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Medically assisted reproduction and mental health: a 24-year longitudinal analysis using Finnish register data

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1 **Medically assisted reproduction and mental health: a 24-year longitudinal analysis using**
2 **Finnish register data**

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40 register holders. The code used in the analyses of this paper may then be uploaded to the remote

41 access system by contacting the authors.

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44

45 **Condensation:** Remaining childless after undergoing Medically Assisted Reproduction is
46 associated with persistently higher psychotropic purchases than having a live birth after Medically
47 Assisted Reproduction or naturally.

48

49 **Short Title:** Medically Assisted Reproduction and mental health in Finland.

50 **AJOG at a Glance:**

51 • Why was this study conducted?

52 The number of women relying on medically assisted reproduction (MAR) to conceive has
53 grown rapidly, yet our knowledge about their mental health as they undergo MAR treatments
54 is limited.

55 • What are the key findings?

56 Women who did not have a live birth after undergoing MAR treatments purchased more
57 psychotropic medication than women who gave birth after conceiving naturally or through
58 MAR. Differences did not attenuate over time, even when adjusting for socio-demographic
59 characteristics. Women who conceived naturally and through MAR had very similar
60 psychotropic use from three years before conception to four years after, and over the long term.

61 • What does this study add to what is already known?

62 Similarities in psychotropic purchases of women who had a live birth, whether naturally or
63 through MAR suggest that the higher psychotropic use among women who remained childless
64 after undergoing MAR is likely to be driven more by involuntary childlessness than by
65 treatment-related stress.

66

67 **Abstract**

68 **Background:** Medically assisted reproduction (MAR) can negatively impact women's mental
69 health, particularly when the treatments do not result in a live birth. While the number of women
70 relying on MAR to conceive has grown rapidly, our knowledge about the mental health effects
71 before, during, and after treatment is limited.

72 **Objective:** To understand the long-term association between medically assisted reproduction and
73 mental health outcomes for women before, during and after their treatments, and according to
74 whether the treatment resulted in a live birth or not.

75 **Study Design:** Using Finnish register data for the period 1995-2018 we estimated the probability
76 of psychotropic purchases (antidepressants, anxiolytics, hypnotics and sedatives) for three groups
77 of women who: 1) gave birth after natural conception (NC), 2) gave birth after MAR treatments
78 (MAR+), or 3) underwent MAR but remained childless (MAR-). We followed women for up to
79 12 years before and 12 years after the reference date which corresponded to the conception date
80 for women who had a first live birth either after a natural or a MAR conception, or the date of the
81 last MAR treatment for women with no live birth by the end of 2017. We estimated linear
82 probability models before and after the adjustment for socio-demographic characteristics.

83 **Results:** The results show that women who did not have a live birth after undergoing MAR
84 treatments purchased more psychotropics than women who gave birth after conceiving naturally
85 or through MAR, and that these differences did not attenuate over time. 12 years after the reference
86 date 17.73% (95% CI: 16.82-18.63) of MAR- women purchased psychotropics, versus 11.11% of
87 NC (95% CI: 10.98-11.26) and 12.17% (95% CI: 11.65-12.69) of MAR+ women. In addition,
88 women who conceived naturally and through MAR had very similar psychotropic use patterns

89 from three years before conception to four years after, and over the long term. Adjustment for
90 women's socio-demographic characteristics did not change the results.

91 **Conclusions:** The similarities in psychotropic purchases of women who had a live birth, whether
92 naturally or through MAR, suggest that the higher psychotropic use among women who remained
93 childless after undergoing MAR were likely driven more by involuntary childlessness than by
94 treatment-related stress. The results highlight the importance of counselling for women undergoing
95 MAR treatments, especially if their attempts to conceive are unsuccessful.

96 **Keywords:** fertility treatments, mental health, psychotropic purchases, involuntary childlessness,
97 subfertility.

