Episode 11 Transcript

Topic: Listening to Children: Children's perspectives on surrogacy law Hosted by: Leyla Noury Guests: Dr Katherine Wade, Dr Kirsty Horsey and Dr Zaina Mahmoud This transcript has been edited for clarity.

00:01

Welcome to Mason Institute investigates a podcast series produced by the Mason Institute, funded by the Edinburgh Law School. In each episode we investigate current national and global issues involving ethics, law and policy in health, medicine, and the life sciences.

00:19 Leyla

Hello and welcome back to another episode on Mason Institute Investigates. I'm Leyla Noury, and for this episode, I'm joined by Dr Katherine Wade, Dr Kirsty Horsey and Dr Zaina Mahmoud to talk about their project called Children's Voices and Surrogacy Law. Welcome to the podcast and thank you all so much for joining me. So, could you tell us about yourselves and how you got involved in this project?

00:43 Dr Wade

My name is Dr Katherine Wade and I'm a lecturer in law at Leicester Law School, and I research children's rights in the area of assisted reproduction. So, I look at the areas of surrogacy and donor conception and I challenge adult-centric models and paradigms in these areas. And I seek to make proposals for reform based on children's rights, law, and theory. I came into this area of law when I did a post doc in Kings College, London on a Wellcome Trust funded project called the "Donation and Transfer of Human Reproductive Materials." So, I've done my PhD on children's rights in clinical trials. And then I came into this area of assisted reproduction, and I was looking at surrogacy and I realised the same thing that I realised during my PhD studies, is that there are so many gaps in the law when it comes to children, and I wanted to examine these gaps and make proposals for reform.

01:36 Dr Horsey

Hi, so I'm from the University of Kent and I did a PhD on legal parenthood in surrogacy and other forms of assisted reproduction 20 years ago and have been interested in surrogacy law

ever since. And I've done a lot of empirical work over the last few years with surrogates and with intended parents. And so, coming to children is the next step along that phase, because a lot of the comments that I would have got on previous work was that it's all very well hearing from surrogates and from intended parents and having your academic opinion about these things, but what about the children?

02:12 Dr Mahmoud

So, I am submitting my PhD next month looking at surrogacy reform, looking at surrogates' experiences, comparing Britain and California. And I will be starting my postdoc fellowship on the Everyday Cyber Works project at the University of Birmingham next month as well.

02:28 Leyla

The Law Commission of England and Wales with the Scottish Law Commission is due to publish a report outlining recommendations for a robust new system to govern surrogacy. Could you tell us about the current landscape of the regulation of surrogacy?

02:41 Dr Horsey

Sure, so surrogacy in the UK has been regulated since the 1980s. That's quite unusual actually in comparison to lots of countries around the world and also that it's not an outright ban. So, there's a lot of myths and misunderstandings about what is and what isn't allowed currently in surrogacy. But surrogacy is perfectly legal. There is a lean in the legislation towards what's become known as altruistic surrogacy rather than commercial surrogacy because there is a prohibition on third parties working to set up surrogacy arrangements on a commercial basis. So, there's no prohibition on surrogates receiving money. There is a provision in legislation about intended parents getting parental orders, which is linked to money. But it doesn't make actual transfer of money between intended parents and surrogates illegal at all. It just means that the court has to have an eye on what money changed hands. And so, I guess the other key point about the law as it is, is that the surrogate is always the legal mother. So, no matter what kind of arrangement, even if the intended parents are genetically related to the child, like both of them and she's just carrying their embryo, then she will still be the legal mother at birth. And as the law currently stands, her husband or partner, if she has one, would also be the father or second legal parent.

04:04 Dr Mahmoud

So, given the various issues that there are with the current framework for surrogacy, so for example, the regulation or the lack of regulation for surrogacy organisations, the issues with legal parenthood, so intended parents having to essentially adopt their child through a parental order, which is specific to surrogacy, but it is kind of like a fast-track adoption. Many of these issues have been pointed out repeatedly over the past couple of years and the Law Commissions undertook a project on law reform looking at surrogacy. It started in 2018 and is wrapping up this year where they'll present their final recommendations and a draught bill and hopefully that will alleviate some of the issues.

04:46 Leyla

So why was it important to include children's perspectives on this area?

