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Grasping fertility and climate
change: studying insider vs
outsider debates over
perception, interpretation

- Traps for the unwary:
- Vocabulary, numerical categories and cultures of calculation

Example 1:

Fertility and responses to contraceptives

For the analysis of the full study:

Caroline H Bledsoe. 2002. *Contingent Lives: Fertility, Time, and Aging in West Africa*. University of Chicago Press.

REPUBLIC OF

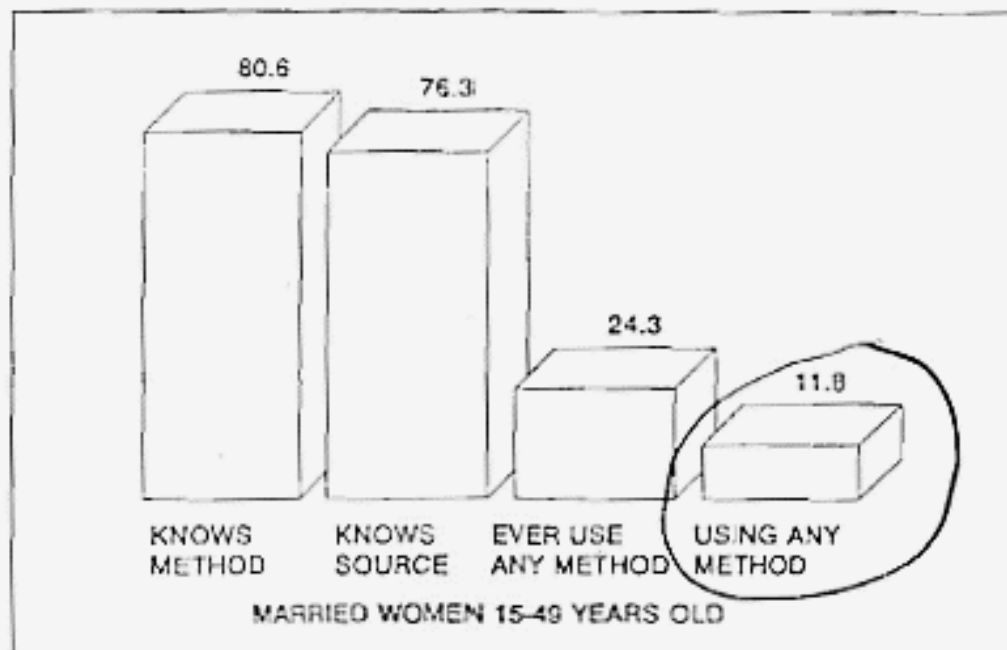


THE GAMBIA

*Medical and Health Services Directorate, Ministry of Health and Social Welfare.
Human Resources Unit. Ministry of Trade, Industry and Employment.*

Gambian Contraceptive Prevalence and Fertility Determinants Survey

GCPFDS- 1990



- Aisha's "Malawi" graph



- Modern contraceptive USE vs REFUSE
- Common explanations for refusing contraceptions in a high fertility regime:

Tradition, superstition, male objection
God's will

“I want all the children God gives me”

Demographic convention:

“Modern” contraception = Child limitation

Who wants contraceptives? (Standard views)

Kinds of people

Educated

Urban

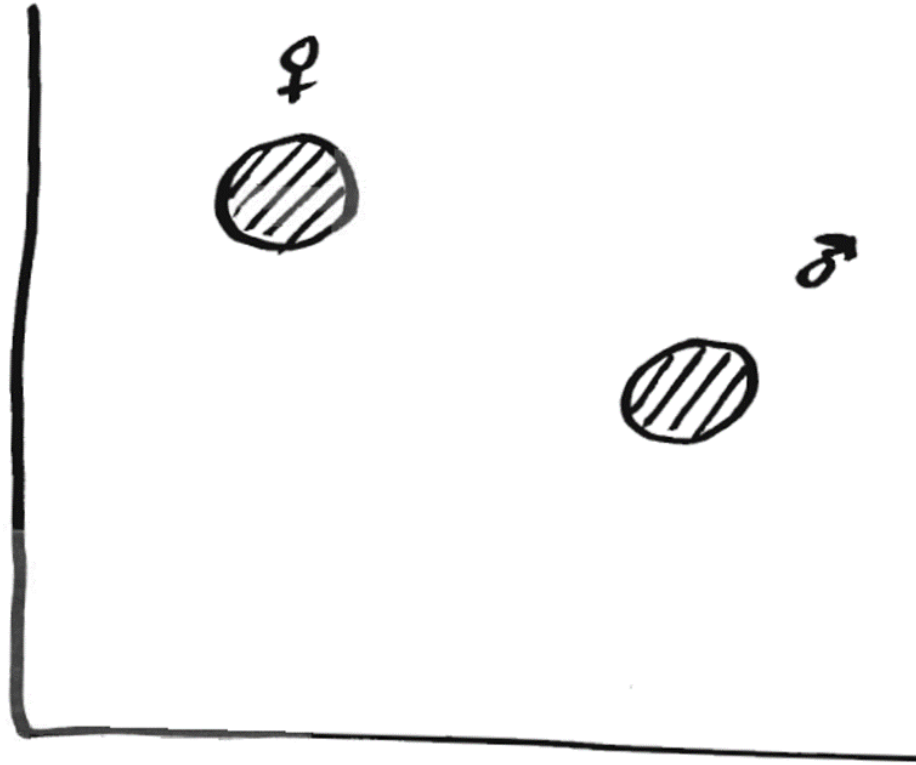
Access: close to FP facility

Access to media

Approving husbands

Membership in approving networks

Assumptions about users:
they are different people from non-users



*static model of
contraceptive use*

Phase 1 of Birth Intervals Study:

