

Cutting the Cord: Examining Social Hierarchies and Public Perception of “Full Surrogacy” Labour Industries

Vanda Bajs

Word count: 9593

Supervisor: Carles Roca-Cuberes

Course: 2022/2023

Research Project of the MA in International Studies on Media, Power, and Difference

Department of Communication

University of Pompeu Fabra

For Tom, my most avid reader and greatest supporter.

This one is for you buddy.

Abstract: Both transnational gestational surrogates (TGS) and migrant nannies are economically exploited, socially marginalised and engage in kinning beyond genetics. Yet, academically speaking, these roles were never put in comparison to one another. Previous research mainly focused on analysing self-perceptions of the two roles or examining their media framings, without much probing into audience interpretations. Hence, through semi-structured interviews with the general public, the research will analyse how the roles of TGS and migrant nannies differ/overlap and whether there is an existing social hierarchy amongst them. Furthermore, by exposing members of the public to media framings through documentaries in focus group discussions, the research will examine whether the initial social imaginaries of TGS and migrant nannies can be altered. The results of my PhD thesis will incentivise conducting further research on internal hierarchies in the care sector and demonstrate the permeability of media framings in documentaries on care labour issues.

Keywords: caregivers, gestational surrogacy, kinning relations, media framing, migration, nannies, social reproduction, stratified reproduction, transnational care labour

Type of project: PhD proposal

Table of content

1) Introduction	3
2) State of the art of the topic	5
2.1) Literature review	5
a) Theoretical traditions and currents of thought for framing the question	5
Social reproduction theory	5
Stratified reproduction theory	6
Postcolonial feminist theory	6
Kinship theory	7
Media framing theory and social imaginaries	8
b) Review and critique of related empirical research	9
2.2) Theoretical framework	12
3) Research problem, research questions, and objectives	13
3.1) Research problem and research questions	13
3.2) Objectives of the study and its limitations	14
4) Methodology	14
4.1) Population selection and sampling strategies	15
4.2) Data collection method	15
4.3) Data analysis procedures	16
4.4) Anticipated ethical issues	17
5) Structure and contents of the research	17
6) Bibliography, documentation and materials to be used for the aims of the research	19
7) Timeline of the execution of the project	22
8) List of references	25
9) Appendix	30
9.1) Semi-structured interview guide	30
9.2) Detailed discussion guide for the FG interviews	32

1) Introduction

Introduction to the specific topic chosen and a justification of its importance, novelty, and academic relevance

For a long time, care labour has been an “unseen” topic amongst relevant actors such as policymakers, researchers and the media. Only in the last few decades, has there been a boom regarding research of reproductive labour industries, where many feminist scholars emphasised the negative impacts globalisation has left on transnational gender relations, in particular referring to the massive inequality that occurs between the Global North and the Global South. Certain feminist scholars, such as Acker (2004, 34), stress that gender, alongside immigration, provides a type of “resource” for the rich countries of the Global North. Therefore, there is a wave in feminist academia to investigate global inequalities that affect the care industry workers.

In recent years, numerous research has been done on the topic of surrogacy and the discourse regarding the legal parenthood of the surrogate and intended parents. Arguably the most “controversial” type of surrogacy is transnational gestational commercial surrogacy which for many, bewildered the idea that “blood is thicker than water”. Gestational surrogates differ from traditional surrogates as they carry a fetus with no genetic links to them. This type of surrogacy is usually prevalent in countries where commercial (paid) surrogacy is legal. Intended parents often search for a surrogate outside of the borders of their own country due to economic and socially fuelled power dynamics. This mostly, but not necessarily, results in intended parents from the Global North looking for surrogates in the Global South.

Consequently, this urged many academics to probe the intersection of race, class and gender on the topic, predominantly stressing the problematics of transnational gestational surrogacy and urging for better policies and legal frameworks to protect transnational gestational surrogates (TGS). Meanwhile, nannies have been present for a much longer time than gestational surrogates, yet arguably received less attention from the media and academia. In a transnational context, the labour of migrant nannies is relevant to its contribution to transnational gender relations as many families from the Global North employ mostly women from the Global South to perform duties in the form of maternal affection (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002, 4). Hence, there is a clear correlation between TGS and migrant nannies as their labour consists of taking care of a baby/child that is not genetically theirs, whether it is prenatally or postnatally. However, little research is done on comparing these two labour industries and to what extent and why they differ.

Meanwhile, it is important to include the aspect of media in this topic. Media are leading actors in developing migrant and transnational imaginaries and “reversing the gaze” (Berfin Ayaydin 2020, 172). Gaonkar observes (2002, 10) social imaginaries are disseminated through “images, stories, legends, and modes of address”, which can collectively be called frames. In other words, through the process of media framing, media are used as a tool to (re)produce social imaginaries. Additionally, through the dissemination of these frames, imaginaries can make certain people “become the subjects of praise or condemnation, desire, suppression or fear” (Glick Schiller and Salazar 2013, 195). Therefore, it is important to research the ways and the extent to which media influence collective and individual perceptions of reality, in this case, the experiences of TGS and migrant nannies. When portraying social inequality, documentary films have a particularly powerful impact to convince or persuade audiences to a specific opinion and “activate our social consciousness” (Nichols 2017). However, so far no research has comparatively looked into the influence documentaries can have on the imaginaries of both TGS and migrant nannies.

Therefore, the purpose of this study is to examine the differences and overlaps in the public perception of TGS and migrant nannies and analyse to what extent media framing in documentaries can reshape the images of both TGS and migrant nannies. Incorporating a blend of postcolonial feminist, stratified/social reproduction and kinning theories, as well as media framing theory, the research will approach the topic by acknowledging inequalities beyond gender that include elements of race, class and global economy, as well as shed light on the importance of kinning beyond genetics. Moreover, it will investigate the media’s power to reproduce new social imaginaries and perceptions of inequality. Empirically speaking, the research will consist of a comparative qualitative analysis, firstly through semi-structured interviews that will analyse the initial public perception of the two roles. The research will then be followed by focus group interviews that will examine the impact of two documentaries on the public perception of TGS and migrant nannies.

The study will give insight into the internal hierarchies of transnational care industries and provide palpable empirical results that can be attributed to kinship theory, primarily the Euro-American kinship system. Furthermore, the comparative analysis of TGS and migrant nannies aims to fill in the academic gap on the topic of social hierarchisation of given care industries. In addition, it academically incentivises scholars to further dissect social reproduction theory and look at the topic of transnational care industries through an intersectional lens. Meanwhile, the empirical study of the general public perception of TGS and migrant nannies will contribute to the lacking sphere of research conducted on the

audience's interpretations of care industries and enable better comprehension of the process of media framing regarding topics in the care sector.

2) State of the art of the topic

2.1) Literature review

a) Theoretical traditions and currents of thought for framing the question

To explore in which ways the roles of TGS and migrant nannies are perceived and framed, several intertwining theories need to be taken into account:

Social reproduction theory

Social reproduction is defined as a process beyond the Marxist definition of production (Laslett and Brenner 1989, 381). According to Luxton (2006, 36), social reproduction theorists address "the silences in Marxism" and demonstrate how the "production of goods and services and the production of life are part of one integrated process". For that matter, Federici (2012, 100) observes the distinction between production and reproduction in paid reproductive labour is "blurred" in most countries of the Global North. Overall, social reproduction theory focuses on types of labour that usually involve a care service rather than a physical object as a commodity, which are usually performed by women and are undervalued in the global market.