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104 **Introduction:**

105 As childbearing is increasingly postponed and infertility treatments are becoming more widely
106 available, the number of women relying on medically assisted reproduction (MAR) – which
107 includes techniques such as ovulation induction, artificial insemination, and assisted reproductive
108 technology (ART; including in vitro fertilisation (IVF) and intracytoplasmic sperm injection
109 (ICSI)) – to conceive has grown rapidly across the globe.¹ Between 1997 and 2016, IVF procedures
110 have increased 5.3-fold in Europe and 4.6-fold in the United States.²

111 Previous studies have suggested that MAR treatments can negatively affect women's
112 psychological wellbeing and cause psychological distress, anxiety, and depression³⁻⁵. The mental
113 health burden is higher for women whose treatments do not result in a live birth⁶⁻⁸. While some
114 studies have found that women's psychological wellbeing improves as they adjust to subfertility
115 and/or childlessness^{6,9-11}, others have reported long-term negative effects.^{12,13}

116 However, evidence about women's mental health as they undergo MAR treatments is limited. The
117 few existing longitudinal studies on this topic^{3,4,6,7} have limitations. First, the beginning of the
118 follow-up period is often around the time the MAR treatments started; i.e., when the women were
119 already struggling with subfertility. This approach makes it difficult to determine the extent to
120 which the mental health levels of women who undergo MAR diverge from their pre-treatment
121 levels. Second, they tend to use small and non-representative samples collected in MAR treatment
122 clinics, which are subject to self-reporting and recall bias.^{3,4} Finally, none of these studies directly
123 documents differences between women who conceive naturally, women who conceive through
124 MAR, and women who remain childless after MAR treatments.

125 In this study, we analyse the use of psychotropic medication among women who underwent MAR
126 to conceive and compare it to that of women who conceived naturally with a long-term perspective.
127 A key contribution is that we compare women who had a live birth after MAR to women who
128 underwent MAR but remained childless. We expand on the existing literature by investigating
129 women's psychotropic purchases both before and after the date of conception or the last treatment
130 cycle using population register data from Finland, and a significantly larger observation window
131 than prior studies.

132 **Materials and Methods:**

133 **Study population:**

134 All women in Finnish administrative registers who were born between 1950-1995, were childless
135 in 1995, and gave birth to their first child (either after natural conception or MAR) between ages
136 20 and 45 in 1996-2016 or underwent MAR treatments in 1995-2016 but were childless in 2017.

137 **Reference date:**

138 We set as reference date the conception date (estimated as birthdate minus gestational age) for
139 women who had a first live birth either after a natural or a MAR conception, or the date of the last
140 MAR treatment for women with no live birth by the end of 2017.

141 **Outcome:**

142 Psychotropics medication are commonly used to treat depression, anxiety, insomnia and other
143 related mental health problems.^{14,15} Information about psychotropic purchases prescribed in the
144 public and private sectors was gathered from the National Prescription Register between January
145 1995 and December 2018. In Finland, all psychotropic medication is prescribed by clinical doctors,

146 and residents are entitled to reimbursement for medication expenses, usually provided directly at
147 pharmacies. The prescription register includes information on the purchase date and medication
148 type, classified according to the World Health Organization's Anatomical Therapeutic Chemical
149 (ATC) Classification System (WHO, 2013). We included all purchases of antidepressants (ATC
150 codes N06A), anxiolytics (ATC codes N05B), and hypnotics and sedatives (ATC codes N05C).

151 We divided our follow-up period into six-month intervals before and after the reference date. For
152 each interval, the outcome variable takes a value of one if a woman purchased psychotropics, and
153 of zero otherwise.

154 **MAR treatments:**

155 We identified women undergoing MAR treatments between 1995 and 2016 using administrative
156 data from the prescription, healthcare, and birth registers.

157 To identify MAR treatments in the prescription register, we updated Hemminki et al.'s¹⁶ algorithm
158 by including two drugs introduced after 2000 and some restrictions on stand-alone treatments
159 (more information in Appendix 1). We identified children conceived through MAR by combining
160 each woman's purchases of fertility drugs with her child's birthdate (retrieved from the Finnish
161 Medical Birth Register). We excluded purchases of drugs used in infertility treatment when also
162 plausibly used to treat other medical conditions, such as cancer. The healthcare register contains
163 information on dates and types of MAR procedures in the public sector. We identified children
164 conceived through MAR by combining the dates of MAR procedures with the child's birthdate.
165 Finally, to complement this information, we identified in the birth register children born after MAR
166 treatments from 2004 onwards.