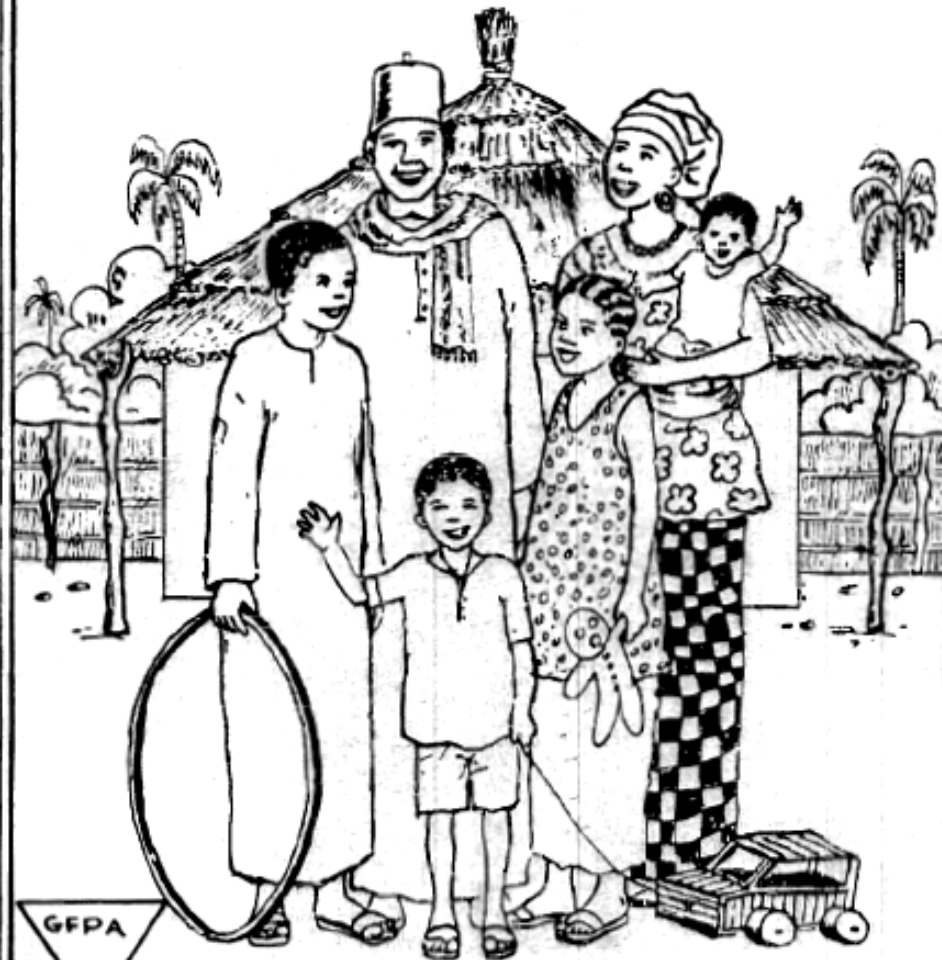
Contraception: for child spacing vs child numbers limitation?

Most data from the Gambian Birth Intervals study, 1992-95

Farafenni, The Gambia

- How family planning programs in The Gambia advertised the virtues of using modern contraceptives

WHY FAMILY PLANNING?



