

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

(In)FERTILE CITIZENS

ANTHROPOLOGICAL
AND LEGAL CHALLENGES
OF ASSISTED REPRODUCTION
TECHNOLOGIES

28 - 30 MAY 2015

AMPHITHEATRE, UNIVERSITY HILL
MYTILENE LESVOS GREECE

Research Program (In)FERCIT
Lab of Family and Kinship Studies
Department of Social Anthropology and History
University of the Aegean

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ABSTRACTS & CVs

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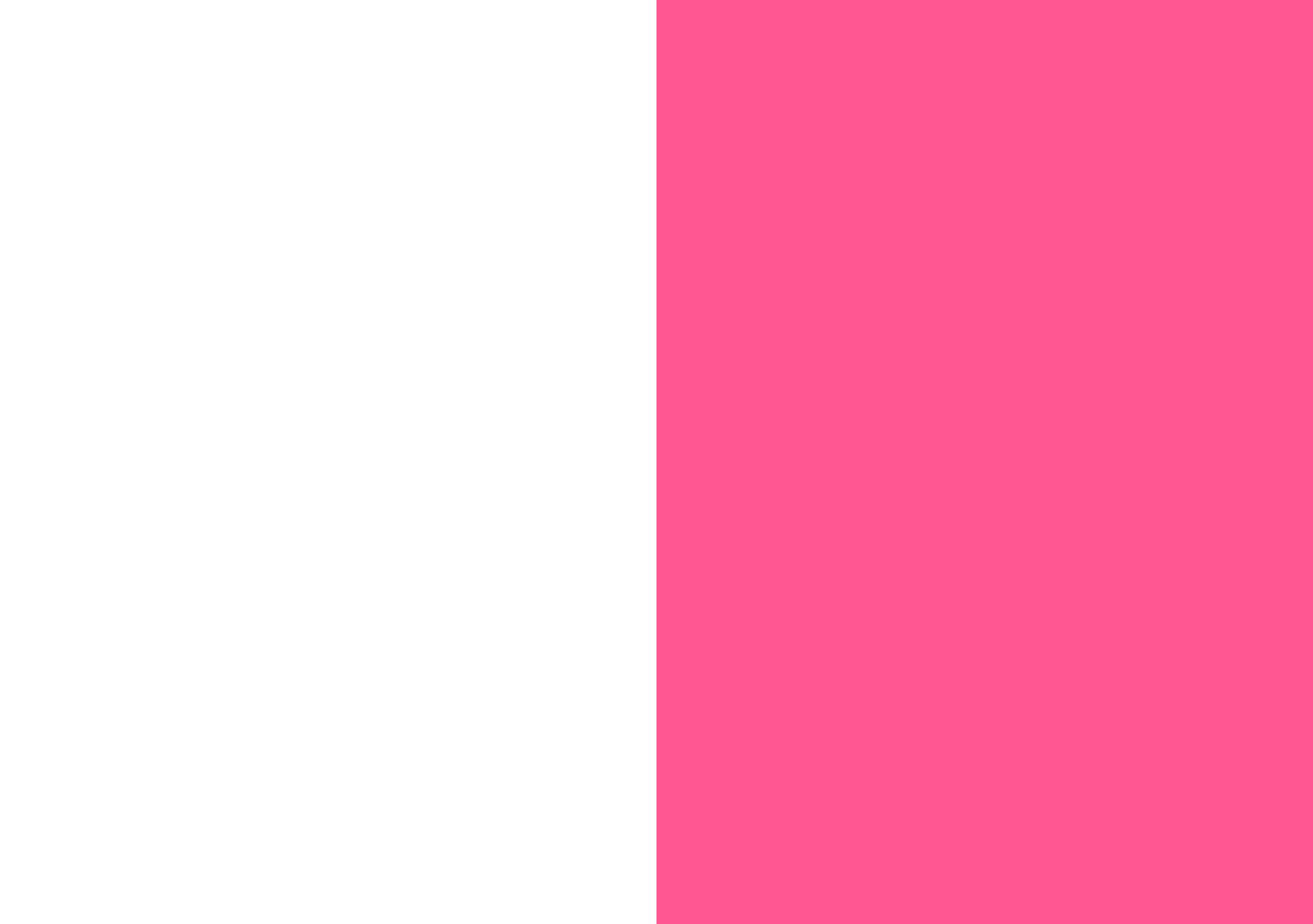
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ANNALISA AGIUS

Mothers' experiences in adapting to parenthood following successful fertility treatment- An interview study in Malta

This study aimed at understanding the experiences of Maltese first-time mothers' transition into parenthood after having conceived through artificial reproductive therapy methods. A qualitative approach was used to conduct this study by using a semi-structured interview schedule. Participants were interviewed after one year they had delivered their infants. Four women were chosen to participate in this study by purposive sampling. The theoretical framework that was used to guide this dissertation included phenomenology and identity theory as described by Olshanky (1987). Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) as described by Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009) was used for the analysis phase. The resulting themes identified how mothers had to deal initially with a failing body system and adjust their relationship with others. Whereas after the baby was born there was a focus on the couples' relationship and maternal relationship with the child. An element of faith and religion, pertinent to the cultural context mother live in came out throughout the interviews and was also discussed. Finally, the type of support systems were also considered. The study identified the struggles mother go through to accept that they need to resort to IVF and the unresolved feelings they maintain even after becoming mothers. Findings showed that whilst society sees the mothering role as the main one for women, there is still some judgment and stigma in relation to IVF. This may result in this particular group of women feeling ostracized. Few attempts have been made to support this particular group into this delicate process of transition to parenthood, despite the struggles they face as couples and as they build a relationship with their child. This study recognises the dire need to research this phenomenon within the specific cultural context it is happening. It identifies the needs to improve local postnatal services and to improve local policy with regards to family-friendly measures. Mothers showed interest in support groups that would help them share the burden of that whole experience and make them feel less isolated. Hence, this study recommends a better preparation to parenthood and couple dynamics before initiating IVF therapies, as well as a support group throughout the whole process of IVF and later transition to parenthood.

*My name is **Annalisa Agius**. I am 26 years old. I have graduated as a midwife in Malta in 2010. Last year I moved to London to do a one year Masters Degree at City University London, under the supervision of Prof. Christine McCourt. I was always interested in the concept of infertility and the difficulties couples face during this time and later during and ART and wanted to study this further, especially since no other study of this type has ever been done in Malta. This interview study was my Masters dissertation. I am presently back to working as a full time midwife in Malta and am currently working in the postnatal community sector.*

ART experience, ethical perceptions and socioeconomic characteristics of infertile citizens in Greece: A statistical analysis

The paper presents the results of a nationwide sampling survey of infertile Greek citizens. Our purpose is to provide comprehensive first-time statistical evidence on the interviewees' socioeconomic characteristics, their experience with ART, and their ethical stand on issues of human reproduction. We begin with a broad demographic and socioeconomic profile of the interviewees by invoking variables such as age, gender, education, profession, income, household structure, and family background. We subsequently record the frequency and variety of deployment of various types of ART and their outcomes, as well as the extent of their bodily and psychological suffering; we also examine their evaluation of medical services, and of the support provided by professionals, partner, family and friends. We complete the picture by investigating their views on homologous and heterologous ART, parenthood, adoption, abortion, and infertility.

Christodoulos Bellas is Associate Professor of Development Economics at the School of Social Sciences, Department of Social Anthropology and History of the University of the Aegean. He is a first class honours economics graduate from the University of Athens. He did his M.Sc. in Economics at the London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London and awarded his PhD degree from Queen Mary College, University of London. His thesis title is "The trade-off between economic growth and rural welfare. A retrospective social-cost benefit analysis of irrigation projects in Greece". His research interests include development economics, theoretical and applied welfare economics, economics of migration and gender, environmental economics, and the morphology of the Greece corporate and household sectors. His publications comprise two books on the trends of the corporate sector in Greece, refereed articles on environmental economics, and nationwide sampling surveys on developments in the Greek corporate and household sectors. He has been in charge of 20 research projects undertaken by the University of the Aegean. The latest was a multi-disciplinary project on domestic labour of non-EU migrant workers and is jointly financed by the European Integration Fund and the Greek government.

Albert Dicran Matossian is graduate of the Department of Mathematics, University of Ioannina. He is a PhD candidate in Environmental Policy and Management, of the Department of Environmental Studies at the Aegean University. Speaks French, English and Spanish. Has published in scientific and educational journals, in conference publications and participated in various international and Greek conferences. In charge of the Arithmetic Literacy in the Second Chance School of Mytilene since 2003, teaching assistant in Mathematics and Statistics, of undergraduate studies in the Department of Environmental Studies of the Aegean University since 2000. Scientific collaborator in the extended education program of Environmental Cartography of the Aegean University from 1998 to 2005. Has taught in training programs for educators and in various schools of secondary education since 2003. Since 2013 is teaching in the Model Experimental High School of Mytilini of the University of the Aegean.

Not too much, not too less: doing regulation in Spanish IVF clinics

In Spain, IVF has become a biotechnological success story: about 200 public and private IVF clinics operate in the country and offer the most advanced techniques in reproductive medicine, genetic diagnosis and andrology. In addition, the Spanish law on reproductive medicine counts as one of the most liberal in Europe with respect to gamete donation and access to IVF treatment for lesbians and single-mothers. As a result, Spain is one of the most important European destinations for reproductive mobility. Considered all together Spanish IVF clinics have to be understood as specific sites in global IVF.

Although - much to the surprise of Northern Europeans - Spanish practitioners have in general a quite liberal position towards queer kinship and third-party reproduction, the physicians in my ethnographic research in Catalonia/Spain (2006, 2011) were rather ignorant regarding actual debates about disclosure and non-anonymity in gamete donation. Because many patients from abroad come to Spain for egg donation, the principle anonymity and a high 'compensation rate' secure the market for fresh oocytes - which has become a new precarious and migrant job market in Spain (especially, as a consequence of the financial crisis in 2007). From an anthropological and STS perspective, I will focus on the IVF clinics as mediators of law and regulation in practice. Drawing on fieldwork in IVF clinics and interviews with physicians my interest is how law and regulation is enacted in the daily routines of those IVF clinics that deal with patients from abroad. Concerning issues like donor anonymity, donor/recipient matching, patient's (non) agency in these processes, and commercialisation, I will show how practitioners explain and defend their local model of regulation ("not too much... but not too less") as the most rational and well-balanced best practice in IVF with gamete donation.

