

PROOF COVER SHEET

Author(s): Ana Cristina Mendes

Article Title: A POSTCOLONIAL FRAMING OF INTERNATIONAL COMMERCIAL GESTATIONAL SURROGACY IN INDIA

Article No: RIIJ1558094

Enclosures: 1) Query sheet
2) Article proofs

Dear Author,

1. Please check these proofs carefully. It is the responsibility of the corresponding author to check these and approve or amend them. A second proof is not normally provided. Taylor & Francis cannot be held responsible for uncorrected errors, even if introduced during the production process. Once your corrections have been added to the article, it will be considered ready for publication.

Please limit changes at this stage to the correction of errors. You should not make trivial changes, improve prose style, add new material, or delete existing material at this stage. You may be charged if your corrections are excessive (we would not expect corrections to exceed 30 changes).

For detailed guidance on how to check your proofs, please paste this address into a new browser window: <http://journalauthors.tandf.co.uk/production/checkingproofs.asp>

Your PDF proof file has been enabled so that you can comment on the proof directly using Adobe Acrobat. If you wish to do this, please save the file to your hard disk first. For further information on marking corrections using Acrobat, please paste this address into a new browser window: <http://journalauthors.tandf.co.uk/production/acrobat.asp>

2. Please review the table of contributors below and confirm that the first and last names are structured correctly and that the authors are listed in the correct order of contribution. This check is to ensure that your name will appear correctly online and when the article is indexed.

Sequence	Prefix	Given name(s)	Surname	Suffix
1		Ana Cristina	Mendes	
2		Lisa	Lau	

Queries are marked in the margins of the proofs, and you can also click the hyperlinks below. Content changes made during copy-editing are shown as tracked changes. Inserted text is in **red font** and revisions have a red indicator **▲**. Changes can also be viewed using the list comments function. To correct the proofs, you should insert or delete text following the instructions below, but **do not add comments to the existing tracked changes**.

AUTHOR QUERIES

General points:

1. **Permissions:** You have warranted that you have secured the necessary written permission from the appropriate copyright owner for the reproduction of any text, illustration, or other material in your article. Please see <http://journalauthors.tandf.co.uk/permissions/usingThirdPartyMaterial.asp>.
2. **Third-party content:** If there is third-party content in your article, please check that the rightsholder details for re-use are shown correctly.
3. **Affiliation:** The corresponding author is responsible for ensuring that address and email details are correct for all the co-authors. Affiliations given in the article should be the affiliation at the time the research was conducted. Please see <http://journalauthors.tandf.co.uk/preparation/writing.asp>.
4. **Funding:** Was your research for this article funded by a funding agency? If so, please insert ‘This work was supported by <insert the name of the funding agency in full>’, followed by the grant number in square brackets ‘[grant number xxxx]’.
5. **Supplemental data and underlying research materials:** Do you wish to include the location of the underlying research materials (e.g. data, samples or models) for your article? If so, please insert this sentence before the reference section: ‘The underlying research materials for this article can be accessed at <full link>/ description of location [author to complete]’. If your article includes supplemental data, the link will also be provided in this paragraph. See <<http://journalauthors.tandf.co.uk/preparation/multimedia.asp>> for further explanation of supplemental data and underlying research materials.
6. The **CrossRef database** (www.crossref.org/) has been used to validate the references. Changes resulting from mismatches are tracked in **red font**.

QUERY NO.	QUERY DETAILS
AQ1	Please note that there is a mismatch in the article title between the customer supplied information (CATS file) and the manuscript. We have followed MS.
AQ2	Please note that the ORCID has/have been created from information provided through CATS. Please correct if this is inaccurate.
AQ3	Please provide missing city for this affiliation.
AQ4	Please provide missing city for this affiliation.
AQ5	As abstracts are published standalone, we have replaced the reference citation with complete details of the reference. Please confirm if this is okay.
AQ6	The reference "Mendes and Lau 2018" is cited in the text but is not listed in the references list. Please either delete the in- text citation or provide full reference details following journal style.

QUERY NO.	QUERY DETAILS
AQ7	The CrossRef database (www.crossref.org/) has been used to validate the references. Mismatches between the original manuscript and CrossRef are tracked in red font. Please provide a revision if the change is incorrect. Do not comment on correct changes
AQ8	Please provide missing page range for reference "Lau and Mendes 2018" references list entry.
AQ9	Please provide missing page range for reference "Mendes 2018" references list entry.
AQ10	The reference "Sangari 2015" is listed in the references list but is not cited in the text. Please either cite the reference or remove it from the references list.

How to make corrections to your proofs using Adobe Acrobat/Reader

Taylor & Francis offers you a choice of options to help you make corrections to your proofs. Your PDF proof file has been enabled so that you can edit the proof directly using Adobe Acrobat/Reader. This is the simplest and best way for you to ensure that your corrections will be incorporated. If you wish to do this, please follow these instructions:

1. Save the file to your hard disk.
2. Check which version of Adobe Acrobat/Reader you have on your computer. You can do this by clicking on the “Help” tab, and then “About”.

If Adobe Reader is not installed, you can get the latest version free from <http://get.adobe.com/reader/>.

3. If you have Adobe Acrobat/Reader 10 or a later version, click on the “Comment” link at the right-hand side to view the Comments pane.
4. You can then select any text and mark it up for deletion or replacement, or insert new text as needed. Please note that these will clearly be displayed in the Comments pane and secondary annotation is not needed to draw attention to your corrections. If you need to include new sections of text, it is also possible to add a comment to the proofs. To do this, use the Sticky Note tool in the task bar. Please also see our FAQs here: <http://journalauthors.tandf.co.uk/production/index.asp>.

5. Make sure that you save the file when you close the document before uploading it to CATS using the “Upload File” button on the online correction form. If you have more than one file, please zip them together and then upload the zip file.

If you prefer, you can make your corrections using the CATS online correction form.

Troubleshooting

Acrobat help: <http://helpx.adobe.com/acrobat.html>

Reader help: <http://helpx.adobe.com/reader.html>

Please note that full user guides for earlier versions of these programs are available from the Adobe Help pages by clicking on the link “Previous versions” under the “Help and tutorials” heading from the relevant link above. Commenting functionality is available from Adobe Reader 8.0 onwards and from Adobe Acrobat 7.0 onwards.