04:52 Dr Wade

Well, a lot of times law is shaped by assumptions about what people think children might want or might need. And there's two reports in this area, the Warnock report in 1984, and the Brazier review in 1998. And as I was reading these reports, I saw comments about the effect that surrogacy might have on children. So, they talked about how surrogates' pregnancies might potentially be damaging to the child, whose bonds with the caring mother are held to be strong, and that the welfare of the child is of paramount importance. And this was a really interesting quote because it talked about surrogacy potentially being damaging to the child. But there is no data or information to back up this assumption or claim. So, this really piqued my interest and I started to wonder in what ways can surrogacy be damaging to a child, and what children might be damaged through surrogacy? Is that the child who is born through surrogacy? What about the children of surrogates? Or what about the children of intended parents that intended parents have had and not through surrogacy? So, these are the kind of questions I started to ask.

So that quote is from the Warnock report, and in the Brazier review from 1998, they also talked about the effects that surrogacy might have on children. And it talked about the idea of payment; it said particularly in cases where children have a hostile or distant relationship with the commissioning couple, the knowledge that they have been brought into the world as a result of a commercial arrangement may not only have a damaging effect on family

relationships but may also interfere with the child's development of a secure sense of identity and positive self-esteem. Furthermore, children who discover that their surrogate mother has had other children as part of the surrogacy arrangement may find this information particularly difficult to accept. So here again we see the word damaging and we see references to the child's sense of identity, self-esteem, and how they might feel about other children. But again, from this report, this is not backed up by data or empirical studies. So again, this really started to make me question what is the impact of surrogacy on children and really, what better way to find out than to ask them?

07:08 Dr Mahmoud

So, I think when it comes to listening to children's perspectives here, one of the important things to note is with this Law Commissions project, they were very keen to hear from all of those who are impacted by surrogacy. So, surrogates, intended parents, lawyers, those involved in surrogacy to some capacity. But one thing that's always been left out of these discussions are the children themselves. There's a lot of interest in how the children feel. What do the children think that no one's actually ever asked them how they feel, or how they think? Given that my PhD was or involved empirical work with surrogates, so I interviewed surrogates in both Britain and California to hear their experiences on how law affected them. It also made sense to pursue a project where we listen to children and hear how the law has affected them and what their views are on that reform that has been done.

07:58 Dr Horsey

There has been previous work on the children born from surrogacy in terms of their psychological development and whether they are developing similarly or more slowly or whatever it is, compared to other groups of children. So, there's a group at Cambridge who've been doing a lot of research on that, and longitudinal research looking at the well-being of surrogate born children and families and of surrogates themselves after the event. But no one's ever actually asked children what they think about the process, and their involvement of surrogacy, about being born from surrogacy or if their mother was a surrogate. How they experienced her journey through that, and they certainly haven't asked them about what they understand the law to be and what they think the law should be.

08:43 Leyla

Now I understand that this project was carried over 2 phases and I'd like to ask you some questions on how you carried out your project. So first of all, how did you go about creating an environment where children could give their view.

08:57 Dr Mahmoud

So, with this kind of research, the important thing was to ensure that children would remain engaged throughout and instead of just asking them questions or conducting interviews the way that we would with adults, we had a deck of playing cards specifically designed for the focus group so that children could play while answering the questions. And around those playing cards, we devised different activities so they would vote on certain things. They would have to assemble the cards into different piles and that kept them quite engaged throughout. We made sure that the cards also included different definitions that were age appropriate. Explaining some of the concepts, with phase one that wasn't necessarily as needed, given that those children had experience of surrogacy either being born through surrogacy or their parents being surrogates themselves. With phase two, these came in handy because we then could explain different concepts, such as the difference between traditional surrogacy and gestational surrogacy. They were children from various schools in Kent.

10:02 Dr Wade

So, when the children came into the room, they all had a play space, so they had a section of a table or the floor, which had all of the cards all specially laid out. They also had post-its and a pen, and this meant that they were able to also doodle, create their own little images. So, at certain times we would ask them to do things on the post-its as well. One of the activities was what makes someone a parent. And we said you can write words, or you can write sentences, or you can draw, so children would write words, and sometimes they would draw an animal, for example, to explain how you can be a parent of an animal too. And these post-its were using in other activities too. So, when we talked about what kind of contributions a surrogate should get or not get, we also said you can add your own contributions, so you can add your own drawing and add it to the pile. So, we had cards, but we also added in posters to allow for flexibility and allow for them to express their views in different ways.