GFPA



Family and spacing
16



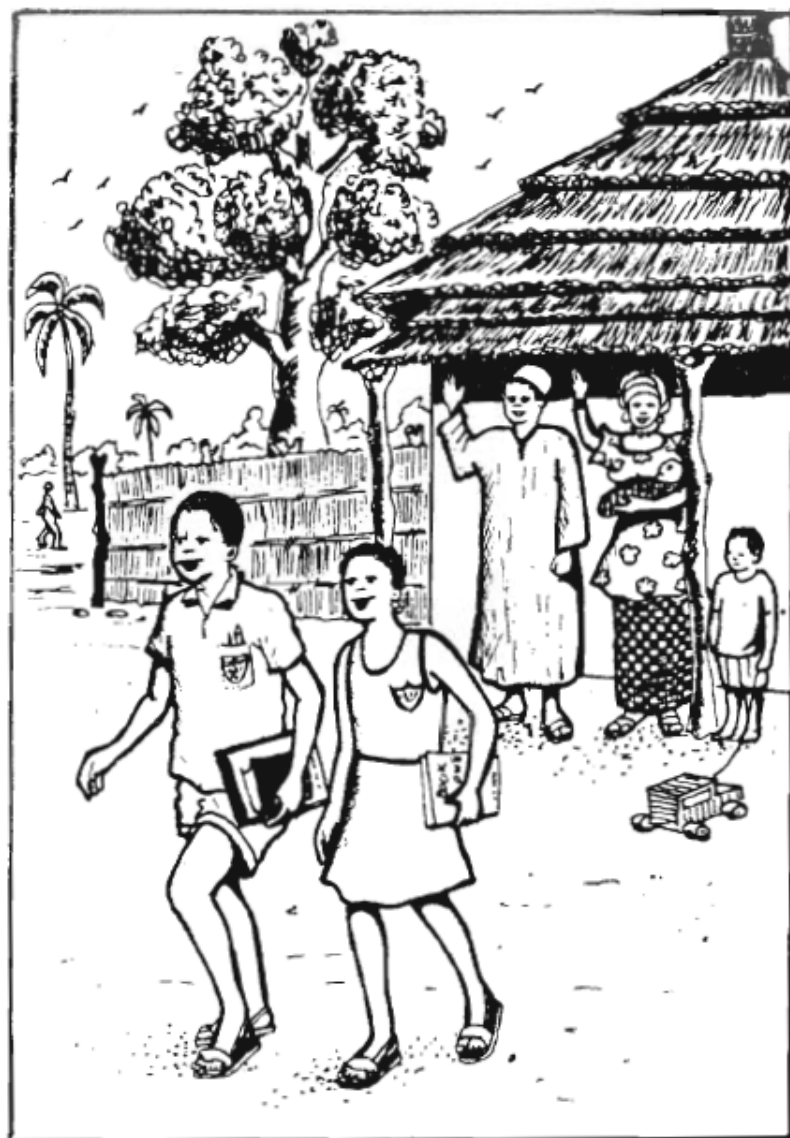
Family spacing



Family and diseases
20



Family and diseases



Family and education
10



Family and education



Father and relaxation
18



Father and relaxation



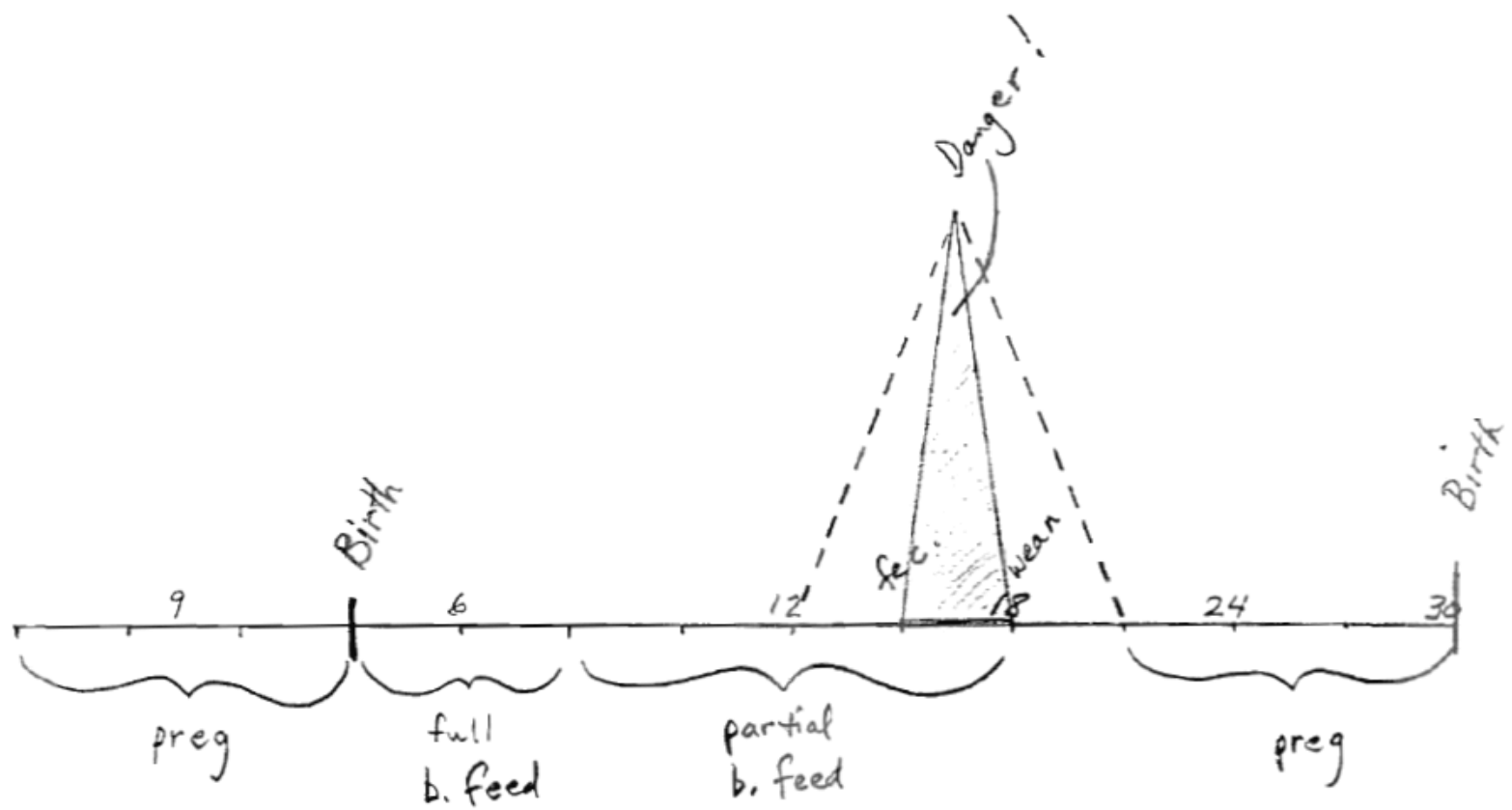
Visit to Family Planning Clinic



Available contraceptive methods

[illegible]

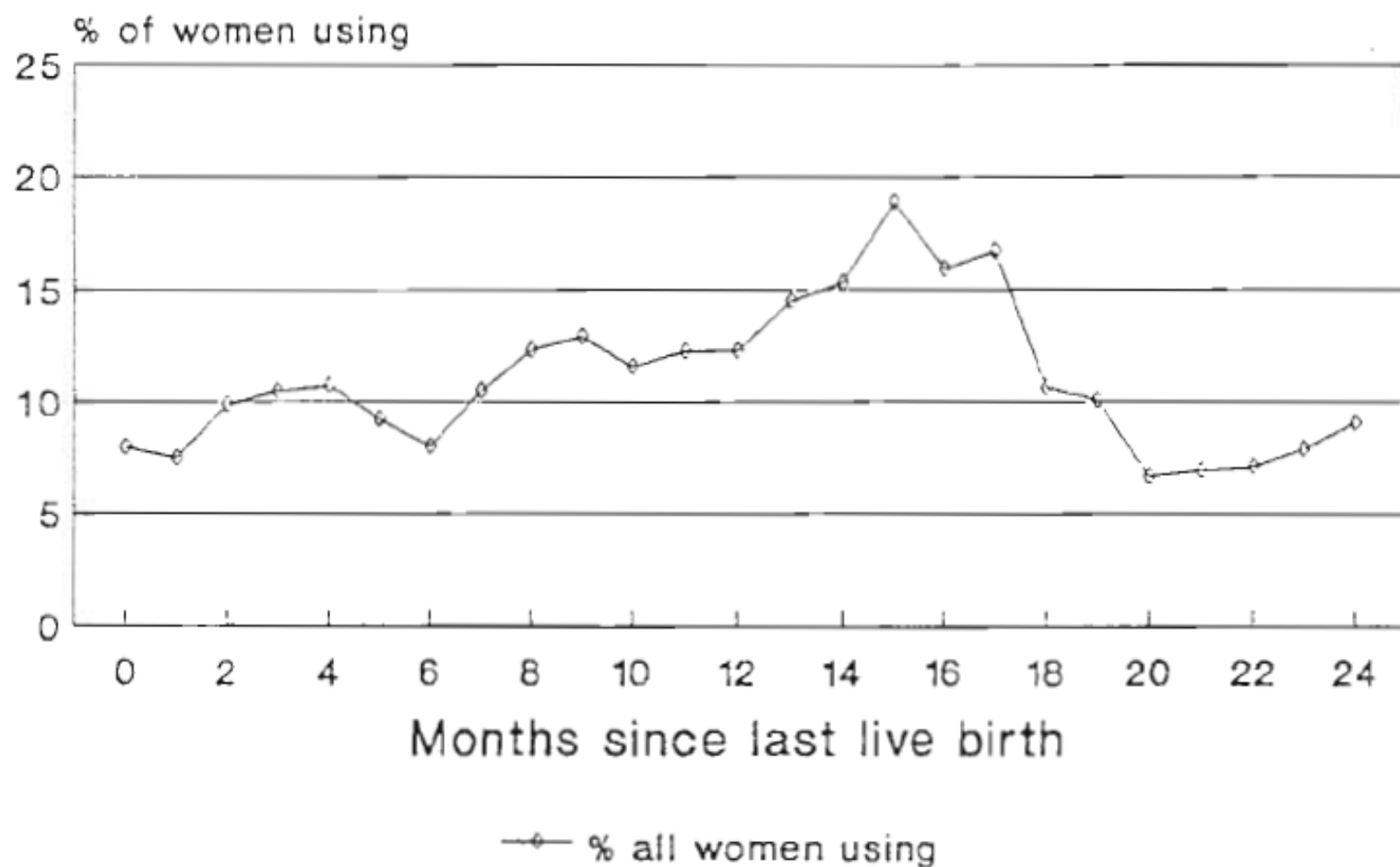
- Problems in time that emerge in data on contraceptive use and people's statements