167 Our three groups of interest are women who had their first live birth after 1) a natural conception
168 (NC) or 2) a MAR conception (MAR+), and 3) women who remained childless after MAR
169 treatments (MAR-). Women who conceived after MAR treatments could be identified from any of
170 the three sources, and women who underwent MAR treatments not resulting in a live birth were
171 identified using the procedure and/or drug registers. We assumed a woman conceived naturally if
172 none of the data sources indicated that her child was conceived through MAR.

173 **Treatment length:**

174 We defined treatment length as the time between the first and last MAR treatment, and created a
175 binary variable that takes a value of one for women who underwent treatments for over two years,
176 and of zero otherwise. The two-year threshold was chosen based on the average treatment length
177 (1.98 years) in our sample. For cases in which MAR treatment was identified only through the
178 birth register (11.5% of MAR+ women) – which does not provide information on treatment length
179 – we imputed the first treatment date using age-specific average times between the start of MAR
180 treatments and conception.

181 **Period of observation:**

182 Data on psychotropic purchases from 1995 to 2018, together with data on MAR treatments
183 between 1995 and 2016, allowed us to follow women for up to 12 years before and after the
184 reference date, resulting in an unbalanced panel with a total of 48 six-month intervals (24 years),
185 and a median follow-up of 35 intervals (18 years) (appendix Table 2A).

186 **Exclusions:**

187 We excluded from the sample women who were under age 20 or over age 45 at the reference date.

188 We excluded women with triplets, which is associated with more distress.¹⁷ We censored

189 psychotropic purchases that occurred before women reached age 18. Furthermore, we censored
190 women who were living abroad in any given year, as medication purchases are recorded only for
191 women residing in Finland. Finally, we excluded observations with missing values in the
192 covariates (0.07%). This results in a sample of 575,921 women. Of them, 97.73% had a first birth
193 in 1996-2016 (5.89% after MAR), and 2.27% remained childless after undergoing MAR
194 treatments.

195 **Statistical analysis:**

196 We estimated Generalized Estimating Equation linear models using the six-month intervals as
197 repeated panel observations and robust standard errors with exchangeable correlation structure.
198 We modelled changes in psychotropic purchases by interacting the three groups of interest (women
199 who had a live birth after a natural or a MAR conception, and women who remained childless after
200 MAR treatments) with the six-month period variable (time-varying), which resulted in 96
201 coefficients representing the probability of psychotropic use for MAR+ and MAR- against NC
202 women for each period.

203 We estimated two models. In Model 1, we adjusted for calendar year to control for increasing
204 psychotropic use over time¹⁸, and for age, because, on average, psychotropic use increases with
205 age¹⁹ and women who undergo MAR are older than women who conceive naturally.²⁰ Since
206 women who undergo MAR treatments are, on average, socio-economically advantaged²¹, Model
207 2 additionally controls for time-varying socio-demographic factors: household income decile
208 (categorical), cohabitation status (binary), as well as hospital district of residence (categorical). As
209 psychotropic purchases may be affected by the transition to a higher-parity birth, Model 2 also
210 adjusts for the transition to a second- and third- or higher-order birth (binary). To investigate
211 whether treatment duration moderated the association between MAR treatments and psychotropic

212 purchases, we estimated Model 1 interacting the period variable with a variable that identified the
213 three interest groups and their treatment length, resulting in five categories: NC, MAR+ above two
214 years, MAR+ below two years, MAR- above two years, and MAR- below two years.

215 All analyses were conducted in Stata 16. The study was exempt from IRB approval as it was not
216 necessary given prior institutional approval of the overall project (European Research Council
217 grant #803958).

218 **Results:**

219 Table 1 shows that 33.4% of women purchased psychotropics in at least one six-month period
220 during the 24-year follow-up, with 15% having purchased at least once in the 12 years before the
221 first conception or last MAR cycle, and 27.3% in the following 12 years. Psychotropic use differed
222 across the three groups: 14.5% and 18.9% of NC and MAR+ women, respectively, purchased
223 psychotropics before they conceived their first child, versus 25% of MAR-.

224 We observed substantial differences across groups over time (Figure 1). Differences in
225 psychotropic purchases between women who underwent MAR treatments and women who
226 conceived naturally emerged as early as 9-10 years before conception or last treatment cycle, with
227 the latter being more likely to purchase psychotropics (MAR-: 3.25% (95% CI:2.71-3.79); MAR+:
228 2.51% (95% CI:2.27-2.75)) than the former (1.48% (95% CI:1.14-1.58)).