11:00 Leyla

And what questions did you ask the children?

11:03 Dr Wade

So, we had three things for the focus group. We asked them about parenthood, contributions to surrogates, and origin information. So, in terms of parenthood topic one, we wanted to know their views about what makes somebody a parent, how did they view parenthood? So, we simply asked that question: What makes somebody a parent? And we asked them to brainstorm that on post-its so they could write words or sentences or draw something. And from that we designed words from what the children told us.

And then we wanted to know who the children thought the parents should be when a child is born through surrogacy and they have a choice between intended parents, surrogate, or surrogate and her partner. So, there was cards with those three options, and they chose an option. Then we explained the law on parental orders, which is the law in place at the moment. Their intended parents have to get a parental order from the court in order to become the legal parents of a child born through surrogacy. So, we explained that and then we asked them: What do you think of that? And we explained that one of the reasons for the production order system that we have is to allow the surrogate to change her mind and we ask the children what they thought of that. So, should the surrogate be allowed to change her mind and not give consent to the intended parents to become the legal parents? And then we talked about the genetic link requirement. So, in order to get a parental order, one of the intended parents has to have a genetic link with the child and we asked them what they thought of that rule. Topic 2 was contributions to surrogates. So, in this topic we had lots of different cards, car, holiday, doctor's fees, maternity clothes, vitamins, money, spa voucher and lost wages and we asked them, do you think intended parents should be able to give these things to children? And we asked them to sort the items into Yes, No, I'm not sure, piles and we asked them to add their own things, if they like, they could add gifts or flowers or anything that they wanted there. Then we asked them, should a surrogate be paid for being a surrogate during the pregnancy? So, should that be permissible? And we did explain that we meant that this is not money to cover her expenses from the pregnancy, that this is money that she would earn from being a surrogate. And then we asked the question, some people think that surrogates should not be paid because children were born through surrogacy would not want to know that their surrogate had been paid. What do you think of that? So, we didn't say children might be harmed or anything like that. We were quite neutral with the question; we just asked them, well, what do you think? Some children might not want to know their surrogate had been paid. What do you think about that?

In topic 3, we talked about origin information, so we asked, should children born in surrogacy be told they were born this way? Should these children know who their surrogate was? Should these children know whether the surrogacy was traditional or gestational, so whether she used her egg or not; whether they were genetically related to the surrogate. Then we asked them about eggs and sperm donation, and we asked them if the service involved egg and sperm donation, should children born through surrogacy be told about this? Then we asked them about contact, so we asked them, do you think that contact between the surrogate and the surrogate and her family and the intended parents and the child who was born through surrogacy, is contact between these two different families important? And if so, what kind of contact do you think is appropriate? Those are the questions that we asked the children in phase one and phase two. We didn't ask about contacts because the children in phase two, there we asked should children know who the egg or sperm donor is? And when or what age should children be told about that? So those are the questions that we asked the children.

14:53 Leyla

What kind of activities did you do with the children?

14:56 Dr Horsey

So not only with the focused research itself and using their cards, but we had breaks where they could do artwork about what surrogacy meant to them, or in phase two about what they've learned about surrogacy on that day. And we collated all that from phase one into a Digital Wall which has been set to music and has put up on our website and it's all very cute to watch. And those are children engaging in a different way. And they came out with, you know, really imaginative things, which is really interesting to see.

15:224 Dr Wade

It was a fantastic opportunity to make the environment child friendly at the start before the focus groups because actually, the children started to get to know the researchers. They started to get to know the other participants. So, it really created this friendly and inclusive

and fun atmosphere before the focus group started, so that was a really important part of the focus group, was the artwork.

15:47 Leyla

And what were your findings so far?

15:502 Dr Wade

In terms of our preliminary conclusions from the Phase one report, we find that the children saw lots of different things as being central to parenthood. So, we asked them to write down on a post-it or draw what makes someone a parent. And care, love, support, and responsibility really came out from that discussion. And most participants put that the intended parents should automatically become parents following surrogacy. The issue of the surrogate being able to change her mind created some debate, so there were different opinions on that depending on the participant ages. So sometimes some of the younger participants were very concerned with, keeping everybody happy and people not being upset. As children got older, they tended to be a bit more rules-based, so they would say things like if this is what somebody agreed to, then they should stick to this.