Firefox users: Firefox’s inbuilt PDF Viewer is set to the default; please see the following for instructions on how to use this and download the PDF to your hard drive: http://support.mozilla.org/en-US/kb/view-pdf-files-firefox-without-downloading-them#w_using-a-pdf-reader-plugin



5

A POSTCOLONIAL FRAMING OF INTERNATIONAL COMMERCIAL GESTATIONAL SURROGACY IN INDIA

10

Re-orientalisms and power differentials in Meera Syal's
The House of Hidden Mothers

15

AQ1

20

AQ2

AQ3

AQ4

Ana Cristina Mendes ^{a,b} and Lisa Lau ^{a,b}

25

^aDepartment of English Studies, University of Lisbon, Portugal; ^bSchool of
Geography, Geology and the Environment, Keele University, UK

.....
India
**international
commercial
gestational
surrogacy (ICGS)**
**postcolonial
literature**
re-orientalism
Syal
Meera
.....
The branding and marketing of post-millennial India as a global service provider has been relentless. Indian cities, especially in the southern states, have now been de-exoticized from their previous association to elephants, snake-charmers, and slums, and are now being marketed as the hub of Global North medical infrastructure and scientific advancement, at attractive Global South rates. Legalized only in 2002, international commercial gestational surrogacy (ICGS) in India, a lucrative niche market within the sector of medical and healthcare tourism, has been an industry worth US\$ 2.3 billion annually at its peak. Now, however, it stands on the brink of being banned by a bill introduced in the Indian parliament in 2016. This essay advances the argument that the selling points of ICGS have been premised on structural and systemic inequalities of gender and class, as well as of biopolitical power. We branch off from Graham Huggan's early twenty-first-century thesis on the marketing of the postcolonial margins to explore the emergent gendered subjectivities and attendant fictional representations of ICGS and its various actors in the

30

35

40

45

50

55

novel *The House of Hidden Mothers* (2015, *The House of Hidden Mothers*. London: Doubleday–Transworld–Penguin.) by the diasporic British Indian author Meera Syal. Drawing on this novel, we map and examine the perceptions and representations of ICGS, investigating that which facilitates and promotes exploitation to deduce the resultant impact on the stakeholders and active agents in this industry in the space of India and in the West. The essay concludes that, seen through the lenses of re-orientalism, the exploitations within India’s ICGS are not merely along national or ethnic and gender lines, but also class based and geographically enabled.

AQ5
▲

Introduction

Post-millennial India, especially the “New India” of the 2010s, with its rising entertainment- and leisure-driven consumer-oriented society, has been upgraded from Graham Huggan’s (2001) marketing-the-margins approach of the 1990s and early 2000s, which remodeled global branding and marketing strategies in the wake of the “Incredible India” campaign launched in 2002 by the Ministry of Tourism. In alignment with the strategic positioning of Delhi and Mumbai as two of the world’s top travel destinations, the branding and marketing of India as a global service provider has been relentless. These twin promotions dovetail India’s booming medical and healthcare tourism industry. Indian cities, especially in the southern states, have now been de-exotized from their previous association to elephants, snake-charmers, and slums, and are now being marketed as the hub of Global North medical infrastructure and scientific advancement, at attractive Global South rates. World-class medical services are being offered at discounted rates and in the settings of luxury hospitals doubly billed as lavish, exotic getaways.

Broadly speaking, the practice of medical tourism refers to the act of traveling (most of the time, abroad) combined with the primary purpose of undergoing biomedical procedures. As an article on medical tourism in the *Business Destinations* magazine puts it, “Some with cinemas on site, others with personal concierge services, private hospitals in India strive to offer an opulent touch that can tempt visitors from across the globe” (Matsangou 2015). In the account of anthropologist Sunita Reddy and social development scholar Imrana Qadeer:

Medical tourism was coined by travel agencies and the mass media to describe the rapidly growing practice of travelling across international borders to obtain hi-tech medical care. It is based on cheaper air fares, and internet and communication channels in developing countries and cheaper hi-tech super-specialty medical services for people who can afford it – be they foreign or national medical tourists.

Ana Cristina Mendes and Lisa Lau

Using informal channels of communications and contacts, the practice avoids regulatory and legal scrutiny to generate substantial profits to the providers of various services. (Reddy and Qadeer 2010, 69)

115

1 In an article on the banning of surrogacy in India, Rudrappa (2017) states this industry was estimated “to have garnered anywhere from \$400 million to \$1 billion per year.”

International commercial gestational surrogacy (ICGS) in India is a lucrative niche market within the sector of medical and healthcare tourism, with considerable impact on the national economy.¹ Moreover, ICGS configures an example of business process outsourcing (BPO) with biopolitics associations: as outsourcing service providers, ICGS clinics commission surrogates (in other words, contract wombs and buy eggs from the misleadingly termed “donors”), offering the expertise of highly skilled clinical experts and world-class infrastructure. The value-added services of these ICGS clinics combine tourism experiences and cost savings while facilitating transnational access to – in the terminology of neoliberalism – quality service, technological innovation, global expertise, and a product that their clients’ bodies are not able to generate without outsourcing.

120

125

130

In its transnational dimension, Indian ICGS constitutes a booming industry connected to global corporate practices of medical tourism, which is still “subject to minimal regulation and monitoring” (Reddy and Qadeer 2010, 69). Legalized only in 2002, ICGS in India has been an industry worth US\$ 2.3 billion annually to that country at its peak. Now, however, it stands on the brink of being banned by a bill introduced in the Indian parliament on November 21, 2016. Although the Surrogacy (Regulation) Bill was “cleared by the Union Cabinet” in March 2018 (*Economic Times* 2018), in an article written in June 2018 Sonali Kusum highlights that at present there is still only a draft bill on surrogacy, “which has been reviewed by a parliamentary standing committee but is yet to be passed into law so there is no binding act on surrogacy in India.” Kusum, moreover, points out there is no legal statute as yet, meaning “there is no statutory or administrative supervision or monitoring authority to regulate the conduct of IVF (in-vitro fertilization) and ART (assisted reproductive technology) clinics” (2018). As the bill now stands, it prohibits commercial surrogacy in India except for Indian infertile couples married for five years; with the further stipulation that the surrogate has to be a “close relative,” married, and who herself has a child (PRS Legislative Research 2018). (The impacts and ramifications of this bill will be discussed further in the next section of this essay.)

135

140

145

150

155

Even if ICGS had been a relative newcomer in the field of medical tourism in India and was made possible only by considerable advances in artificial reproductive technology (ART), by 2009 it was already estimated that a third of the babies born via commercial surrogacy in India were conceived for a market comprised of international intended parents (Harrison 2014). Although highly profitable, it was also a largely unregulated industry, exploitative particularly of its Indian surrogates, but immensely popular amongst western

160

165

commissioning parents, in particular from the UK and United States, for its low costs and nearly non-existent regulation. This was all the more the case because many other major markets in ICGS either have extremely strict regulations and/or very high fees, or they had already adopted legal bans. 170

Critical mobilities research has demonstrated how the desire for “seamless” and “friction-free” practices are increasingly characterizing global connections and tourism experiences in particular (Urry 2000, 2007; Tsing 2004; Cresswell 2014). Anna Tsing argues cultures are constantly co-produced via “frictional” interactions, wherein “friction” is understood as “the awkward, unequal, unstable, and creative qualities of interconnection across difference” (2004, 4). This friction is determined by power differentials, including class, gender, and race differences. Companies operating in the sector of medical tourism aim at low friction in this sense, and the marketing of seamlessness and frictionless or “low-friction” experiences ostensibly purports to annihilate the differential amounts of friction involved in the process that goes well beyond bureaucratic, inter-country legal provisions. For example, by marketing their services as “First World Quality at Third World Rates,”² the ICGS industry attempted to render the experience of commercial gestational surrogacy in India as frictionless. By advertising the illusion of friction-free exchange, their purpose was to bypass not only the friction of geographical distance, but also of friction of socioeconomic inequalities. Spaces and times were organized for a friction-free experience, but socioeconomic interstices remain, given the inequalities in power relations. 175
180
185
190
195

2 This advertisement used in a medical tourism website is quoted by Reddy and Qadeer (2010, 71), but the website is no longer active.