229 Five years before conception or the last cycle, the psychotropic purchases of women undergoing
230 MAR diverged (Figure 1). The share of women taking psychotropics remained at 4.86% for MAR+
231 women (95% CI:4.59-5.13), but increased to 6.45% (up 16.02% from the previous year) among
232 MAR- women.

233 Women who had a child either through MAR or naturally had similar levels of psychotropic use
234 from three years before conception to four years after. Nonetheless, while the probability of
235 purchasing psychotropics decreased gradually from two years before conception onwards among
236 MAR+ women, no shift occurred among NC women until right before conception. Conversely,
237 women who remained childless after MAR increased their psychotropic use sharply after the last
238 MAR cycle. This resulted in a large gap in psychotropic purchases around the reference date, with
239 9.82% (95% CI:9.29-10.36) of MAR- women purchasing psychotropics versus 2.83% (95% CI:
240 2.78-2.88) of NC women and 2.49% (95% CI:2.31-2.66) of MAR+ women. The psychotropic
241 purchases of both NC and MAR+ women increased immediately following childbirth, which
242 resulted in an attenuation of the differences between NC, MAR+, and MAR- groups. From six
243 years after the reference date onwards, the gap in psychotropic purchases between childbearing
244 and childless women remained relatively stable. The gap never fully attenuated, as 12 years after
245 the reference date, women who underwent unsuccessful MAR treatments were 45.69% and
246 59.48% more likely to purchase psychotropics than women who delivered a live birth through
247 MAR or naturally, respectively.

248 To illustrate the fluctuations in psychotropic purchases among women who underwent MAR
249 treatments and either gave birth or remained childless, Figure 2 shows the ratio of predicted
250 margins estimated using the delta method for these women relative to women who conceived
251 naturally. The figure shows a clear peak in psychotropic purchases among MAR- women.

252 When adjusting for socio-demographic characteristics in Model 2, differences in psychotropic
253 purchases across groups remained consistent with Model 1 (appendix Figure 1A). We re-estimated
254 all models excluding women who underwent fertility treatments but conceived naturally, and the
255 results held (appendix Figure 2A).

256 Lengthier MAR treatments were associated with higher psychotropic purchases regardless of the
257 treatment result (Figure 3 and appendix Table 4A). For example, women undergoing lengthier
258 treatments were 37.28% (MAR+) and 32.47% (MAR-) more likely to purchase psychotropics
259 around the date of conception or last cycle than their counterparts undergoing shorter treatments,
260 and these differences shrank after the reference date. Nonetheless, the results were consistent with
261 those of Model 1: women who had a child following MAR had lower psychotropic use than women
262 who underwent MAR and remained childless.

263 **Comment:**

264 Principal Findings:

265 The results show that psychotropic use was higher among women who remained childless after
266 MAR than among women who conceived naturally or through MAR. This pattern persisted over
267 the long term, in line with the findings of other studies.^{3,5,10,12,13} Adjustment for socio-demographic
268 characteristics did not change the pattern of results.

269 However, while women who conceived via MAR had higher psychotropic use than women who
270 conceived naturally at the beginning of the observation window, their psychotropic use was similar
271 from three years before to four years after conception, and the differences over the longer term
272 remained small, and were unlikely to be clinically relevant.

273 Results in the context of what is known:

274 While the finding of similarities in long-term psychotropic use between women who conceived
275 naturally and through MAR is consistent with previous studies^{5,22}, in this study, we were able to
276 significantly extend the observation window, and thus to provide further evidence about the mental
277 wellbeing of this growing population group.

