



Pregnant and Parenting Women with a Substance Use Disorder: Actions and Policy for Enduring Therapeutic Practice

Martha A. Jessup, PhD, RN, FAAN^{a,b*}, Sarah E. Oerther, MSN, MEd, RN^c,
Bonnie Gance-Cleveland, PhD, RN, PNP-BC, FAAN^d,
Lisa M. Cleveland, PhD, RN, CPNP, IBCLC, FAAN^a, Kim M. Czubaruk, JD^e,
Mary W. Byrne, PhD, RN, FAAN^a, Karen D'Apolito, PhD, APRN, NNP-BC, FAAN^{a,f,g},
Susan M. Adams, PhD, RN, PMHNP-BC, FAANP, FAAN^a,
Betty J. Braxter, PhD, CNM, RN^h, Norma Martinez-Rogers, PhD, RN, FAAN^a

^aPsychiatric, Mental Health and Substance Use Expert Panel

^bWomen's Health Expert Panel

^cAmerican Academy of Nursing Jonas Policy Scholar

^dChild, Adolescent & Family Expert Panel

^eAmerican Academy of Nursing Policy Manager

^fBreast Feeding Expert Panel

^gMaternal & Infant Health Expert Panel

^hUniversity of Pittsburgh School of Nursing, Health Promotion and Development Department

Executive Summary

The American Academy of Nursing (Academy) calls for an end to criminal prosecution and punitive civil actions against pregnant and parenting women based solely on their substance use or substance use disorder (SUD). The Academy supports a public health response to the needs of women and their children and families affected by SUDs that incorporates multi-disciplinary culturally- and trauma-responsive models of health care, child welfare, treatment and recovery supports and clinician practices that are in line with the accumulated scientific evidence.

Background

Since the 1970s, many law enforcement agencies, state legislatures, courts, and medical personnel in the United States have used punitive legal sanctions against pregnant women with the purported intent of protecting the fetus from maternal use of alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs (Guttmacher Foundation, 2018; Jos, Marshall & Perlmutter, 1995; *Reyes v. Superior Court*, 1977). Women of color and those who are financially disenfranchised have been disproportionately targeted for drug screening and drug related charges and as a result have

experienced disparities in access to needed health and social services (Amnesty International, 2017; Kunins, Bellin, Chazott, Du & Arnsten, 2007; Roberts, 1991). The net impact of these actions on women who are using substances and on their families has been to incite fear, suppress women's disclosure of substance use, and create barriers to essential health and social services, with resulting poor outcomes (Angelotta, Weiss, Angelotta, & Friedman, 2016; Stone, 2015). After more than four decades of criminal and civil actions against women who are pregnant and parenting and their families, the accumulating evidence of inherent harm and threats to maternal and child health and to women's constitutional and civil rights is undeniable (Amnesty International, 2017; *Ferguson v. City of Charleston*, 2001; Paltrow & Flavin, 2013). Recovery-oriented public health responses are urgently needed to institutionalize evidence-driven practice, and to permanently shift the culture of punishment to one of enduring therapeutic intent in line with a health justice framework (Benfer, 2015).

Scientific evidence and cost-benefit analyses strongly support the use of therapeutic treatment interventions to ensure optimal health and social outcomes for women and their children (French, McCollister, Cacciola, Durell & Stephens, 2002; National Institute on Drug Abuse [NIDA], 2018; Substance Abuse Mental Health Services Administration [SAMHSA], 2018). Clinical protocols for healthcare practitioners and best practice model programs for state agency responses also

* Corresponding author: Martha A. Jessup, Professor Emerita, University of California San Francisco School of Nursing.

E-mail address: marty.jessup@ucsf.edu (M.A. Jessup).

0029-6554/\$ - see front matter © 2019 Elsevier Inc. All rights reserved.