Most of the children also thought that the parental order system should be changed. And most participants did not view the genetic link requirement is particularly important. So, the requirements that in order for a parental order to be issued, there must be genetic link with one parent. Some children did not really engage with this question because it is a tricky question. If it is something that they have not thought about before. Contributions to surrogates was a really interesting topic. There was lots of interesting discussion there around what the children thought surrogates should be able to get or not get, but one question we were really interested in, was what they thought about surrogates being paid to be a surrogate, and most participants expressed a strong dislike towards that. Some participants were concerned that IP's (intended parents) will be under pressure to pay the surrogate large amounts. And we asked the participants whether they think children born to surrogacy might be negatively affected if they knew their surrogate had been paid. There was no consensus, but I was very interested in the views of some children who were born through surrogacy who appeared indifferent about this because some of the reports, the Brazier report, the Warnock report, expressed concerns that children might be damaged through knowledge that your surrogate had been paid. But there were comments from children born through surrogacy that actually they were indifferent towards this, and it didn't matter to them. That was an interesting thing that came out of this particular topic.

Topic three was on origins and the majority of participants were in favour of openness and surrogacy with regards to knowing that you're born through surrogacy, knowing who the surrogate is and knowing whether the surrogacy was, gestational or traditional. So, where some of the debates arose was around disclosure, so when parents should tell the child. A lot of children said that children should be told young and that almost they should always know, that came out of some of the focus groups.

We also asked about contact. And contact between the families was seen as important, and in this particular topic, participants shared their own views on the type of contact that they thought was appropriate. So, they talked about things like calling the surrogate on her birthday or the surrogate calling them on their birthday, or going for walks in the park, going to recreational centres. But I will say that in this area there was an emphasis on the idea that it depends. So, it depends on the different families. It depends on the different arrangements and the different agreements that different families came to with the surrogate and her family. So, there was no one-size-fits-all approach in relation to the level of contact that children thought was appropriate between the surrogate and her family if she had one, and the family that used surrogacy.

A fourth topic emerged in the focus groups. And it actually emerged from the children themselves. And this topic we called navigating surrogacy in their social worlds. So many participants talked about surrogacy in their lives, and they said they were very open about it. So many participants were open and talked about it. Others said, well, I only speak about it if it comes up or if it's relevant. We did find that many participants' peers knew very little about surrogacy, so participants ended up explaining it to their friends for example, and there was general agreement that there was very little done in schools about surrogacy. So, some children mentioned how they talked about it in assembly, and the older participants mentioned advocating for surrogacy to raise awareness or to remove stigma. So, these are some of the findings from the phase one preliminary report. They're all broken down into the report, so statistically and also, we have quotes from the children in the report as well, and we're just finalising phase two. So, phase two was children from schools. They don't have experience of surrogacy, so it's really interesting to see if there were differences between the two.

20:32 Leyla

I understand that you want to make the research findings child friendly and there is an animation in the works.

20:38 Dr Wade

So, the way that we collected data was child friendly and the way that we are disseminating the data is also child friendly. So, we didn't want to go in and do research with children and then create reports for adults. And then adults all benefit from those reports. We wanted to make sure that we could feedback the research in the way that children could also read and could also engage with and not just the participants, but all children. So that's the aim as well. So, in terms of dissemination methods, one method is the Digital Arts Wall where we put all of the artwork together and we worked with an animator to kind of bring it to life and we put that online. And we also launched it at a conference and we're also working on child friendly versions of our reports. So that would be like a one-page summary of the report with some of our illustrations from our cards included on that, written in a child friendly language. Another method of dissemination that we had was a young person's panel at a conference. This conference was called Future Directions in Surrogacy Law in November 2022 at the Institute of Advanced Legal Studies in London, and it was a conference that was attended by legal experts, practitioners, judges and academics. And for the first time at a conference like this, we had a young person's panel; so, we had to ensure that this panel was a success and that it was child friendly and that the children were comfortable, and they could share their views freely. So, we had some tactics that we used to help them with this. Firstly, we prepared a lot. I met with the five young people online individually. I met with them as a group as well to do a have a dress rehearsal. Some children wanted more meetings, and some had less meetings. But we're always telling them that you can meet us at any time to go over your answers. So, we started with asking them questions and then they would start writing notes and then they wrote up their answers. Some children want to bring in flash cards, others didn't need it, so everyone had a different approach. But we always tried to include every way that children could present, so it was really about making sure that they all felt comfortable presenting.