Sven Bergmann, Cultural Anthropologist, is a Post-Doctoral Researcher currently working at the Institute for the History of Medicine, Charité Berlin, in a research group about "cultures of madness". His research interest are body technologies, kinship, STS, mobility, space, and the economies and politics of waste. Recent publications include „Ausweichrouten der Reproduktion. Biomedizinische Mobilität und die Praxis der Eizellspende“ (Wiesbaden 2014); „The detachability of reproductive cells: on body politics in sperm and egg donation. In: von Schwerin et al.: *Biologics: a history of agents made from living organisms in the 20th century* (London 2013), p. 105-119.

New reproductive technologies and the anthropology of kinship

For over two decades the analysis on the social and cultural impact of new assisted reproductive techniques are fully introduced as a specific field of the anthropology of kinship. The task was to analyse the changes that happening in kinship. Assisted reproduction was a good window to ethnographically analyse these changes. Changes in the symbols of the genetic substance, the meaning of the gift of reproductive material, the new idea of nature that could suggest the assisted reproduction and dissemination and reception of assisted reproduction techniques in a globalized world were analysed in a new style of writing ethnography. Discussions of bio-ethics and the laws of each country clearly expressed differences in values and meanings given to reproduction, gender and descent. My question in this paper is how we can raise new questions to this analysis of kinship that has lasted more than two decades.

Bestard, Juan. Born 1947. PhD. Professor of Social Anthropology. University of Barcelona. Department of Social Anthropology and History of America and Africa. Director of the research group of the University of Barcelona, "Research Group of Anthropology of Kinship and Heritage" (GRAPP). During these last ten year he has been the tutor of twenty doctoral dissertation on different aspects of change in family relations.

Publications:

- Bestard, J. (1998) *Parentesco y Modernidad*. Publisher: Cátedra . Madrid. ISBN: 8449305985. Key: Book
- Bestard, J. (2004) *Kinship and New Genetics. The Changing Meaning of Biogenetic Substance* Journal: 006828 - Social Anthropology ISSN: 0964-0282 Volume: 12 Number: 3 Pages, Initial: 253 final: 263 (2004) Key: Paper
- Bestard, J. (2004) *Tras la Biología: La Moralidad del Parentesco y las Nuevas Tecnologías de Reproducción*. Book: Publisher: Publicacions i Edicions UB ISBN:84-475-2855-3 Legal Deposit: B-48413-04. Key: Book
- Bestard, J. 2008 *Knowing and Relating: Kinship, Assisted Reproductive Technologies and The New Genetics*. Book: J. Edwards and C. Salazar (eds) EUROPEAN KINSHIP IN THE AGE OF BIOTECHNOLOGY Publisher: Berghahn ISBN: 978-1-84545-573-6 Pages, Initial: 19 final: 28 (2008) Key: Book chapter
- Chacón, F.; Bestard, J. (eds.) (2011) *Familias. Historia de la sociedad española (de la Edad Media a nuestros días)* Book: *Familias. Historia de la sociedad española (de la Edad Media a nuestros días)* Publisher: Cátedra ISBN: 9788437628776 Pages, Initial: 1 final: 1247 (2011) Key: Book

"Saying ARTs": a terminological and comparative reflection about legal texts on assisted reproduction Abstract

Language is often the vector of concepts and understandings by the society where it is used and spoken. Language can reveal contradictions, refusal or assent about new social and societal realities. Law regulates these realities using a specific language to name them. Legal terminology can be considered a mirror and a magnifying lens reflecting trends and variations and boosting contrasts on contemporary issues, sometimes ingrained habits, influenced by religion, history and politics. This is the case for legal texts on assisted reproduction. On the basis of a reflection about the terminological and syntax choices made by legislators this paper addresses the question of how law can regulate Assisted Reproductive Technologies through language. The matter will be discussed of how language, embedded in a given social and political environment, is (un)able, to translate changes and upheavals characterising the new ways (manners, routes, habits...) to "make" children.

Enrica Bracchi is Assistant Professor in Italian Studies at the Department of Applied Foreign Languages of the University of Nantes (France). She teaches Italian civilization, law terminology, Italian on specific purposes (law, logistics, economics...) and specialized translation. She obtained her PhD degree in 2010 (co-direction: Department of Italian studies - University of Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense, France and Department of Civil Law - University Alma Mater Studiorum of Bologna, Italy) with a thesis titled: *The words relating to parental affiliation. The question of reproduction in Modern Italy: the evolution of the rules and terminology in the field of family law*. Her academic interests concern the relationship between language, law and society in Italian and European family law issues, such as ("new") parental affiliations, ("new") families, assisted reproductive technologies... Her approach is inter-disciplinary and cross-disciplinary and gives the possibility of offering an explanation of these major societal phenomena as well as to analyse the most important characteristics. Her current research interests focus on (bio)ethical consequences of ARTs and biolaw and bioeconomics issues related to family law topics. She has presented her work in many conferences in France and abroad and she published widely.

Divided motherhood across the globe: Surrogacy and legal and cultural encounters between Europe and Asia

Surrogacy is one of the possible routes to parenthood. In such arrangements, the surrogate mother commits herself to hand the child over to the intending parents. Most often, it is the intending parents who provide the ovum and the sperm from their own bodies, though these can also be provided by third parties. Surrogacy first gained public attention three decades ago, in the mid-1980s. Since then it has become an increasingly popular choice for would-be parents unable to conceive a child of their own.

International surrogacy is a phenomenon which is truly global in its reach and most often involves more than two countries. The variety of domestic responses to surrogacy has resulted in infertile couples seeking to have a child in this way travelling between countries and choosing surrogacy-friendly jurisdictions as their destinations. In so doing, they are effectively able to bypass the bans that are imposed on surrogacy in their own jurisdiction and create multifaceted legal and cultural encounters.

I would like to briefly outline the legal situation in three countries: India, Israel and Switzerland. I would then like to shed light on some of the legal and cultural encounters and discuss current approaches, which attempt to understand divided motherhood as a triangular relationship.

*Andrea Büchler earned her MA, Ph.D. and *venia docendi* in Private Law, Comparative Law and Gender Law between 1990 and 2002 at the University of Basle, Switzerland. She joined the University of Zurich as Professor of Law in 2002. Her areas of research are: Family Law, Law of Persons, Comparative Law, Private International Law, Islamic and Middle Eastern Law, (Bio)Medicine and Law, and Legal Gender Studies. She founded the Center for Islamic and Middle Eastern Legal Studies at the Faculty of Law of the University of Zurich in 2008, is the on-site director of the Law Summer School in Cairo, and was the co-director of the University Priority Research Programme «Asia and Europe». In 2003, she co-founded the Center for Family Sciences, a Switzerland-wide association which initiates, conducts and supports high-quality research in the field of the family. She was awarded a fellowship at the Institute of Advanced Studies, Berlin, for the academic year 2008/2009, a fellowship at The Straus Institute for Social Justice, New York University, and is currently a fellow at the Collegium Helveticum ETH/UZH. In Spring 2011 she was a Visiting Professor at UC Berkeley Boalt Hall School of Law.*

Compulsory sterilisation of transgender people as gendered violence

Despite a “spatial imaginary” which constructs Europe as a location of sexual and gender freedom, presently, twenty countries in Europe require sterilisation in order to legally recognise transgender people’s gender identities (including four of the seven countries in the INFERCIT study: Greece, Italy, Turkey, and Cyprus). Compulsory sterilisation—classified as a crime against humanity in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (UN General Assembly, 1998: art. 7.1)—is widely in force against transgender people, who constitute “the only known group in Europe subject to legally prescribed, state-enforced sterilisation”. However, forced sterilisation of trans people is not generally conceptualised as a eugenicist or genocidal policy, in part because sterilisation is conflated with gender reassignment surgical interventions which, widely considered as that which brings transgender bodies into being, are in turn conflated with embodied transgender subjectivities. On this view, transgender individuals could not exist except through a medicalised process that, by design, precludes their “natural” reproductive capacities and is generally not accompanied by fertility preservation or the provision of assisted reproduction technologies. Sterilisation laws are justified through a pathologising discourse on transgender lives which constructs gender reassignment interventions as medical “treatment” of gender identity disorder. Adopting a depathologising perspective enables us to contextualise compulsory sterilisation (which naturalises the sexually dimorphic, cisgender, heterosexual body) as a form of “gendercide” which has historically been instrumental in the imposition of a Euro-colonial binary gender system. The state-imposition of medical interventions on trans people not only has deleterious effects on their reproductive rights, “effectively undermin[ing] their right to found a family”—as “family” is hegemonically defined by a heteronormative and bio/ logical kinship order. I argue that state regulation of transgender reproduction constitutes a form of institutionalised gendered violence inasmuch as it impedes transgender people’s ability to exercise inherent first-person authority over the materiality and meanings of their gendered embodiments. Efforts to renaturalise gender and kinship inextricably intersect in the biopolitical attempt to regulate transgender embodiments and reproduction, which conditions the emerging legal recognition of transgender subjects as a rights-bearing minority.

Anna Carastathis received her Ph.D. in Philosophy from McGill University and has held research and teaching positions in various institutions in the United States and Canada. She is currently a graduate student in the program on Gender, Culture and Society in Social Anthropology and History at the University of the Aegean while on leave from her position as Assistant Professor in the Department of Philosophy at California State University, Los Angeles.