It is seldom, outside of the relationship between mistress and maid or employer and servant, where Indian women of vastly different classes or social standing in a highly stratified social system would interact on intimate terms; and one of these rare instances is in commercial surrogacy. As Reddy and Qadeer point out, ART services are illustrative in this respect through their reliance on “underprivileged women for surrogacy and uninformed young women for [the] harvesting of ova” (2010, 74). Surrogates (typically drawn from the working classes) are a long way from the much-vaunted New Indian Woman³ who predominantly hails from the middle classes. Even if the promotion is on female agency of surrogates in the ICGS industry, which in the postcolonial analysis should be encouraging and constructive, in reality, India continues to be home to vast numbers of economically deprived populations – particularly, female populations – and endures cultural feudalism, where “traditional” social and gender contracts are still very much in place. 200
205
210
215

3 The label “New Indian Woman” (Lau 2010) has been applied to middle-class, educated, urban Indian women, who are able to have career and incomes, carving out new spaces for themselves, having opportunities new to their generation, taking up new roles and

This essay advances the argument that the selling points of these practices of medical tourism and, in particular, reproductive tourism are premised on structural and systemic inequalities of gender and class, as well as of biopolitical power, of which the stakeholders who had been involved in ICGS abroad 220

Ana Cristina Mendes and Lisa Lau

pursuing autonomy
in areas of life
ranging from the
financial to the
romantic.

and in India are aware. Despite the crudeness of the comparison, this presents the reverse case of fair trade that we associate with commodities such as coffee and bananas; in this case, there seems to be undisguised exploitation by the Global North and stakeholders in India of wombs in the Global South as bio-commodities. We branch off from Huggan's (2001) early twenty-first-century thesis on the marketing of the postcolonial margins, nearly two decades after its publication, for the purpose of exploring the emergent gendered subjectivities and attendant fictional representations of ICGS and its various actors in the novel *The House of Hidden Mothers* (2015) by the diasporic British Indian author Meera Syal. At the analytical and conceptual levels, this essay is concerned with the perception and representation of Indian ICGS both in India and globally. Representations of Indian commercial surrogacy abound in both Indian and western popular media, in novels, documentaries, and films and, increasingly, online, particularly in website advertisements and personal blogs. Popular media representations as well as commercial ones, often inclined towards the sentimental and sanctimonious, are immensely influential in shaping public perception. Drawing on Syal's novel, we map and examine the perceptions and representations of ICGS, investigating that which facilitates and promotes exploitation (not merely legally, but culturally) to deduce the resultant impact on the stakeholders and active agents in this industry in the space of India and in the West. Similarly, in other extant literary representations, the emotions and concerns of the intended/commissioning parents are forestaged, such as in Amulya Malladi's *A House for Happy Mothers* (2016). In Gita Aravamudan's *Baby Makers: A Story of Indian Surrogacy* (2014) there are a number of storylines, but all seem to depict the intended mothers as the driving force behind the surrogacy arrangements, along with their fears and needs. In documentary and film representations, particularly in Hindi films for Indian consumption, Anandita Majumdar (2017) observes that *Doosri Dulhan* (directed by Tandon, 1983) and *Chori Chori Chupke Chupke* (directed by Abbas and Mustan, 2001) depict surrogates as aberrant or fallen women because they are "unmaternal" enough to give away their children and commoditize their bodies in surrogacy. Following the success of *Chori Chori Chupke Chupke*, which became a box office hit, in the 2000s the Hindi films *Filhaal* (directed by Gulzar, 2000) and *Janani* (directed by Bahl, 2006) explored altruistic surrogacies, which then flagged up the conflict between the intended mothers and the surrogate mothers in their plots, asking riveting questions about kinship and family formations.⁴

4 For an overview of the ways recent cinematic narratives on commercial surrogacy in India offer a critique of the contested bodies of

While the neocolonization of the body in the representations of ICGS has been touched upon in previous studies, particularly in neoliberal contexts, the systemically orientalist setup and structure has, surprisingly, rarely been mentioned, particularly where transnational surrogacy was involved. Even less so has *re-orientalist* takes on ICGS been previously studied. This has

225
230
235
240
245
250
255
260
265
270
275

neoliberalism, see
Mendes (2018).

resulted, in our view, in a limited framing of the imperialistic hangovers and undertones dogging these particular sets of international contracts. We seek to position the issue of the representation of Indian commercial surrogacy more explicitly within the postcolonial framework. Our main aim is to demonstrate that imbedding research on ICGS in postcolonial studies will bring a new paradigm of understanding to ICGS, in addition to enabling fresh insights and novel angles of deconstruction. As such, situated within the framework of postcolonial studies, the third section of this essay scrutinizes the representations of practices of commercial surrogacy in India via Syal's novel *The House of Hidden Mothers*, with a focus on intended parents. The focus rests on representations of the intended mother, who tends to be the parent depicted primarily. Broadly speaking, this essay maps the orientalisms (Said 1978) and re-orientalisms (Lau and Mendes 2011, 2018; Mendes and Lau 2015) at play in this already fraught and contentious context, positioning transnational surrogacy as one more example of imperialism, as yet another form of cultural colonization, othering, subalternizing, and peripheralizing in the twenty-first century. Reading Syal's novel from this perspective will allow us to address accusations made against postcolonial studies of not sufficiently foregrounding issues of economic and political power structures, given its earlier reliance on poststructuralist approaches (Ahmad 1992; Dirlík 1994; Spivak 1999). Though growing out of dissatisfaction with the apolitical nature of poststructuralism, Edward Said's (1978) theoretical model of colonial discourse analysis has (self-admittedly so) socio- and geocultural limitations that can be redressed by the reading proposed here. Our analysis of Syal's narrative hence plugs a theoretical gap by explicitly connecting the problematic issues of surrogacy in terms of biopolitics, power, and ethics, on the one hand, with paradigms issued from postcolonial studies, on the other.