278 Our results significantly deepen the understanding of the link between MAR and mental health in
279 three ways. First, we showed that differences between women for whom MAR treatments did not
280 result in a live birth and women who delivered a live birth either naturally or through MAR arose
281 as early as five years before the date of conception or last MAR cycle, with the former increasing
282 their psychotropic uptake more than the latter. A possible explanation for the emergence of this
283 gap well before women ended MAR treatments is that the former may have already received a
284 diagnosis of subfertility and started the infertility treatment process. There is evidence that the start
285 of infertility treatments are related to increased levels of depression and anxiety.^{22,23}

286 Second, we showed there was a sharp increase in psychotropic purchases following the last failed
287 treatment cycle, which could have been driven by the grief women felt when they realised that
288 they were unlikely to have a biological child.¹³ Although this stark increase could also be related
289 to women breaking up with their partner and suspending treatment²⁴, adjusting for partnership
290 status in the analyses did not alter the results. By contrast, women who had a live birth either
291 naturally or after undergoing MAR treatments reduced their psychotropic purchases when trying
292 to conceive and whilst pregnant. The reasons for this could be twofold: On the one hand, the
293 decrease and slow return to pre-conception psychotropic purchase levels (around 36 months) could
294 be related to a temporary increase in subjective wellbeing around the time of first birth.²⁵ On the
295 other, pregnant women may decrease their psychotropic uptake during pregnancy or postpartum
296 because medications may have negative side effects²⁶ even though some medications are safe to
297 use during this period.²⁷⁻²⁹

298 Third, while the psychotropic purchases of the two MAR groups were similar at the beginning of
299 the observation window, they started diverging from around six years before conception or the last
300 MAR cycle, and the differences never fully attenuated during follow-up. The stark increase in

301 psychotropic uptake that occurred around the last treatment date for women who remained
302 childless could suggest that their worse mental health outcomes were driven more by involuntary
303 childlessness than by treatment-related stress. The analyses on the moderating role of the MAR
304 treatment length further supported this hypothesis. Within the MAR+ and MAR- groups, women
305 who underwent MAR for 2+ years had higher psychotropic use at the beginning and end of the
306 follow-up period. However, the differences became smaller over the longer term, as the purchases
307 of women who underwent longer MAR processes in both the MAR+ and MAR- groups tended to
308 converge with those of their counterparts who underwent shorter MAR processes; i.e., childbearing
309 status was more important in determining women's psychotropic purchases than MAR treatment
310 length. The results reinforce the hypothesis that higher psychotropic purchases were associated
311 with unintended childlessness after undergoing MAR treatments, while the moderating effect of
312 the length of the MAR process was small.

313 Clinical implications:

314 In light of the increasing use of MAR treatments, the results of this study underscore the
315 importance of offering counselling to women undergoing MAR treatments, particularly if their
316 attempts to conceive through MAR are unsuccessful. The provision of psychological support and
317 counselling during the MAR process may reduce the likelihood of women ending treatments
318 prematurely because of stress; better prepare women for the potential failure of treatments; and
319 help women deal with the grieving process if their desire to have a child is unfulfilled.¹³ However
320 more evidence is needed to determine whether and to what extent such psychological support is
321 effective.

322 Research Implications:

323 We found that involuntary childlessness has associated mental health costs, yet more work is
324 necessary to establish what are the mechanisms underlying this association. Moreover, the results
325 show that the estimation of the MAR effect on mental health is sensitive to when it is measured
326 during the MAR process i.e. could be over or underestimated depending on how the baseline and
327 follow up are defined with respect to conception/last MAR cycle.

328 Strengths and limitations:

329 This study has several strengths. First, the use of a large and nationally representative register
330 allowed us to investigate the association between MAR treatments and psychotropic purchases
331 free of self-reporting biases, and to investigate this association before, upon, and after the
332 conception date (or the last cycle date for unsuccessful MAR cases) in six-months intervals.
333 Second, the long follow-up allowed us to observe psychotropic purchases when women were most
334 likely not yet struggling with infertility or MAR treatments. Third, we identified and compared
335 women who had a live birth naturally or after MAR to women who underwent MAR but whose
336 treatments did not result in a live birth, which is relevant for understanding how MAR treatments
337 and their outcomes affect women's mental health. Finally, by focusing on psychotropics, which
338 are widely used to treat depression and anxiety in women of reproductive ages, we were able to
339 observe common psychiatric disorders, and not only the more acute or severe cases (e.g.,
340 psychiatric hospitalisations).