It's my party and I'll inseminate if I want to: some thoughts on sex, sexuality and parenthood drawn from not a totally fucked up queer fertilization

The aim of this paper is to explore the complexity of sexuality (focused on sexual practices) in regard to public and state discourse on non-heterosexual reproduction and same-sex parenting. Using data from interviews conducted for the needs of the research program (In)FERCIT- with people who identify themselves as lesbian or gay and who are or wish to become parents by using methods of assisted reproduction-, and drawing examples from public discourse on (homo)sexuality and state discourse on the debate of same-sex civil partnerships, this paper explores: The complicated ways through which concepts of sex as a practice reveal the limits of neoliberal tolerance about conceivable and acceptable forms of family, kinship, and relatedness. How sexual practices or their absence (re)make concepts of assisted reproductive technologies. How state recognition and public discourse use concepts of same-sex sexual practices in order to justify legislative exclusion of LGBT people from legitimate forms of kinship.

Aspa Chalkidou is a researcher of the (In)FERCIT project. She holds a PhD in Social and Historical Anthropology of the University of the Aegean. She has a Master Degree in "Women and Gender, Anthropological and Historical Approaches" (University of the Aegean) and has completed her undergraduate studies in Philosophy and Social Studies, in the Department of Philosophy of the University of Crete. Her research involves ethnographic study of BDSM sexuality in Greece. Her academic interests focus on Queer studies, anthropology of gender and sexuality and critical sexuality studies.

(In)fertility and ART drugs. Making sense of ART drug consumption and the art of achieving motherhood

The experience of medically assisted reproduction, of multiple IVF cycles, of the effort to produce more and better quality eggs, usually amounts to the consumption of drugs, mostly by women. Narratives of infertility problems that led to the use of ARTs usually include worrisome reflections related to this specific aspect of the whole experience. Very often portrayed as a contradictory part of the process, women seem to need to make sense of this gendered, bodily, psychologized and often timeless experience. Drawing from over 130 interviews from Greek women and men with infertile pasts, presents or futures who have entered the world of ART, this paper aims to highlight and problematize the meanings of drug consumption in relation to the concepts and practices (in)fertility in the Greek ethnographic context. In the light of the fact that IVF was initially a technique that didn't include hormonal therapy for ovary stimulation and increased egg cell production, and it quickly involved into a technique where hormonal treatment was a given until fairly recently with the introduction of the "natural cycle", the paper further aims to relate consumer ideas, worries, beliefs about ART drug consumption and the more novel alternative of the "natural cycle" to the dominant medical discourse and practice on the subject which at this point in time in Greece doesn't seem to favor drug-free attempts. A topic of discussion between couples, between women, in internet forums, between the ART consumer and the expert, or a silent and private worry, ART drugs may be viewed as uncomfortable, as risky for one's health and one's body, as too many, as part of the woman's sacrifice and will to achieve motherhood, as a necessary evil, or as just innocent hormones. It is argued that the tropes of dealing with this part of the ART experience in relation to the dominant medical and institutionalized metaphors and prescriptions linked to this practice, may reveal the dynamics of an underlying biopower, aspects of reproductive agency and resistance, as well as local perceptions linked to the moralities of subjecting one's will, one's body, one's health to the imperative art of achieving parenthood.

Aglaia Chatjoui holds a PhD in Social Anthropology (University of the Aegean), a M.Sc. in Human Biology (Oxford University) and a B.Sc. in Molecular & Cell Biology (King's College London). She is currently a postdoc researcher working for the research project (In)FERCIT run by the Family and Kinship Lab of the Department of Social Anthropology and History of the University of the Aegean. She has carried out ethnographic fieldwork in Greece on Thalassaemia, the cultural construction of genetic illness and biosociality. She has worked on reproductive health regarding "indigenous communities" in the WHO, on the public understandings of biotechnology in Europe and on migrant's health in Greece. Her main research interests concern the interface between biology and anthropology, the relation between (bio)difference and normality, the shifts and continuities in the imaginings of natures, the social construction and politics of health and disease.

Becoming In/fertile: Rethinking (lesbian) femininity in an age of reproduction

Of what use is an (in)fertile woman to her (queer) nation? This paper explores the relationship between fertility and femininity and specifically, how (in)fertility is understood in lesbian gender, family- and kinship making. In heteropatriarchy, both the idea of femininity without motherhood and motherhood without pregnancy are condemned (Ryan 2013) and among the stigmas of lesbianism are “unfemininity” and childlessness. Fertility as “the ability to reproduce and become a mother by natural means” is central to normative conceptions of femininity. Femininity heteronormatively understood, is attractiveness to the opposite sex/masculinity. Infertility is normatively defined as not getting pregnant despite frequent, unprotected heterosexual over a long period of time. Until recently, feminist concerns with fertility/femininity have largely centred on women’s rights to regulate reproduction, to not to have children, and on dislodging both womanhood and femininity from the “biological” dimensions of fertility and motherhood. As the legal possibilities for family making via access to IVF and other ARTs have proliferated and extended to lesbians, the definitions of “infertility” and “natural means” have radically changed. What does it mean for our understanding of (lesbian) femininity that (some) lesbians have gone from being monstrous to menstruating, from queer to normal, from “in-fertile” to fertile? How do lesbians navigate (in)fertility and what does lesbian (in)fertility tell us about the role of lesbians in the reproduction of nation, race and futurity? Drawing on pilot interviews, this paper will argue that with the high financial, social and emotional costs and investments of (lesbian) reproduction both (in)fertility and femininity are being redefined.

*Ulrika Dahl is a cultural anthropologist and Associate Professor of Gender Studies at Södertörn University in Sweden. Her interdisciplinary research draws on ethnographic, queer, feminist and postcolonial theories and she has written on gendered dimensions of regional identity, European Integration and globalization from the perspective of the rural north, on heteronormativity and Swedish gender equality, histories of women’s/gender studies in the Nordic Region, and above all, on feminism, (queer) femininities and the figure of the femme. In addition to articles in a range of journals and anthologies, among her books are *Femmes of Power: Exploding Queer Femininities* (2008, *Serpent’s Tail*, with Del LaGrace Volcano), *Skamgrepp: Femme-inistiska Essäer* (2014, *Leopard*) and *The Geopolitics of Nordic and Russian Feminist studies 1975-2005* (forthc. *Södertörn Academic Studies*, with Marianne Liljeström and Ulla Manns). Currently she is the project leader of ‘Queer(y)ing Kinship in the Baltic Region’ which studies how queer, families are made, represented and treated in several nations around the Baltic Sea at the beginning of the 21st century and what this might teach us about the meaning and status of kinship, family making and ideas of the future more broadly. Ulrika Dahl is also editor-in-chief of *lambda Nordica - a Nordic LGBTQ studies journal* and Associate Editor of *European Journal of Women’s Studies*.*

Religious aspects of medically assisted reproductive technologies in Greece

Drawing on ethnographic research in Greece produced in the framework of the (In)FERCIT research program on infertility and medically assisted reproduction, the presentation examines ARTs in relation to religious beliefs. Greece has one of the highest number of ARTs clinics in comparison to its population and one of the most “liberal” legal frameworks which permits a wide range of assisted reproduction technologies, such as pre-implantation genetic diagnosis, embryo freezing, anonymous sperm and egg donation, embryo donation, surrogacy, research on genetic material. Taking this framework into account, the presentation focuses on official and unofficial religious discourses surrounding medically assisted reproduction. Indeed, it discusses the ways different religions—under the same legal system and access to technology— influence the formation of a more “personal” knowledge code that accepts or rejects certain forms of kinship or relatedness. Specifically, based on ethnographic material that includes archival documents (such as bulletins, reports and conference presentations released by the Holy Synod of the Greek Church) and interviews, the presentation concentrates on the official position of the Greek Orthodox Church regarding assisted reproduction technologies and juxtaposes this position with discourses concerning “traditional” and “new” forms of kinship elaborated by Orthodox women and men who have sought medically assisted fertility treatment. Additionally, it compares these findings with interviews conducted with Greek women adhered to Judaism and the rabbinical authority of Athens as well as interviews (conducted by P. Topali and V. Chatziagianni) with women of Turkish origin belonging to the Muslim minority of Western Thrace.

Ivi Daskalaki studied Social Anthropology at Goldsmiths University of London where she also completed her Ph.D thesis on a post-nomadic group of Gypsies in Athens. The thesis concentrates on children’s ambivalent stance towards schooling and how this stance reflects the primacy of non-mainstream processes of learning and becoming sustained in wider processes of kin relatedness, while informing the Gypsies’ projects of identity within Greek society. Ivi Daskalaki has taught courses of Social Anthropology with a special focus on Hermeneutics in Anthropology, Political Anthropology, Anthropology of Education, Anthropology of Childhood at the Universities of Crete and Ioannina. She has also taken part in various academic research projects in Greece. In the framework of these projects, she carried out research on street-working children and immigrant paid domestic workers in Athens and published relevant articles. She is currently working as post-doctoral researcher in the (In)FERCIT research project “(In)Fertile Citizens: On the Concepts, Practices, Politics and Technologies of Assisted Reproduction in Greece. An Interdisciplinary and Comparative Approach” undertaken by the University of the Aegean.

Increasing transparency and openness in donor conception in the UK

The anonymity of donated gametes and embryos was abolished in the UK in 2004. Donor-conceived children, born after April 2005, have access to identifying information about their donors when they reach the age of eighteen and non-identifying information at sixteen. This does not of course apply to non-clinical procedures and the informal procurement of sperm, nor to procedures that take place outside the UK in countries where donor anonymity is preserved. Currently, it is estimated that the majority of parents who use donated gametes in the UK, albeit a small majority, do not tell their children about the means of their conception. Why they do or do not is of anthropological interest. This paper draws on the work of the Nuffield Council of Bioethics which was tasked to investigate and report on the ethical aspects of 'disclosure' in donor conception. It will focus on the calls for more 'transparency' and 'openness' in donor conception and a growing moral obligation on parents to tell their children how they were conceived.

