



## SCIENTIFIC FINAL REPORT

Regnr Östersjöstiftelsen: 16/17

Project manager: Jenny Gunnarsson Payne

Project title: Reproducing (In)Justice: Towards a theory of relational reproductive justice of surrogacy in Baltic, Central and Eastern Europe

### 1. Purpose of the project (short version)

The project covered national case studies of the three EU countries Latvia, Poland, Sweden, as well as transnational surrogacy to Georgia and Ukraine: 1) Empirically, the project aimed to analyze and compare existing practices, legislation, policy and debates concerning gestational and other forms of surrogacy in the BCEE; contributing with contextually specific knowledge about current national policy and media debates, as well as the mapping of existing practices within and between the countries; 2) Theoretically, the project sought to develop a more nuanced concept of reproductive justice, acknowledging the relational nature of privilege and vulnerability, inclusion and exclusion, and, empowerment and exploitation in surrogacy arrangements.

### 2. The three most important results of the project and what conclusions can be drawn from them

#### 1. A relational approach to reproductive justice – contribution to medical ethics

As hypothesised in the application, the project results have confirmed that for any form of surrogacy (paid or non-paid, or so-called altruistic) the *relationship* between involved and affected parties is of essence for satisfaction and well-being during and after a surrogacy process. Our article in *Upsala Journal of Medical Sciences* showed that this largely consistent in existing qualitative research from all over the world. Importantly, the way that the vast majority of current surrogacy arrangements are conducted in Central and Eastern Europe and non-Western regions such as Latin America and India often actively prevents the kind of relationships that bring satisfaction for involved parties, especially but not exclusively for surrogates. Based on the results, we created a typology of existing relationships: *open*, *restricted*, *structured* and *enmeshed* that we argue give a better indication on the quality of these relationships than the division between paid and unpaid (altruistic) surrogacy. Open relationships which involved an open caring and often intense contact between reproductive parties but avoided transgression of boundaries were most satisfactory. This kind of relationships were most often identified in relations that were less unequal with regards to e.g. geographical and socio-economic status. In transnational surrogacy arrangements, factors such as language differences and mediators (e.g. agencies, clinics) often function to prevent precisely this kind of relationship.

For **Swedish** lawmakers in favour of non-paid surrogacy specifically, these results indicate that they need to consider how such support and mediation services ought to be organised in case of a change in legislation, including systems for funding (private or within the welfare system). For **Latvia**, this conclusion points to the necessity to develop legal regulations and policies for surrogacy relationships promoting open and caring relationships between reproductive parties. For **Poland** the findings suggest a review of current punitive legislation and practice, which result in discriminating children born from transnational surrogacy, who are being denied Polish citizenship and social rights, e.g. access to health care system and education.



## 2. Consequences of patchwork-legislation – rights and citizenship issues

We know from our research that surrogacy arrangements, in general involve some form of border-crossing: in **Sweden** they are generally organised via a Stockholm-based commercial surrogacy agency or national mediation service, in **Poland** often via private arrangements through adverts and (previously) border-crossing to Ukraine as well as travel to countries where commercial surrogacy is available (e.g. USA), and in **Latvia** via private international (occasionally also local) arrangements which are not regulated by the national law and usually are kept strictly confidential. Keeping surrogacy arrangements in a “grey” or even illegal zone and avoiding public discussions on the topic adds vulnerability and distress to experiences of persons who potentially might benefit from surrogacy arrangements. This *status quo* also negatively impacts the best interests of children born through surrogacy and rights of the surrogates.