Critical and geopolitical encounters

ICGS has been extensively researched from a variety of academic angles. These range from feminists and political scholars arguing the exploitation of (gendered, classed, raced) labour, to legal and moral justice scholars debating citizenship, laws, and regulations of the surrogacy industry and the participating countries; philosophy and cultural studies scholars looking at issues of new family structures and the redefinition(s) of parenthood; and perhaps most searchingly and robustly from anthropologists, analysing the rhetoric of choice, agency, and (dis)empowerment, kin labour, tyranny of technology, North–South relationships, cultural context, and reconstruction of kinship ties. To these should be added the perspectives of the (socialist and Marxist) economics of globalization, which lies at the heart of commercial

Ana Cristina Mendes and Lisa Lau

surrogacy given that this industry was enabled and driven by technological medical advancements, unequal global power and economics, and sufficient and satisfactorily easy access to trans-border exchanges of information, money, commodities, and medical facilities (Bailey 2011; Jaiswal 2012; Kroløkke and Pant 2012; Fixmer-Oraiz 2013; Pande 2014; Rudrappa 2015; Deomampo 2016; Qadeer and Arathi 2016).

However, in these comprehensive academic discussions of Indian ICGS, characterized by intersectionality and cross-axes, postcolonial angles have been largely absent. In postcolonial terms, ICGS constituted a form of neocolonialism through the neo-outsourcing of risky and/or unsavoury work to the peripheries, without suitable remuneration or access to justice. In this context the postcolonial analytical tools of subalternity, orientalism, and re-orientalism are ideally positioned for the deconstruction and analysis of what is essentially (even if largely unrecognized as such) a neo-imperial, neocolonial practice, coming out of a legacy of unequal power relationships between the Global North and the Global South.

James Clifford argues the postcolonial foregrounds “real, if incomplete, ruptures with past structures of domination, sites of current struggle and imagined futures” (1994, 328). This emphasis on “imagined futures” is related to postcolonial theory as intentional discourse (be it Marxist, feminist, or environmentalist), with an intended object that should be rendered visible. A more recent elaboration by Robert Young notes:

The postcolonial is in many ways about unfinished business, the continuing projection of past conflicts into the experience of the present, the insistent persistence of the afterimages of historical memory that drive the desire to transform the present. The postcolonial remains: it lives on, ceaselessly transformed in the present into new social and political configurations. (Young 2012, 21)

The role of postcolonial studies is to continue looking at the ways in which colonial disavowal and post-imperial, postcolonial melancholia (Gilroy 2005) reproduce discourses claiming that certain groups of people need salvation (or civilizing) or that they are exploitable. New critical perspectives need to be continuously formulated in order to address what Young calls “the continuing projection of past conflicts into the experience of the present” (2012, 21). The value of cultural critique and postcolonial theory in particular resides in continuously critiquing the various determinants that have survived from the colonial period and which permeate and condition the projects of citizenship which have developed out of such contexts.

While the boom in ICGS in India was at least partly the result of the unregulated privatization of the technologies, products, and services, as well as the increasing urban-centrism of health provision and industries, this global situation of growing asymmetries between the rich and the poor, and between

urban and rural areas, is not limited to the local or regional. Practices of ICGS spoke to colonial histories rooted in socioeconomic and geographical marginalization. As Fouzieyha Towghi and Kalindi Vora observe, “biomedical science can be colonizing in spaces that are not recognized as colonial” (2014, 11), such as European metropolises. The issue of commercial surrogacy in India has thus been fraught from the outset with ethical issues, particularly with questions of power imbalances involving commissioning parents and surrogates. Research in the field has consistently highlighted the high potential for exploitation of poorer women’s labour, the systemic biopolitical imbalances and cultural misunderstandings that complicate the process. An understanding of the woman’s body as a “child-producing factory,” usually through biological (womb) outsourcing, meant that families may even coerce women into surrogacy in India. Moreover, although academic studies have attempted to investigate conditions for the surrogates, in popular representations most of the ICGS focus has been on the commissioning parents, giving more “air time” and devoting more representational emphasis to the better-off, commissioning parents who foot the bill, effectively subalternizing the Indian surrogate mothers.⁵

5 The term “mothers” can be contentious in this industry; in an attempt to isolate the rights of surrogates over the baby, they are often referred to only as “surrogates” rather than “surrogate mothers” with that parental stake implied in the term. However, by Indian law, the woman who delivers the baby is the mother and contractually has to relinquish her rights before the commissioning parents can “adopt” the baby, give it citizenship of the intending parents, and gain an exit visa from India.

At this time of transition between the legal practices dubbed “reproductive tourism” and the ban that has recently made these practices illegal, restricting surrogacy to a limited (heteronormative) group of married Indian nationals is bound to be reflected in cultural products. In this change from ICGS in India being a legal, almost all-encompassing, transnational transaction, the Surrogacy (Regulation) Bill 2016 speaks of national protectionism (where the economic dimension is substituted by the ethical) and heteronormativity, continuing and even deepening structural inequalities. This bill was supposedly passed to prevent exploitation of Indian surrogate women, but how successful it actually proves to be in addressing victimization and circumventing these inequalities (and even contributing to the strengthening and deepening of power asymmetries) will have to be ascertained. The impact of the ban on the parties involved – on ICGS clinics, surrogate mothers, and intended commissioning parents both in India and abroad – *i.e.* what outcomes and what changes to the status quo, with what effects and impacts and ramifications, is complex.

It is anticipated that global demands will probably make this market go underground, into the uncontainable domain of the black market, or move it to other countries of the Global South, where rules and regulations have not yet quite caught up with practices. As an example, Rudrappa (2017) wrote how the market in Delhi was driven across international borders to Nepal following the ban on Indian surrogacy for gay couples in 2012: “To avoid the ban, infertility clinics then moved surrogate mothers across international borders into Nepal. There, they gave birth and clients arrived to pick up their children.” However, this baby trade route between Delhi and

Ana Cristina Mendes and Lisa Lau

Kathmandu was disrupted in the April 2015 earthquake which hit Nepal and killed over eight thousand people. Governments of other countries airlifted babies belonging to their citizens in evacuations, but not the Indian surrogates, and it is unclear how they returned home. Rudrappa's example flags up the additional complexities and vulnerabilities the Indian surrogates are confronted with when the industry is driven underground or across borders to circumvent the law. Surrogates become even more isolated from homes and families, strangers in a foreign land, even more dependent on the agencies which brought them, for the basics of food, shelter, and control of finances. Rudrappa (2017) points out that "the women are powerless to terminate their contracts, or go back home if they choose to do so. They are isolated from friends and family and have no legal recourse to address financial abuses or medical malpractice." Forcing ICGS to "go abroad" has not curbed victimization and exploitation of Indian women; rather, it has exposed them to greater vulnerabilities and greater hazards and risks. The baby trade, as Rudrappa (2017) observes, "does not stop with bans on commercial surrogacy. Instead, infertility clinics jump through legal loopholes."