According to many scholars, the concept of social reproduction refers to three main aspects (Katz 2001; Luxton 2006; Bakker 2007; Kofman and Raghuram 2015). Firstly, the biological reproduction of people, into which the category of commercial gestational surrogacy falls into. Secondly, to individuals and institutions that provide paid caring labour, to which nannies belong. Lastly, the third aspect concerns the reproduction of the labour force such as unpaid cooking, cleaning and caring. On a more general note, other academics claim the term reproductive labour was used by feminist scholars in order to emphasise activities performed by women that are invisible by the market, such as housework, child care, elderly care, etc., and include them under the category of labour (Di Leonardo 1987, 441; DeVault 1991; Hartmann 1976; Oakley 1974). The wording of reproductive labour was then replaced by "care work", in the case of many scholars, to stress the importance of the worker addressing people's needs and emotions (Coltrane and Galt 2000, 16).

In that sense, care work has historically been belittled through low wages due to the fact it is usually performed at home or in homelike environments, unseen by the public (Abel 2000; Daniels 1987; Fisher 1990; Glenn 1992; MacDonald 2010). Moreover, it has been portrayed

as a job that does not need skills and more as a calling that "naturally" appears in women (England 2005). These hegemonic concepts of work and family, and the clear division of the two, put care labour into the clashing position of "not quite family love, not quite paid employment" (Jacobson 2016). Hence, in Jacobson's opinion (2016), this is why the wages are kept low; the idea the work should be done out of love, not out of money. High wages equal non-caring, while low wages in feminised care sectors are established as "badges of maternal sacrifice", which scholars England (2005) and Folbre (1999) call "the care penalty". Thus, in Fraser's opinion (2017), the solution to this care penalty lies in the untangling of the deep-rooted injustice of the current capitalist system altogether and calls for the revival of the production/reproduction division and reconceiving of the gender order.

Stratified reproduction theory

Many scholars note (Cahn 2009; Lovett 2007; Roberts 1997) that the concept of parenthood is heavily linked to class and race, where working-class, poor women and women of colour's reproductive abilities have been policed throughout history, while white middle-class women were incited to procreate. Sociologist Shellee Colen (1995, 78) names this concept "stratified reproduction", to describe how reproductive tasks are differently assigned, experienced and valued due to hierarchies of class, race, ethnicity, gender and the global economy. Essentially, certain groups of people are encouraged to reproduce and parent, while others are disempowered to do the same (Ginsburg and Rapp 1995, 3).

Those who are disempowered can assist in the reproduction or parenting process of privileged persons by working as a domestic worker, nanny or surrogate (Nilsson 2015, 9). Hence, stratified reproduction infiltrates into various parts of global culture, unwraps the cultural construct of parenting and childcare and its links to gender, class, race/ethnicity and the global economy (Colen 1995, 98). However, not all care work is perceived the same, as internal hierarchies exist. For example, within the sphere of household reproductive labour, there was a recognised social order by the interviewed workers in New York in the 1990s (Colen 1995, 80), where live-in jobs with household chores and childcare are at the bottom, while childcare jobs with minimum or no housework are considered to be at the top of the internal hierarchy. Hence, the internal social hierarchy identified in previous research stimulates further examination of power dynamics in the care sector.

Postcolonial feminist theory

The labour of TGS and migrant nannies both present huge industries where workers are exploited for their reproductive labour. Kirby (2014, 26) defines exploitation as "taking of unfair advantage...at another's expense", while some liberal theorists (Wertheimer 1996;

Wilkinson 2003) stress that exploitation can be mutually beneficial. Nonetheless, the labour of many care industry workers, including TGS and migrant nannies, is marked by “social suffering” (Kleinman 2000, 239). Social suffering is the idea that different social orders, whether local or global, bring suffering to people. Here, Fonseca (2011, 309-313) notes it is relevant to identify that “violence in everyday social structures such as hierarchy and inequality”, i.e. social suffering, has been trivialised in hegemonic representations due to the state of political economy in which “the negotiation of meanings” is marked by extreme inequality.

Expanding on inequality gaps, Vora (2012, 682-683) elaborates that biological and affective labour is unequally distributed on a transnational level, which is heavily linked not only to gender, but also to race and class. As previously mentioned, this manifests itself in mostly white, middle class or upper-class families from the Global North outsourcing their labour to women of colour from the Global South. For that matter, several scholars stress how different affirmative actions in outsourcing reproductive labour are linked to genetic ties. For example, Vora (2012, 695) argues that, since TGS mostly engage in commercial surrogacy only, scientific knowledge in enabling surrogates to be gestational erases the body from reproduction and gives the upper hand to genetics to define the commissioning parents as the “authorial producers of a child”. Meanwhile, Macdonald (1998, 27) defines the concept of “shadow mothering” in which the child-care worker masks the fact she is performing a parental role. Thus, researching these relatively new labour formats that shape transnational gender relations, such as TGS or migrant nannies, can give insight into the “role of race and gender in relation to subjectivity and humanity, forms of ownership and property, and technology as part of capitalist expansion and territorialization” (Vora 2012, 682-683).

Kinship theory

At the same time, modern forms of reproduction, family structures and parenthood provide new insights into the study of kinship. Through the process of intensive kinning, where “racial, ethnic and working-class communities maintain notions of kinship that supersede the genealogical grid” (Freeman 2007, 303), both TGS and migrant nannies engage in what author Sophie Lewis names “full surrogacy” labour (2021, 147). The intensive kinning process can be followed by a counter-movement. As Guerzoni and Sarcinelli (2019, 1-2) note, any kinning process has a complementary de-kinning process that aims to strip away the persons’ meaningful relations. For example, the wording of TGS shifted over the years from “birth mother” to “gestational carrier”, in pursuit of patriarchal aims to stripe away the surrogate from their original kin (Fixmer-Oraiz 2013, 151-152). However, Guerzoni and Sarcinelli (2019, 1-2) recognise the oversimplicity in the binary division of kinning and

introduce other terms to the process as well as recognise that the perception of kinning also depends on different actors. For example, surrogates might engage in never-kinning, but external actors will assign them a kinship role (Guerzoni, Sarcinelli 2019, 9).

In any case, as many scholars stress, legal categories do not usually coincide with people's understandings of real-life situations (Strathern 2005, Collard 2009, Yngvesson 2010). Nevertheless, ideas of family and parental rights are very relative. As Fonseca (2011, 311) observes, in certain situations "straying from hegemonic models of family is accepted, perhaps even celebrated. In others, "straying' is met with a policy of zero tolerance". Meanwhile, Rothman (1993, 127) questions the overall nature of the family nucleus as there is a significant notion of parenthood in terms of property, which is conveniently moulded into the concept of "parental rights" to cover the harshness of its actual meaning. Therefore, the roles of TGS and migrant nannies present a challenge to the current hegemony of genetic kin as well as probe the controversial idea of babies/children as property.

Media framing theory and social imaginaries

Media act as crucial players in forming the public perception of various social issues, especially those that go beyond the audience's grasp (Dowler 2003; Happer and Philo 2013). For that matter, documentaries are considered an important medium that can, not only shape public opinion but also influence policy. Moreover, informative documentaries reframe a problem to address it from a new angle that engages members of the public who do not necessarily agree with the message of the documentary (Nisbet and Aufderheide 2009, 450-451). In spite of documentaries' growing influence within the media sector, their impact on public opinion and framing of social issues has been largely overlooked by media and communications scholars (Nisbet and Aufderheide 2009, 450-451).