The *actual* policies surrounding surrogacy are, however, very different. In **Sweden**, a range of state authorities are all involved in creating internal policy and ‘best practice’ for how to integrate surrogacy-born children in the Swedish system. In Latvia there is complete lack of surrogacy regulations, policies, and ethical or best practice guidelines on surrogacy. Similarly, there is no law regulating surrogacy in Poland. The Polish Family Code states that “a mother is a woman who gave birth to the child” and the 2015 bill on assisted conception does not mention surrogacy directly, mainly due to the fact that the experts working on the document wanted to avoid this potentially divisive and controversial topic, fearing that the debate on surrogacy could lead to the rejection of the bill. In 2019 the parliament passed the amendment to the Polish Penal Code in order to penalize surrogate mothers, who sign contract promising to give a baby up for adoption once it is born, but this law was introduced without any debate. In **Latvia**, specifically representative of LGBTQ+ community emphasized in the interview that this community, despite the fact that surrogacy is practiced and desired by the members of the community, avoids opening and stimulating public debate on surrogacy, because it might lead to further stigmatization of members, as well as to negative public reaction towards the community. Members of the community take the view that there are many other problems which should be prioritised and encouraging debate on surrogacy might hinder solving these other problems by creating negative attitudes towards the community. In **Poland** LGBTQ+ community highlights the double standards their children encounter in terms of legal recognition of their citizenship status. The media have covered several cases when children of single men or homosexual couples are being denied Polish citizenship on the grounds that birth certificate should include the name of birth mother and cannot name same sex partners as parents. Cases are still pending, either in Polish courts or at the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR), which previously ruled on behalf of children’s rights in similar cases. In this respect the Polish case indicated a growing importance of international institutions and legal frames for national legislation and surrogacy practices.

The fact that the Covid-19 pandemic broke out in the middle of the project meant that we were faced with an urgent situation, in which children were, or risked being left in countries such as Georgia and Ukraine, with the intended parents unable to bring them back home. In this situation already in-built systematic problems that arise when different legislations ‘clash’ – including serious problems such as those with citizenship and guardianship, ensuring these children human- and citizen rights) became even starker. This was documented and analysed through various material such as on- and offline media materials and in-depth interviews with surrogacy lawyers and embassy staff. The analyses provided important insights both into how what we call the *legal choreography* involved – but also how the obstacles to the process are influenced not only by formal legislation but also by



political norm and attitudes, not least with regards to gender and reproduction more generally.

### *3. Public and political debates in Latvia, Poland and Sweden*

Poland, Latvia and Sweden have in common that they are all EU-countries which currently has no explicit legislation on surrogacy. The difference in public and political debates are, however stark. In **Sweden** the issue of surrogacy has been intensely debated for over a decade. Gunnarsson Payne's and Handelman-Nielsen's article on opinion journalism on the topic has shown on the one hand that the debate has been extremely polarised from the very beginning, with an increased number of actors 'attaching' to side, forming two antagonistic 'discourse coalitions'. There is very little room in the debate for nuanced discussion and policy proposals that actually strengthen either children's, women's, involuntary childless people's or LGBTQ+-rights. This 'stuck' debate constitutes an obstacles for lawmakers to change the law in one direction or the other. As a result, Sweden continues to implement a 'split policy' where existing surrogacy arrangements are dealt with by state authorities on a case-to-case basis – and ethical dilemmas and medical risks are continually 'exported' to surrogates in other countries.

The media reporting on surrogacy looks very different in both **Latvia** and **Poland**. In both countries the media debate on surrogacy is largely centred around scandalous international surrogacy cases, and the foreground is occupied by negative discourse on exploitation, human trafficking, baby-selling, control and power relationships in surrogacy clinics. Often adoption is discussed as a preferable and "less egoistic" alternative to surrogacy. Visible actors in the debate are religious leaders, psychologists and psychotherapists who are putting forward arguments against surrogacy by pointing at risks for surrogates, children and intended parents and questioning the best interest of child in cases of surrogacy. In **Latvia** voices of scientists and health care professionals in the media debate are low, and LGBTQ+ community is not participating in the debate. In the **Polish** context the question of surrogacy in public debate appears mostly in the context of the LGBTQ+ people's rights to parenting, highlighting the impact of politicized homophobia and ultraconservative views on family and reproduction. Thus, LGBTQ+ activists and lawyers engaged in such cases are featured in liberal and left-leaning media, often in the context of a broader trend of de-democratization and the dismantling of the rule of law. Simultaneously, the question of surrogacy in case of heterosexual couples is either non-existent or appears in media only in the context of widely publicized scandals.

The political debate in **Latvia** is quite vague. There have been several attempts to start the political debate on legalising surrogacy, but they have been quickly closed. Main experts in the political debate are physicians and lawyers. In **Poland** on the other hand, the issue of surrogacy is virtually non-existent in political debates on reproduction, which focus mainly on abortion. In 2019 a new bill passed, which limited the possibilities for arranging surrogacy even further: the law states that a pregnant woman who signs a contract suggesting that she is willing to give a child to a third party for adoption, will be charged with child trafficking. New law was introduced without any public debate and most of the interviewees participating in the project were not aware of its existence. The Polish context demonstrates that issues concerning reproductive rights and justice, such as surrogacy, abortion and access to reproductive health care are intricately related, and in recent years the struggles over these issues became one of key political cleavages due to the growth of right-wing populism, nationalism and religious fundamentalism (see Korolczuk and Cullen; Korolczuk, Kowalska, Snochowska-Gonzales and Ramme).