Birth interval events

North Bank Survey
rural Gambia
1992

Figure 2: Contraceptive use by
non-pregnant women by time since
last live birth

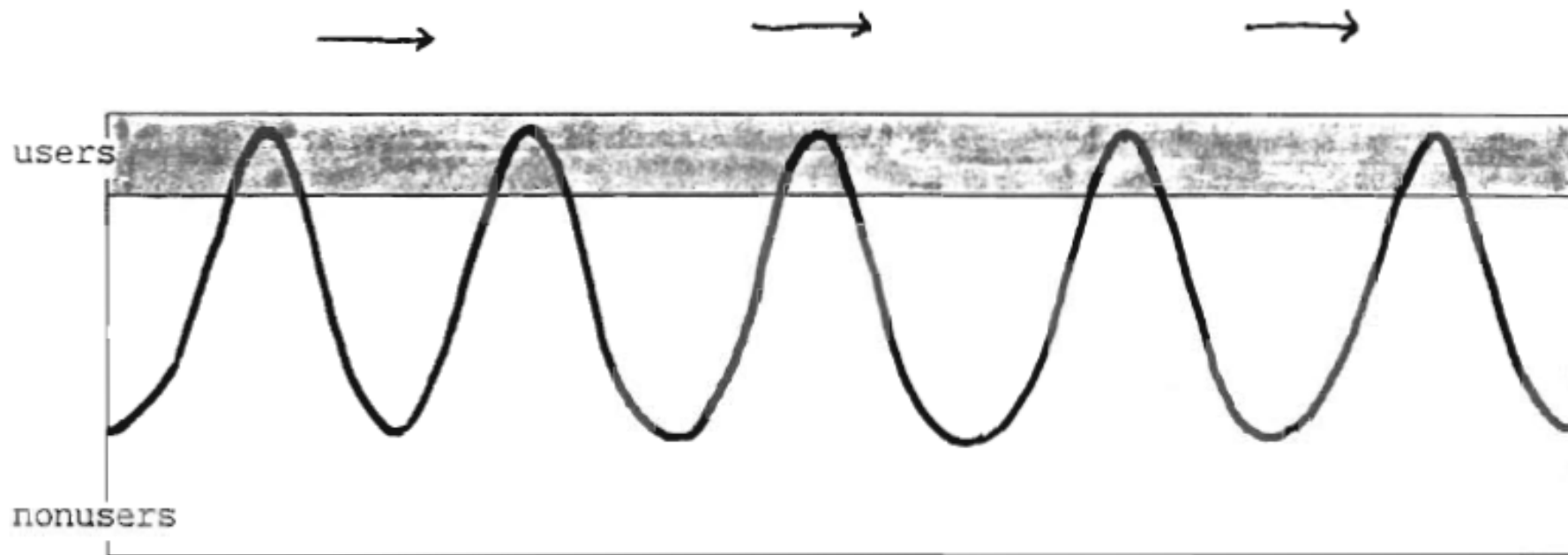


Source: 1992 Farafenni survey

NSURNO 2834069.

Age +/- 24. 3 pregnancies. 3 surviving children.

“You take family planning [Western contraceptives] for spacing and if it happens naturally your child is alright, there is no need to try other methods. It would duplicate things and you may not come to know which has affected most. I am contented with my birth intervals.... I do not ‘menses’ when breast-feeding until the child is able to walk. I normally resume ‘contact’ forty days after delivery. My children are healthy”



Use of Contraceptives for Child-Spacing

Bigger problems in time.

- Western views of fertility and the female life course

APRIL 15, 2002

MIDDLE EAST: BUSH'S BIG GAMBLE

TIME



Babies vs. Career

WHICH SHOULD COME FIRST
FOR WOMEN WHO WANT BOTH?
The harsh facts about FERTILITY



Week in Review

Section 4

Timeless

Buying Years for Women on the Biological Clock

By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG

THERE is perhaps no more prescient issue in medicine than the quandary of infertile specialists tinkering with the biological clock. With each official warning over their latest technological triumph, the apparent reproductive immortality of a 33-year-old ballerina who suffered from ovarian cysts. Doctors removed her remaining ovary, from the uterus and, two years later, reintroduced it. Now, they say, she is producing eggs again.

The cautionary story follows the same plot line as every other tale of modern biotechnology, a quest that begins in 1964 with the birth of the first test tube baby, Louise Brown. The drama quickly unfolds as follows: Whizzbang scientists develop new technology for vitro fertilization, created

eggs, frozen eggs, frozen embryos that makes it possible for childless women to become old childless women to conceive. Multiple clinics require multiple potential abuse. Media circus surrounds family life again.