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.outlook.2019.02.005>

provide guidance to significantly improve the health and wellness of women and their children and families, and to direct therapeutic and humanitarian public policy actions in the U.S. (Klaman et al., 2017; Maguire, 2014; SAMHSA, 2014, 2016, 2017a, 2018).

Criminal and civil sanctions

The available data sources indicate that since the 1970's, more than 1000 women in the U.S. have been prosecuted for substance use during pregnancy¹ with the majority of those cases occurring since 2005 (Amnesty International, 2017; Paltrow & Flavin, 2013). Some states and jurisdictions have created “fetal assault” laws to prosecute women with SUDs. In Alabama and Tennessee alone, several hundred women have been charged under similar statutes (Amnesty International, 2017; Paltrow & Flavin, 2013). Recent actions by state legislatures and county prosecutors have led to criminal charges, arrests, and incarceration (Code of Alabama, 2012; Tennessee Fetal Assault Law, 2014;² Terplan & Minkoff, 2017). There has also been a call for the public to specifically report pregnant women who are “using drugs or alcohol” so they may be identified and arrested (Office of the County Attorney, Big Horn County, Montana, 2018).

Currently, 24 states and the District of Columbia have laws enforcing the position that substance use during pregnancy constitutes child abuse under civil child welfare statutes, and three states enforce civil commitment as a means of deterrence for drug use (Guttmacher, 2018). Although model protocols for risk evaluation exist (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC], 2015; SAMHSA, 2016; Washington State Department of Health, 2016), no requirements for in-depth clinical evaluation of parenting capacity prior to filing a report were identified in any of the child welfare statutes for the 24 states and the District of Columbia. Law enforcement, probation officers, and courts have been known to order women to discontinue medication approved by the Food and Drug Administration for treatment (Legal Action Center, 2018a, 2018b), potentially placing them at risk for relapse and/or overdose death.

The impact of substance use on women, infants, children and families

Substance use during pregnancy places women at increased risk for inadequate prenatal care, infectious

diseases, obstetric complications, needle-related morbidity, overdose, and death. In surveys of women who were pregnant, 5.9% report use of illicit drugs, 8.5 % report alcohol use, and 15.9% report smoking (SAMHSA, 2012a). Among women using substances, between 55% and 90% have histories of trauma (Najavits, Weiss & Shaw, 1997) and are three times more likely to experience intimate partner violence (El Bassel, Gilbert, Wu, Go, & Hill, 2005). Additionally, these women are more likely to have a co-occurring mental illness (SAMHSA, 2014). State reviews of pregnancy-related deaths conducted in 2015-2016 cite opioid overdose as a significant contributor to maternal deaths, ranging from 11-20% of all deaths during pregnancy (Maryland Department of Health and Mental Hygiene, 2016; Metz et al., 2012; Virginia Department of Health, 2015).

Among women who gave birth between 2000 and 2009, opioid use increased from 1.19 to 5.63 per 1,000 hospital births annually (Smith & Lipari, 2017). Neonatal abstinence syndrome (NAS) has increased 300% in 28 states in the past two decades (Ko et al., 2016; Patrick, Davis, Lehmann & Cooper, 2015; Patrick et al., 2012) with one NAS-affected infant born every 25 minutes in the U.S. (Ebell, 2010). NAS appears within 48–72 hours of birth and includes central nervous system irritability, respiratory and feeding difficulties, low birth weight, and temperature instability (Hudak & Tan, 2012). A 2012 cost estimate of NAS-associated hospital charges noted an economic burden of \$1.5 billion with 80% of costs financed by Medicaid programs (Patrick, et al., 2015). In addition to opioid-induced symptoms, prenatal exposure to alcohol, tobacco and other licit and illicit substances can also contribute to low and extremely low birth weight, prematurity, cognitive, neurological, and developmental problems, and fetal alcohol spectrum disorders.