Shaping public opinion can be done through various media processes, including media framing. The founder of media framing theory, Erving Goffman (1974), notes frames are interpretive schemes that have the ability to leave a compelling impression on audiences and shape our cultural beliefs. Following Goffman's theory, Tuchman (1978, 192) elaborates that "frames organise 'strips' of the everyday world", while Gitlin (1980, 7) stresses framing requires the processes of "selection, emphasis and exclusion". In a similar tone, Entman (1993, 52) later claims framing consists of selection and salience, which is used to describe a process where information is purposefully made more significant and visible to audiences (Fiske and Taylor 1991). The content is then made salient by stressing a certain problem, its cause, the moral judgment and/or a solution to the stated problem. Therefore, as Tankard (2001) observes, media are then able to "set a tone" for a particular issue by its use of

frames. In other words, the frame interprets the event and implies what the issue is (Gamson 1989, 159).

Through effects such as media framing, documentaries contribute to creating social imaginaries. Here, Latour observes (2005, 7) the social is “a very peculiar movement of re-association and reassembling”. These imaginaries are real, but are “the condition of the perception and production of the real” (Kim 2016, 62). Moreover, imaginaries have the ability to mould realities that are created on a personal or collective level (Griffiths and Maile 2014, 142). Thus, documentaries have the ability to shape and transform individual and societal realities. Nonetheless, the framing of an issue does not necessarily influence the public's opinion (Entman 1989; Graber 1988). However, Chong and Druckman (2007, 103) conclude the majority of academics believe “stable, informed and consistent opinions... are rare in the mass public” (Converse 1964, Zaller 1992), which means the majority of people are receptive to media framing. Hence, with topics of TGS and migrant nannies being overlooked in the public eye, there is a chance for the members of the general public to be receptive to the media framings of the two roles.

b) Review and critique of related empirical research

As mentioned above, many care industries, including the positions of TGS and migrant nannies, are considered “hidden”. Oftentimes the two topics are invisible to the general public or simplistically presented in the media. Thus, a significant amount of research is devoted to revealing the everyday life of TGS and migrant nannies, the conditions of their workplaces and the before-mentioned “social suffering” most of them endure. Meanwhile, a small amount of research was dedicated to the public perception of surrogacy, mainly in a local context, as well as to media framings of TGS and migrant nannies.

Researching the topic of nannies, Macdonald (1998) conducted in-depth interviews in the US with 36 childcare providers and 22 mothers of the family who employed them to investigate the “shared labour” of “mother work”. The research exhibited that many employers urged to “define nannies out” of the family, whether it was through frequent nanny turnover or by delegating “mother-only tasks”. Meanwhile, nannies and au-pairs often compared the hours spent with the children as a form of proof they were “de facto third parents” in the family (p. 46-48). Macdonald concluded that nannies/au-pairs and their employers shape a type of “shared mothering” as a result of a dominant cultural ideology that only values “intensive mothering” performed by the primary mother. Hence, nannies and mothers perform interpretive work that masks the fact their mother work is shared (p. 49). This research does not take into account alternative models of families but nonetheless

provides valuable insight into the idea that parental roles are shared outside of the nuclear family.

From a different angle, Berfin Ayaydin (2020) explored the framings of Filipina nannies on 25 human resources agency websites in Turkey. The results showed Filipina nannies in Turkey are depicted as disciplined, but also caring, which created the social imaginary of Filipina women as the “ideal nannies” and established a high position in the hierarchy of the Turkish domestic labour market. This “privileged” position in the internal hierarchy was set due to cultural stereotypes, racialisation and gendering. Due to these factors that contribute to the imagery of Filipina nannies as the “other”, they were represented as better workers in comparison to other groups. Thus, the research demonstrates, not only the presence of an internal social hierarchy, but also how stereotypical depictions that are harmful in nature, can actually benefit a particular group in the care labour market.

On the topic of surrogacy, Kirby (2014, 24) notes altruistic and commercial surrogacy practices in high-income countries have been extensively researched in the last three decades, whereas TGS fail to be noticed in various fields of research, including social sciences. Nonetheless, certain scholars paid attention to the topic of TGS and produced valuable results. Nilsson (2015, 69) did an ethnographic study of Thai women working as surrogates in Bangkok and conducted interviews with eleven Thai surrogates on their experiences and reflections on their role as surrogates. The study pointed the motives of the interviewed surrogates should not solely be attributed to economic needs, but also to cultural and religious contexts. The study also revealed the commissioning parents are allowed to engage in the de-kinning process by contract, as they are allowed to decide whether the surrogate can see the baby after birth.

Researching the public perception of surrogacy, Arvidsson et al (2017) provided insights into India’s local communities’ interpretation and opinions of surrogates. In more detail, the study explored various outlooks on gestational surrogacy from different socioeconomic groups in Assam. This Indian state was purposefully chosen as the concept of surrogacy is not so wide-known there. Researchers conducted individual interviews as well as focus group discussions (FGs), with most FGs consisting of participants with similar socioeconomic backgrounds. The study revealed that gestational surrogacy is seen as a justifiable form of reproduction since the main goal is to have a child with a genetic link to the parents, although some students and women from higher socio-economic backgrounds perceived adoption as the better option. In regards to the perception of the surrogate mother, the participants provided contrasting answers as some interpreted surrogacy as a noble deed that should be awarded financial compensation, while others viewed it as an immoral act of a

“mother selling her child”. Conclusively, the research gave insights into the connection between the significance of genetic kin and level of education, while incentivising further studies to be done on the topic.

Meanwhile, Markens (2012, 1745) explored US media framings of TGS by conducting a qualitative analysis of US news accounts on surrogacy between 2006 and 2010 and more than 1000 online reader comments to the articles. In the research, Markens discovered the duality in the framing of exploitation/inequality vs. opportunity/choice that bears similar ideologies concerning gender and race. In other words, US media presented Indian TGS as the “poor racialised *other*” (p.1751) or as empowered women that make choices for themselves, while both framings engaged in the colonial depiction of their labour. In comparison to TGS in Eastern Europe, Markens observed “the trans-racial aspect of gestational and kinship relationships” might have caused a certain cultural fascination with the US, which explained the relatively extensive media coverage of the topic. Thus, the study provides insight not only into media framings, but also into the audience’s perception of TGS through the articles’ commentary. Yet, this research was done more than ten years ago, which probably means new perceptions on the topic would dominate.

On a similar note, Ventura, Rodríguez-Polo and Roca-Cuberes (2019) investigated audience interpretations of TGS in TV news in Spain, where they conducted four focus group interviews. The results demonstrated how media framing of wealthy gay couples becoming parents through the assistance of TGS in India engages in a portrayal by which gay couples are depicted as the main oppressor and TGS as victims. After seeing the news, most participants were against the practice of surrogacy due to its media framing as an exploitative act (626-627). The overall findings can be connected to Fonseca’s theory (2011, 311) that some alternative family models that go away from the standard kin are accepted, while others are completely looked down upon.

Therefore, according to the preliminary review of empirical research, I conclude there was no previous research done on comparing the roles of TGS and migrant nannies. Both roles were analysed separately, in which emphasis was given either to the workers’ own interpretation of their labour or the media framings of that labour. In terms of media framings of nannies, there seems to be less interest given, which can be attributed to Markens’ observation that the trans-racial idea of kinship in TGS stirs more interest in media coverage. In any case, research on the audience’s interpretation of the two care industries looks scarce. A small portion of the research was dedicated to investigating the public perception of surrogates, while none were found for nannies, with a similar approach noted when examining media framing’s impact on audiences. Based on these facts, I argue this study

would be the first of its kind, in the sense it would provide a comparative analysis of TGS and migrant nannies as well as be a relevant addition to the underresearched “hidden” labour of the two roles. Additionally, it would feed the understudied empirical research done on the interconnectedness between public opinion and media framing of the two roles.