At a domestic level, and because the issues of class are structural in India's eminently hierarchical society, in terms of both class and caste, wealthy commissioning parents (resident Indian, diasporic Indian, or otherwise) can still circumvent the law by exploiting the economic and social vulnerability of potential surrogate mothers (at times, extending to their benefit the employer-employee power relationship), presenting an exploitative financial contract under the guise of altruistic surrogacy, or no financial contract at all, driving this industry further still into the already massive informal sector of India. As Rudrappa (2017) warns, "Country-specific bans do nothing to alleviate the vulnerability of working-class women across poor countries. Instead, these bans create situations where women may be exposed to far deeper mistreatment and exploitation." As an established researcher in this field, Rudrappa advocates for heavy regulation rather than banning of ICGS in India. In line with the vast majority of researchers and academics in the discipline, she opines: "Rather than bans, governments should consider laws that uphold surrogate mothers' sense of dignity and bodily integrity ... Commercial surrogacy is tenable only if surrogate mothers' emotional, physical and intellectual well-being is respected" (2017).

Our analysis calls for a reconceptualization of "modernity" and for a consideration of the impact ICGS has had on of the escalating transnational trans-local dynamics of globalization, wherein Indian women of the Global North could access hiring Indian women's wombs from the Global South. The associated issues are of power, exploitation, systemic injustices, and cultural (mis)understandings supported by regimes of representation, all of which are highlighted by a mode of ethical reading. The emergence of ethical criticism has focused on reading as an ethically charged dialogic co-creation.

Derek Attridge (2004) argues for “literary reading” (vs. instrumental readings) as capable of raising readers’ awareness and increasing the potential for a complex and mostly quite demanding exchange, evoking emotions, knowledge, and values called for by the forms of life literarily represented. 500

Against this backdrop, this essay draws conclusions on the overarching narratives which influence and impact upon both the global and domestic images of Indian transnational commercial surrogacy. The essay also attempts to extend its discussion of representation issues by comparing how Indian surrogacy has been represented differently (or with different emphasis) by Indian and non-Indian academics and cultural producers. Specifically, drawing on Syal’s narrative, the next section of this essay unpacks the relationships between women who share the same ethnic background, but experience vastly different levels of access, mobility, and privilege. Beyond the fiction of global community founded on gender lines and forged for anti-patriarchal purposes, our analysis of fictional narratives bases itself on the structural inequality and subalternity that permeates (and parallels) the Global North–Global South relationships between mobile and affluent Indian women of the diaspora (primarily from the United States and the UK) and those of more modest means in India, as well as the (to some extent, parallel) power differentials that characterize the interactions between Indian women (within India and in the diaspora) from different social classes, namely between upper- (and upper-middle) class women and working-class women. 505
510
515
520
525

Literary representations of the Global North–Global South relationship in ICGS 530

In postcolonial studies, literature and particularly novels and prose fiction have been a mainstay of data sourcing, as Said underscores: “The novel is an incorporative, quasi-encyclopaedic cultural form. Packed into it are both a highly regulated plot mechanism and an entire system of social reference that depends on the existing institutions of bourgeois society, their authority and power” (1994, 84). Through a reading of a novel – *The House of Hidden Mothers* – this section identifies the issues within ICGS which receive the lion’s share of attention and representation (such as the emotional, the sensational, and the commonsensical), often at the expense of theoretical issues (for example, of feminism, postcolonialism, liberalism, and choice), and practical and legal issues (for instance, of citizenship, nationality, state power, and bureaucracy). Whereas the academic literature on Indian commercial surrogacy already addresses many of its ethical pitfalls and shortcomings, as well as systemic injustices, we concentrate on the representation issues in fiction, investigating which problems of surrogacy are being raised and identified by the novelist Meera Syal – and, of course, which are omitted. The thrust 535
540
545
550

Ana Cristina Mendes and Lisa Lau

and texture of representation in fiction and the re-orientalisms of these representations form the primary emphasis of our reading. With this purpose in mind, we are guided by Natalie Fixmer-Oraiz:

These public discourses, with a high degree of cultural visibility and salience, are particularly important to understand because they exert significant influence in shaping public opinion and policy, as well as individual attitudes and beliefs. In short, they form the cultural conditions under which transnational gestational surrogacy is legitimized and practiced. (Fixmer-Oraiz 2013, 129)

Syal's novels have been celebrated for their perceptive and nuanced representation of the struggles of diasporic British Indians in balancing their hybrid identities, encapsulating exactly that "system of social reference" to which Said refers. Savi Munjal cautions that such novels need to be read "as resonant cultural artefacts endowed with symbolic power" and that what lends the novel form its force is "the appropriation of history, the historicisation of the past, the narrativisation of society, and the interrogation of social spaces" (2008, 12). Indeed, Indian novels in English by diasporic authors have been a particular force in identity construction, not only of the identity of the diasporic community, but also of the "home" community, in this case of India, with diasporic Indians generally regarded by the western world as representatives, even "native informants" of India, as Spivak argues (1999, 168–169). One problem with this is that diasporic Indians themselves struggle with issues of authenticity of Indian identity, and are often not validated by the Indian society "back home" as appropriate representatives. Moreover, within the diaspora, the generational cultural differences are stark and important to note, because each generation's identity shifts as they assimilate more deeply into the host culture.

Syal's first two novels, *Anita and Me* (1996) and *Life Is Not All Ha Ha Hee Hee* (1999), reward the study of the differences between first-generation migrants who have made the migration from India, and second-generation migrants who have been born and bred in Britain. In these novels, British Indians have been depicted as othered by mainstream British society. However, in Syal's more recent third novel, *The House of Hidden Mothers*, the author seems to have turned the tables on the diasporic community by setting them up as the potential orientalists, re-orientalizing Indians from India, albeit of lower classes, given the power differentials. Through the narrative of a British Indian hiring an Indian from India to be her surrogate, Syal's novel is a valuable contribution to the genre because, for the first time, it begins to address the issues of how diasporic Indians, affluent from their successful migration to the West, can potentially subalternize other Indians of the Global South. Thus, the Orient remains a popular novelistic chronotope, as

Savi Munjal points out, because it allows for a fictional reinscription of history, in this case, in certain ways, an inversion of history: 610

The novel concentrates on the minutiae of social behaviour to unveil the operations of imperial power at the domestic level... The continuum between geography, knowledge and power, with Britain always in the master's place, bespeaks a specific epistemological framework peculiar to England – or at least to those who advocated Empire – in the nineteenth century. (Munjal 2008, 3–12) 615

Following Munjal's reasoning, the position of second-generation British migrants begins to appropriate the vexed "master's place" in a postcolonial setting relative to the position of certain classes of Indians in India. 620