Women with SUDs and their families face multiple challenges including potential loss of child custody, mother-child separation due to incarceration, homelessness, exposure to violence, limited parenting opportunities and abilities, and trauma-related mental health conditions. Early therapeutic intervention can lead to lifelong benefits for these women and their children. Access to quality healthcare plays a vital role in long-term health and social outcomes, birth spacing, prevention of preterm delivery, and low birth weight (Sonfield, 2014).

Responses and Policy Options

There is widespread agreement among public health organizations, as well as scientific evidence, that prosecution in lieu of treatment is ineffective and potentially harmful. Congress has taken legislative actions including the Comprehensive Addiction and Recovery Act of 2016 (CARA), [Public Law 114-198] and the Protecting Our Infants Act of 2015 (POIA), [Public

¹ There is no national data bank monitoring the number of prosecutions of women for substance use during pregnancy. The number of cases referenced above is derived from existing analyses of known cases in several states and is believed to be an undercount of the actual number of cases (see Amnesty International, 2017, p. 8; Paltrow & Flavin, 2013, pgs. 304–305).

² The Tennessee Nurses Association in collaboration with other public health organizations played a central role in the sunset of Public Chapter 820 on July 1, 2016 through legislative testimony, alerts to Tennessee nurses, and by maintaining a continued public presence in support of treatment for Tennessee women with SUDs.

Law 114-91], which emphasize the beneficial outcomes of quality treatment and recovery services during pregnancy and parenting. Government agencies including SAMHSA, and professional organizations have crafted clinical guidelines and both CARA and SAMHSA (2017b) call for plans of safe care to address patient needs, with the conspicuous absence of beneficial outcomes arising from the imposition of punitive sanctions.

Recent proliferation of therapeutic family dependency model drug courts has also demonstrated improvements in SUD treatment initiation and completion and increased rates of reunification among families at risk for child abuse and neglect where substance use is a factor (Marlowe & Carey, 2012; National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges, 2018; SAMHSA, 2003). Among state responses to pregnant and parenting women with SUDs, Texas funded and disseminated the Mommies Program, a fully integrated model of care that included comprehensive treatment services, medication assisted treatment (MAT), recovery support services, housing, and specialty health services (Texas Health and Human Services Commission, 2015). In May, 2014 Ohio established the M.O.M.S. (Maternal Opiate Medical Support) model program consisting of specialty prenatal care, MAT, and behavioral health services in five care sites statewide. Today, the Ohio Perinatal Quality Collaborative is building upon the M.O.M.S. model with a program titled Maternal Opiate Medical Supports Plus (MOMS+) to optimize the maternity medical home and improve outcomes for pregnant women (Ohio Perinatal Quality Collaborative, 2018).

The Academy's Position

The American Academy of Nursing (Academy) calls for an end to criminal prosecution and punitive civil actions against pregnant and parenting women based solely on their substance use or substance use disorder (SUD). The Academy supports a public health response to the needs of women and their children and families affected by SUDs that incorporates multi-disciplinary culturally- and trauma-responsive models of health care, child welfare, treatment and recovery supports and clinician practices that are in line with the accumulated scientific evidence.

Recommendations

Federal

1. Increase funding for SAMHSA State Targeted Response to the Opioid Crisis grants (Opioid STR) and Opioid STR Supplement grants that include SUD services for pregnant and parenting women

and that develop community-based partnerships to ensure safe access to health services including prevention, treatment, and recovery supports for women, their children, and families.

2. SAMHSA should conduct widespread targeted dissemination of Clinical Guidance for Treating Pregnant and Parenting Women with Opioid Use Disorder and their Infants (SAMHSA 2018).
3. SAMHSA should advance ongoing training and technical assistance for service design to ensure cultural competence and sensitivity in SUD treatment and recovery approaches for women and families and to eliminate disparities based on race in terms of entry to and retention in treatment and recovery supports.
4. The CDCP and state Offices of Maternal and Child Health should collect comprehensive data on maternal deaths due to opioid and other drug overdose including decedents' associated behavioral health conditions, SUD and mental health treatment history, and preventability of death. The data should be made available to the public for research and to inform prevention and SUD treatment and recovery support policy approaches.