*Jeanette Edwards is Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Manchester. She has worked on kinship and assisted reproductive technologies in the UK and Europe with fieldwork in the north of England, and more recently in Lebanon. She was convenor and director of an EU-funded collaborative project on the 'Public Understandings of Genetics (PUG)' and her publications include: *Born and Bred: Idioms of Kinship and New Reproductive Technologies in England* (Oxford University Press); with C. Salazar, *Kinship Matters: European Cultures of Kinship in the Age of Biotechnology* (Berghahn Books); with M. Petrović-Šteger, *Re-casting Anthropological Knowledge: Inspiration and Social Science* (Cambridge University Press).*

Reconstituting reproductivity: a tale of IVF in two halves

Revisiting the early history of UK IVF poses many questions about how, exactly, infertility and IVF are linked. While a seemingly obvious connection, the link between IVF and infertility is also more tenuous than it might seem -- and for several reasons. Based on recent research as part of the IVF Histories and Cultures Project (IVFHCP) at Cambridge, this paper contrasts early UK IVF in Oldham in the 1970s with the later period of IVF's routinisation and normalisation under the Thatcher government in 1980s Britain. The paper argues that such a contrast offers us an opportunity not only to begin to approach what might be called the political economy of fertility -- or the constitution of reproductivity -- but also the affective and subjective 'structures of feeling' through which IVF becomes not only normalised but naturalised. Particularly because the prolonged period of early UK IVF took place under such different political and economic conditions in the 1970s than its later expansion in the Thatcherite 'enterprise culture' of the 1980s, the UK provides an excellent case study for examining how perceptions of both IVF and infertility are usefully situated in a broader socio-political context.

Professor Sarah Franklin has published extensively on the social aspects of new reproductive technologies. She has conducted fieldwork on IVF, cloning, preimplantation genetic diagnosis (PGD), and stem cells. Her work combines traditional anthropological approaches, including both ethnographic methods and kinship theory, with more recent approaches from science studies, gender theory, and cultural studies. Professor Franklin has an MA in Women's Studies from the University of Kent (1984) and an MA in Anthropology from NYU (1986). She studied for her PhD at the Birmingham Centre for Cultural Studies from 1986-1989, taking her doctoral degree in 1992. From 1990-1993 she worked both in the Department of Social Anthropology at the University of Manchester and the Department of Sociology at Lancaster University. From 1993 she moved to a fulltime position at Lancaster where she was promoted to a Chair in the Anthropology of Science in 2001. In 2004 she moved to the LSE where she was Professor of Social Studies of Biomedicine and Associate Director of the BIOS Centre until 2011. In June of 2011 she was elected to the Professorship of Sociology at Cambridge. Professor Franklin has held Visiting professorships in teaching and research at the University of California, the University of Tarragona, the University of Hannover, and The University of Sydney. Her research has been supported by the ESRC, Leverhulme Trust, MRC, Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Carnegie Foundation, European Commission, and the Wellcome Trust. Throughout her career she has worked closely with clinicians, patients, scientists and policymakers in an attempt to widen sociological engagement with emerging issues in bioscience and biomedicine. Since 2005, Professor Franklin has worked on a major project investigating the history of mammalian developmental biology in the UK in the post war period, with Professor Martin Johnson and Dr Nick Hopwood at Cambridge. Through her ethnographic studies and other writings, Professor Franklin has contributed to a number of emergent fields in social theory including the 'new kinship studies', the feminist analysis of science, the anthropology of biomedicine, and the cultural analysis of new reproductive technologies.

Attitudes towards sex selection: A survey among Iranian medical, legal, philosophical and religious scholars

This paper focuses on the recent debates over sex selection in Iran, where sex selection for both medical and non-medical reasons is allowed and is available in several leading infertility and IVF clinics under specific circumstances. Based on my extensive ethnographic research on assisted reproductive technologies in Iran which includes an examination of the normative arguments, I provide an overview of legal, ethical and religious arguments relating to the availability of sex selection methods, such as preimplantation genetic diagnosis (PGD) and sperm sorting, and their social implications. Although there are opposing arguments to the use of sex selection for non-medical reason, other arguments are in favour of permitting sex selection for a specific purpose, such as family balancing.

Shirin Garmaroudi-Naef is an anthropologist who is trained in Bioethics during a doctoral fellowship (2009-2012) at the International Centre for Ethics in the Sciences and Humanities (IZEW) at the University of Tübingen, funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG). Her PhD thesis "Assisted reproductive technologies in Iran from an anthropological perspective: legal and jurisprudential responses and social dynamics" examines the Iranian and contemporary Shia legal debates and discussions on technologies of assisted reproduction and looks at the regulations and implementation of these technologies in Iran through extensive ethnographic fieldwork combined with a textual approach. Her research interests include anthropological theories of kinship, human reproduction, and the body, anthropology of secularity, religion, law and morality, historical sociology, anthropological approaches to Shia jurisprudence (fiqh) and theology, and bioethics with a special interest in the intersection of law, ethics and reproductive health policy.

The making of ART policies in the Netherlands: about processes and arguments

Nowadays, most (western) countries have regulated the access to assisted reproductive technologies (ARTs), either by formal governmental legislation and/or by more or less mandatory guidelines set by infertility societies or professional organizations of obstetrics and gynaecology. Strikingly, ART legislation and guidelines may differ substantially among countries, even among neighboring countries that - seemingly - have a lot in common. To understand these differences anthropologists refer to particular 'local moral worlds', cultural values and religious contexts. In addition, national legislation and guidelines generally result from a complex process of societal, political and professional debates and negotiations, involving various actors and their respective interests, which also may explain (part of) the differences among countries. In this context Dutch ethicists spoke about a 'ritual dance' : they noticed similar patterns in these processes every time when new ARTs are introduced in the Netherlands and observed that these debates generally lead to the similar result, namely that the technology is accepted under certain conditions (Dondorp en de Wert 2012). With the above in mind in the current paper I will present and discuss the (recurrent) steps in the processes of the introduction of new ARTs (or its use for different purposes), as well as the (recurrent) arguments used in these discussions, which reflect moral views and other interests of the actors involved. The paper is based on journal publications, unpublished research, policy documents and newspaper articles and will focus on 'ova freezing for non-medical reason' and the idea of 'fair reciprocity' as a means proposed to increase the number of eggs available for donation.

Trudie Gerrits (MA, PhD) is a medical anthropologist and holds a position as Assistant Professor at the Department of Anthropology at the University of Amsterdam (UvA). Most of her research work and publications are related with infertility and assisted reproductive technologies (ARTs), both in the Netherlands and abroad. Her PhD is a hospital ethnography of a Dutch infertility clinic; and currently she is involved in a comparative study on the appropriation of ARTs in sub-Saharan Africa, doing fieldwork in Ghanaian private clinics. She also supervises Master theses and PhD projects in the field of ARTs. Before working at the UvA she has worked five years at the Ministry of Health in Mozambique. For more information, go to: <http://aissr.uva.nl/staff>. Email: g.j.e.gerrits@uva.nl.

Trans*forming the (In)fertile citizen. Egg freezing and transgendered fertility patients in Swedish law, policy, and health care

In October 2012, the American Society for Reproductive Medicine (ASRM) published a report saying that technologies of egg freezing should no longer be considered experimental. In the literature, "social egg freezing" refers to the phenomenon whereby women freeze their eggs for other reasons than purely medical (i.e. to delay reproduction). This is contrasted to "medical egg freezing", that is, fertility preservation that is practiced, for example, as a preventive measure before a woman is undergoing cancer treatment. Less visible in the public domain is the specific form of medical egg freezing that concerns people undergoing gender transition. In the Swedish context, a recent law change removing a previous demand for sterilization as a compulsory part of gender corrective surgery, however, has meant that Swedish fertility clinics have faced a new patient group - the transgender fertility patient.

Building on policy documents and interviews with medical doctors, this paper seeks to shed light on the very process by which claims for reproductive rights through access to reproductive technologies, and new laws and policies that are formed as a result of such right claims become 'translated' in the constitution of a new patient category, and a new care chain to suit these specific needs. In addition to the empirical aim of this paper - which is to document the constitution of this new category of fertility patients which is made possible because of the recent developments in egg freezing, as well as processes of social and political change - this paper seeks to raise more general questions pertaining to issues concerning the relationship between reproductive rights, reproductive technologies, law and policy.

Jenny Gunnarsson Payne is Associate Professor in European Ethnology at the School of Historical and Contemporary Studies, Södertörn University, Stockholm. Her current research concerns the social, cultural and political effects egg freezing, paying particular attention to new groups of fertility patients and new claims to reproductive rights that are made possible in the wake of these technologies. She has published internationally on issues such as transnational egg-donation, surrogacy and kinship.

Patriarchal bargains in the 21st century: Infertility, childlessness and gender relations in Turkey

This paper engages with Deniz Kandiyoti's seminal 1988 article "Bargaining with Patriarchy", both applying the insights of her illuminating theoretical framework to assisted reproductive technologies (ARTs) and also updating it with reference to current ethnographic data. Based on research in a Turkish infertility clinic and in-depth interviews with clinic practitioners as well as fifty men and women undergoing IVF treatment, the paper argues that ARTs are indeed a means for many women (and indeed often their husbands) to bargain with patriarchy but illustrates the resources, circumstances and consequences of their bargaining to be much more nuanced and multi-faceted than we might imagine.

Zeynep Gurtin is a Research Associate at the Reproductive Sociology Research Unit (ReproSoc), University of Cambridge. Her academic interests concern the social and ethical consequences of the globalization of assisted reproductive technologies, particularly in the three areas of ARTs in Turkey and the Middle East, egg donation, and cross-border reproductive care. Zeynep teaches both undergraduates and graduates at the University of Cambridge and has been spending part of 2015 as a Visiting Researcher at UCLA's Institute for Society and Genetics.

The influence of religion on legal framework concerning MAR

The Mediterranean context presents a great variety of legislation/regulatory framework concerning MAR. One of the main factors for such diversity is religion, since different religious backgrounds tend to produce different legislation/regulatory frameworks.