2.2) Theoretical framework

As the reviews of literature and empirical research demonstrate, a postcolonial feminist approach is relevant to the research of TGS and migrant nannies as it indicates there are structural power dynamics beyond the duality of “choice feminism” and plain exploitation. In terms of social reproduction theory, both roles are put under the umbrella of care labour and acknowledge how gender, as well as race, play a big role in the structural inequality that predominantly occurs amongst women of colour in the Global South. In regards to stratified reproduction theory, the research recognises both roles fit into that category, but also explores whether the general public finds stratified reproduction to be more unacceptable in the case of one role compared to the other. With regard to kinship theory, both roles perform intensive kinning that goes beyond genetic kin, and as stated previously, people’s perceptions usually do not match legal categories.

Therefore, it is relevant to explore preliminary public opinion on the parental rights of TGS and migrant nannies, as well as the audience’s interpretation of their general experiences. Meanwhile, documentaries are considered powerful channels that can, through their use of framing of social issues, potentially impact and change the social imaginaries of TGS and migrant nannies. Previously, the two roles were academically never put in comparison to one another and explored how the construction of meanings is produced under an internal social hierarchy, how the two roles are in parallel perceived by the general public and how this perception can be influenced by documentary story-telling.

Thus, to conduct a comparative analysis of the two roles, I will incorporate a perspective that urges scholars to look beyond the gender lens and incorporate elements of race, class and global inequality. Through the qualitative analyses of the public perception of the two roles and the effect of media framings in documentaries on that initial perception, I aim to expand the current empirical research that either focuses on the first-hand experiences of TGS and migrant nannies or the media framings of their roles, which mostly excludes the audience interpretations. The analysis will provide insight into the internal kinning processes the general public engages when thinking about the two roles and to what extent they differ. Moreover, it aims to showcase the extent of the general public’s ability to recognise social suffering in the case of TGS and migrant nannies and demonstrate whether the public

engages in internal social hierarchisation of the two roles. Finally, the research's goal is to exhibit whether the public is receptive to altering their perception of TGS and migrant nannies when exposed to the documentaries' framings.

3) Research problem, research questions, and objectives

3.1) Research problem and research questions

As previously mentioned, transnational reproductive labour industries have long been overlooked in terms of research and have only received tangible attention in recent decades. Two different, yet similar care labour industries that are marked by global inequality are posts of migrant nannies and TGS. Both roles ultimately acquire bodily and/or emotional kinning with the baby or child they nurse. Academic research so far mainly focused on TGS and migrant nannies in a global context of structural gender inequality or at an individual level on the workers' self-perception of the role. The research rarely included public perception of the roles and so far has not correlated the two posts with one another. Meanwhile, documentaries have a growing influence in the sector and can make a significant impact on various social issues, nonetheless, their impact on public opinion remains underresearched.

Therefore, the purpose of this study is to explore how the roles of TGS and migrant nannies are perceived by the general public and to what extent they overlap and vary. In more detail, the study intends to explore whether there is an internal social hierarchy present between the two roles and if so, how that hierarchisation manifests itself in the eyes of the public. Additionally, the research seeks to evaluate to what extent can differently framed documentaries, on the issues of TGS and migrant nannies, change the public perception of the two roles and create alternative social imaginaries.

The research questions that guide this study are as follows:

1. What is the initial general perception of the two separate roles and how do they overlap and differ?
2. Is the labour of TGS or migrant nannies perceived as more "valuable" and/or "demanding" than the other and if so, why?
3. In terms of kinning relations, how does the internal social hierarchy of parenting manifest itself in people's opinions on the two roles?

4. In what ways (if any) does public opinion change in regard to the social imaginaries of both TGS and migrant nannies when exposed to the media framings of the two documentaries?

3.2) Objectives of the study and its limitations

As elaborated in the problem statement, the purpose of this study is to investigate intersections and contrasts in the perception of TGS and migrant nannies. Moreover, by examining the audience's interpretations by analysing elements of exploitation, choice and kinship beyond genetics, I would like to demonstrate whether people engage in internal social hierarchisation of the given roles. Lastly, by showcasing the two differently framed documentaries on migrant nannies and TGS, I seek to showcase whether the general public opinion can be alternated. If the proposal is excepted, it will enrich an underresearched sphere of feminised labour from a new angle that encourages research of social hierarchies in care industries beyond the micro-levels of individual experiences of care industry workers or beyond the macro-levels of the impact of capitalism and globalisation on gendered and racial bodies. Rather, the study will push for further research to be done on internal social hierarchies and people's perceptions of them.

Nonetheless, it is important to acknowledge the constraints the intended study contains. Firstly, the research does not aim to transmit first-hand experiences of TGS and migrant nannies nor to compare them. Rather, it aims to analyse how actors outside of that scope of labour, i.e. the general public, interpret those experiences and to what extent are they receptive to changing their initial opinions after exposing themselves to the framings of the given documentaries. As all interviews and focus group discussions are going to be held in one location only, the study will not be able to capture a huge variety of cultural or transnational opinions on the two roles. Thus, the aim of the study is not to encapsulate a fixed audience perception of the two industries, but to give insight into the idea of the pliability of perception, kin, and concept of injustice in the care industry, as well as to encourage further research to be done on internal hierarchies amongst groups deemed socially and economically oppressed by broader members of society.

4) Methodology

Since the intent of the research is to further investigate the internal social hierarchy between TGS and migrant nannies, look into the public's initial interpretations of these roles, and finally test this pliability of perception through media framing of the two roles, the adequate approach includes strictly qualitative methodology. The methodology will incorporate both

interviews and focus group interviews to obtain the most relevant results. In both the interviews and focus groups, the idea is to interview the same people, but in different formats and with different aims, which contributes to the change of questions that can be seen in the appendix.

4.1) Population selection and sampling strategies

The target population will consist of people residing in Brussels, Belgium who are within the age group typically associated with parenting, which is between 21 and 45 years old. People participating in the interviews will be of all genders (male, female, non-conforming, etc.). The participants will be divided into three sub-groups based on the following parental component:

- People who choose not to be parents
- Potential future parents
- Active parents, i.e. people who are already parents

The reason for this division is primarily based on the aspect of kinning, to examine whether the fact one's idea of creating a family with children affects their perception on kinning relations that go beyond genetics.

In the interviews, the sample size will include 42 participants based on the components stated above. A balance between the sub-group needs to be maintained, so roughly 14 participants from each group will be interviewed individually.

In focus groups, the sample size includes a total of 6 discussions in which 5-7 participants will participate. Thus, the expected amount of people in total to be interviewed will be between 35 to 42 participants. Each group will be divided based on the subgroup mentioned above, while each subgroup will further be separated into two groups. The first group will consist of people aged between 21 and 34 years, while the second group will be of people 35 to 45 years old.

4.2) Data collection method

For the first part, the initial public perception will be examined through semi-structured, descriptive, face-to-face interviews. For the context of the research topic, semi-structured interviews (SSIs) are the most suitable as the interviewer will follow a semi-structured interview guide attached in the appendix, which allows the interviewer to “stay on track” with the initial topic. However, the interviewer does not need to follow exactly the line of questions as in the structured interview, which enables participants to answer questions in a more free and honest way, without the interviewer disrupting the flow of the conversation

(DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree 2006). Moreover, SSIs are the most suitable for the analysis of the initial perception of TGS and migrant nannies since the aim is primarily to obtain independent thoughts of the individuals prior to the focus group discussions (Adams 2015, 494).