States

1. Increase state funding to ensure accessible community-based treatment, recovery supports, and health and social services for women, their children, and families affected by substance use regardless of immigration status or ability to pay for services.
2. Pass legislation to improve integrated comprehensive SUD services that include a continuum of gender- and trauma-responsive programming comprised of prenatal care, accessible MAT, individual and group therapy, trauma recovery, case management, psychosocial support, parent skills training, family education, pediatric health care and developmental services, and transition to ongoing women's health and wellness care, preventive health services, and family planning.

Nurses

Nurses have a critical role as patient advocates to protect individual health, human and legal rights of patients (ANA, 2016). Whereas law enforcement authorities have historically used a single drug test as grounds for prosecution of pregnant and parenting women with a SUD (Amnesty International, 2017), comprehensive assessments are essential to ensure the validity and integrity of clinical findings and must be upheld and protected. Nursing leadership is needed to safeguard accurate and comprehensive assessment and practice consistent with a therapeutic health justice approach.

1. Working with their health care institutions, Chief Nursing Officers, Nurse Administrators, and Nurse

Managers in women's health settings should lead the implementation and adoption of five essential actions in their clinical sites:

- a. Use of an objective protocol for clinical assessment of all women who are pregnant or of child-bearing age at entry into care that includes a valid substance use screening instrument, and conduct screening of all pregnant and postpartum women for anxiety, depression, and substance use (SAMHSA, 2018).
 - b. Use of a standardized NAS scoring instrument for assessment and use of standardized protocols for treatment of NAS in infants (SAMHSA, 2018).
 - c. Conduct maternal drug testing when the indication for testing is based on objective clinically observable criteria. Obtain informed consent for drug testing and provide education on testing procedures and the meaning of drug test results (SAMHSA, 2018). Ensure that the drug testing process used by the healthcare setting employs a secure chain of sample custody and the option for confirmatory testing (SAMHSA, 2012b, 2018).
 - d. Promote maternal-child bonding through the use of in-hospital rooming-in (McMillan et al., 2018), breastfeeding support (American College of Obstetrics and Gynecology and The American Society of Addiction Medicine, 2017; McGlothen & Cleveland, 2018; SAMHSA, 2018), and education on infant care and growth and development (Abrahams et al., 2007).
 - e. Ensure that discharge planning includes a referral to accessible community-based SUD treatment and recovery supports and to parenting programs.
2. Join community-based and state coalitions addressing the welfare of children affected by prenatal SUD to promote evidence-based therapeutic family and child interventions for the health and safety of children and to maintain family cohesion.
 3. Work with law enforcement, district attorneys, and judges to unite and align these stakeholders in therapeutic responses to pregnant and parenting women with SUDs and their children and families.
 4. Contribute expertise to collaborate on a national nurses training project to disseminate evidence-based practices for healthcare settings on clinical management and adoption of health justice-based policy approaches in the assessment, treatment and recovery supports for pregnant and parenting women with SUDs.

Acknowledgments

The authors thank Mary Foley, PhD, RN, FAAN, Board Secretary and Liaison to the Psychiatric, Mental Health and Substance Use Expert Panel, American Academy of Nursing and David M. Keepnews, PhD, JD, RN, FAAN