341 The study also has limitations. First, the analysis focused on Finland, a context with subsidised
342 medical care and medication costs, which could limit the generalisability of our findings to other
343 settings. However, in contexts where MAR treatments are not as well subsidised as in Finland, the
344 association between psychotropic uptake and MAR treatments could be even stronger because of
345 higher levels of stress related to income loss. Second, although the analysis of psychotropic

346 purchases allows us to observe women who suffer from common psychiatric disorders, there are
347 other non-pharmacological interventions such as therapy and counselling which we are not
348 considering. Thirdly, we were unable to establish whether the association between MAR
349 treatments and psychotropic purchases was causal given that subfertility is associated with higher
350 levels of stress³⁻⁵, but using psychotropics is also associated with infertility.^{30,31} Nevertheless,
351 additional analyses (see appendix figure 3A) demonstrate that our main results remain similar
352 when excluding all women who had purchased psychotropics before the reference date, suggesting
353 that our conclusions are unlikely to be primarily related to an underlying higher propensity to use
354 psychotropic medications among women who undergo MAR and remain childless. Fourth, whilst
355 the use of administrative registers has many advantages, they do not provide information on the
356 causes of infertility or cases of abnormal pregnancies. Finally, we are unable to account for the
357 role of pregnancy loss because registry data record only those that require hospitalization.
358 Nevertheless, it is unlikely results are driven by miscarriages since we do not observe differences
359 in psychotropic uptake before the reference date between MAR+ and NC women even though the
360 former experience, on average, a higher number of miscarriages because they suffer from
361 subfertility.

362 Conclusions:

363 The similarities in the psychotropic purchases of women who had a live birth, whether naturally
364 or through MAR, suggest that the higher psychotropic use among women who remained childless
365 after undergoing MAR were likely driven more by involuntary childlessness than by treatment-
366 related stress. The results highlight the importance of counselling for women undergoing MAR
367 treatments, especially if their attempts to conceive are unsuccessful.

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463 **Tables:**

464

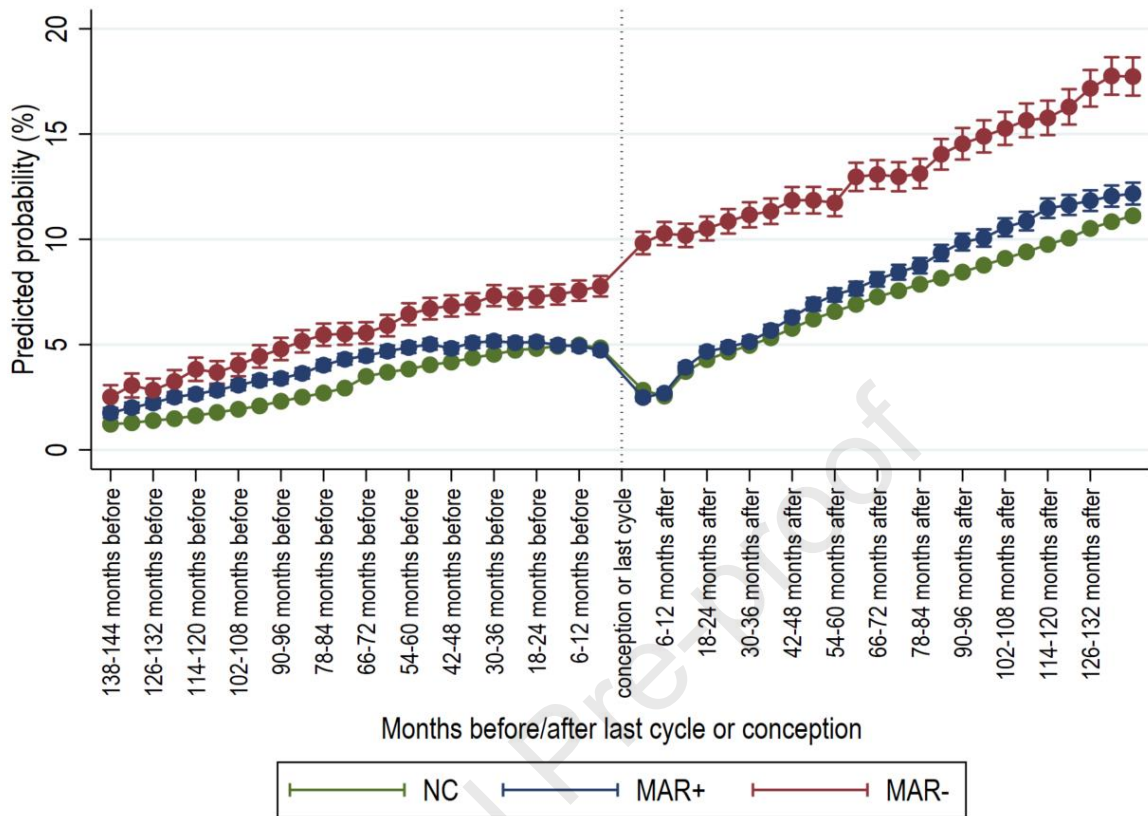
465 **Table 1: Psychotropic purchases before and after conception or last MAR treatment**