Referring to the countries under survey, the Christian tradition (both Orthodox and Catholic), on one hand, focuses on the varied nature of embryo, which is considered to be equivalent to human being. Thus, the conception of a child through MAR techniques is unacceptable in Christian tradition, where childlessness is deemed either a blessing or even a test sent by God. On the other hand, in the Sunni Muslim world, the key issue is not the embryo, but heritage and kinship. The latter is established through father's lineage, since only the biological father is identified as the legal father of a child, while the use of genetic material of third-party donors is similar to adultery. At the same time, as adoption is prohibited for Muslims, MAR functions as a 'safety valve' for infertile Muslim couples. However, countries with similar religious doctrine (e.g. the Catholic Spain and Italy, the Orthodox Greece and Cyprus) do not necessarily adopt similar legal frameworks: Spain and Greece present the most permissive legislation in the European Union, while Italy's legislation and Cyprus' regulatory framework appear to be very restrictive. At the same time, the example of (Sunni) Turkey compared to the (multisectarian) Lebanon shows that, although religion remains crucial, at the end of the day, it is the legal and medical scholars who have the last word. It can be concluded that, although religious concerns are often taken into consideration when legislating in this area, other factors may equally influence the regulatory outcome.

Vasiliki Kokota holds a PhD in Public Law and Political Sciences and she practices law as a lawyer (Bar of Thessaloniki). She has a University Degree (BSc) in Law from Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, where she continued her studies getting a Master (MSc) in Public Law and Political Sciences, specialised in Constitutional Law. She carried her thesis "Regulation and protection of professional freedom in the Greek and in the European Union's legal order" under scholarship of the 'State Scholarships Foundation'. She has been awarded with the 'Aristeia' scholarship by the A.U.T.H. Research Committee for her post-doc studies. She has published several articles and papers. Her research concerns mainly the scope of Constitutional Law and Human Rights. From 2014 to 2015 she worked as a Post-Doctoral Researcher on the '(In)fercit' Research Program of the Lab of Family and Kinship Studies of the University of Aegean.

Discourses around new reproductive technologies (NRT) and infertility treatment: Analysis of on-line sources and discussions in Bulgaria

New reproductive technologies offer insight into political, cultural and psychological landscapes. This paper aims to highlight local constructions of new reproductive health technologies and practices, and their gendered dimensions. Specifically the paper aims to situate private discourses regarding new reproductive technologies and infertility in general, in the current cultural context and public policy discourses in Bulgaria. We will analyze the recent changes in state policies towards implementation of NRT, trends in infertility treatment and success rate of these methods over the last decade in Bulgaria. Patients' organizations such as 'Conception' and 'I want a baby', as well as other civic organizations are key advocates in the search for adequate solutions and state support for infertile couples. In 2009 a National Fund on Assisted Reproduction affiliated with the Ministry of Health was launched in order to provide partial coverage of in-vitro costs. Annually about 4000 women with reproductive problems receive financial help from the Fund. Our analysis will take a discursive perspective, and use current (2014-2015) materials from patients' organization, clinics providing treatment with NRT methods, and on-line discussion forums where users of NRT treatments exchange stories and opinions. These will be compared with discourse we have identified in our work from nearly a decade ago. Discourses on NRTs reflect local meanings of sexuality, gender, stigma and experiences in the health care system. The socio-political changes in Bulgaria have included shifts in values and meanings related to gender, the body and health. These include changes in social discourses regarding motherhood, fatherhood, children and childlessness.

Dr Tatyana Kotzeva is Associate Professor of Sociology at Burgas Free University, Burgas (Bulgaria) where she teaches courses on introductory sociology, social policy, social demography, psychology and health. Former Director of the Center for Population Studies at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (2002-2007). Her current research interests focus on family and demographic policy issues, social aspects of involuntarily childlessness, family dynamics and adolescents' risk behaviors in Bulgaria. She has published 150 publications in national and international journals and book collections, 4 monographs; 20 papers in peer-reviewed journals (English). Her latest publications include: Kotzeva, T., E. Dimitrova (2014) Perspectives on the Demographic Problem in Bulgaria after 1990: Pronatalism and Social Policy. Sofia: 'Prof. Marin Drinov' Academic Publishing House, pp.175; Kotzeva, T., Dimitrova, E. (2014). Nationalism and declining population in Bulgaria after 1990. Comparative Population Studies, vol.39, 4(2014): 767-788.; Todorova, I., A. Alexandrova-Karamanova, Y. Panayotova, E. Dimitrova, T. Kotzeva (2014). Managing Uncertainty: Healthcare Professionals' Meanings Regarding the HPV Vaccine. International Journal of Behavioral Medicine vol. 21 Issue. 1: 29-36 Springer US; Kotzeva, T. (2011) Public Discourses, Social Policies and Gender Arrangements in the Post-Socialist Context of Low Fertility in Bulgaria. (In: Kahlert, H.&S. Schäfer (eds.): Gender. Journal for Gender, Culture and Society, Special Issue 1, 2011. Barbara Budrich Publishers, Berlin..

What is hidden: Areas of silence in the Polish IVF debate in perspective of gametes and embryo donations

In Poland, the disregard of European Directives and the lack of specific laws makes the ART (artificial reproduction techniques) market both attractive as well as dangerous for patients. This presentation describes how, why and for whom the Polish debate constructs areas deemed open to discussion and areas of silence. Special attention is put on the gametes and embryo donation issue as a site of controlled verbalization. This symbolic control is held by IVF centers, politicians and part of the Polish media, which choose what should be verbalized and what should be silenced. Polish patients seem to be changing their attitudes towards donating their frozen embryos to anonymous recipients and towards the destruction of embryos, but their voice is neither socially audible nor politically desirable.

Anna Krawczak is the head of Association for the Treatment of Infertility and Adoption Support NASZ BO-CIAN. She graduated from the Institute of Polish Culture of the University of Warsaw. She is a member of the Interdisciplinary Research Team on Children, and a member of European Society of Human Reproduction and Embryology. She co-authored a book "Ścieżki ku płodności" ("Paths to fertility"), and wrote numerous articles on the subject of infertility. In her work, she is interconnecting her academic research with political activism.

Jetlagged and bloated: Experiencing the World through egg donation.

Globalization erodes boundaries of time and space, giving rise to tensions between social, biological, legal, ethical, and genetic understandings of parenthood as well as between values and economic interests (e.g. Gupta, 2006; Melhuus, 2012; Thompson, 2005). In this manner, national boundaries are transgressed; reproduction is commercialized; and some bodies become biological resources or "bio-available" (Cohen, 2005). In this rich area of theoretical work, little knowledge exists, however, of egg donor experiences and not the least about the experiences involved in traveling internationally to donate eggs. Whereas feminist scholars have critically questioned the practices of reproductive (im)mobility arguing that the transnational flow in (in)fertile bodies reinforces the mobilities of the economically privileged infertile couples, the experiences of the traveling egg donors have largely gone unnoticed. Clearly, physical borders and economic privilege shape possibilities for travel yet the ability to travel, also, entails both liberatory possibilities as well as constraints. (Roberts & Scheper-Hughes 2011).

This presentation engages the (global) egg donors' own mobility dreams. Based on essays and photographic material from fifty global egg donors, the article explores how travelling to donate eggs is imagined and experienced as a meaningful form of travel. How do egg donors who travel to destinations such as Barbados, India, California or South Africa use ideas and narratives about tourism and mobility to frame their donation experiences? The article concludes that global egg donors, in their travel accounts, come to understand themselves as not only biological matter, but also, as modern mobile consumer subjects and kinship-makers transformed by the experience of travel itself.

Charlotte Kroløkke is Associate Professor in the Department for the Study of Culture at the University of Southern Denmark in Denmark. She is head of two research projects on assisted reproductive technologies (KinTra, 2011-2015 and REMM 2014-2017). Her academic interests concern the ways that ART is debated, experienced, and constructed by egg donors, fertility travelers, and in public debates. Her latest research involves an interest in how egg donors report experiencing traveling to donate their eggs as well as the ways that reproductive matter such as oocytes, urine, and placentas achieves different meanings and values when they circulate into the fertility industry. Kroløkke teaches graduate classes in Cultural Studies and has been a Visiting Professor at several institutions such as the University of New Mexico, University of Greenland, and Mudra Institute of Communications in India.

Reproductive technologies and “social infertility” in Italy. Gender policies and inequalities

Italian context shows a great amount of contradictions between the advances of biomedicine and biotechnology and legislative and political conservatism. The assumptions of this research are: a) the impact of reproductive technologies on gender relationships and on the new types of parenthood (homosexuals, single parents, etc.); b) the link between Italian policies and laws and the changes in the social, family and parenting structures already found in our society; c) the gender inequality, still rooted in the Italian context that has to face the challenges of MAP, on the one hand, and the resistance of procreative conventional models, on the other.

Methods and tools: This study uses an integrated research methodology which makes reference to the sociological and anthropological literature, to the international (as Eurostat, WHO, OECD) and national (as ISTAT, ISS, RNPMA) databases, and to a qualitative research carried out in a local context (Fertility Center Hospital in Lombardy).

Results/Conclusion: The issues developed in this paper reveal, for the Italian society, some asymmetric, sometimes conflicting, pulses especially when gender equality is concerned. We can note, therefore, three main results: 1) the medicalization of everyday life and of human reproduction, while staying a tool of care and wellbeing, also represents an instrument of social control. MPA (Medically Assisted Procreation), through its offer and representation, reproduces gender stereotypes that gather attention to the female body, emphasizing the reproductive and maternal aspects of women's identity; 2) the high-tech medical advances in the reproductive field are not adequately reflected in the policies and laws which are prevalently conservative, especially towards women, homosexuals and single individuals; 3) the Italian society still shows significant gender gaps in employment and family care which has a negative impact on the parental project. These disparities are further accentuated because of the current economic crisis.

