

## PART II

### Biotechnology, Biocommerce, and Body Commodification

Part II explores state-sponsored guidelines and laws defining and regulating reproductive technologies and their local interpretations and (re)inventions. Global advances in reproductive technologies and state responses to them in the form of legal and ethical guidelines are transforming widely shared notions of kinship at the local level. These reassessments of how to define family bonds are informed by social and culturally specific constructs of the person, kinship, and descent. Each of the three chapters in part II explores local interpretations of how authentic children are to be produced and accounted for and how recent advances in reproductive technologies have challenged conventional understandings of what constitutes an appropriate family.

In “Reproductive Viability and the State: Embryonic Stem Cell Research in India,” Aditya Bharadwaj explores how infertile couples seeking to ameliorate the associated stigma may become complicit, albeit poorly informed agents, in the search by India’s biotechnology industry to obtain legal embryos for stem cell research. Bharadwaj shows that informed consent is not a major concern for many of the doctors who aid infertile couples with *in vitro* fertilization (IVF) treatment. This in part is because under Indian governmental guidelines, embryos cannot be harvested solely for research purposes, so doctors encourage infertile couples to donate their extra, unneeded embryos produced through IVF as a “gift” to science. Bharadwaj shows how Indian infertility specialists, infertile patients, and their govern-

ment coproduce a set of practices that strengthen the Indian biotechnology industry and better position the country as a biotech superpower.

Marcia C. Inhorn's "Globalization and Gametes: Islam, Assisted Reproductive Technologies, and the Middle Eastern State" reveals a different side of infertile couples' IVF experiences. Whereas Indian practices are shaped in part by state guidelines, in Muslim countries, IVF falls within the domain of family law governed by religious law (*sharia*). Inhorn examines the implications of differences between more restrictive Sunni—and more flexible Shia interpretations of *sharia*—for the IVF experiences of couples living in various Middle Eastern countries. Her chapter reveals how religious law is being (re)interpreted, and in some cases circumvented, by infertile couples despite explicit religious sanctions. It also highlights some of the ambiguities surrounding the kinship of children conceived through IVF.

In "Law, Technology, and Gender Relations: Following the Path of DNA Paternity Tests in Brazil," Claudia Fonseca explores how a different reproductive technology, DNA paternity testing, has, in paradoxical ways, also challenged and complicated conventional notions of kinship in Brazil. Historically, birth certificates were the main means to validate the social ties between parents and children. But in the 1990s, as part of a larger social justice movement, it was decreed that children had the right to learn the biological identity of their parents through DNA testing. While it was anticipated that the tests would be mainly used in child support claims by unmarried mothers and their children, they became unexpectedly popular among married men seeking to prove they were *not* the fathers of their female partners' children. Like the other chapters in part II, Fonseca's illustrates the larger point that global reproductive technologies are inevitably transformed by the particular cultural contexts in which they are deployed and the local strategic interpretations that accompany them.

These three chapters demonstrate some of the unintended consequences and social maneuvering that follow state imposition of formal legislation or guidelines to regulate reproductive technologies. With the ongoing global dissemination of information and technologies in the domain of reproduction, states and their structures, whether secular or religious, must confront a multitude of complex questions regarding the definition of legally and socially acceptable reproductive interventions—questions that also challenge individuals and families in distinct ways in different types of social formations.