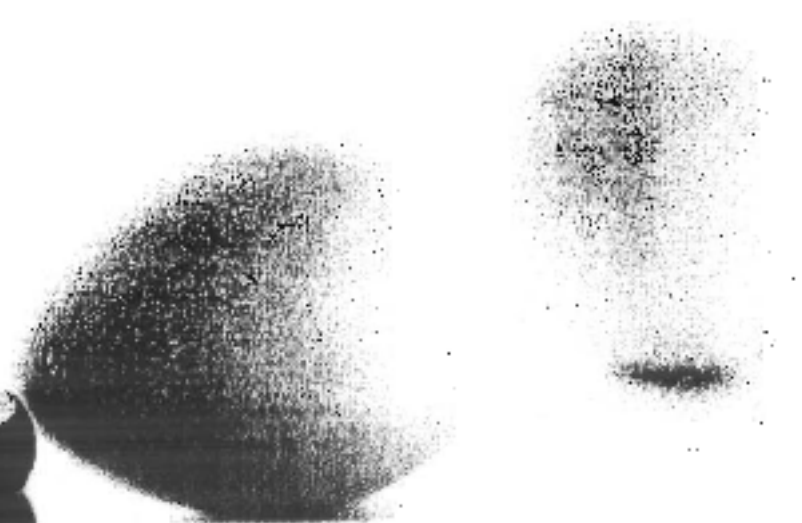
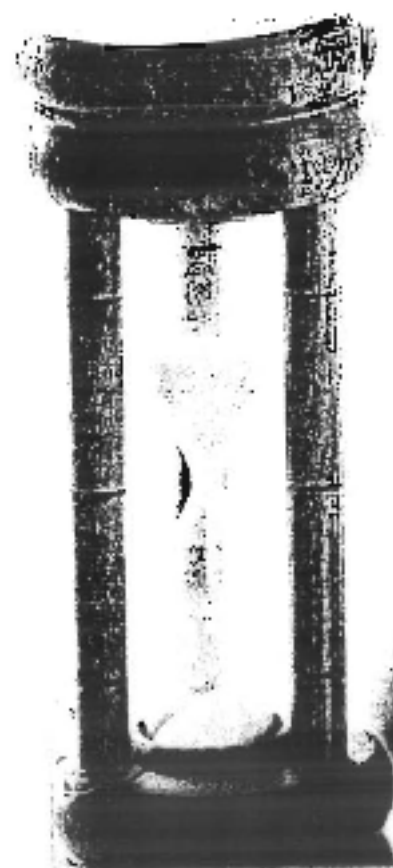
Indeed, the most remarkable thing about the supposed end of the biological clock may be how little revolutionary the reproductive revolution has been. In fact, of course created eggs, and artificial quadruplets, says Seligman could never have envisioned, like who gets custody of the frozen embryos when the couple gets divorced? And it's true that parents' right of some procedures are beginning to resemble grandparent's rights. But as Barbara Katz Rothman, a sociologist at City University of New York, says, babies will wear their diapers, "Babies still need help with their tooth brushing. And the social order has not particularly changed."

Science is poised to recast the old image of motherhood.

Far more people have taken the old-fashioned way. In 1997, the most recent year for which statistics are available, 14,763 babies were born in the United States as a result of in vitro fertilization, which accounts for most births through assisted reproductive technology. That is equivalent to one percent of the nearly 2.6 million babies born that year. Among 45- to 49-year-olds, according to the National Center for Health Statistics, the birth rate was 4 babies for every 10,000 women. That is less than the rate in 1973, when it was 5 babies per 10,000.

Why then does the technology provide such a visceral reaction? For many, some never will death are feared, but death when they lay is death, not life. Certainly the new technology adds the prospect of extending reproductive options of motherhood, work and family, and redrawing old images of fertility and youth to reflect a double standard: the idea of older mothers seems much more problematic than the reality of older fathers, perhaps because our imagination doesn't necessarily require thinking with nature. The biological clock has always been predicated on the cold scientific fact that a woman's eggs deteriorate as she ages. Science has not yet put the clock out of business, but it could. And that is what gets some people nervous.

A LREADY, egg donation, in which a patient conceives with another woman's eggs, has made it possible for women — as many as three who can afford the steep fee — to spend more time building a career, or looking for the right mate, before having children. It has also made fatherhood possible for gay men, using egg donors and surrogate mothers, to have families. The promise of egg freezing is even more enticing. Imagine an 18-year-old girl banking her eggs. She could finish college, medical school, train in a specialty and start a practice before making plans to



479 a

Phase 2 of Birth Intervals Study:

The “contingency” model of the body:

Managing health across bodily trauma events

Contraceptive use purposes

- Birth intervals – “spacing”
- Life course – managing “aging”

- Contingency, bodily decline model of fertility
- (or, “maternal depreciation”)