As mentioned in the introduction to this essay, the topic of gestational surrogacy has been gaining traction in a range of popular representations in mainstream Indian and diasporic Indian media. Syal's novel on international surrogacy joins the ranks of a recent spate of fiction on this topic, written in English by Indians in India and in the diaspora. This literary text is of particular interest because it depicts not only a western commissioning parent, but also one who is ethnically and culturally Indian. Thus, there is much scope in this narrative for the investigation of Global North–Global South relationships via the practice of surrogacy. However, in this instance, it examines such relationships between those of the same ethnicity, which raises the issue of class – the perennial "elephant in the room" – which, given this involves the diaspora, complicates the already existent and usually rigid class and caste hierarchy and system in India. 625 630 635

Positionality is clearly key to the ability to orientalize, so it is worth unpacking the hybrid identity of Syal's protagonist, 48-year-old Shyama, a second-generation British Indian who has assimilated, to a large extent, into her British life and wider multicultural British society and is clearly thriving, with an established, successful business. Shyama is something of a rebel, being a divorcee and in a relationship with Toby, a Caucasian British partner many years her junior. However, she is also culturally traditional in certain ways, living in an extended family by choice, with her first-generation migrant parents, Prem and Sita, residing at the bottom of her garden, and her 19-year-old daughter, Tara, a third-generation British Indian, studying for a university degree in London. When Shyama fails to have a second baby, despite many attempts and much investment, she turns to gestational surrogacy India as the only affordable alternative left to fulfil this dream. In an ART clinic in the "homeland," Shyama and Toby select an egg donor from the clinic's banks of reserves, and the Indian Mala is chosen as a surrogate. Mala is a village girl of exceptional intelligence and ambition. In the process of teaching herself to read and speak English, Mala wants far more than a domestic life in the village, serving her husband Ram and her 640 645 650 655 660

Ana Cristina Mendes and Lisa Lau

mother-in-law. In this way, Syal's narrative represents becoming a surrogate as a chance to open a previously undreamed-of avenue of opportunity to Mala. It is the Indian village woman who is daring, ambitious, and adventurous, while her husband is portrayed as greedy but cautious, wary and unwilling to step beyond his gendered comfort zone.

Syal's sharp observation of the nuances of being Indian in Britain and all the baggage and privilege involved with this hybrid identity is compounded by the cognizance of how the British misunderstanding of the power differentials of class status in India is a source of frustration for diasporic British Indians. Merely by virtue of being from the Global South, they are homogenized and othered as agricultural labourers and peasants: "he [Toby] remarked how satisfying it must have been to turn the soil in ancestral meadows. Sita had stared at him. 'Well, of course we didn't do that – our workers did. Our family were owners, not labourers'" (Syal 2015, 43). The diasporic British Indians are no less misunderstood by their Indian family in India, and Syal's novel also picks up on division and resentment between diasporic British Indians and Indians in India:

"They wanted to punish us," Kohli sahib had said finally. "When we escaped [to the UK], they resented us, the ones who got away. They thought we were all millionaires, so they asked us for everything – and we gave it, because we were rich compared to them. And we felt bad for having abandoned them... You left us, so now we don't want you back." (Syal 2015, 2–15, 55)

Hence, diasporic British Indians may feel misunderstood by both the British and the Indians, albeit in different ways.

Syal's novel is one of several recent literary representations of surrogacy as outsourcing of labour, which typically oversimplifies the issues of biopolitics involved:

India had fertile poor women; Britain and America and most places west of Poland had wealthy infertile women. It began with companies moving their call centres towards the rising sun, so what was wrong with outsourcing babies there too, when at the end of the process there was a new human being and a woman with financial independence? It was a win-win situation, wasn't it? (Syal 2015, 98)

Although this is said tongue-in-cheek, the representation of surrogacy in this novel, on the whole, does not take on board the many risks incurred by the surrogates (including short- and long-term health, and medical and social risks), the unequal power differentials driving the demand and supply of this exploitative market, and the skewing of the entire surrogacy process in favour of the wishes of the intended or commissioning parents. It is also seemingly oblivious to the tangle of ethical issues, particularly on the part of the

clinic, doctors, and brokers, though it does mildly interrogate the ethics of the commissioning parents. One key omission is that the novel does not begin to represent the othering of the subalternized surrogates, their peripheralization in terms of lack of information, choice, and decision-making power. Mala is portrayed as regarding herself as lucky to have been chosen to be a surrogate and to have the chance to come to Britain, make a career, leave India, and embrace new opportunities beyond those in her village. The ending of the novel is even more unlikely and even romanticized – with Shyama’s partner Toby choosing Mala over Shyama to set up home with and bring up their baby.

That said, Syal does unpack the unequal power relationships between Indians of the Global North and Global South in her fascinating development of the relationship between Shyama, the British Indian commissioning parent, and the surrogate Mala, a working-class village woman from India. Perhaps in one of the most memorable passages in contemporary diasporic British Asian fiction, Shyama and her family insist on treating Mala and her husband, Ram, to dinner on the eve of Shyama’s return to England. The dinner is at a restaurant which is clearly out of Ram and Mala’s budget, and which makes Ram, at least, very uncomfortable and far from gratified (even emasculated). What transpires during that dinner beautifully encapsulates the mismatch of expectations and understanding between three distinct groups of Indians who are culturally dissimilar. Shyama and her husband Toby have the best and most generous of intentions, but fail to comprehend the norms and preferences of their Indian surrogate and husband and the community of working-class villagers to which they belong, which results in an inadvertent form of imposition, patronizing and, ultimately, othering. Shyama’s parents – first-generation British Indian migrants – understand the differences in cultural mores and try to act as the bridge between the two parties, seeking to translate not just linguistically, but socioculturally.

Although Shyama’s actions were motivated by gratitude rather than any intention to patronize, Prem, her father, judges the situation more accurately as charity, and the accompanying feeling of being lesser for the villagers.⁶ “They have taken your charity. Now leave them with some dignity” (Syal 2015, 225). Syal adroitly illustrates the mismatch of values and priorities between the Indians in India and the second-generation British Indians. When challenged by her mother, Shyama is defiant about upholding her values and is non-conciliatory towards local norms. Sita says:

“How could they ever return the hospitality, open their home and pockets to us?”

“I wasn’t expecting –” Shyama began.

“You don’t expect because you don’t know.”

“I know when a woman is being bullied by her husband. Or is that another local custom I am supposed to respect?” (Syal 2015, 226)

⁶ It is worth noting that Ram’s surname is not given, and there is no sense of Ram and Mala being a family unit as such, which also then makes it more plausible that Mala so lightly leaves her husband, both to come to the UK for the remainder of her pregnancy, as well as for the long term, to

Ana Cristina Mendes and Lisa Lau

live with Toby and
bring up her child.
(Presumably, she
marries Toby for her
continued presence in
the UK to be
legalized).

In the exchange above, Shyama regards the abuse of a woman as of primary importance, whereas her parents correctly identify that the larger issue for the working-class Indians in India is their loss of face or status.