Psychotropic purchases:	NC		MAR+		MAR-		Total	
	Mean (%)	SD	Mean (%)	SD	Mean (%)	SD	Mean (%)	SD
Before conception or last cycle date	14.48	35.19	18.85	39.11	25	43.3	14.98	35.68
After conception or last cycle date	27.04	44.42	27.87	44.84	37.9	48.52	27.33	44.57
Before and/or after conception or last cycle date	32.93	47	36.15	48.04	45.24	49.77	33.4	47.16
Number of observations	528,913		33,942		13,066		575,921	

466 **Note:** NC refers to women who conceived naturally, MAR+ to women who conceived after MAR
 467 treatments, and MAR- to women who underwent MAR treatments and remained childless.

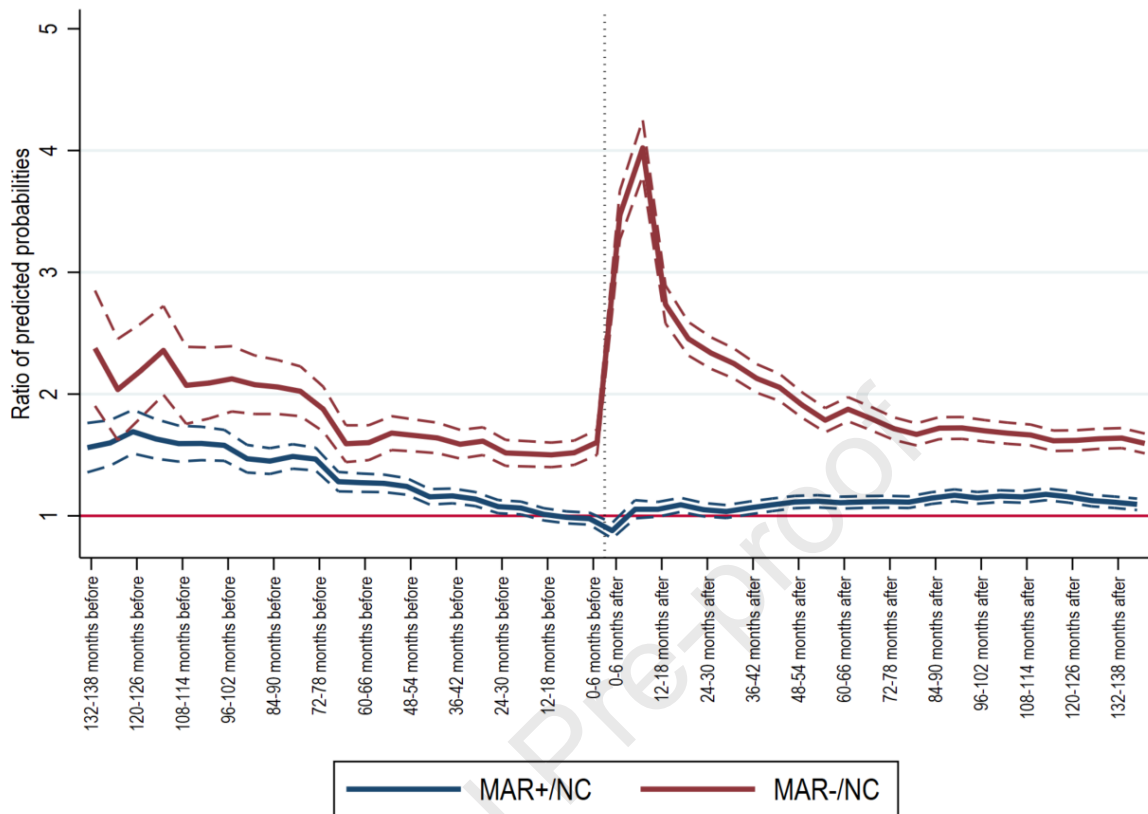
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Figure 1: Predicted probabilities of purchasing psychotropics before and after the reference date, by group (Model 1)