### **3. The project's contribution to the international research frontline**

#### *Contribution to the research frontline in medical ethics – putting 'the relational' into 'relational reproductive justice'*

To our knowledge, our project was the first internationally to thoroughly theorise and investigate surrogacy from the point of view of *relational* reproductive justice. This concept has since been picked up by other researchers of surrogacy, and the emphasis on the relationship between reproductive parties before, during and, importantly, *after* birth is recently becoming more acknowledged by researchers. Our review article is an important contribution to this field. An important contribution of ours is to show how the *quality of the relationship* is necessarily depending on more overarching structural injustices and inequalities within, and especially between, countries. Furthermore, Gunnarsson Payne is still completing at least one article based on eight in-depth interviews with Swedish intended parents and so-called altruistic surrogates in Sweden and Denmark, and the preliminary results confirm results from the review article. The aim is to submit this article to leading journal BMJ Journal of Medical Ethics.

#### *Contribution to research on surrogacy-legislation and policy and its consequences*

We have contributed to the field by taking a sociological and ethnological approach to legislative processes to investigate through in-depth interviews the 'legal choreography' undertaken by a range of actors (e.g lawyers and civil servants) in order to ensure parental status, citizenship and rights to state provisions and security. Here, we show that only investigating formal legislation and official policy is insufficient, and that each person involved in the often complex process of 'legitimising' surrogacy-conceived children play a significant role when no surrogacy-legislation is in place, making the process vulnerable and risky. In Sweden, this kind of 'legal choreography' is eased by state authorities, while in the Polish case, the opposite is true when it comes to same-sex or single parents (but not heterosexual couples), which is related to a broader trend of politicized misogyny and homophobia (the anti-gender campaigns – see articles by Korolczuk, Gunnarsson Payne and Korolczuk). This leads to reproductive injustice and "selective pronatalism" allowing to marginalize children, whose parents do not fit the normative ideal of heteronormative family.

#### *Surrogacy and new forms of kinship – contribution to kinship theory*

Our research shows that although a kinship or family-like vocabulary is sometimes used to describe the relationships between surrogates, intended parents and/or children, reproductive third parties cannot be conceived of within existing kinship vocabularies, as they often occupy a 'third space', a kind of kinship or kinship-like relationship. Our research has shown that the use of kinship-vocabulary in surrogacy differs between cultural contexts, but that occurs in one form or another in many places. This has implications for critical discussions on both legal and personal levels. As Gunnarsson Payne has discussed in relation to the Swedish context (see below) the position of the surrogate and her potential continued relationship to the parents and/or child cannot be captured within existing kinship structures, which are still organised *bilineally*, based on the idea that a child can have maximum two parents– as opposed to *multilineally* which could be a way to conceptualise a wider range of reproductive and/or parental constellations, including some variations of surrogacy.

### **4. New research questions that the project has led to**



1. The recruiting processes of interviewees in all countries have that the field of surrogacy research more generally faces, namely that of fear to participate and stigma by surrogates and intended parents alike. Another obstacle for the field concerns access to private actors such as surrogacy agencies and clinics, which also may prevent 'their' surrogates to speak to researchers and the media. This is a serious obstacle for investigating the well-being of surrogates, needs to be tackled and investigated by the whole field of surrogacy researchers, in order to strengthen the quality of research results, and policy proposals.
2. How could mediators formulate concrete processes and offer built-in support to surrogates and intended parents in a way that places the relationship between all parties (including with the children) centre stage, and acknowledges needs and desires that may change and need to be renegotiated also during or after birth? Which different possibilities would there be to do so in different national contexts and within different existing or potential future legislations?

### **5. The contribution of the research to the knowledge of the Baltic Sea Region and Eastern Europe**

What makes our project unique is that it has focused on how surrogacy is dealt with, debated and practiced in three neighbouring EU-countries none of which has an explicit legislation on surrogacy.