for their assistance and guidance provided. Thanks also to co-author Betty J. Braxter, PhD, CNM, RN who served as an expert clinical advisor in development of this policy brief. The authors express their appreciation to the members of the Psychiatric, Mental Health and Substance Use Expert Panel, Carol Dawson-Rose, RN, PhD, FAAN, Kathleen Delaney, PhD, PMH-NP, FAAN, Deborah Finnell, DNS, CARN-NP, FAAN, Kris A. McLoughlin, DNP, APRN, PMH CNS-BC, FAAN, Madeline Naegle, PhD, CNS-PMH, BC, FAAN and Frieda Outlaw, PhD, RN, FAAN. We also thank Cindy Greenberg, DNSc, RN, CPNP-PC, FAAN, Co-Chair of the Child, Adolescent, and Family Expert Panel; Deborah Walker, PhD, CNM, WHNP-BC, FACNM, FAAN and Carole Kenner, PhD, RN, FAAN, FNAP, ANEF, Co-Chairs of the Maternal and Infant Expert Panel; Judith Berg, PhD, RN, WHNP-BC, FAAN, FAANP, member of the Women's Health Expert Panel, and Jose Alejandro, PhD, RN, FAAN, Co-Chair of the Cultural Competence and Health Equity Expert Panel.

The authors express appreciation to Michael Marcotte, MD, Director of Quality and Safety for Women's Services at TriHealth, Cincinnati, Ohio and Lisa Ramirez, Project Director of the Texas Targeted Opioid Response, Behavioral Health Services Section, Texas Department of Health Services. Thanks also to Wilhemina Davis, Manager, Government Affairs, Tennessee Nurses Association, and Matt Tierney ANP, PMHNP, FAAN, Clinical Director, Substance Use Treatment and Education, Office of Population Health, UCSF Health. The authors also thank the National Advocates for Pregnant Women for data on prosecutions of women with substance use disorders.

REFERENCES

- Abrahams, R. R., Kelley, S. A., Payne, S., Thiessen, P. N., Mackintosh, et al. (2007). Rooming-in compared with standard care for newborns of mothers using methadone or heroin. *Canadian Family Physician*, 53(10), 1722–1730.
- American College of Obstetrics and Gynecology and the American Society of Addiction Medicine. (2017). Opioid Use and Opioid Use Disorders in Pregnancy. Number 711, August. Retrieved from: <https://www.acog.org/Clinical-Guidance-and-Publications/Committee-Opinions/Committee-on-Obstetric-Practice/Opioid-Use-and-Opioid-Use-Disorder-in-Pregnancy>.
- American Nurses Association. (2016). The Nurse's role in ethics and human rights: Protecting and promoting individual worth, dignity and rights in practice settings. ANA Center for Ethics and Human Rights. Retrieved from: <https://www.nursingworld.org/~4af078/globalassets/docs/ana/ethics/ethics-and-human-rights-protecting-and-promoting-final-format-20161130.pdf>.
- Amnesty International. (2017). Criminalizing pregnancy: Policing women who use drugs in the U.S.A. Retrieved from <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/amr51/6203/2017/en>.