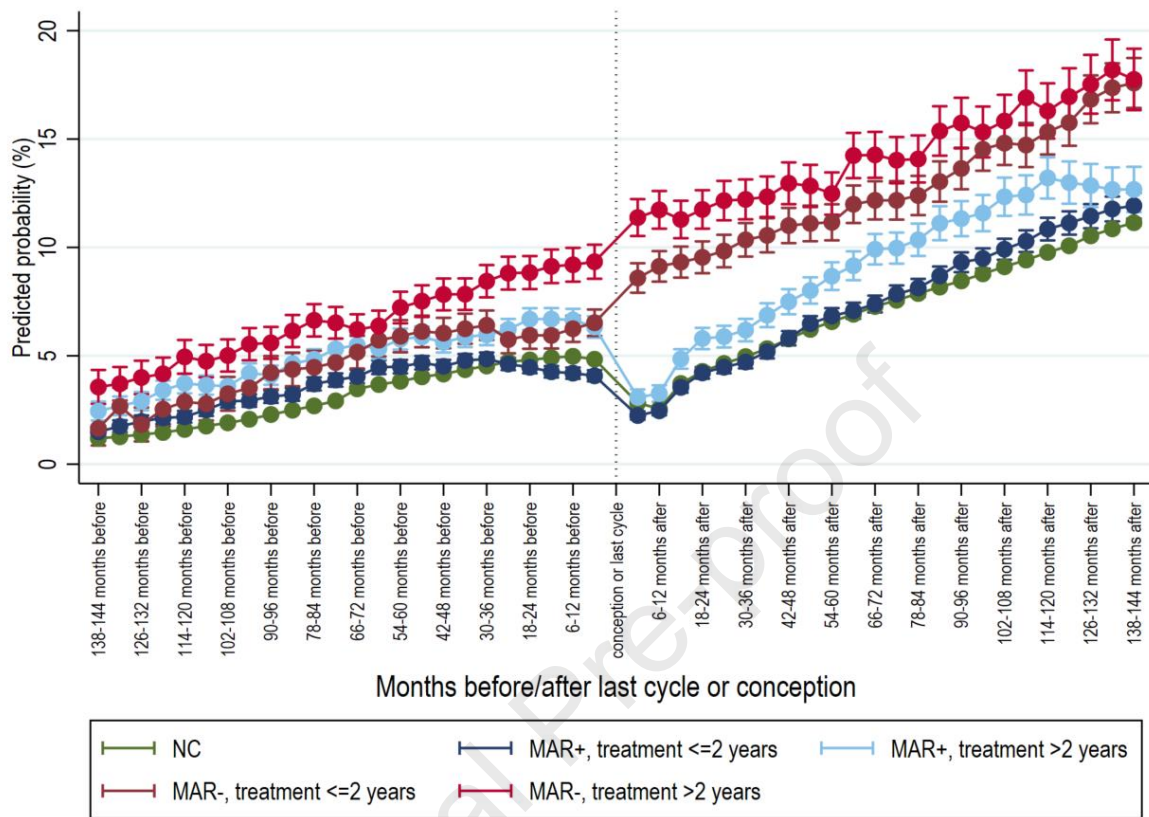
Note: NC refers to women who conceived naturally, MAR+ to women who conceived after MAR treatments, and MAR- to women who underwent MAR treatments but did not deliver a live birth by the end of 2017. Model 1 adjusts for calendar year and age.

Figure 2: Ratio of predicted probability of purchasing psychotropics before and after the reference date, estimated after Model 1



Note: NC refers to women who conceived naturally, MAR+ to women who conceived after MAR treatments, and MAR- to women who underwent MAR treatments but did not deliver a live birth by the end of 2017. Ratios calculated after the estimation of Model 1. Horizontal red line in $y=1$ represents equal predicted probabilities between each of the MAR and NC groups.

Figure 3: Predicted probability of purchasing psychotropics before and after the reference date, by group and length of treatment (Model 1)



Note: NC refers to women who conceived naturally, MAR+ to women who conceived after MAR treatments, and MAR- to women who underwent MAR treatments but were childless by the end of 2017.