woman's region of residence and year. The figure shows the number of women initiating IVF per 10,000 women in the sample of all childless women who are within five years of the insurance age eligibility cutoff, and who haven't initiated an IVF treatment yet by a given month.
 Source: National Bureau of Economic Research. NBER Working Paper No. 32445