With regards to the **Swedish** case a large proportion of transnational surrogacy arrangements were made in Ukraine, Georgia and Russia, showing how Sweden's unwillingness to permit and regulate domestic surrogacy 'exports' issues of women's bodily autonomy and risks to other countries in the region. It also shows in very concrete terms how the patchwork of legislation in Europe in a very concrete way pushes-and-pulls involuntary childless people to avail themselves of surrogacy in specific countries – and *sometimes* (despite the agencies' efforts to prevent them) build relationships with surrogates. The **Polish** case shows that the logic of "protecting the women and children from exploitation" may be used by political and civil society actors promoting openly discriminatory policies targeting specific populations, which are seen as transgressing heteronormative order or endangering the ideal of traditional family. The cases of same sex couples or single men seeking surrogacy in countries where commercial arrangements are legal, demonstrate that both privilege and justice are relational: wealthy persons can realize their reproductive desires in countries such as the U.S. but in relation to Polish state they encounter open hostility and discrimination. The **Latvian** case shows how the real needs of persons involved in surrogacy have been ignored and made invisible. The overall negative tone of the debate prevents many of direct stakeholders from participation in the debate.

We point to the importance of a longitudinal perspective to surrogacy, and the need for recognizing that the expectations and needs of the people involved change over time. Existing research shows that while most surrogates do not identify as mothers, they often wish to sustain contact with intended parents and children, and such contact is key to emotional stability and satisfaction. Thus, there is a need for an informed debate and policies taking into consideration the possibility for promoting sustainable relations between the parties involved in surrogacy arrangements over a longer period of time. This requires a certain amount of flexibility and open-endedness inscribed in both legal ramifications and everyday practices, which should be adjusted for the evolving needs and emotional perspectives pre- and post-birth, also in case of failure at any given stage of the procedure. Our research confirms that the possibility for including a relational justice perspective depends on a larger framework concerning reproductive freedom and health. In practice, the possibility to apply such a perspective relies on intermediaries (e.g. agencies, NGOs, public healthcare).

**6. Dissemination of the results of the project within and outside the research community**

Also include list of publications (divided into different categories such as monographs, articles, textbooks, debates, popular science publications, etc.) and the five most important conferences (organized and papers presented). Mark open access publications and include links to these publications. See [the Foundation's open access policy](#). (Monographs published with support from the Foundation must be sent to the Foundation in one copy.)

**Peer reviewed research articles**

Gunnarsson Payne, Jenny (forthcoming). Re-queering Reproduction: Theorising Queer Kinship and the Position of the “Reproductive Third Party” through the Lens of the Incest-taboo. In: *Queer(y)ing kinship in the Baltic Region and beyond* (Ulrika Dahl et.al. eds.) Södertörn Academic Studies (whole book will be available online)

Gunnarsson Payne, Jenny & Handelsman-Nielsen (forthcoming). The Surrogacy Question, Unresolved: The Swedish surrogacy debate as a hegemonic struggle over rights (2009-2019), *Critical Policy Studies* (accepted for publication, therefore not yet available open access).

Gunnarsson Payne, Jenny 2022 (in print). Reproducing the legitimate Swedish family: Kinship grammars and the logic of legitimation in the context of assisted reproductive technologies, *Jahrbuch für Europäische Ethnologie* (Heidrun Alzheimer, ed.). Brill. (In production, not yet available.)

Gunnarsson Payne, Jenny 2020. Klass och (o)fria val i samtidens globala reproduktionslandskap: Litterära representationer av transnationellt surrogatmoderskap, *Kulturella Perspektiv – Svensk etnologisk tidskrift* vol. 29: 90–96.

<https://www.umu.se/globalassets/organisation/fakulteter/humfak/institutionen-for-kultur--och-medievetenskaper/forskning/kp/kp-nr-1-2-2020---for-webben.pdf>

Gunnarsson Payne, Jenny & Korolczuk, Elzbieta & Mezinska, Signe 2020. Surrogacy relationships: A critical interpretative review, *Upsala Journal of Medical Sciences* vol. 125: 183-191. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/03009734.2020.1725935>

Gunnarsson Payne, Jenny 2018. Autonomy in altruistic surrogacy, conflicting kinship grammars and intentional multilineal kinship, *Reproductive Biomedicine Online*, vol. 7, pp: 66-75. <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S2405661818300364>

Korolczuk, Elzbieta. 2020. Poland's LGBT-free zones and global anti-gender campaigns, *Center for East European and International Studies Spotlight* 14/2020.