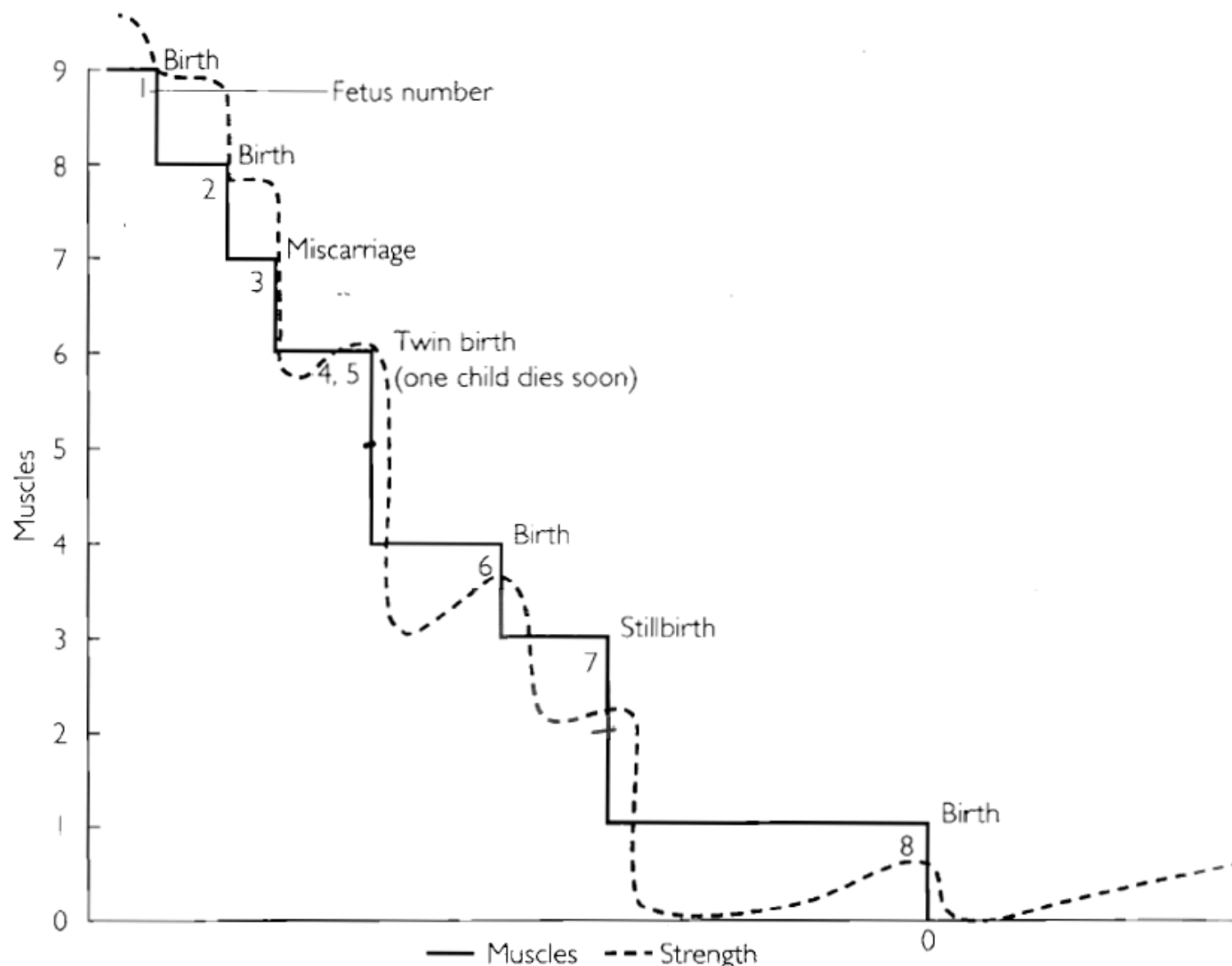


Fig. 6.1 Hypothetical case of expenditure of reproductive "muscles" and strength over a lifetime

How do we know this is right?

- Tests:

- “The number of children I have borne in this compound makes me feel ‘tied.’
- I have (had) 5 children with this husband: 2 died and 3 are alive.... I’m more tied than my co-wife, because she has only two children and I have (had) 5”
- (R. 13)

NSURNO	AGE	HMHUSB	PREGS	DEAD	NLIVE	SURV	MUSRED	HMP
2215030	33	1	8	1	3	4	4	0

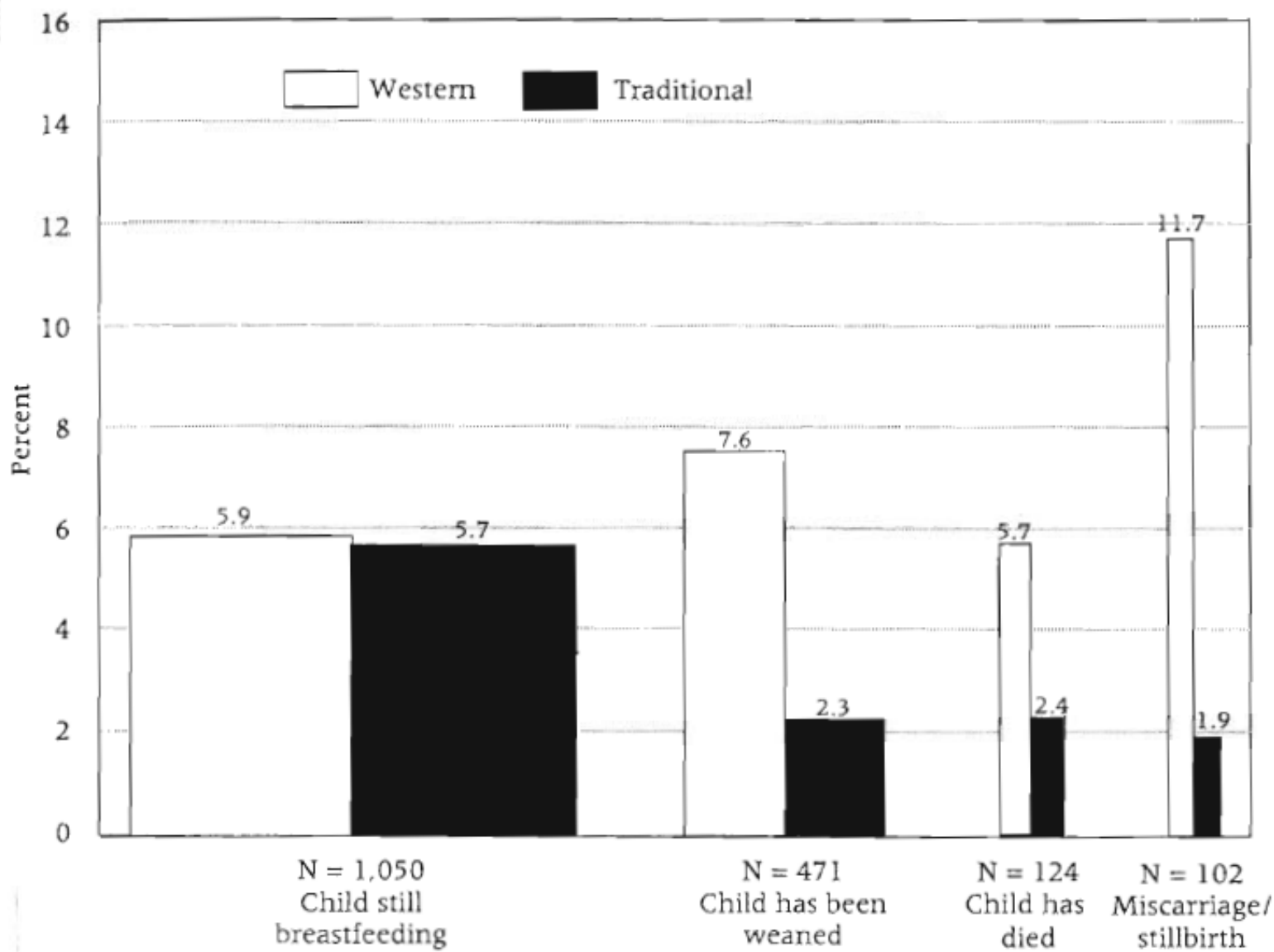
Now I'm with my 8th child, very soon I'll come to my old stage, hence I have lost so many muscles and strength just by bearing children.