Lia Lombardi is Lecturer in Sociology, Sociology of Health and Medicine, Anthropology at the University of Milan (Faculty of Medicine), and researcher at ISMU Foundation, Health and Welfare Unit in Milan. Since 2008 she has been President of Association BLIMUNDE –Women's View on Health and Medicine. Since 1989 she has been carrying out comparative researches on health and reproductive health by a gender and cultural perspective, with focuses on reproductive technologies and migratory processes. Gender, Health, Migration and Social Policies are the main fields of her studies, with special attention on Mediterranean countries. Among her publications: Motherhood in Laboratory (Turin, 1992); TestTube Mother (Milan, 1994); Medical Body and Women's Body (Milan, 1999); Societies, Cultures and Gender differences. Health and Migration (Milan, 2005); Medically Assisted Procreation and their challenger. Gender, Technologies, Inequalities (Milan, 2013).

A „test-tube child” between religion and modernization. Contested subject in the Polish debate on assisted reproduction

In Poland, ARTs are one of the most important issues in public debate, helping to establish ideological positions of the discussants and revealing a deep disruption in the discourse concerning assisted reproduction. This goes far beyond a simple division between „conservative” and „liberal” parts of the debate. Various ideological positions are presented and diverse interests are at stake. Like some of European Mediterranean countries, Poland is a predominantly Catholic country, with a strong position of Catholic Church. This leads to an extensive presence of clergy and conservative Catholic writers, journalists, etc. in the public sphere. However, Poland's experience of being a part of the communist block blurs the division between „conservative” and „progressive” ideologies. On the one hand, there was a shift towards conservative, anti-feminist values while the new national communal values were formed. On the other hand, modernization is a strong political project. The position of the country „in transition” leads to efforts to find its place among Western countries and support what is regarded „progressive”, „western” values. Private sector of medicine in Poland symbolizes a success of capitalism, liberal markets as well as an ideal of modern accomplishment. I observe these ideological disruption through a figure of a „test-tube child”, a mass media construct. My analysis is based on an ongoing, multi-sited ethnographic research about ARTs conducted in Poland.

Ewa Maciejewska-Mroczek works at the Institute of Ethnology and Culture Anthropology of the University of Warsaw. She is a doctor of sociology, polonist and americanist. She is the head of the Interdisciplinary Institute for Childhood Studies at the University of Warsaw. Her main academic interest is in childhood and the place children have in modern societies and cultures. She is mostly interested in how children's right to be heard and fully participate in the social life is being realized. She wrote a book about the role of toys in the way children and childhood are socially constructed. Now she is engaged in a multi-sited research project „New Reproductive technologies - a perspective of childhood studies”.

Reproductive plans and their fulfillments by families of choice in Poland: Negotiations between possibilities, desires, and reality

The question of reproductive plans of non-heterosexual couples in Poland and their accomplishment where we deal with lack of social recognition and legal regulations concerning their relationships is particularly problematic. On the one hand, because although studies on nonheterosexual parenting have a long tradition in the West research conducted outside the Western framework is scarce. On the other hand, because the very existence of non-heterosexuals parents in Poland is passed over and the issue of “the best interest of the child” is often used against such parenting in the public discourse on legalisation of same-sex relationships. The urgent need to situate non-heterosexual families (with or without children) in a specific cultural and social context beyond the West is reflected in the pioneering multi-method project Families of Choice in Poland (2013-2015; PI: professor Joanna Mizielinska) which sheds light on the actual life, needs, and practices of kinship of “families of choice” in Poland. In our presentation we will draw on diverse findings from the research. The following data sources will be investigated more closely: 1. Quantitative study concerning the family life of 3085 LGBT people: here we present some findings regarding their reproductive plans which involves question of an access to ARTs (Assisted Reproductive Technologies) and their actual accomplishments. 2. Ethnographic studies on 20 families of choice in Poland who were closely observed by ethnographers (who often lived with them) for the period of one month: here we will compare 2 chosen cases - one lesbian couple who travelled abroad to complete ARTs and one who did it in Poland. We will discuss the dynamic between possibilities, choices, and their accomplishments seeking for a deeper understanding of the discussed phenomena. We would like to answer the following questions: What determines actual choices? What is the role of particular local context in non-heterosexual reproductive plans? What factors matter and are taken into account (religious belief, class, legal access)? How are they (re)negotiated in practice? And finally, what will non-heterosexual reproduction in Poland look like when the more severe legal regulation on ARTs is introduced?

Joanna Mizielńska

Principal Investigator of “Families of Choice in Poland” research project (2013-2015) and Associate Professor at the Institute of Psychology, Polish Academy of Sciences. Previously she worked at the University of Social Sciences and Humanities in Warsaw as Assistant Professor in the Institute for Psychology of Intercultural Relations, Faculty of Psychology (2006-2008); and as Associate Professor, the Institute of Sociology (2009-2013); Director of the Institute of Sociology in 2012-2013. She defended her Ph.D. in 2001 at the Graduate School for Social Research, the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology at the Polish Academy of Sciences. In December 2009 she received her habilitation at the Institute of Applied Social Sciences, Warsaw University. In an academic year 2001/2002 she was a Fulbright scholar at Princeton University where she conducted her research under auspices of Prof. Judith Butler. In the academic year 2004-2005 she was a CIMO researcher at the Christina Institute in Helsinki University. In September 2009 she was a visiting researcher the Centre for Baltic and East European Studies (CBEES), Södertörn University College, Stockholm. Her academic interests concentrate on gender and queer studies and include: social construction of sexualities/genders/bodies, new concepts/models of families and intimacies, “families we choose”, queer kinship”.

Agata Stasińska

Research officer in the research project “Families of choice in Poland”. Ph.D. candidate at the Institute of Applied Social Sciences, Warsaw University. Her research is about love as a political concept for non-heterosexual communities in Poland. She holds MA in Psychology from the Warsaw School of Social Sciences and Humanities, and a Certificate in Gender Studies from the Warsaw University. She is interested in sociology of gender and family, and social queer theory. She published in edited volumes and several academic journals such as *Studia Sociologiczne*, *Societas Communitas*, *Przegląd Filozoficzno-Literacki* and edited book (*Strategie Queer. Od teorii do praktyki*) and a special issue of queer academic journal *InterAlia*.(8)2013.

The ethics of secrecy and disclosure in transnational sex selection from Turkey to Northern Cyprus

A Turkish man seeking PGD with his wife to have a son after 5 girls accidentally saw the name of their neighbor, who seems to come to the same Northern Cypriot clinic for gamete donation, on the memo book of the clinic's chauffeur; the man got freaked out that the story of a marriage anniversary celebration was about to fail as cover for their reproductive travel. A mother accompanying her daughter to the clinic on the day of embryo transfer worried whether the international cell phone call made by her daughter's sister-in-law would reveal their reproductive travel to North Cyprus, which was kept secret from the daughter's husband's family. The man who tried to silence her wife during our interview by repetitively saying to her, "You should rest, don't talk. I will do talking!" said no word to me about their second embryo donation, which, unlike the first, was without PGD-sex selection. Like these couples, of the estimated 4,000-5,000 Turkish couples who travel abroad (often in secrecy) every year for reproductive purposes (predominantly for egg donation), 5-10 % do so for sex selection via Preimplantation Genetic Diagnosis (PGD). Since non-therapeutic use of PGD is legally prohibited in Turkey, Turkish citizens wishing to pursue such technology, and can afford it, must do so via reproductive tourism, usually to neighboring, Turkish-speaking Northern Cyprus where nontherapeutic sex selection is available. Drawing on ongoing fieldwork in Northern Cypriot IVF clinics and interviews with Turkish PGD seekers, this paper explores the ethics of secrecy and disclosure that people perform, when a situation is potentially stigmatizing, to manage to whom and under what conditions things are told. Examining how the perceived need for secrecy on the part of Turkish PGD seekers leads to the moral dilemmas of disclosure to others, including the ethnographer, the paper will shed light not only on how Turkish couples make moral sense of reproductive tourism for sex selection, but also on what constitutes "proper" and "good" parenthood within contemporary Turkish ideologies of gender and family.

Burcu Mutlu is a PhD Candidate in the MIT Doctoral Program in History; Anthropology; Science, Technology and Society. Currently, she is conducting a doctoral dissertation research, under the advisory of Assoc. Prof. Heather Paxson, on transnational sex selection as an emerging form of "reproductive tourism" from Turkey to Northern Cyprus with a particular focus on the moral negotiations of (selective) reproductive technology, as to reveal established and emergent ideas about gender and family relations in contemporary Turkey. She received her BA in Political Science and International Relations from Marmara University (Istanbul, Turkey) and her MA in Sociology from Boğaziçi University (Istanbul, Turkey). Her primary research interests are new reproductive technologies, transnational (selective) reproduction, science and technology studies, globalization, gender, family-making, Turkey, Northern Cyprus.

Unattainable motherhood: a psychodynamic approach

In this presentation we will be looking at the impact that the use of ART (Artificial Reproductive Techniques) can have on the psyche of women who use the latter techniques because they consider themselves infertile either for biological and psychological reasons, or for social reasons especially due to their homosexual orientation. More specifically, we will be analysing the experience of women who successfully become mothers thanks to these new medical techniques and the intervention of third parties (donors and doctors) by looking both at the internal contradictions and psychological conflicts and at the psychological readjustments which seem to facilitate the development of bisexuality and of acceptance of the passivity/receptivity brought on by pregnancy.

Despina Naziri has a PhD in clinical psychology from the University of Paris 7 and worked as a lecturer in the department of Education at the the University of the Aegean (1988-1992) and the University of Panteios (1992-1993). In 1993 she moved to Belgium and then became assistant Professor in clinical psychology at the University of Liège. She is also psychotherapist and member of the International Psychoanalytical Association. She is specialised in research on abortion, contraception, parenthood, same sex parenting as well as in the use of psychoanalytical theory in psychosocial domains.

Between precarity and privilege. Claiming motherhood as gay fathers through transnational surrogacy

Gay men have traditionally formed kinship in “chosen families” or in ‘rainbow families’, families consisting of for instance two mothers, two fathers and child/ren, where the biological parents have no sexual relation to each other, and thus inherently different to the classic nuclear family and the ideologies of heteronormative procreation. The impossibility of ‘heteronormative procreation’ has worked in tandem with the cultural configuration of the gay man as always already dying where degeneration has been linked to the non-reproductive nature of (male) homosexuality.