In the second part, the idea is to investigate the potential change in public perception due to media framing. Therefore, the method used will be focus group (FG) discussions. Focus groups as a method for examining qualitative data are most adequate for this particular part of research as the method successfully compiles social understanding about a specific topic (Ventura, Rodríguez-Polo, Roca-Cuberes 2019, 620). Furthermore, this qualitative method enables receiving responses that are not constrained by the given questions like in a survey and at the same time, does not go too far in-depth like interviews and allows to absorb a variation of opinions (Hennink 2014). To ensure the flexibility of the discussions, the focus group interviews will follow a semi-structured discussion guide that can be found in the appendix. Meaning, the moderator will be able to adapt the order of the questions or improvise by asking relevant new questions on the spot if necessary.

All FG interviews will be held face-to-face as it is considered one of the most reliable formats to conduct FG interviews as well as enables more natural communication and social interaction. In addition, face-to-face FG allows for readings of non-verbal cues which are otherwise hard or impossible to read in other FG settings (Carey and Asbury 2016). This reasoning can also be attributed to choosing face-to-face individual interviews as well. For both qualitative methods, the research will incorporate stratified purposeful sampling (quota sampling) because it ensures “substantial representativeness” of the population relevant to the analysis (Ventura, Rodríguez-Polo, Roca-Cuberes 2019, 620). On top of that, this sampling strategy is useful for facilitating comparisons, which is at the research's core.

Before the beginning of both the interviews and FG discussions, the participants will receive a consent form to sign as a confirmation of their participation in the session and the fact they will be recorded. Each interview should last approximately 90 minutes, while FG interviews are envisioned to last two hours. The SSIs with the participants will be held first, with a break of ten to fifteen months which will then be followed by FG interviews. Since the time distance between the interviews and focus group (FG) discussions amounts to approximately a year, a certain amount of participants are expected to drop out. To minimise this from happening, financial compensation can only be guaranteed to participants that take part in both the interview and FG discussion, which will be explained at the very beginning when recruiting the participants.

4.3) Data analysis procedures

After the SSIs had been conducted, the initial process of data analysis begins. Data reduction will consist of transcribing all the SSIs and FGs, supported by the free transcription option in Google Docs. Meanwhile, data reconstruction will consist of coding based on constructivist grounded theory research (Charmaz 2006). The constructivist approach will enable me as the researcher to be independent of the literature review and assist me in developing new theories on the topic.

The coding process will gradually incorporate initial, axial and selective coding that will lead to the development of a few dozen of categories and finally, the results will be moulded into final themes. The coding process will happen two times with separate time frames. The first round will consist of gathering the final themes based on the SSIs, while the second will be based on the FGs. The overall process will be conducted through the NVivo software programme. After defining the final themes in both rounds, they will be put into comparison with one another. The summarised data will showcase which differences, if any, prevail between the perception of TGS and migrant nannies. In more detail, it will demonstrate whether a difference exists between the initial perception of the general public and the final perception after watching the two documentaries, particularly focusing on the perceptions of inequality, choice and kinning relations of TGS and migrant nannies.

4.4) Anticipated ethical issues

Since the participants are members of the general public and are not explicitly linked to the topic of both the SSIs and FGs, there is less of a probability for sensitive situations or harmful emotions to arise. Nonetheless, certain ethical issues should be anticipated due to the nature of both interviews and FG discussions. Before the beginning of both the SSI and FG interviews, I will provide clarity to the participants on the nature of the interviews and give them an overview of the topic, as well as elaborate on what will be done with the data collected and the steps taken to ensure confidentiality and anonymity.

In focus groups, due to the unpredictability of the conversation, participants should be informed of the possibility of sensitive questions and topics that can come up. To properly handle all discussions, a set of ground rules that all participants should follow will be presented at the beginning of the interviews. Meanwhile, the interviewer/moderator of both the SSIs and FGs, will word questions in a sensitive matter and pay attention to the emotions and non-verbal cues of the participants. As mentioned previously, participants will be asked for written approval for conducting and recording the interviews.

5) Structure and contents of the research

Definition of the main concepts around which the research is to be constructed

The driving force of the study is to go beyond one-dimensional interpretations of the two roles and understand their complexities. Nonetheless, since the emphasis is on the general perception, the study does not intend to give initial ideas to participants, but explore their own views and opinions of the two roles. The structure of the research will consist of: an extended literature review focusing on the theories mentioned above; methodology of SSIs and FG discussions whose results will separately be elaborated in the thesis; and the conclusion that will put the research results at its core and linking it to the given literature review.

Hence, the SSIs will be based on postcolonial feminist, stratified/social reproduction and kinship theories, which will be deeper explored in the literature review of the PhD thesis. Hence, the interviews will be subject to a triad model focusing on three elements identified in both roles and how audiences perceive them in relation to the two roles:

1. Exploitation
2. Opportunity / Choice
3. Kinship relations / Parental rights

The idea is that all three elements encapsulate the concept of social suffering and, put together, would indicate the audience's general perception of the two roles. By incorporating the concept of social reproduction theorists, I approach both of these roles in my research as different forms of labour. Moreover, I seek to establish who the general public considers being exploited and in what ways, and does the idea of "choice" stand in opposition to exploitation in the case of TGS and migrant nannies, or whether the public recognises the complexities of the care labour market, in which care workers can both be exploited and still "choose" to perform the labour for their own economic and social benefit. Additionally, I explore in what ways kinning beyond genetics, between the fetus/child and the TGS/migrant nanny, differs in relation to parental rights. In other words, in the eyes of the public, is gestating a baby thought to be more significant when attributing a parental role, or does that apply more to the concept of nurturing and partially "raising" a child with no biological or genetic kin. Thus, the triad model enables examining the internal social hierarchy between the two roles in the eyes of the public and can demonstrate, based on the perception of kin, when stratified reproduction is more put into question.

Meanwhile, the second part of the methodology, in which participants are exposed to the frames of the two documentaries, demonstrates whether this internal social hierarchy can be

alternated. The first documentary showcases the situation of Georgian TGS and the surrogacy business, mainly through the frame of exploitation. The part shown to the participants provides the story of TGS to be seen from different angles. Firstly, it showcases the story of a rich couple who have had 21 children delivered by different Georgian surrogates and taken care of by 17 nannies. Secondly, it then demonstrates the positive opinion on surrogacy from the CEO of a Georgian surrogacy agency. Finally, the documentary tells the story of Olesia, a young woman who found herself in the situation a gestational surrogate for a couple in the United States after getting out of an abusive relationship and thus needing to provide for herself and her children.

The second documentary portrays the story of Teresita Laulang, a Filipina nanny that took care of the filmmaker Justin and his siblings over the last two decades in Hong Kong. Teresita, aka “Yaya”, is portrayed as a member of the family, but oftentimes that role is questioned and explored throughout the documentary, where the emphasis is also given to the emotional, social and economic hardships Teresita faced due to her situation and leaving her family behind in the Philippines to become a caregiver abroad.

Therefore, the framings of the two documentaries are not exactly in contrasting positions but depict the stories of TGS and migrant nannies from different angles. For the role of TGS, Georgian surrogates are portrayed to primarily be exploited for their labour, without any emphasis given to kinning relations, while the concept of TGS is showcased from a macro level (the surrogacy industry in Georgia) and the micro level (the individual stories such as Olesia’s). Meanwhile, the story of Teresita mostly focuses on the micro level (her position in the family) while also incorporating a frame of exploitation. Hence, the showcasing of the two documentaries aims to influence the audiences to perceive the depicted labour of TGS as primarily an exploitative act, while processing the work of migrant nannies such as Teresita as a complex situation of social suffering, in which the caretaker engages in tentative kinning, not only with the children, but also with the parents.

Comparing the data results of first the SSIs and later the FG discussions, the results will indicate whether the audiences changed their initial opinions on the role and hence, if the two given documentaries were able to influence the initial social imaginaries of the two roles in the eyes of the public.