<https://www.zois-berlin.de/en/publications/polands-lgbt-free-zones-and-global-anti-gender-campaigns>

Korolczuk, Elzbieta. 2019. The fight against 'gender' and 'LGBT ideology': new developments in Poland, *European Journal of Politics and Gender*. <https://bristoluniversitypressdigital.com/view/journals/ejpg/3/1/article-p165.xml>

Elzbieta Korolczuk & Cullen, Pauline 2019. Challenging abortion stigma: framing abortion in Ireland and Poland, *Sexual and Reproductive Health Matters*, 27:3.



<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/26410397.2019.1686197>

### **Books and book chapters**

Gunnarsson Payne, Jenny 2018. Fruktbara fantasier: Žižeks fantasibegrepp, barnlängtan och begärlbara reproduktiva subjekt. In: *Žižek som samtidsanalytiker* / [ed] Anders Burman & Cecilia Sjöholm, Hägersten: Tankekraft: 79–99. (Printed anthology, not available online.)

Korolczuk, Elżbieta. 2021. Assisted Reproduction in Postcommunist Context: Poland in a comparative perspective. In *The Routledge International Handbook to Gender in Central-Eastern Europe and Eurasia*, Edited by Katalin Fábián, Janet Elise Johnson, and Mara Lazda, Routledge. <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781138347762-80/assisted-reproduction-el%C5%BCbieta-korolczuk>

Korolczuk, Elżbieta, Kowalska Beata, Ramme Jennifer i Claudia Snochowska-Gonzalez (2019), *Bunt kobiet. Czarne Protesty i Strajki Kobiet*. Gdańsk: Europejskie Centrum Solidarności (co-authored volume Open Access).  
<https://www.ecs.gda.pl/title,pid,1948.html>

Korolczuk, Elżbieta (2019), Odzyskiwanie języka, czyli jak zmieniła się debata o aborcji w kontekście Czarnych Protestów i Strajków Kobiet. W: Elżbieta, Kowalska Beata, Ramme Jennifer i Claudia Snochowska-Gonzalez, *Bunt kobiet. Czarne Protesty i Strajki Kobiet*. Gdańsk: Europejskie Centrum Solidarności, 119-154.

Korolczuk, Elżbieta, Kowalska Beata, Ramme Jennifer i Claudia Snochowska-Gonzalez (2019), Mobilizacja kobiet w latach 2016-2018: przyczyny, konteksty i perspektywy badawcze. W: Elżbieta Korolczuk, Kowalska Beata, Ramme Jennifer i Claudia Snochowska-Gonzalez. *Bunt kobiet. Czarne Protesty i Strajki Kobiet*. Gdańsk: Europejskie Centrum Solidarności, 18-42.

### **Commentaries and book reviews of relevance for the project**

Gunnarsson Payne, Jenny 2021. Section entitled: *'Le corps propre?'* On the specific materiality of the body with respect to an 'Improper Politics', in: From missed opportunities to future possibilities: Towards an improper politics, *Journal of Contemporary Political Theory*, April 2021. <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1057/s41296-021-00473-1> (on bodily autonomy from a relational perspective)

Gunnarsson Payne, Jenny 2022. Biologies we live by: A review of *Impressionable biologies: From the archaeology of plasticity to the sociology of epigenetics*, *Journal of Political Power* (published online first) <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1057/s41296-021-00473-1>

Korolczuk, Elżbieta and Agnieszka Graff. 2020. Anti-gender Campaigns in Poland. Questioning the Symbiosis Between Neoliberalism and Social Conservatism. In J. Żakowski ed, *Concillium Civitas Almanac 2020/2021*. Fundacja Collegium Civitas: Warszawa.

### **Work-in-progress (planned publications)**



Jenny Gunnarsson Payne is preparing a manuscript based on in-depth interviews with altruistic surrogates and parents from Sweden and Denmark, specifically focussing on bodily and reproductive autonomy in relation to the relationship between surrogates, (intended) parents and surrogacy-conceived children, planned for submission to *BMJ Journal of Medical Ethics*.