But increasingly gay men go abroad to become parents through surrogacy. Surrogacy as a reproductive technology makes procreation in a more classical (heteronormative) form possible for gay men, who now can become the solely two parents in a classical nuclear family. These new possibilities dramatically changes gay men’s symbolic and concrete (queer) precarious position outside ‘the family’ and reproduction, and these men are increasingly are becoming part of heteronormative procreation and included into heteronormative institutions. Still gay fathers still experience discrimination and marginalization. And the gay men’s families are precarious in the sense, that they are discursively and affectively vulnerable and constantly in the risk of losing intelligibility.

Based on interviews with Danish gay men, who have become parents or who are in the process of becoming parents through transnational surrogacy arrangement, this paper will analyze, how gay men re-negotiate this double position between precarity and privilege by negotiating and diminishing the position of the Mother. The paper will argue that the gay fathers make their precarious (queer) families and fatherhood/parenthood affectively and discursively recognizable and thus livable by clinging to other forms of power in form of economic, racial, and gendered privilege.

Michael Nebeling Petersen is assistant Professor of Cultural Studies at University of Southern Denmark. He did his doctoral research at the University of Copenhagen about homosexuality and nationalism in contemporary Denmark. He is now part of two research projects Reproductive Medicine and Mobility and New Media New Intimacies, where he studies male homosexual couples who become parents through transnational surrogacy arrangements. He has taught within gender and queer studies, minority studies, and cultural studies.

The conceptualization of embryo in PGD/IVF* units in Greece: empirical and theoretical approach

Recent changes in the field of assisted reproduction promote and reinforce the perception that obtaining healthy offspring is a parental obligation. Preimplantation Genetic Diagnosis bisects the views about its regulatory option as diagnostic technology and as part of a new “bio-society”. The definition of “a healthy embryo” seems socially produced through political and economic processes. This paper is about an empirically oriented study that explores the views and experiences of practitioners and scientists about social, legal, ethical and clinical dilemmas encountered when working in the field of Preimplantation Genetic Diagnosis (PGD) for serious genetic disorders. The study produced an ethnography based on participant observation, in-depth semi-structured interviews with staff from two PGD/IVF units in Greece. In this paper we refer to staff perceptions about working with embryos and we offer some reflections on distorted stereotypes of the biomedical worlds of the two laboratories. A variety of views are expressed about the “embryo question” in contrast to polarized media debates. The way in which the PGD laboratory scientists “create” embryos through a network of science-laboratory relationships is analyzed. We also analyze the ways in which human embryos have similar and different meanings in the related social worlds of IVF and PGD labs and how clinicians try out new moral pathways to classify embryos to be selected, to be implanted and to obtain “biographical life”.

Alexandra Ntroumpoyanni studied Biology at the University of Crete. She received a postgraduate Diploma in Bioethics at the same university. She also did postgraduate studies at the Hellenic Open University and she received a postgraduate Diploma in Education and School Leadership. She is a Ph.D. candidate in Bioethics at the University of Crete. From 2001 till today she has been teaching Biology at Secondary Schools in Rethymnon- Crete. Her research interests focus on bioethical issues of ART and relative diagnostic methods as Preimplantation Genetic Diagnosis(conceptualization of the embryo, legislation and politics of life, ethnography of the genetic laboratory), Science and Technology Studies , Laboratory studies .

NTA and private adoptions in Greece

In this article I focus on two types of having children in Greece: by the use of medical assisted reproduction and the other by the private arrangement of the adoption of a new born baby. I will examine the limits of the law on these two practices and comparatively discuss the two ways. Private adoption is legal and is taken place under the direct collusion of perspective adoptive parents and genitors or an inter-mediator without the involvement of a state social service. The last ten years 550 children are adopted annually and a number of 90-95 % of these adoptions are private. Private adoption is a highly criticized practice on behalf of the social workers and the local media, which reproduce a discourse about “buying and selling babies”. This discourse is even more emblematic in the cases of biological mothers from Romania and Bulgaria that come to Greece only for giving birth and deliver the child to the perspective parents. But at the same time that we hear of this critic we perceive from the same media and from the law makers a discourse of compassion and an understanding of the infertile couples for their involvement in these practices because of their desire to have a child.

*Eirini Papadaki is a social anthropologist. Her research interests concerns kinship, adoption, family and marriage. She obtained her PhD degree in 2015 from the Department of Social Anthropology and History in the University of Aegean with a thesis titled: Politics of kinning: adoption and the ethical economy of reproduction in modern Greece. The dissertation explores the politics of adoption in contemporary Greece through a historized ethnographic approach and analyses the ways and the discourses of connections and disconnections from one kinship environment to another; what bear and entangle the process of edit and undo kinships. Publications: 2013, “Claiming motherhood in the world of adoption: The case of an internet forum”. In Venetia Kantsa (ed.) *I mitrotita sto proskinio. Sinchrones erevnes stin elliniki ethnographia [Motherhood in the forefront. Recent research in Greek ethnography]* Athens, Alexandria Publ. [in Greek]. Forth coming, “Undoing kinship in a public maternity hospital: the ethical economy of reproduction in Greece”. In T. Thelen and E. Alber (eds), *Reconnecting (modern) Statehood and Kinship: temporalities, scales, classifications*. Penn UP.*

Is there a ‘right to reproduce’ through MAR techniques?

This paper offers a discussion on access to infertility treatment from a subject point of view and tries to explore the question on ‘who should have access to allowed services’. First of all the question is posed whether MAR is (or should be conceived as) a therapeutical treatment so that we talk about ‘patients’ or just a technological development, to which everybody should have access to.

Further, the question is being elaborated if at all, and in the positive to which extend and with what content we could use the rights language to describe the wish to have a child through MAR. In other words, the question is whether there is a ‘right to reproduce’ covering not only sexual intercourse but also use of MAR, that is of a particular kind of treatment / technology. The problem with a right to reproduce is that it implies that someone has a corresponding duty to provide for that right. If so, then who would be the recipient of such a duty? Selected national regulations concerning limited access to such treatment are measured against the answers to the previous questions.

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“One is enough!. The rise of ICSI in Italy”

My contribution aims to look at the emergence of a “new technique” in the field of assisted reproductive technologies (ART). Although currently ART is universally known as IVF (In Vitro Fertilization), exploring it inside laboratories reveals that the technique more frequently used nowadays is ICSI (Intracytoplasmic Sperm Injection). ICSI was introduced as a solution to severe male infertility problems and as a possible alternative to the donation from third party donors. By using a single spermatozoon, ICSI permits the fertilization of an oocyte even in severe cases of male infertility. In the dominant discourse, moreover, ICSI is legitimized as an appropriate solution in the cases of male infertility, forgetting the uneven distribution of costs and benefits between sexes.

Since its introduction, the frequency of use of ICSI has dramatically increased. International data show that ICSI is currently used most often. Although several professional opinion leaders in the ART field have recently criticized the overuse of ICSI, its success continues unabated. The progressive passage from the old to the new technique is entangled with a controversial technology and tied to knowledge processes. The configuration of ICSI emerges from a network of organizational practices, which are embedded in an institutional setting and a moral landscape.

Based on ethnographic fieldwork from Italy, my paper will explore several factors (organizational, social and moral aspects) that explain the disproportionate use of ICSI there, and some of its consequences.

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ART’s uterine individuals in perspective: prenatal individuation in a cross-cultural perspective

This contribution will introduce and discuss processes of attribution of uniqueness and protosubjectivity in different embryological contexts: Current bioethics, West Africa, Inuit, Trobriand, Aboriginal Australia and Ayurvedic medicine. In so doing, I will stress the importance of the cultural creation of a niche of subjectivity as a precondition for the later legitimate entrance in language and, in particular, in the use of the first personal pronoun.

Enric Porqueres i Gené is a full professor at the EHESS Paris, where he is the head of the Doctoral Formation in Anthropology. He’s been publishing on kinship anthropology. In a first moment he has worked on the interactions between interethnic borders and the dynamics of marriage -among the descendants of the converted Jews of Majorca, the Xuetes, and among Spanish migrants in the Basque country. In a second moment he has developed anthropological insights on ART, working mainly on incest prohibitions and ethical discourses. Actually he is developing a comparative approach on the prenatal being, reading contemporary bioethical debates through the rich ethnographical material dealing with the uterine phase of the human being in different settings: Inuit, Ayurveda medicine, Australian Aborigines, Melanesia and West Africa.

Who should benefit from the contemporary techniques of assisted reproduction?

Many different assisted reproductive technologies have developed since the first successful infertility treatment. At the time of the first in vitro fertilization it was emphasized that it is a mere medical help offered to infertile couples. But by now, with the development of several new techniques, such as ICSI, pre-implantation genetic diagnosis, and the cryopreservation of embryos and eggs, the purpose of these interventions has slowly, gradually, and almost unnoticeably changed. Selecting a healthy offspring, providing children for the childless, and securing parenthood for a later time – these are goals that can be now achieved by in vitro techniques and which are different from the original intention. When cryopreservation of the human egg became possible, an unexpected controversy erupted around the possibility of using cryopreservation of eggs. The purported problem is that while the technique of freezing embryos requires the involvement of men in the process, cryopreservation of eggs might be initiated by women who do not have a partner today but still want to secure the possibility of having a child in a later phase of their life. In relation to this solution new terms appeared, such as ‘social’ or ‘carrier motivated freezing’ – which have not been used in the context of any other widely available form of assisted reproduction. In the presentation, therefore, I will focus on how the vitrification of human eggs have shaped the existing policies on assisted reproduction. And my general question will be: who should benefit from the contemporary techniques of assisted reproduction?

Judit Sándor is a full Professor at the Faculty of Political Science, Legal Studies and Gender Studies of the Central European University (CEU), Budapest. In 2004-2005 she served as the Chief of the Bioethics Section at the UNESCO. She published seven books in the field of human rights and biomedical law. Since September 2005 she is a founding director of the Center for Ethics and Law in Biomedicine (CELAB) at the Central European University.