12. how many more for husb? 0

13. Why? Because I've gone under lots of difficult pregnancies, especially three abortions I had before my live births. Now I want to stop bearing and take care of my alive children properly so that they can be good looking in the future. For me I will also be able to regain my health and strength also retain my stage for a long period. But, if I continue bearing I will get old easily and might have other difficulties later.

14. what would you do if remarried? I will not bear any child for him. I have come across many difficulties during my former pregnancies by my husband. Now I want to rest forever in bearing so that I can regain my health and strength before getting to my old stage. To bear many children easily makes you old. I think that if a new man loves me he will really accept my decision towards this problem.

FIGURE 1 Women under age 45 using Western or traditional contraception according to the status of last pregnancies ending January 1988–April 1992



SOURCE: North Bank survey, 1992

**Why might a husband (or mother-in-law)
object to a wife using contraceptives?**

Wives' reproductive life spans through their husbands' life

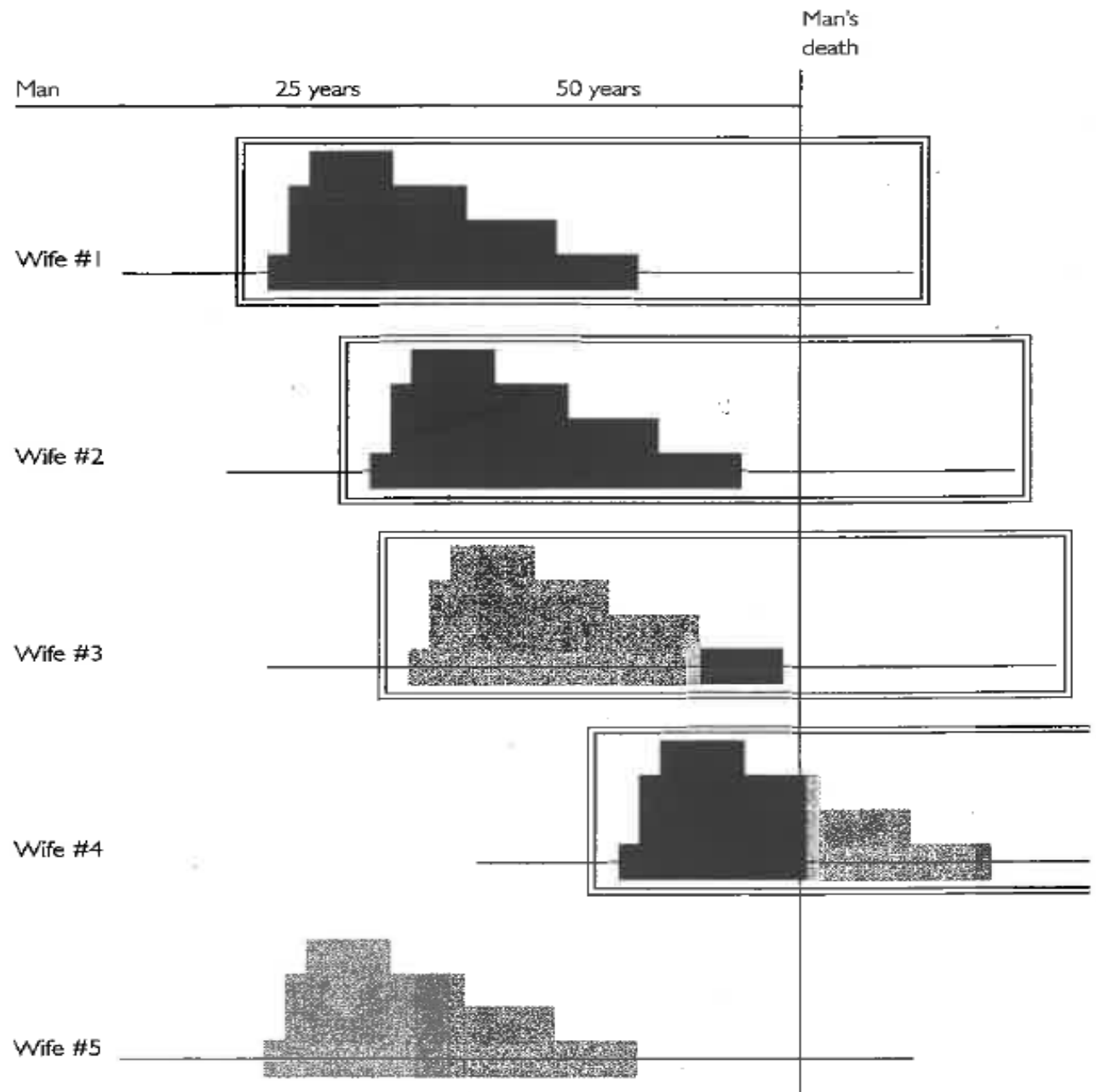
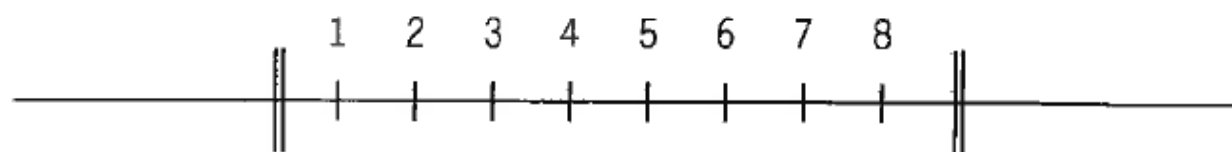


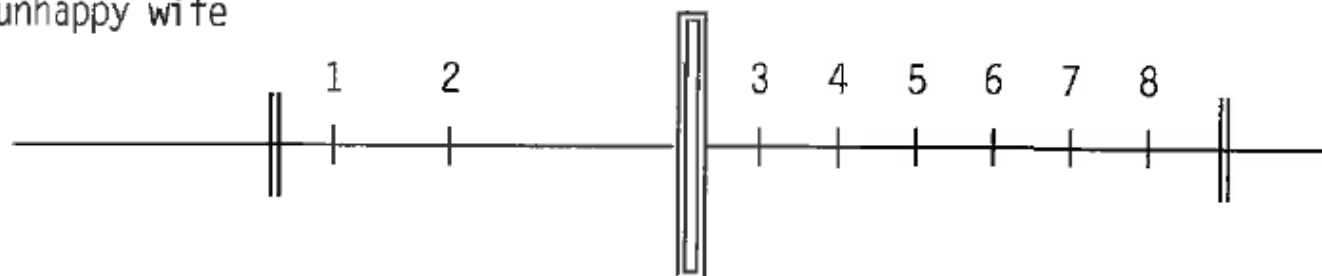
Fig. 8.3 The domestic career of a man and his sequence of wives