Jenny Gunnarsson Payne is preparing a manuscript based on interviews with embassy staff and surrogacy lawyers, focussing on Sweden's 'split policy', i.e. on the one hand the *de facto* ban on domestic surrogacy, and on the other the many state agencies and civil servants involved in the development of lower-level policy making and 'legal choreography' (see discussion above).

Jenny Gunnarsson Payne is completing a book manuscript preliminarily entitled *Next of kin: Kinship in the age of assisted reproduction*, in which one chapter builds on the research on surrogacy for this project, to be submitted to Cambridge University Press (firsthand choice of publisher).

Elżbieta Korolczuk is preparing a manuscript focusing on the Polish case "Reproductive (in)justice in public debates and legal regulations concerning surrogacy in Poland" to be submitted to *Culture, Health and Sexuality or Reproductive Health Matters*

Elżbieta Korolczuk (co-authored with Jenny Gunnarsson Payne and Signe Mezinska) is working on an article "Contentious reproduction: media representations of surrogacy in Latvia, Poland and Sweden" to be submitted to *European Journal of Women's Studies*

Signe Mezinska (co-authored by Jenny Gunnarsson Payne and Elzbieta Korolczuk) is preparing a manuscript aiming at analysis of the research participant recruitment process for qualitative studies on surrogacy from a perspective of relational/care ethics. The topic of the article was inspired by practical problems in the recruitment of respondents for the interviews during this research project.

### **Conference and workshop presentations and panels (a selection of most important)**

#### *Organization of conference and workshop*

Jenny Gunnarsson Payne, Elżbieta Korolczuk and Signe Mezinska organized an International Workshop "Researching transnational surrogacy in the times of pandemic", June 18, 2020 (online), which included scholars working on surrogacy from 10 countries.

Jenny Gunnarsson Payne, Elżbieta Korolczuk and Signe Mezinska organized an International Workshop "New perspectives in research on reproduction and parenthood in Poland, Sweden and Latvia", November 16, 2020 (online). It was prepared in collaboration with Polish scholars from University of Warsaw working on reproduction and family.

#### *Participation in conferences and workshops (a relevant selection)*

##### *Gunnarsson Payne*

2022, Panel on surrogacy, *Fifth ReproYoung Conference*, 28-29 April 2022.





2021, *Making Families Forum*, 6 May 2021. Arranged by Reproductive Sociology Research Group (ReproSoc), Department of Sociology, University of Cambridge. Online.

2020, Surrogatmoderskap: Vad kan forskningen säga oss?, Folkhälsomyndigheten. Enhetsdag för Enheten för sexuell hälsa och hiv-prevention, 13 April 2020.

2020, “Next of kin”: Kinship in the age of assisted reproduction, Christina Advanced Research Seminar/Christina Public Talk, Helsinki University, 14 January 2020.

2019, Old Battles in a New Context Researching queer reproduction in the midst of Europe’s Culture War, *States of Parenthood: Race and Nation in Contemporary Queer and Trans Reproduction International Symposium*, Uppsala University, 25-26 April 2019

2019, Etik – Reproduktionsmedicin i samhället: Om assisterad befruktning som politiskt slagfält och möjligheten till etisk reflektion i en föränderlig värld, *IVF-läkarmötet* (nationellt årsmöte), 4–5 april 2019.

#### *Korolczuk*

2021, presentation “Reproductive (in)justice in public debates and legal regulations concerning surrogacy in Poland” at the 16th Annual Interdisciplinary Conference ‘The Politics of Reproduction, at the Centre for Applied Philosophy, Politics and Ethics, University of Brighton, UK, September 15-17, 2021.

2021, presentation “Reproductive Justice in Surrogacy Relationships: A Critical Perspective” at the 8th Ethnography and Qualitative Research Conference, University of Trento, June 9-12, 2021 (online).

2021, lecture “Anti-Gender Politics and Right-wing Populism in Poland” at the Center for East European Studies at the University of Washington, April 27, 2021 (online).

2020, presentation “Reproductive justice in surrogacy arrangements: challenges for Polish legislation and practice” at International Conference Legal Regulations on Diversity in Healthcare in European Countries: Challenges for National Legislation, University of Warsaw, March 4-5, 2020.

2019, keynote lecture “Opposition to ‘gender’ in academia and beyond” at Gender Conference Kjonnsforskning at the Arctic University of Norway in Tromsø, November 2019.