- Angelotta, C., Weiss, C. J., Angelotta, J. W., & Friedman, R. A. (2016). A moral or medical problem? The relationship between legal penalties and treatment Practices for opioid use disorders in pregnant women. *Women's Health Issues*, 26(6), 595–601, doi:10.1016/j.whi.2016.09.002.
- Benfer, E. M. (2015). Health justice: A framework (and call to action) for the elimination of health inequity and social injustice. *American University Law Review*, 65(2), 275–351.
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (2015). CHOICES A Program for Women about Choosing Healthy Behaviors: A Facilitator Guide. Retrieved from: https://www.cdc.gov/ncbddd/fasd/documents/CHOICE_S_OnePager_April2013.pdf.
- Code of Alabama. Title 26-Infants and Incompetents. (2012). Chapter 15-Child Abuse Generally. §26-15-3.2. Chemical endangerment of exposing a child to an environment in which controlled substances are produced or distributed. Retrieved from: [https://www.ua.edu/about/policies/files/Ala.%20Code%20Sections%20Child%20Protection%20\(V2\).pdf](https://www.ua.edu/about/policies/files/Ala.%20Code%20Sections%20Child%20Protection%20(V2).pdf).
- Ebell, M. (2010). AHRQ White Paper: Use of clinical decision rules for point-of-care decision support. *Medical Decision Making*, 2010, 30(6), 712–721, doi:10.1177/0272989X10386232.
- El Bassel, N., Gilbert, L., Wu, E., Go, H., & Hill, J. (2005). Relationship between drug abuse and intimate partner violence: a longitudinal study among women receiving methadone. *American Journal of Public Health*, 95(3), 465–470.
- Ferguson v. City of Charleston*. 532 U.S. (2001). Retrieved June, 2018 from: <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/532/67/case.html>.
- French, M. T., McCollister, K. E., Cacciola, J., Durell, J., & Stephens, R. L. (2002). Benefit–cost analysis of addiction treatment in Arkansas: Specialty and standard residential programs for pregnant and parenting women. *Substance Abuse*, 23(1), 31–51, doi:10.1080/08897070209511473.
- Guttmacher Foundation. (2018). State Laws and Policies: Substance Use During Pregnancy. Retrieved from: <https://www.guttmacher.org/state-policy/explore/substance-use-during-pregnancy>.
- Hudak, M. L., & Tan, R. C. (2012). Committee on Drugs; Committee on Fetus and Newborn; American Academy of Pediatrics. Neonatal drug withdrawal. *Pediatrics*, 129, 540–560, doi:10.1542/peds.2011-3212.
- Jos, P. H., Marshall, M. F., & Perlmutter, M. (1995). The Charleston policy on cocaine use during pregnancy: A cautionary tale. *The Journal of Law, Medicine & Ethics*, 23(2), 120–128, doi:10.1111/j.1748-720x.1995.tb01341.x.
- Klaman, S. L., Isaacs, K., Leopold, A., Perpich, J., Hayashi, S., Vender, J., & Jones, H. E. (2017). Treating Women Who Are Pregnant and Parenting for Opioid Use Disorder and the Concurrent Care of Their Infants and Children. *Journal of Addiction Medicine*, 11(3), 178–190, doi:10.1097/adm.0000000000000308.
- Ko, J. Y., Patrick, S. W., Tong, V. T., Patel, R., Lind, J. N., & Barfield, W. D. (2016). Incidence of Neonatal Abstinence Syndrome — 28 States, 1999–2013. *MMWR. Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report*, 65(31), 799–802, doi:10.15585/mmwr.mm6531a2.
- Kunin, H. V., Bellin, E., Chazotte, C., Du, E., & Arnsten, J. H. (2007). The Effect of Race on Provider Decisions to Test for Illicit Drug Use in The Peripartum Setting. *Journal of Women's Health*, 16(2), 245–255, doi:10.1089/jwh.2006.0070.