The other things that we used were on the day; we made the panel interactive, so we had many whiteboards and markers, and I would ask some questions like, how do you feel about surrogates being paid and then they would actually draw an emoji, and then they turned the emoji around. So, it was engaging and child friendly for the children, but it was also fun for the audience because everybody was waiting to see what kind of emoji the children would draw and then they would discuss that emoji in in real terms. They would talk about, it would make me feel this way or that way, based on the emoji that they had drawn, and the other thing we did was we made large versions of our cards that we used in the focus group. So, we made four versions of those, and we did some of our activities from the focus groups in the conference panel. So, I asked them to vote, who do you think should be the parents of the child born to surrogacy? And they held up their option to the crowd. So, these are the kinds of tools that we used. And the other thing that we brought in was surrogacy show and tell. We asked the children to take a picture or little video of some item that was meaningful to them in terms of their surrogacy journey. So, they had maybe a photograph or a book, or an item or present that they put up on the screen behind them. And then they talked to the audience about why this is important. So, it's about giving the audience a sense of what it is like as a child to have experience of surrogacy in your life. I should say that the panel had a mix of both children who were born to surrogacy, children whose mother was a surrogate. And we also had someone whose family member had had a child through surrogacy, so we actually had a range of different experiences on the panel, and it was a real success. And I think the children really, really enjoyed it. And so, did I.

The animation was an idea that we had to ensure that the research findings are child friendly, but this animation is going to be for a general audience. So, it's not just for children. The idea is that this is a way for anyone to sit down and watch in an accessible kind of short, snappy format, some of the main findings of the report. So, we will be incorporating phase one and phase two into that animation and the animation includes little people that kind of bounce around the screen. And the data is shown in different ways and graphs and word clouds. With these little characters. So, it's a really exciting thing that I'm working on at the moment. I've never done anything like this before and I'm really hoping it will be a great success. We're going to launch it probably in June, so we will be putting it up on the website and we're very excited about it.

25:15 Leyla

How was your project received by the wider public? What sort of feedback did you get?

25:20 Dr Mahmoud

So back in November, we hosted the Future Directions in Surrogacy Law conference here in London, and part of the conference was the Young Persons Panel and that was the highlight of the conference for many people. A lot of the feedback we got from that conference was about how amazing it was to actually hear from children with experience of surrogacy. About what it means to either be born through surrogacy or have their parent have been a surrogate. So that was great. Additionally, the Nuffield Council on Bioethics was very excited by our research and their report, which came out a couple of weeks ago, does cite our research as well, so it's been quite well received, which is really great and really encouraged.

26:02 Dr Horsey

Yeah, we've had a lot of feedback from academics and others in our area, including, practising lawyers, even a judge who said that the research is really valuable, really useful, and has some novel way of looking at things. And so, we do hope that it will sort of get rid of that adult centric model and feed into the process of law reform that hopefully we will be able to brief the all-party Parliamentary group on surrogacy or at least send in our report and let them ask questions of us if they have any. Finally, we anticipate there will be parliamentary debate at some point and so we have to inform MPs about what children, the ones who are actually brought into the world or affected by surrogacy happening around them, to know what they think rather than to have assumptions about how they may be impacted by surrogacy. I think would be pretty valuable in terms of the debate that hopefully is to come.

26:55 Dr Wade

Yes. So, we have lots of feedback forms that say fantastic things. One lovely moment from the focus group, so we found a card that the children wrote to us, and it said thank you for being respectful and listening to us. That was a really fantastic moment while we were doing the focus groups to see that directly from the children themselves, but we got fantastic feedback in the feedback forms that we did. They really liked talking about their views and they were really grateful for the opportunity.

27:23 Leyla

And what's next after this? What sort of future work are you looking forward to doing on this project?

27:29 Dr Mahmoud

I think we're hoping to have both phases reported and published online like we did phase one and then from there, we're hoping it to turn it into a book looking at both phases of children's voices and surrogacy law. As well as other outputs, we also have the Digital Wall which came out of our research, so that was made using the artistic contributions children made during the project. They are available or the Digital Wall's available online on the Children's Voices on Surrogacy Law website, and again, that was something that was showcased back in November at the conference. We also want to do more with the artwork that we've received. We're just trying to figure out what our next steps would be and talking to various museums and art centres.