#### *Mezinska*

2020, international workshop “Researching transnational surrogacy in the times of pandemic” 18 June 2020.

2018, Conference “On the Threshold: Ambiguities, Differences, Intersections in Simone de Beauvoir's Oeuvre”, presentation: “Simone de Beauvoir’s Ethics in the Context of Human Reproduction: Relation and Ambivalence”.

#### **Popular science**

Jenny Gunnarsson Payne, *The Senior University*. Lecture on surrogacy in Sweden, Baltic,



Central and Eastern Europe, in the lecture series: *Etiken, kroppen och tekniken (Ethics, the body, and technology)*. Planned for 21 November 2022.

Elżbieta Korolczuk lecture “Struggles around reproductive justice: Women opposing right-wing populism in Poland and beyond” at the invitation of the Uppsala Association of Foreign Affairs, March 31, 2021 (online).

Elżbieta Korolczuk presentation “Struggles for reproductive rights in Poland” during the seminar “Is revolution a woman?” organized by the Batory Foundation, March 9, 2021 (online).

Elżbieta Korolczuk panelist at the debate “Wojna płci? Wojna światów?” (Gender wars? War of the worlds?) organized by Concilium Civitas, Collegium Civitas and Gazeta Wyborcza, featuring prof. Marta Figlerowicz (Yale), prof. Agnieszka Golec de Zavala (Londyn), prof.

Elżbieta Korolczuk (Sztokholm) and prof. Joanna Regulska (UC Davies), November 3, 2020 (online).

Elżbieta Korolczuk panelist at the debate Język rewolucji: protesty w Polsce (The language of the revolution: recent mass protests in Poland) organized by the Batory Foundation, Poland, October 20, 2020 (online).

Elżbieta Korolczuk presentation “Women’s mass mobilizations against the (populist) right: Poland and beyond” the 2020 Warsaw Humanity in Action Fellowship Program, June 3-24 2020, Warsaw (online).

Elżbieta Korolczuk panelist at the roundtable “My Body, My Choice!” organized by the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Germany with input from Orla O'Connor Co-Director of "Together for Yes" and Director of the National Women's Council of Ireland, Rebecca Gomperts Medical doctor and founder of Women on Web and Women on Waves and Franziska Brantner, the European policy spokeswoman for Bündnis 90/Die Grünen, Germany, December 9, 2020 (online).

Żakowski, Jacek „Konserwatyści kontra postępowcy. Wywiad z Elżbietą Korolczuk” (Conservatives vs progressives. Interview with Elżbieta Korolczuk), *Polityka*, November 11, 2020. <https://www.polityka.pl/tygodnikpolityka/spoleczenstwo/1978008,1,konserwatysci-kontra-postepowcy.read>

Kiršaitė, Indrė “Protestai Lenkijoje. Pirmą kartą pajutau, kad esu dauguma“, *NARA*, November 26, 2020, <https://nara.lt/lt/articles-lt/protestai-lenkijoje-pirma-karta-pajutau-kad-esu-dauguma>

Gruszczyński, Arkadiusz „Nie należy wyciszać słusznego gniewu. Wywiad z Elżbietą Korolczuk” (We need righteous anger. Interview on recent wave of protests with Elżbieta Korolczuk), November 11, 2020. <https://www.wysokieobcasy.pl/wysokie-obcasy/7,163229,26487386,korolczuk-nie-nalez-ywyciszac-slusznego-gniewu-zalozenie-partii.html>

Klauziński, Sebastian „Politycznym dziadersom nie mieści się to w głowach, że nasze drogie panie chcą władzy. Wywiad z dr Elżbietą Korolczuk” [Older generation of politicians can't



comprehend that women want power. Interview with dr Elżbieta Korolczuk]. OKO.Press. 1 November 2020 [https://oko.press/protest-kobiet-grodzki-morawiecki/?utm\\_medium=Social&utm\\_source=Facebook&fbclid=IwAR1dQVd7WA9UxjZtMdr7Ychgyds-sBZPQH1xQp76YcwvbQBfORclTAho3a8#Echobox=1604245132](https://oko.press/protest-kobiet-grodzki-morawiecki/?utm_medium=Social&utm_source=Facebook&fbclid=IwAR1dQVd7WA9UxjZtMdr7Ychgyds-sBZPQH1xQp76YcwvbQBfORclTAho3a8#Echobox=1604245132)

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