6) Bibliography, documentation and materials to be used for the aims of the research

ABC News. "Damaged Babies & Broken Hearts: Ukraine's commercial surrogacy industry." YouTube, August 20, 2019.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0euVSmfVcWc&ab_channel=ABCNewsIn-depth

Addati, Laura; Cattaneo Umberto, Esquivel Valeria and Valarino, Isabel. *Care work and care jobs for the future of decent work*. International Labour Office, 2018.

https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_633135.pdf

Cheung, Justin. "'YAYA': Sacrifice of Domestic Workers Documentary." YouTube, December 10, 2018. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R8E2fPPs-No&ab_channel=JustinCheung

"Circle Surrogacy & Egg Donation Podcast." Accessed June 5, 2023.

<https://www.circlesurrogacy.com/resources/family-circle-surrogacy-podcast>

Cummins Muñoz, Elizabeth. *Mothercoin: The Stories of Immigrant Nannies*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2023.

Deutsch, Veronica. "Migrant women are raising their voices against an unjust childcare system: it's time to listen to them." Last modified March 14, 2023.

<https://views-voices.oxfam.org.uk/2023/03/migrant-women-unjust-childcare-system/>

Dubois, Hans; Leončikas, Tadas; Molinuevo, Daniel; Wilkens, Mathijn. *Long-term care workforce: Employment and working conditions*, Eurofound, Publications Office of the European Union, 2020.

Gorp, van Baldwin. "No more fake news? Stop polarizing start framing." Filmed November 2018 at TEDxMaastricht, Maastricht, The Netherlands. Video, 10:12.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=09mjATJZJsM&ab_channel=TEDxTalks

Factsheet - Gestational Surrogacy. European Court of Human Rights, December 2022.

https://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/FS_Surrogacy_eng.pdf

Nelson, Thomas E., Zoe M. Oxley, and Rosalee A. Clawson. "Toward a Psychology of Framing Effects." *Political Behavior* 19 (1997): 221-246.

"Nanny Solidarity Network Podcast." Accessed June 5, 2023.

<https://tunein.com/podcasts/Arts--Culture-Podcasts/Nanny-Solidarity-Networks-Podcast-p2018062/?topicId=195054155>

Unreported World. "Selling surrogates: wombs for hire in Georgia." YouTube, October 24, 2021.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HvCUvUvbXio&t=4s&ab_channel=UnreportedWorld

7) Timeline of the execution of the project

YEAR 1												
<i>Monthly breakdown</i>	<i>M1</i>	<i>M2</i>	<i>M3</i>	<i>M4</i>	<i>M5</i>	<i>M6</i>	<i>M7</i>	<i>M8</i>	<i>M9</i>	<i>M10</i>	<i>M11</i>	<i>M12</i>
1. Research design and planning												
1.1 Finalise research problem/questions												
1.2 Draft methodology section for final thesis												
1.3 Research proposal/ethical approval submission												
2. Literature review												
2.1 Search and synthesise literature on social and stratified reproduction theories												
2.2 Search and synthesise literature on postcolonial feminist theory												
2.3 Search and synthesise literature on kinship theory												
2.4 Search and synthesise literature on media framing theory												
2.5 Draft literature review section for the thesis												
3. Data collection (interviews round)												
3.1 Finalise sampling plan												
3.2 Develop interview guide												

3.3 Pilot interview guide												
3.4 Carry out the interviews												
YEAR 2												
Monthly breakdown	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7	M8	M9	M10	M11	M12
3. Data collection (interviews round)												
3.4 Carry out the interviews (continuation from year 1)												
3.5 Draft first part of data collection section for the thesis												
4. Data analysis (interviews round)												
4.1 Transcription of interviews												
4.2 Data analysis / Coding												
4.3 Draft the first part of the findings section for the thesis												
5. Data collection (FG discussions round)												
5.1 Finalise sampling plan												
5.2 Develop discussion guide												
5.3 Pilot discussion guide												
5.4 Carry out FG discussions												

YEAR 3

<i>Monthly breakdown</i>	<i>M1</i>	<i>M2</i>	<i>M3</i>	<i>M4</i>	<i>M5</i>	<i>M6</i>	<i>M7</i>	<i>M8</i>	<i>M9</i>	<i>M10</i>	<i>M11</i>	<i>M12</i>
5. Data collection (FG discussions round)												
5.4 Carry out FG discussions (continuation from year 2)												
5.5 Draft the second part of the data collection section for the thesis												
6. Data analysis (FG discussions round)												
6.1 Transcription of FG discussions												
6.2 Data analysis / Coding												
6.3 Draft the second part of the findings section for the thesis												
7. Finalising the thesis												
7.1 Writing the final draft												
7.2 Reviewing the draft												
7.3 Final editing												
7.4 Submission												

8) List of references

- Abel, Emily. "A Historical Perspective on Care." In *Care Work: Gender, Labor, and the Welfare State*, edited by Madonna Harrington Meyer, 8–14. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Acker, Joan. "Gender, Capitalism and Globalization." *Critical Sociology* 30, no. 1 (2004): 17-41.
- Adams, William, C. "Conducting Semi-Structured Interviews." In *Handbook of Practical Program Evaluation*, edited by Kathryn E. Newcomer, Harry P. Hatry and Joseph S. Wholey, 492-505. San Francisco, USA: Jossey-Bass, 2015.
- Arvidsson, Anna; Vauqueline, Polly; Johnsdotter, Sara and Essén, Birgitta. (2017) "Surrogate mother – praiseworthy or stigmatized: a qualitative study on perceptions of surrogacy in Assam, India. " *Global Health Action* 10, no. 1 (2017): 1-10. <https://doi.org/10.1080/16549716.2017.1328890>
- Bakker, Isabella. "Social Reproduction and the Constitution of a Gendered Political Economy," *New Political Economy* 12, no. 4 (2007): 541–556.
- Berfin Ayaydin, Deniz. "Found a nanny and lived happily ever after: The representations of Filipino nannies on human resources agency websites in Turkey." In *Migration at Work*, edited by Fiona-Katharina Seiger, Christiane Timmerman, Noel B. Salazar, Johan Wets, 171-190. Leuven, Belgium: Leuven University Press, 2020.
- Cahn, Naomi R. *Test Tube Families: Why the Fertility Market Needs Regulation*. New York: New York University Press, 2009.
- Carey, Marth Ann, Asbury, Jo-Ellen. *Focus Group Research*. Oxfordshire, UK: Taylor and Francis. 2016.
- Charmaz, Kathy. *Constructing Grounded Theory*. London: Sage. 2006.
- Chong, Dennis and Druckman, James N. "Framing Theory." *Annual Review of Political Science* 10 (2007): 103-126. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.10.072805.103054>
- Colen, Shellee. "'Like a Mother to Them': Stratified Reproduction and West Indian Childcare Workers and Employers in New York." In *Conceiving the New World Order: The Global Politics of Reproduction*, edited by Faye Ginsburg and Rayna Rapp, 78–102. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1995.

