

Volume 45 Issue 2 June

Article 10

2018

Review of Labor of Love: Gestational Surrogacy and the Work of Making Babies. Heather Jacobson. Reviewed by Yanfeng Xu.

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## **Recommended Citation**

Xu, Yanfeng (2018) "Review of Labor of Love: Gestational Surrogacy and the Work of Making Babies. Heather Jacobson. Reviewed by Yanfeng Xu.," The Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare: Vol. 45: Iss. 2, Article 10.

Available at: https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/jssw/vol45/iss2/10

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## **Book Reviews**

Heather Jacobson, Labor of Love: Gestational Surrogacy and the Work of Making Babies. Rutgers University Press (2016), 201 pages, \$19.99 (paperback).

The practice of surrogacy is not new in human history. Given the needs of parental hopefuls combined with developments of new medical procedures, gestational surrogacy as compensated labor is an emerging reality in the United States. It is the exchange of money between surrogates and intended parents that has made gestational surrogacy much more complicated and much more controversial. Important questions now arise as gestational surrogacy becomes a commercial enterprise. What is the proper way to view surrogates, intended parents, surrogacy professionals and their role in society as a whole in relation to the work of surrogacy? There is a shortage of empirical research to assist us in understanding this phenomenon, especially from the perspective of surrogates and their families.

Heather Jacobson's book, as the first ethnographic study of gestational surrogacy in the U.S., begins to fill this important gap in the literature. Jacobson collected data from 2009 to 2015, by interviewing surrogates and their family members, intended parents, and surrogacy professionals in Texas and California. This was supplemented by disciplined examination of surrogacy websites, forums, and blogs. Through her extensive fieldwork and rigorous analysis, this book, in six well-written chapters, illustrates the American commercial surrogacy market, presents illustrative sketches of surrogates and their families, and further examines surrogacy as a shadowy workforce in the U.S.

The first chapter introduces fundamental concepts in gestational surrogacy by illustrating the story of a surrogate named Molly. This chapter provides some background to understand commercial gestational surrogates from a social and cultural perspective, and further lays the foundations for examining research questions based on surrogates' stories. Jacobson

reviews the history of surrogacy and describes the emergence of commercial surrogacy in the second chapter. Here Jacobson also documents the surrogacy rules for intended parents, surrogates, and surrogacy professionals. The rules for each party involved in the process demonstrate a mixture of altruistic and profit-driven motives and work.

The third chapter further examines whether and how surrogates perceive surrogacy as work by asking these women how they think of their work, how they interact with others, and how they confront negative cultural assumptions about surrogacy. Jacobson well captures the inspirations and motivations of American women to work in this highly contentious field. Her research suggests that they are primarily driven by altruistic motivation and their own personal enjoyment of being pregnant. These motives far outweigh the lure of monetary benefits. This also goes a long way in helping us understand why most surrogates are quite reluctant to characterize surrogacy as hired employment or work.

The author explores the relationships between surrogates and intended parents from the initial contact to postpartum in the fourth chapter. Surrogates expect a close, authentic, supportive, and respectful relationship between themselves and intended parents. However, these relationship expectations, which often feel more like friendship, also obscure the reality of surrogacy as a paid occupation. If the relationships between surrogates and intended parents lack warmth and mutual respect, surrogates are more likely to feel like unskilled paid laborers.

The fifth chapter looks at the experiences of the spouses and children of surrogates and the effect gestational surrogacy has on the daily life of surrogate families. Benefits to spouses and children include compensation and happiness of childbearing. Although families receive monetary and emotional benefits, family members have concerns about surrogates' health and safety issues. As Jacobson suggests, gestational surrogacy is a family contract among surrogates, partners, children, and intended parents. The family contract indicates that surrogacy as a form of paid work rests heavily on family members' active involvement and significant sacrifices. Yet these very features of surrogacy also work to limit the recognition of gestational surrogacy as a form of employment.

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The last chapter introduces the rules associated with money in the surrogacy market. Surrogates are trained and socialized to accept surrogacy as paid work. However, they are not allowed to frame it as reproductive work primarily for the purpose of profit or monetary reward. This contradiction makes surrogates invisible among the scope of traditional occupations.

Surrogacy is a rapidly growing occupation in recent years, and acknowledgement of this type of work as an occupation still has social, ethical, religious, and legal strictures in American society. This book documents the processes, relationships, and structures of American gestational surrogacy and provides original and thoughtful insights into the world of contemporary reproduction. Overall, this a book of very readable research, accessible to anyone interested in understanding more about the gestational surrogacy. This book should become a valuable reference for policymakers to reconsider strengths, challenges, and future of surrogacy in the U.S., as well as the rights of surrogates and other relevant parties.

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E. J. Dionne, Jr., Norman J. Ornstein, and Thomas E. Mann, *One Nation After Trump: A Guide for the Perplexed, the Disillusioned, the Desperate, and the Not-Yet Deported*. St. Martin's Press (2017), 344 pages, \$25.99 (hardback).

The contention of this book is that Donald Trump's rise to the American presidency produced a crisis so profound that the reaction in its wake could be a harbinger of democratic renewal. Stated this way, especially if it had come from a group of lesser lights, this would easily strike the reader as partisan wishful thinking at best, to be dismissed as some sort of naïve neo-Hegelian political negative dialectic. But this particular group of writers is hardly partisan; they span from center-left to center-right, and they all are easily counted among the top ten of current American public intellectuals. So without a doubt, when they speak with one voice on matters of social policy,