- Legal Action Center. (2018a). Department of Justice addresses MAT discrimination. Retrieved from: <https://lac.org/department-of-justice-addresses-mat-discrimination/>.
- Legal Action Center. (2018b). Advocating for your recovery when ordered off addiction medication. Retrieved from: <https://lac.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/MAT-AdvocatingforYourRecovery.pdf>.
- Maguire, D. (2014). Drug addiction in pregnancy: Disease not moral failure. *Neonatal Network: The Journal of Neonatal Nursing*, 33(1), 11–18, doi:10.1891/0730-0832.33.1.11.
- Marlowe, D. B., & Carey, S. M. (2012). Research update on family drug courts. *National Association of Drug Court Professionals*. Retrieved from: [file:///Users/marty/Downloads/research_update_on_family_drug_courts_-_nadcp%20\(1\).pdf](file:///Users/marty/Downloads/research_update_on_family_drug_courts_-_nadcp%20(1).pdf).
- Maryland Department of Health and Mental Hygiene. (2016). Prevention and Health Promotion Administration. Maryland maternal mortality review: 2016 annual report. Annapolis (MD): Department of Health and Mental Hygiene. Retrieved from: <https://www.acog.org/-/media/Sections/MD/Public/MMRreport2015.pdf?dmc=1&ts=20180807T2225153950>.
- Metz, T. D., Rovner, P., Hoffman, M. C., Allshouse, A. A., Beckwith, K. M., & Binswanger, I. A. (2016). Maternal deaths from suicide and overdose in Colorado, 2004–2012. *Obstet Gynecology*, 128(6), 1233–1240, doi:10.1097/AOG.0000000000001695.
- McGlothen, K., & Cleveland, L. (2018). The right to Mother's milk: A call for social justice that encourages breastfeeding for women receiving medication-assisted treatment for opioid use disorder. *Journal of Human Lactation*, doi:10.1177/0890334418789401.
- McMillan, K. D. L., Rendon, C. P., Verma, K., Riblet, N., Washer, D. B., & Volpe Holmes, A. (2018). Association of rooming-in with outcomes for neonatal abstinence syndrome: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *Journal of the American Medical Association Pediatrics*, 172(4), 345–351, doi:10.1001/jamapediatrics.2017.5195 Apr 1.
- Najavits, L. M., Weiss, R. D., & Shaw, S. R. (1997). The link between substance abuse and posttraumatic stress disorder in women. *The American Journal on Addictions*, 6(4), 273–283, doi:10.1111/j.1521-0391.1997.tb00408.x.
- National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges. (2018). Child abuse and neglect model court profiles. Retrieved from: <https://www.ncjfcj.org/our-work/child-abuse-and-neglect-model-court-profiles>.
- National Institute on Drug Abuse. (2018). Principles of drug addiction treatment: A research-based guide (Third Edition). Retrieved from: https://www.drugabuse.gov/sites/default/files/podat_1.pdf.
- Office of the County Attorney, Big Horn County, Montana. (2018). January 11. Public Notice/Press Release. Big Horn County Attorney Announces Immediate Crack-down on Pregnant, Expecting Mothers Consuming Alcohol or Dangerous Drugs, Particularly Methamphetamine and Opioids. Retrieved from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OuwnsyEchko>.
- Ohio Perinatal Quality Collaborative. (2018). Maternal Opiate Medical Supports Plus Program. Retrieved from: <https://www.opqc.net/projects/active-projects/maternal-opiate-medical-supports-plus-moms>.
- Paltrow, L., & Flavin, J (2013). Arrests of and forced interventions on pregnant women in the United States (1973–2005): The implications for women's legal status