28:16 Dr Horsey

So, we might be able to share that more widely, in a physical rather than digital space, which would be really nice. The other thing that that we're looking at doing is that I think we've all got the bug now, and we'll be looking at doing future work involving children, maybe a bigger, more ambitious project. Although this feels like it was pretty ambitious, certainly at the time. And so yeah, onwards from here, hopefully there will be other things that come from it. Particularly because it has been well received. So hopefully it will be a foundation for being able to do some more things like this in the future.

28:51 Leyla

Finally, what was it like working with children on this project? What were the aspects of your research that you enjoy doing, and also, what can other academics learn from your research regarding decisions that impact children?

29:05 Dr Mahmoud

I think one of the most striking things was just how insightful some of the children are in phase one. One of the questions we asked was about what it means to be a parent or what makes a parent, and they all kind of focused on love and care and responsibility. And it was really amazing to see them just discuss all of the words that we associate with parenthood. And it not being tied to biology to anything like that, it was really just care and love and attention. And it was really great to see that coming from the children themselves. I think with the phase two children, what was really interesting was to see how so quick they were at understanding these different ways of forming a family and how accepted they were once it was explained to them and the lack of judgement and more curiosity, and then concern when things weren't exactly as fair as they would have expected them to be.

29:54 Dr Horsey

Yes, there was a lot of focus on fairness and on what was fair and unfair in their opinions. So, when we explained that the intended parents weren't the legal parents. And immediately and despite it being them who initiated the arrangement and went through the whole relationship and everything, the group that were in phase one, they were, adamant that the surrogate shouldn't be the legal mother at birth. She just wasn't the parent, and the intended parents were. And the phase two groups, still the majority of them thought that the intended parents should be recognised as the parents, and couldn't see why a parental order would be needed to transfer parenthood just because it just wasn't fair that they weren't the parents in the first place and it was all about sort of the effort and emotional impact that it would have on them and stuff like that. So, they got that very strong sense of fairness and justice that came from the kids. Quite interesting findings on what they thought about contributions to the surrogate as well, which was certainly very opinionated.

30:56 Dr Wade

So, working with children has been absolutely fantastic. There are challenges with working with children, of course, everything has to be child friendly and accessible at all times. So that means that you have to have multiple versions of your consent forms for all the different ages, and we included illustrations in those consent forms to ensure that it was engaging for the participants. So, in that sense, it could be a challenge. You need to make sure that you are catering to the understanding of lots of different groups, and it also means that when you're doing the focus groups as well, we have different scripts for the different age groups. So, a focus group with eight- to 10-year-olds was very different to the focus group with 16- and 17-year-olds. Of course, you also have to ensure that you group them together. Appropriately so, we grouped them together with about a two-year gap, I suppose so 8–10-year-olds with 10- to 12-year-olds. So, ensuring that there were no teens in with the younger children, because that would mean that it be difficult to run the focus group. So, there can be challenges, but it's definitely worth it. I had an absolutely fantastic time. I loved hearing the children's views. They were surprising at times. They were really enlightening. They have fantastic insights. It's really important to ask children their views while they're children because you get an idea of how a

certain issue impact them during childhood. If we think back on our childhood as adults, we're looking at it through an adult lens. But if you ask children while they're children, you really are getting that authentic idea of how something impacts a child during their childhood as it is ongoing. That's why it's really important and I say only the challenges of doing this kind of research are not insurmountable.

32:34 Leyla

I think that's a good place to end this episode. Thank you all for coming on to the podcast to discuss your project on children's perspectives of surrogacy law and regulation.

32:43 Dr Wade

Thank you so much for having us.

32:46 Dr Horsey Thank you very much for having us. It's been a pleasure.

32:49 Dr Mahmoud

Yes, thank you.

32:50

Since the recording of this podcast, in March 2023, the Law Commission of England and Wales with the Scottish Law Commission have published their Report: Building Families through Surrogacy: A New Law which sets outs recommendations for legal change in the area of surrogacy. The Children's Voices in Surrogacy Law project was cited in this report, as well as in a recent Nuffield Council on Bioethics Policy Briefing on surrogacy. This is the first time that children's views on surrogacy law have been incorporated into a reform agenda for surrogacy.

33:24

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