In a move which is both audacious and rides roughshod over local norms and values, as well as which utterly disregards the practices of international surrogacy, Shyama takes Mala to the UK with her for the remainder of her pregnancy. Once again, her motivation is with the best of intentions – to protect Mala and the fetus from possible assaults by Ram – but her actions are highhanded and presumptuous, assuming Mala would be happy to be plucked out of her life, her family and community, and with no thought as to how Mala will survive after the pregnancy, how she can return, and what shame and stigma and alienation she will incur. In taking over Mala’s life and story, Shyama once again reproduces “the power of Western mastery [where] the Orient neither participated in nor was permitted to challenge its fabrication in Western words and forms of knowledge” (Joshi 2002, 12). In parallel with Mala being fabricated into Shyama’s UK life and western world, it is the Indian surrogates’ experiences which are fabricated by western representations such as Syal’s novels and similar narratives, into western words and forms of knowledges. Indian surrogate women are subalternized by their compliance, whether voluntary or otherwise, in being **orientalized** in their representations. The orientalizing is not just on the part of western parties, but as **this** demonstrates, can be a re-orientalism on the part of Global North or migrant diasporic Indians. In truth, re-orientalism is **also** performed by Indians in India of compatriots, if there is sufficient class and power differential between them.

For the most part, Syal’s representations of Mala’s experiences can be characterized as positive. For example, Mala profits from and delights in the irrelevance of class, caste, and racial “rules” in the diaspora, even amongst the British Indian community. A passage in Syal’s novel reads:

Here [in the UK], her [Mala’s] humble background meant nothing to the women she met; if anything, they liked her better because she was “the real thing” – hah, that’s me, natural and fresh as newly shat dung. But back in India, what high-class madam was going to let her lay her dark small hands on her expensive fair skin? One look at her and they would know everything. It doesn’t matter how far you have come, it is where you have come from that matters. (Syal 2015, 365)

Mala is exoticized in this representation, perhaps because Syal is a second-generation British Indian, and is sufficiently distant from and able to regard Indians from India as other to the extent of exoticizing them.

Mala is portrayed as having no problems in England, taking to this entirely new world and even learning English easily. She is immediately a business success, a fantastic cook, winning over all Shyama’s friends and relatives;

775

780

785

790

795

800

805

810

815

820

825

she never sets a foot wrong, and is not even homesick, unhappy, or needing a period of adjustment in a new setting. It is all so highly implausible that the question must be asked as to why Syal has written such a representation of an Indian coming to Britain, when she is well aware of the struggles of the first generation of British Indians to settle down and adjust, and knowing too that their assimilation is never as complete or swift as that of their children in the second generation of British Indians.

Syal's representation of Shyama as commissioning parent is largely uncritical. Shyama is represented as having a few qualms about hiring an Indian surrogate to have a baby on her behalf: "What would they think of her now, her old lefty student friends, coming back as a fertility tourist? Was she now the colonial memsahib? The benevolent bringer of county, or the ruthless trader, smiling her way back home?" (Syal 2015, 118). Apparently, just having a conscience is sufficient validation that Shyama's actions are acceptable. Syal does not take it any further in investigating the re-orientalist role the diasporic Indian has taken on, and does not critique the power imbalance between the two Indian women – the surrogate and commissioning parent – nor the exploitative nature of the exchange. The author hence seems to fall into the trap of the "rhetoric of altruism," where "surrogacy is celebrated almost unproblematically as 'women helping women'" (Fixmer-Oraiz 2013, 144), touted as a mutually beneficial relationship and even framed as a leveler of differences between women, regardless of race, nationality, and socio-economic status, as an exchange between equals (Harrison 2014).

Furthermore, there is very little in this novel about the frictions of international gestational surrogacy and migration, limited mention of practicalities such as visa issues and breach of contract (on the part of Dr Paasi, the fertility doctor who uses the surrogate's own eggs instead of the egg donor chosen by the commissioning parents), and even no real consideration of the ethics of the industry in India, or internationally. Representation of ICGS in literary fiction like Syal's typically focuses on the emotional, the maternal desire, the anguish, and the creation of bonds, and typecasts surrogates as willing and compliant, rather than highlighting their lack of information, choice, and power. This is a particularly insidious form of re-orientalism – not just othering and peripheralizing, but actively silencing and subalternizing, wilfully misrepresenting the power differentials which ICGS in India so visibly displays.

Conclusion

The representations of ICGS in mainstream media – including novels and films – typically focus on the sensationalistic aspects and particularly the highly emotive ones, at the expense of the tortuous but necessary details of legalities

Ana Cristina Mendes and Lisa Lau

and medical facts. The ethics of the practices and of the industry are subsumed under the focus on the desire of the commissioning parents and the route they travel to achieve their desire – namely, to take home a baby. The privileging of the Global North’s desires and wishes, and the focus on them, is typically orientalist, with the Global North always retaining the upper-hand in all interactions, and the situation being portrayed through their lenses. The subaltern surrogate Indian woman continues to be marginalized, and even if – as in Syal’s novel – the surrogate is not silenced, she is represented very dubiously, given an unlikely speaking voice, and an even more implausibly fairy-tale ending.

885
890
895

Our reading of Syal’s text explored how differences in geographical and social locations translate the power differentials represented in a literary narrative. Our analysis focused on issues of representation of those involved in ICGS, where principles of modernity and neoliberalism are played out in the globalized world linking India and the UK, and with what consequences for the stakeholders. This essay situates the question of the representation of ICGS more explicitly within the framework of postcolonial studies than most studies have done thus far. Our key purpose has been to demonstrate that advancing research on ICGS as one of the areas of inquiry for postcolonial studies will bring a new paradigm of understanding to ICGS, as well as enabling novel insights and perspectives of deconstruction. It aims to develop a postcolonial-studies informed framework for better understanding of the ethical, political, and biopolitical issues involved in ICGS in India.

900
905
910

The question of reconstructing the conceptual frameworks for research in the space that has been characterized as “the Orient” has been actively debated in the last few decades, reflecting dynamic changes in both scholars’ and broader society’s notions of that contested space. Nearly four decades after Said’s *Orientalism* (1978), there was a need for new paradigms with which to deconstruct and interpret the manifestations of new orientalisms. More interdisciplinary approaches were demanded, rethinking the epistemologies and methodologies of researching cultural politics in South Asia, and reconstructing conventional categories and frameworks. The theory of re-orientalism was advanced by Lau and Mendes (2011; Mendes and Lau 2018) in this context. Re-orientalism theory has the potential to expand the conceptual scope of orientalism studies, providing a new form and frame of analysis for theorizing and interpreting currently developing cultural relations between, in particular, Europe and Asia. Seen through the lenses of re-orientalism, the exploitations within India’s ICGS are not merely along national or ethnic and gender lines, but are also class based and geographically enabled. Western commissioning parents are not the only ones who participate in the exploitation – the complicity extends to diasporic Indian commissioning parents, not to mention Indian brokers, agents, and medical practitioners and clinics, including Indian medical tourism companies and the political class.