Making mothers in post-communist Romania: The problems and potentialities of IVF

In Romania, low fertility rates and their imagined threatening consequences have long inspired population policies and rhetoric. During communism, fears about population decline led to an official ban on abortion and contraception – which resulted in a dramatic increase of illegal abortions, maternal mortality rates, and secondary infertility. Currently, abortive and contraceptive services are available, but they are often contested by politicians, religious leaders, and some academics who deplore the contemporary ‘demographic crisis’ (as Romania has one of the lowest fertility rates in Europe) and the social, economic, and moral decline it might bring about in the future. Paradoxically, this debate on decreased reproduction leaves the actual issue of infertility unexamined. Academic studies or official statistics on infertility are practically inexistent, as is governmental support for assisted reproductive technologies. Yet, infertility specialists believe that the number of infertile women was extremely high right after the 1989 revolution, and may have even increased over the last decades. This paper highlights the reasons for, and discussions around, the structural marginality of assisted reproductive technologies in Romania. It also sheds light on the resulting dilemmas, practices and strategies of Romanian couples and specialists whom I met in one of the country’s twenty (relatively unregulated and underfinanced) private infertility clinics. As such, the paper offers a comprehensive view of the various structural and navigational dynamics at play in the uncertain process of making mothers in a pro-natalist, post-communist context.

Dr. Erica van der Sijpt is a post-doctoral researcher at the University of Amsterdam, who has conducted anthropological research on reproductive loss and infertility in different settings. Her Ph.D. study addressed women’s navigation of reproductive interruptions in Eastern Cameroon. Findings of this study have been published in international peer-reviewed journals such as Social Science & Medicine, Medical Anthropology Quarterly, Culture, Health & Sexuality, Medical Anthropology, Sociology of Health & Illness, and Anthropology & Medicine. Currently, Erica is involved in a self-designed research project on reproductive challenges in Central Romania. More particularly, she looks at how different fertility problems (e.g., miscarriages, stillbirths, or infertility) are experienced by Romanian women born before, during, and after communism. Throughout her career, Erica has developed and taught numerous medical anthropological courses at various international institutions. She is also a member of the editorial board of the journal Medicine Anthropology Theory.

The disposition of human reproductive material in the Cypriot Draft Bill on medically assisted human reproduction

The paper will present the propositions of the Cypriot legislator on a series of issues: the number of fertilized ova to be transferred, the duration and conditions of cryopreservation of adult reproductive material, as well as the special conditions of cryopreservation of reproductive material of minors, the prospects of the reproductive material after the end of its cryopreservation. Finally, the proposed introduction of the donor anonymity system and limitations to its movement will be examined.

Theodoros Trokanas was born in Thessaloniki. He graduated from the Faculty of Law of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. He holds a Master's degree in "Human rights and protection of humanity" in a private law specialty from the University of Burgundy in Dijon (France) as well as a Phd in Civil Law from the Faculty of Law of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. He has been a practising lawyer since 2002, a member of the Bar Association of Thessaloniki. From 2011 to 2013 he taught courses in Civil Law at the Department of Accounting and Finance of the University of Macedonia in Thessaloniki. He currently holds the post of lecturer at the Department of Law of the European University of Cyprus, where he teaches courses in General Principles of Civil Law, Family Law, Law of Succession and Medical Law. He is the author of the book "Human reproduction, Individual autonomy and its limits" published by Sakkoulas Publications in 2011. He has an excellent command of English, French and a good command of German and Spanish.

Desirable bodies/Precarious laborers: The subjectivation of the egg donors in Ukraine

As one of the few countries in Europe that endorses the commodification of donor egg cells, Ukraine becomes a popular destination for couples that seek conception. These transnational ova donation arrangements generate traffic in human gametes and medical migrants and lead to uneven use of reproductive technologies across borders. The scholarly consideration of the politics of ova-donation in Ukraine is particularly important since it indicates the colonization of the new reproductive markets and biologically available populations in the post-Soviet states. In this paper I analyze the discourses of egg donors, donor recruitment agencies and infertility clinics in Ukraine to examine how biopower constructs the subjects of egg donors along the lines of race, gender and class and enacts the frames of recognition that render their re/productive clinical labor precarious. The production of the bodies of egg donors as "desirable" to international recipients is accompanied by the persistent erasure of the labor that these bodies perform since it doesn't comply with the motherhood mandate for women. Moreover, my research takes into account different ways in which egg donors exercise their agency in making use of ova donation as a source of profit and participate in certain local and global economic arrangements. It also helps to reveal the emergence of the new forms of citizenship grounded in biomedical knowledge about female reproductive body that both determines which bodies are desirable as a part of the nation and unsettles these grounds.

Polina Vlasenko is a PhD student in the Department of Anthropology at Indiana University, Bloomington. Her research interests cover the issues of production of biomedical knowledge, assisted conception and new kinship, commoditization and traffic of body parts, transfer of biotechnologies and medical migration to Ukraine.

Boundaries of ethics - sperm on the border

During the past years, Denmark has become a destination for fertility travellers in need of donated sperm. This development has taken place as the legislation in Denmark has become more liberal. Today treatment is possible for women with or without a partner. Furthermore, users of sperm donation can choose between anonymous and non-anonymous sperm, with either basic information (phenotypical descriptions) or extended profiles.

Due to the changing regulations medical staff has had their own, and their existing (ethical) practices challenged several times. With the current group of women travelling from abroad in order to receive treatment with sperm donation, they are furthermore providing care for women whom are bending the law, and negotiating ethical borders and boundaries. In this presentation I ask: How does embryologists, nurses and doctors working with fertility treatment at a Danish privately owned fertility clinic account for the negotiation of ethics that they participate in on a daily basis? How do they negotiate and understand intersections of age, race, kinship and sexuality in practices as they perform treatment on women from abroad?

The presentation is based on a multi-sited and multi-modal ethnographic fieldwork at a Danish private fertility clinic, and a Danish sperm bank conducted between 2011-2013. Theoretically I draw on Karen Barad and Donna Haraway's notion of diffractive readings. I use their understanding of accountability to question and intervene in the making of ethics in practice.

Stine Willum Adrian is an Assistant Professor in Techno-Anthropology at Aalborg University in Copenhagen, Denmark. Adrian's research interests lie in questions concerning gender, medical technology, intersectional analysis, and material feminisms. She has previously conducted a comprehensive ethnographic study on fertility clinics and sperm banks in Denmark and Sweden. Her current work is part of a collective research project: (Trans)formations of Kinship: Travelling in Search of Relatedness (KinTra). Adrian's project explores the globalization of Danish sperm due to the expansion of Danish sperm banking and Denmark being a European destination in the use of donor sperm.

Transnational medical reproductive mobilities from, to and across the Mediterranean: reflections from the (In)fercit project.

The global diffusion of ARTs and their local and translocal use has lead scholars to explore the different ways in which these have been contextualised in different localities. The project (In)fercit has promoted a comparative study of the socio-anthropological literature analysing the social, cultural, moral and practical public and private elements characterising the introduction of ARTs in Greece and in 6 different neighbouring countries and the transnational networks emerging from the peculiarities of each context and the different bio-medical availabilities of actors, substances and technologies.

This paper presents the results of such a comparative review and proposes some methodological and research questions surfacing from this work.

Giulia Zanini is currently a Marie Curie - Piscochia Fellow at the University of Padova- Italy. She has received a PhD in Social and Political Sciences at the European University Institute (EUI) with a dissertation focusing on cross-border reproductive care and has written about assisted reproductive technologies in the Italian context, transnational reproductive mobilities, kinship formation, donor conception and religion Last year she participated as a postdoctoral fellow in the project (In)fercit at the University of the Aegean, where she was responsible for the comparative study of the socio-anthropological literature about ARTs and transnational reproductive networks from, to and across Bulgaria, Cyprus, Italy, Lebanon, Turkey and Spain.

CHAIR/DISCUSSANT(s)

SARA AHMED is Professor of Race and Cultural Studies and Director of the Centre for Feminist Research at Goldsmiths, University of London. Her work is concerned with how bodies and worlds take shape; and how power is secured and challenged in everyday life worlds, as well as institutional cultures. Publications include: *Difference that Matter: Feminist Theory and Postmodernism* (1998); *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality* (2000); *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (2004, 2014), *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others*(2006); *The Promise of Happiness* (2010); *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life* (2012) and *Willful Subjects* (2014). She is currently finishing a book, *Living a Feminist Life* (some of this material is being worked through on her blog, feministkilljoys.com) and has begun a new research project on "the uses of use".

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EUGENIA GEORGES is Chair and Professor of Anthropology at Rice University. She has conducted research on medicalization and reproduction in Greece, the movement to humanize childbirth in Brazil, as well as on Dominican transnational migrants in the Dominican Republic and New York City. She is the author of *Bodies of Knowledge: The Medicalization of Reproduction in Greece* (Vanderbilt University Press) and *The Making of a Transnational Community: Migration, Development and Cultural Change in the Dominican Republic* (Columbia University Press). Her articles have appeared in *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, *Social Science and Medicine*, *Feminist Studies*, *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* and other journals.

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HEATHER PAXSON is William R. Kenan, Jr. Professor of Anthropology and MacVicar Faculty Fellow at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in the United States. She is the author of two books: *Making Modern Mothers: Ethics and Family Planning in Urban Greece* (University of California Press, 2004) - an ethnography of fertility control, gender and kinship based on research conducted in Athens from 1993-1995 - and *The Life of Cheese: Crafting Food and Value in the United States* (University of California Press, 2013). Her publications also include articles on IVF and demographic politics in Greece. She teaches graduate and undergraduate courses on "Rethinking the Family," "Food, Culture and Politics" and "Art, Craft, Science." She is currently serving as Director of Graduate Studies for MIT's PhD Program in History; Anthropology; Science, Technology and Society.

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