- Collard, Chantal. "The Transnational Adoption of a Related Child in Québec, Canada." In *International Adoption: Global Inequalities and the Circulation of Children*, edited by Diana Marre and Laura Briggs, 119-134. New York: New York University Press, 2009.
- Coltrane, Scott, and Justin Galt. "The History of Men's Caring: Evaluating Precedents for Fathers' Family Involvement." In *Care Work: Gender, Labor, and the Welfare State*, edited by Madonna Harrington Meyer, 15-36. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Converse Philip E. 1964. "The nature of belief systems in mass publics". In *Ideology and Discontent*, edited by David E. Apter, 206-261. New York: Free, 1964.
- Daniels, Arlene Kaplan. "Invisible Work." *Social Problems* 34, no. 5 (1987): 403-15.
- DeVault, Marjorie. *Feeding the Family: The Social Organization of Caring as Gendered Work*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- DiCicco-Bloom, Barbara and Crabtree Benjamin F. "The qualitative research interview." *Medical Education* 40 (2006): 314-321. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2929.2006.02418.x>
- Di Leonardo, Micaela. "The Female World of Cards and Holidays: Women, Families, and the Work of Kinship." *Signs* 12, no.3 (1987): 440-53.
- Dowler, Kenneth. "Media consumption and public attitudes toward crime and justice: The relationship between fear of crime, punitive attitudes, and perceived police effectiveness." *Journal of Criminal Justice and Popular Culture* 10 (2003): 109-126.
- Ehrenreich, Barbara, Hochschild, Arlie Russell. *Global Woman: Nannies, Maids and Sex Workers in the New Economy*. London: Granta Books. 2002.
- England, Paula. "Emerging Theories in Care Work." *Annual Review of Sociology* 3, no. 1 (2005): 381-99.
- Entman, Robert M. "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm." *Journal of Communication* 43, no. 4 (1993): 51-58.
- Federici, Silvia. *Revolution at Point Zero: Housework, Reproduction, and Feminist Struggle*. Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2012.
- Fisher, Berenice. "Alice in the Human Services: A Feminist Analysis of Women in the Caring Professions." In *Circles of Care: Work and Identity in Women's Lives*, edited by Emily K. Abel and Margaret K. Nelson, 108-31. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990.

Fixmer-Oraiz, Natalie. "Speaking of Solidarity: Transnational Gestational Surrogacy and the Rhetorics of Reproductive (In)Justice." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 34, no. 3, (2013): 126-163.

Fiske, Susan and Taylor, Shelley. *Social cognition*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1991.

Folbre, Nancy. "The Cost of Caring." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 561, no. 1 (1999): 39–51.

Fonseca, Claudia. "The De-Kinning of Birthmothers: Reflections on Maternity and Being Human." *Vibrant: Virtual Brazilian Anthropology* 8, no. 2 (2011): 307-339.
<https://doi.org/10.1590/S1809-43412011000200014>

Fraser, Nancy. "Crisis of Care? On the Social-Reproductive Contradictions of Contemporary Capitalism." In *Social Reproduction Theory*, edited by Tithi Bhattacharya. Pluto Press, 2017.
<https://www.perlego.com/book/665246/social-reproduction-theory-remapping-class-recentering-oppression-pdf>

Freeman, Elizabeth. "Queer Belongings: Queer Theory and Kinship Theory." In *A Companion to Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer Studies*, edited by George Haggert and Molly McGarry, 295-314. London: Blackwell, 2007.

Gamson, William Anthony. "News as framing: Comments on Graber." *American Behavioral Scientist* 33, (1989): 157–161.

Gaonkar, Dilip P. "Toward new imaginaries: an introduction." *Public Culture* 14, no. 1 (2002): 1–19.

Glenn, Evelyn Nakano. "From Servitude to Service Work: Historical Continuities in the Racial Division of Paid Reproductive Labor." *Signs* 18, no. 1 (1992): 1–43.

Ginsburg, Faye, Rapp, Rayna (eds). *Conceiving the New World Order: The Global Politics of Reproduction*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

Gitlin, Todd. *The World Is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left*. California, USA: California University Press, 1980.

Glick Schiller, Nina and Noel B. Salazar. "Regimes of mobility across the globe". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 39, no. 2 (2013): 183–200.

Graber, Doris. *Processing the news: How people tame the information tide*. New York: Longman, 1988.

Griffiths, David and Maile, Stella. "Britons in Berlin: imagined cityscapes, affective encounters and the cultivation of the self ." In *Understanding lifestyle migration*, edited by Michaela Benson and Nick Osbaldiston, 139–159. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

Goffman, Erving. *Frame analysis*. New York: Free Press, 1974.

Guerzoni, Corinna Sabrina, Sarcinelli, Alice Sophie. "What is Kinning All About?" *Antropologia* 6, no. 2 (2019): 7-13. <https://doi.org/10.14672/ada201915757-12>

Happer, Catherine and Philo, Gregory. "The role of the media in the construction of public belief and social change." *Journal of Social and Political Psychology* 1 (2013): 321–336. <https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v1i1.96>

Hartmann, Heidi. "Capitalism, Patriarchy, and Job Segregation by Sex." *Signs* 1, np. 3(1976): 137–69.

Hennink, Monique. *Focus group discussions*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2014.

Jacobson, Heather. *Labor of Love*. Rutgers University Press, 2016. <https://www.perlego.com/book/400629/labor-of-love-pdf>

Katz, Cindi. "Vagabond Capitalism and the Necessity of Social Reproduction," *Antipode* 33, no. 4 (2001): 709–28.

Kim, Seung Soo. "Imagining religion and modernity in post-colonial Korea: Neo-liberal brand culture and digital space." PhD diss., University of Colorado, 2016.

Kirby, Jeffrey. "Transnational Gestational Surrogacy: Does It Have to Be Exploitative?", *The American Journal of Bioethics* 14, no. 5 (2014) 24-32. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15265161.2014.892169>

Kleinman, Arthur. "The violence of everyday life: the multiple forms and dynamics of social violence." In *Violence and subjectivity*, edited by Veen Das, Arthur Kleinman, Mamphela Ramphele and Pamela Reynolds, 226-241. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2000.

Kofman, Eleonore and Raghuram, Parvati. *Gendered Migrations and Global Social Reproduction*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

Laslett, Barbara, Brenner, Johanna. "Gender and Social Reproduction: Historical Perspectives." *Annual Review of Sociology* 15 (1989): 381-404. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.so.15.080189.002121>

- Latour, Bruno. *Reassembling the social: An introduction to actor-network-theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Lewis, Sophie. *Full Surrogacy Now: Feminism Against Family*. London: Verso. 2021.
- Lovett, Laura. *Conceiving the Future: Pronatalism, Reproduction, and the Family in the United States, 1890–1938*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.
- Luxton, Meg. “Feminist Political Economy in Canada and the Politics of Social Reproduction,” In *Social Reproduction: Feminist Political Economy Challenges Neoliberalism*, edited by Kate Bezanson and Meg Luxton, 11-44. Montréal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2006.
- Macdonald, Cameron Lynn. “Manufacturing Motherhood: The Shadow Work of Nannies and Au Pairs.” *Qualitative Sociology* 21, no. 1 (1998): 25-53.
- MacDonald, Cameron Lynn. *Shadow Mothers: Nannies, Au Pairs, and the Micropolitics of Mothering*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.
- Markens, Susan. “The global reproductive health market: U.S. media framings and public discourses about transnational surrogacy.” *Social Science & Medicine* 74 (2012): 1745-1753.
- Matthew C. Nisbet and Patricia Aufderheide. “Documentary Film: Towards a Research Agenda on Forms, Functions, and Impacts.” *Mass Communication and Society* 12, no. 4 (2009): 450-456. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15205430903276863>
- Nichols, Bill. *Introduction to Documentary*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2017. <https://www.perlego.com/book/568807/introduction-to-documentary-third-edition-pdf>
- Nilsson, Elina. “Merit Making, Money and Motherhood: Women’s Experiences of Commercial Surrogacy in Thailand.” Master diss., Uppsala University. 2015.
- Oakley, Ann. *Women’s Work: The Housewife, Past and Present*. New York: Vintage, 1974.
- Roberts, Dorothy. *Killing the Black Body: Race, Reproduction, and the Meaning of Liberty*. New York: Pantheon, 1997.
- Rothman, Barbara Katz. “Recreating Motherhood.” *Nemesis*, no. 4 (1993): 123-130.
- Strathern, Marilyn. *Kinship, Law and the Unexpected: Relatives are Always a Surprise*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005.