915
920
925
930
935

AQ6



ORCID

Ana Cristina Mendes  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-3596-0701>

AQ7 References

Ahmad, Aijaz. 1992. *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures*. New York: Verso.

Aravamudan, Gita. 2014. *Baby Makers: A Story of Indian Surrogacy*. Noida, Uttar Pradesh: Harper Collins.

Attridge, Derek. 2004. *The Singularity of Literature*. London: Routledge.

Bailey, Alison. 2011. "Reconceiving Surrogacy: Toward a Reproductive Justice Account of Indian Surrogacy." *Hypatia* 26 (4): 715–741.

Clifford, James. 1994. "Diasporas." *Cultural Anthropology* 9 (3): 302–338.

Cresswell, Tim. 2014. "Friction." In *The Routledge Handbook of Mobilities*, edited by Peter Adey, David Bissell, Kevin Hannam, Peter Merriman, and Mimi Sheller, 107–115. London: Routledge.

Deomampo, Daisy. 2016. "Race, Nation, and the Production of Intimacy: Transnational Ova Donation in India." *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 24 (1): 303–332.

Dirlik, Arif. 1994. "The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism." *Critical Inquiry* 20 (2): 328–356.

Economic Times. 2018. "Commercial Surrogacy: The Jury is Still Out on Its Banning." *Economic Times*, April 4. <https://www.economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/commercial-surrogacy-the-jury-is-still-out-on-its-banning/articleshow/63608455.cms>.

Fixmer-Oraiz, Natalie. 2013. "Speaking of Solidarity: Transnational Gestational Surrogacy and the Rhetorics of Reproductive (In)Justice." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 34 (3): 126–163.

Gilroy, Paul. 2005. *Postcolonial Melancholia*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Harrison, Laura. 2014. "'I am the Baby's Real Mother': Reproductive Tourism, Race, and the Transnational Construction of Kinship." *Women's Studies International Forum* 47: 145–156.

Huggan, Graham. 2001. *The Postcolonial Exotic: Marketing the Margins*. London: Routledge.

Jaiswal, Sreeja. 2012. "Commercial Surrogacy in India: An Ethical Assessment of Existing Legal Scenario from the Perspective of Women's Autonomy and Reproductive Rights." *Gender, Technology and Development* 16 (1): 1–28.

Joshi, Parya. 2002. *In Another Country*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Kroløkke, Charlotte, and Saumya Pant. 2012. "'I Only Need her Uterus': Neo-Liberal Discourses on Transnational Surrogacy." *NORA - Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research* 20 (4): 233–248.

Kusum, Sonali. 2018. "India's Draft Surrogacy Bill Needs to Become Law." *Asia Times*, June 1. <http://www.atimes.com/indias-draft-surrogacy-bill-needs-to-become-law/>.

Lau, Lisa. 2010. "Literary Representations of the 'New Indian Woman'." *Journal of South Asian Development* 5 (2): 271–292.

Lau, Lisa, and Ana Cristina Mendes. 2011. "Re-Orientalism: A New Manifestation of Orientalism." In *Re-Orientalism and South Asian Identity Politics: The Oriental Other Within*, edited by Lisa Lau, and Ana Cristina Mendes, 3–16. London: Routledge.

Lau, Lisa, and Ana Cristina Mendes. 2018. "Hospitality and Re-Orientalist Thresholds: Amit Chaudhuri Writes Back to India." *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 41 (4).

Majumdar, Anandita. 2017. *Transnational Commercial Surrogacy and the (Un)Making of Kin in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Malladi, Amulya. 2016. *A House for Happy Mothers*. Seattle: Lake Union Publishing.

Matsangou, Elizabeth. 2015. "India's Luxury Hospitals Spur Health Tourism." *Business Destinations*, August 4. <https://www.businessdestinations.com/move/travel-management/indias-luxury-hospitals-spur-health-tourism/>.

Mendes, Ana Cristina. 2018. "Indie Crowdfunded Narratives of Commercial Surrogacy, or the Contested Bodies of Neoliberalism: Onir's 'I Am Afia' and Arpita Kumar's 'Sita'." In *Indian Cinema Beyond Bollywood: The New Independent Cinema Revolution*, edited by Ashvin Devasundaram. London: Routledge.

Mendes, Ana Cristina, and Lisa Lau. 2015. "India Through re-Orientalist Lenses." *Interventions* 17 (5): 706–727.

Munjal, Savi. 2008. "Imagined Geographies: Mapping the Oriental Habitus in Three Nineteenth-Century Novels." *Postcolonial Text* 4 (1): 1–14.

940

945

950

955

960

965

AQ8

970

975

980

AQ9

985

990

Ana Cristina Mendes and Lisa Lau

- Pande, Amrita. 2014. *Wombs in Labor: Transnational Commercial Surrogacy in India*. New York: Columbia University Press. 995
- PRs Legislative Research. 2018. "The Surrogacy (Regulation) Bill, 2016." <http://www.prsindia.org/billtrack/the-surrogacy-regulation-bill-2016-4470/>.
- Qadeer, Imrana, and P. M. Arathi. 2016. "Words, Ideas and Ideology in the Shifting Sand of Markets." *Indian Journal of Gender Studies* 23 (1): 105–132. AQ10
- Reddy, Sunita, and Imrana Qadeer. 2010. "Medical Tourism in India: Progress or Predicament?" *Economic & Political Weekly* 14 (20): 69–75. ▲
- Rudrappa, Sharmila. 2015. *Discounted Life: The Price of Global Surrogacy in India*. New York: New York University Press. 1000
- Rudrappa, Sharmila. 2017. "India Outlawed Commercial Surrogacy – Clinics are Finding Loopholes." *The Conversation*, October 23. <https://www.theconversation.com/india-outlawed-commercial-surrogacy-clinics-are-finding-loopholes-81784>.
- Said, Edward. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon. 1005
- Said, Edward. 1994. *Culture and Imperialism*. London: Vintage. 1010
- Sangari, Kumkum. 2015. *Solid, Liquid: A (Trans)National Reproductive Formation*. New Delhi: Tulika. 1015
- Spivak, Gayatri C. 1999. *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Towards a History of the Vanishing Present*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 1020
- Syal, Meera. 2015. *The House of Hidden Mothers*. London: Doubleday–Transworld–Penguin. 1025
- Towghi, Fouziyha, and Kalindi Vora. 2014. "Bodies, Markets, and the Experimental in South Asia." *Ethnos* 79 (1): 1–18. 1030
- Tsing, Anna L. 2004. *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1035
- Urry, John. 2000. *Sociology Beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-First Century*. London: Routledge. 1040
- Urry, John. 2007. *Mobilities*. Cambridge: Polity. 1045
- Young, Robert J. C. 2012. "Postcolonial Remains." *New Literary History* 43: 19–42.