- and public health. *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*, 38(2), 299–343, doi:10.1215/03616878-1966324.
- Patrick, S. W., Davis, M. M., Lehmann, C. U., & Cooper, W. O. (2015). Increasing incidence and geographic distribution of neonatal abstinence syndrome: United States 2009 to 2012. *Journal of Perinatology*, 35(8), 650–655, doi:10.1038/jp.2015.36.
- Patrick, S. W., Schumacher, R. E., Benneyworth, B. D., Krans, E. E., Mcallister, J. M., & Davis, M. M. (2012). Neonatal Abstinence Syndrome and Associated Health Care Expenditures. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 307(18), doi:10.1001/jama.2012.3951.
- Reyes v. Superior Court*. (1977). 75 Cal. App. 3d. Cal. Rptr, 214 (41), 712.
- Roberts, D. E. (1991). Punishing Drug Addicts Who Have Babies: Women of Color, Equality, and the Right of Privacy. *Harvard Law Review*, 104, 1419–1481.
- Smith, K. and Lipari, R.N. (2017). *Women of childbearing age and opioids*. The CBHSQ Report: January 17, 2017. Center for Behavioral Health Statistics and Quality, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, Rockville, MD.
- Sonfield, S. (2014). Beyond preventing unplanned pregnancy: The broader benefits of publicly funded family planning services. Retrieved from: <https://www.guttmacher.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/pubs/gpr/17/4/gpr170402.pdf>.
- Stone, R. (2015). Pregnant women and substance abuse: fear, stigma and barriers to care. *Health and Justice*, 3(2), 1–15 doi.org/10.1186/s40352-015-0015-5.
- Substance Abuse Mental Health Services Administration [SAMHSA]. (2003). National Center on Substance Abuse and Child Welfare. Framework and policy tools for improving linkages between alcohol and drug services, child welfare services and dependency courts. Retrieved from: <https://ncsacw.samhsa.gov/files/NewFramework.pdf>.
- Substance Abuse Mental Health Services Administration. (2012a). Center for Behavioral Health S Quality: National Survey on Drug Use and Health. Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR). United States Department of H, Human Services.
- Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. (2012b). *Clinical Drug Testing in Primary Care*. Technical Assistance Publication (TAP) 32. HHS Publication No. (SMA) 12-4668. Rockville, MD: Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. Available at: https://www.drugsandalcohol.ie/19456/1/Tap_32_Clinical_Drug_Testing_in_Primary_Care.pdf.
- Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. (2014). Mental and Substance Use Disorders. Retrieved from <https://www.samhsa.gov/disorders#co-occurring>.
- Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. (2016). A Collaborative Approach to the Treatment of Pregnant Women with Opioid Use Disorders. HHS Publication No. (SMA) 16-4978. Rockville, MD: Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. Available at: https://ncsacw.samhsa.gov/files/Collaborative_Approach_508.pdf.
- Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. (2017a). *National Registry of Evidence-based Programs and Practices. Learning Center Evidence Summary: Substance Use Treatment for Pregnant and Postpartum Women*. Retrieved from: https://nrepplearning.samhsa.gov/sites/default/files/documents/Topics_Behavioral_Health/pdf_1017/SU%20Treatment%20Among%20Pregnant%20and%20Postpartum%20Women%20_7.2017.pdf.
- Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. (2017b). Protecting Our Infants Act: Report to Congress. Behavioral Health Coordinating Council Subcommittee on Prescription Drug Abuse. Retrieved from: https://www.samhsa.gov/sites/default/files/topics/specific_populations/protecting-our-infants-act-report-congress-2017.pdf.
- Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. (2018). Clinical Guidance for Treating Pregnant and parenting Women with Opioid Use Disorder and Their Infants. HHS Publication No. (SMA) 18-5054. Rockville, MD. Retrieved from: <https://store.samhsa.gov/shin/content/SMA18-5054/SMA18-5054.pdf>.
- Tennessee Fetal Assault Law. (2014). SB 1391. Public Chapter 820. Title: As enacted, provides that a woman may be prosecuted for assault for the illegal use of a narcotic drug while pregnant, if her child is born addicted to or harmed by the narcotic drug. Retrieved from: <https://legiscan.com/TN/text/SB1391/2013>.
- Terplan, M., & Minkoff, H. (2017). Neonatal abstinence syndrome and ethical approaches to the identification of pregnant women who use drugs. *Obstetrics & Gynecology*, 129(1), 164–167, doi:10.1097/aog.0000000000001781.
- Texas Health & Human Services Commission. (2015). *Legacy Department of State Health Services, State of Texas. The Mommies toolkit: Improving outcomes for families impacted by neonatal abstinence syndrome*. Retrieved from: www.dshs.texas.gov/sa/NAS/Mommies_Toolkit.pdf.
- Virginia Department of Health. (2015). Office of the Chief Medical Examiner. *Pregnancy-associated deaths from drug overdose in Virginia, 1999-2007: a report from the Virginia maternal mortality review team*. Richmond (VA): Department of Health. Retrieved from: <http://www.vdh.virginia.gov/content/uploads/sites/18/2016/04/Final-Pregnancy-Associated-Deaths-Due-to-Drug-Overdose.pdf>.
- Washington State Department of Health. (2016). *Substance abuse during pregnancy: Guidelines for screening*. Retrieved from: <https://here.doh.wa.gov/Portals/14/Materials/950-135-PregSubs-en-L.pdf>.