Tankard, James, W. "Perspectives on Media and Our Understanding of the Social World." In *Framing Public Life*, edited by Stephen D. Reese, Routledge, England: Taylor and Francis. <https://www.perlego.com/book/1554031/framing-public-life-perspectives-on-media-and-our-understanding-of-the-social-world-pdf>

Tuchman, Gaye. *Making news*. New York: Free Press, 1978.

Ventura, Rafael, Rodríguez-Polo, Xosé Ramón, Roca-Cuberes, Carles. "Wealthy Gay Couples Buying Babies Produced in India by Poor Womb-Women: Audience Interpretations of Transnational Surrogacy in TV News," *Journal of Homosexuality* 66, no. 5 (2019): 609-634. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2017.1422947>

Vora, Kalindi. "Limits of "Labor: Accounting for Affect and the Biological in Transnational Surrogacy and Service Work." *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 111, no. 4 (2012): 681-700. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/00382876-1724138>

Wertheimer, Alan. "Exploitation and commercial surrogacy." *Dalhousie University Law Review* 74, no. 4 (1996): 1215–1229.

Wilkinson, Stephen. "The exploitation argument against commercial surrogacy." *Bioethics* 17, no. 2 (2003): 169–187.

Yngvesson, Barbara. "Placing the "Gift Child" in Transnational Adoption." *Law & Society Review* 36, no. 2 (2002): 227-256.

Zaller John. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

9) Appendix

9.1) Semi-structured interview guide

Introduction:

1. Introducing the topic and the interviewer. Explaining how the interview will play out.
2. Can you introduce yourself and share if you have any preconceived knowledge, interest, or opinions on the topic.

Section 1: General Perception of the Two Roles

1. Could you tell me at least three words you associate with being a parent?

2. Could you tell me at least three words you associate with TGS?
*Probe 1: Why did you associate these particular words with TGS?
3. Could you tell me at least three words you associate with migrant nannies?
**Probe 2: Why did you associate these particular words with migrant nannies?
4. Can you think of any words that you think would fit both the roles of TGS and migrant nannies?
5. Would you categorize one or both roles as “jobs” or “work”? If yes, why? If not, why?
6. In terms of difficulty, do you feel one role is more difficult than the other, why?
7. In terms of the role being rewarding, do you feel one is more rewarding than the other, why?

Section 2: Exploitation / Inequality

1. Do you think gestational surrogates are exploited for their labour? If so, in which ways?
2. Do you think migrant nannies are exploited for their labour? If so, in which ways?
3. Which role (if any) do you believe brings bigger injustice to the person performing it?
Please elaborate on why.

Section 3: The Perception of Choice

1. For what possible reasons do you believe TGS pursue their role?
2. For what possible reasons do you believe migrant nannies pursue their role?
3. Do you believe one or both roles can be empowering, and if so, in what contexts?

Section 4: The Hierarchy of “Mothering”

The interviewee will read the following case studies:

- 1) First case study describes a gestational paid surrogate from India named Aarushi that helped a Belgian couple have a child. Aarsuhi herself has three children and used the money she received from surrogacy to help her financially in raising her kids. Nonetheless, she finds it difficult to let go of the baby she had in her belly for 9 months.
- 2) Second case study describes a Venezuelan stay-in nanny called Alejandra that has

been taking care of a three-year-old boy Javier for one Belgian family for the last two years. Alejandra has four children back home in Venezuela whom she helps financially through her role as a nanny. When the time comes for Alejandra to move back to Venezuela, she finds it difficult to leave Javier behind.

Questions:

1. What do you think about each case study, how did it make you feel?
2. How would you describe each of their roles in relation to mothering/motherhood?

Section 5: Parental Rights

1. Do you believe one of the two roles “deserves” more parental rights over the other? Why?
2. What sort of parental rights, if any, do you feel like each role should have? Why?
3. Do you believe one or both roles should not have any parental rights in regard to the baby/child? Please elaborate on why.

Conclusions

1. What elements play a role in creating your perception or opinion regarding this matter? E.g. personal experiences or stories you have come across, etc.?
2. Has your perception of this topic changed from when you initially started this session and now? How? Final comments/thoughts.

9.2) Detailed discussion guide for the FG interviews

Introduction (10 min)	(120 min)
Welcome participants	
Brief participants	
Ask the participant to read the information sheet and sign the consent and confidentiality forum if they are fine with participating in the interview.	
Establishing ground rules- participants need to turn off mobile phones, one participant speaks at a time, etc.	

Ask the participants in case there are any questions before beginning.	
Warm-up Exercise (20 min)	(110 min)
Let's all share our first names and one hobby we enjoy doing.	
<i>Before starting, provide a brief explanation of both the terms of TGS and migrant nannies.</i>	
Give each participant a sheet of paper and 1 min to write down words that they associate with TGS.	
Give each participant a sheet of paper and 1 min to write down words that they associate with migrant nannies.	
Give each participant a sheet of paper and 1 min to write down mutual words that they associate both to migrant nannies and TGS.	
Probe: Why did you associate these particular words with TGS?	
Probe: Why did you associate these particular words with migrant nannies?	
Probe: Why did you connect these particular words with both the roles of TGS and migrant nannies?	
Part 1: Documentary, Selling surrogates: wombs for hire in Georgia (ca. 13 min) + 15 mins discussion <i>*Show the following parts of the documentary:</i> 0 - 4.38 mins 7.18 - 12.16 mins 17.30 - 19.30 mins 21.58 - 23.04 mins	(90 min)
<i>Participants watch the first documentary on gestational surrogates in Georgia.</i>	
How did the documentary make you feel? Is there anything, in particular, you want to stress that made an impression on you?	
Did the documentary change or affirmed your position on TGS? How?	
What are the main elements that changed or affirmed your position?	
Do you find this particular case to be a representative portrayal of TGS, why?	

<p>Part 2: Documentary, "YAYA: Sacrifice of Domestic Workers" (ca. 16 min) + 15 mins discussion</p> <p><i>*Show the following parts of the documentary:</i></p> <p>0 - 11.13 mins 25.35 - 30.50 mins</p>	<p>(62 min)</p>
<p><i>Participants watch the second documentary about a Filipino nanny/domestic worker employed by a family in Hong Kong.</i></p>	
<p>How did the documentary make you feel? Is there anything, in particular, you want to stress that made an impression on you?</p>	
<p>Did the documentary change or affirmed your position on migrant nannies? How?</p>	
<p>What are the main elements that changed or affirmed your position?</p>	
<p>Do you find this particular case to be a representative portrayal of migrant nannies, why?</p>	
<p>Part 3: Comparing the two roles (20 min)</p>	<p>(31 min)</p>
<p>Which documentary (if any) had a more powerful impact on you? Why?</p>	
<p>Generally speaking, which role (if any) do you find more fulfilling? In what aspects?</p>	
<p>Generally speaking, which role (if any) do you find more unjust? In what aspects?</p>	
<p>In general, do you find one of the roles to be more "parental" than the other, why?</p>	
<p>For what reasons do you think TGS and migrant nannies pursue their roles?</p>	
<p>In which ways (if any) do you find the roles to be similar? Please elaborate on why.</p>	
<p>In which ways (if any) do you find the roles to be different? Please elaborate on why.</p>	
<p>Debriefing and Closing (11 min)</p>	<p>(11 min)</p>
<p>Final question: Has your perception of this topic changed from when you initially started this session and now? How? Final comments/thoughts.</p>	
<p>Wrap-Up</p>	<p>(0 min)</p>