Why would a husband/mother-in-law object to contraceptives?

happy wife



unhappy wife



Husband's vs. wife's view of birth interval length



(Man's view)



B1

B2

B3

B4

B5

B6

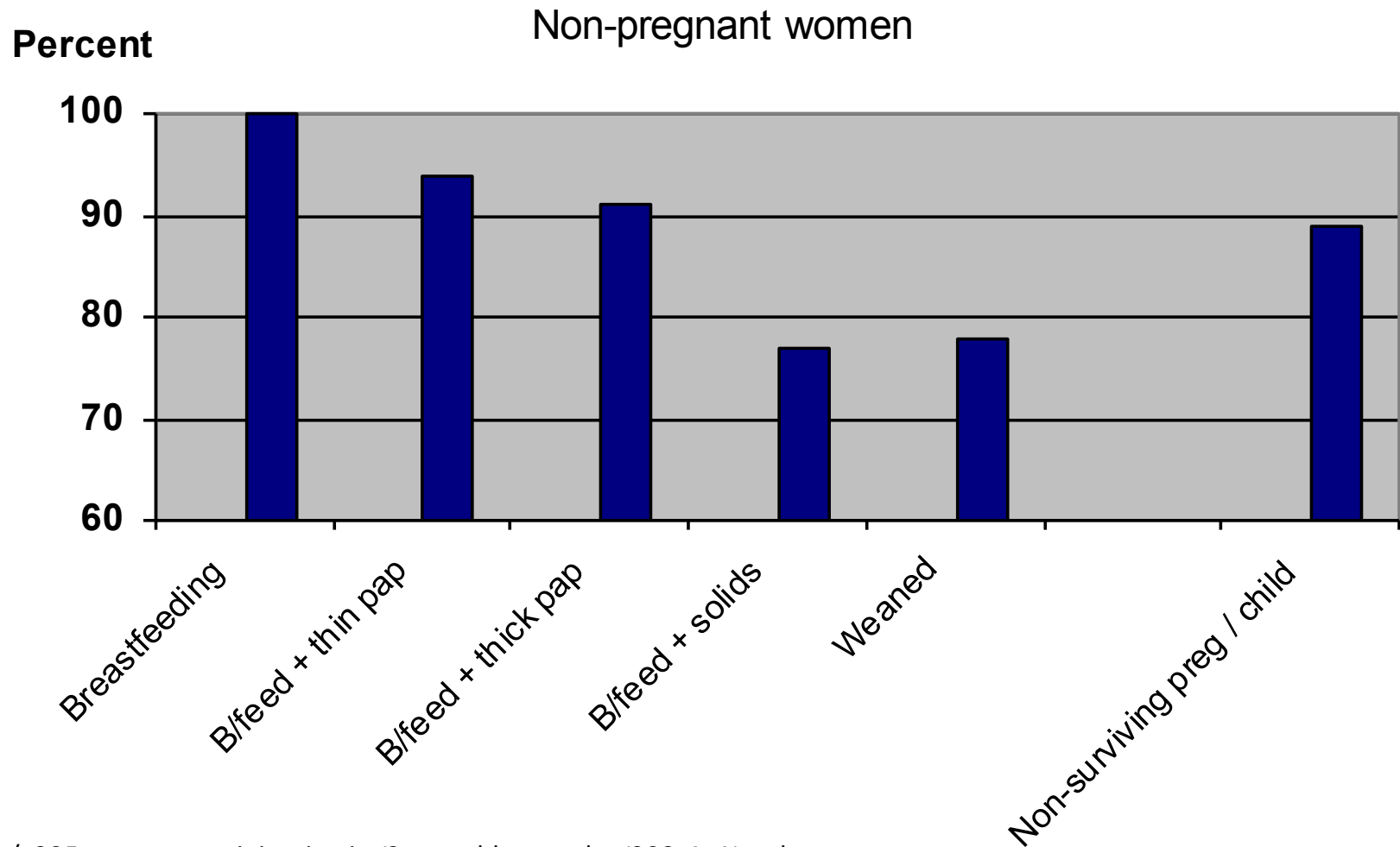
(Woman's view)

"stalling"

"recuperating"

Adapted from: Caroline Bledsoe and William F. Hanks, "Legitimate recuperation or illicit stalling: contraceptive use and the divided man in rural Gambia." Paper presented at the Population Association of America, Chicago. 1998

Husband's knowledge of wife's use of Western contraceptives by child's feeding stage



+/- 325 women participating in 13 monthly rounds, 1993-4. North Bank, The Gambia. Each woman might be counted multiple times.

- How I would rewrite a Western fertility survey. Not directed at a disconnected individual woman, but asking the woman about her pregnancies by the men with whom she had them.
- Similarly with men.

Women's reproductive lives, relative to men

(from the Gambian study, 1992-95)

- **Woman's questionnaire [Schematic]**

- All the men you have been married to:

	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>
• <u>For each man:</u>				
• Pregnancies	_____	_____	_____	_____
• Live births	_____	_____	_____	_____
• Stillbirths	_____	_____	_____	_____
• Abortions	_____	_____	_____	_____
• Hard deliveries	_____	_____	_____	_____
• Total "muscles cut"	_____	_____	_____	_____

- **How many more pregnancies do you want for the current man?**

Men's reproductive lives, relative to women

(from the Gambian study, 1992-95)

	<u>Names of all your wives</u>			
	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>
•				
•				
• For each wife:				
• Her stage when she came to you	_____	_____	_____	_____
• # Pregnancies for you	_____	_____	_____	_____
• # Children for you	_____	_____	_____	_____
• Her present stage of “muscle loss”	_____	_____	_____	_____
• Her last child’s feeding stage	_____	_____	_____	_____
• Want her to be pregnant now?	_____	_____	_____	_____
• If no, what are you doing to keep her from getting pregnant?	_____	_____	_____	_____
• How many more pregnancies would you like her to have?	_____	_____	_____	_____

Migration, movement

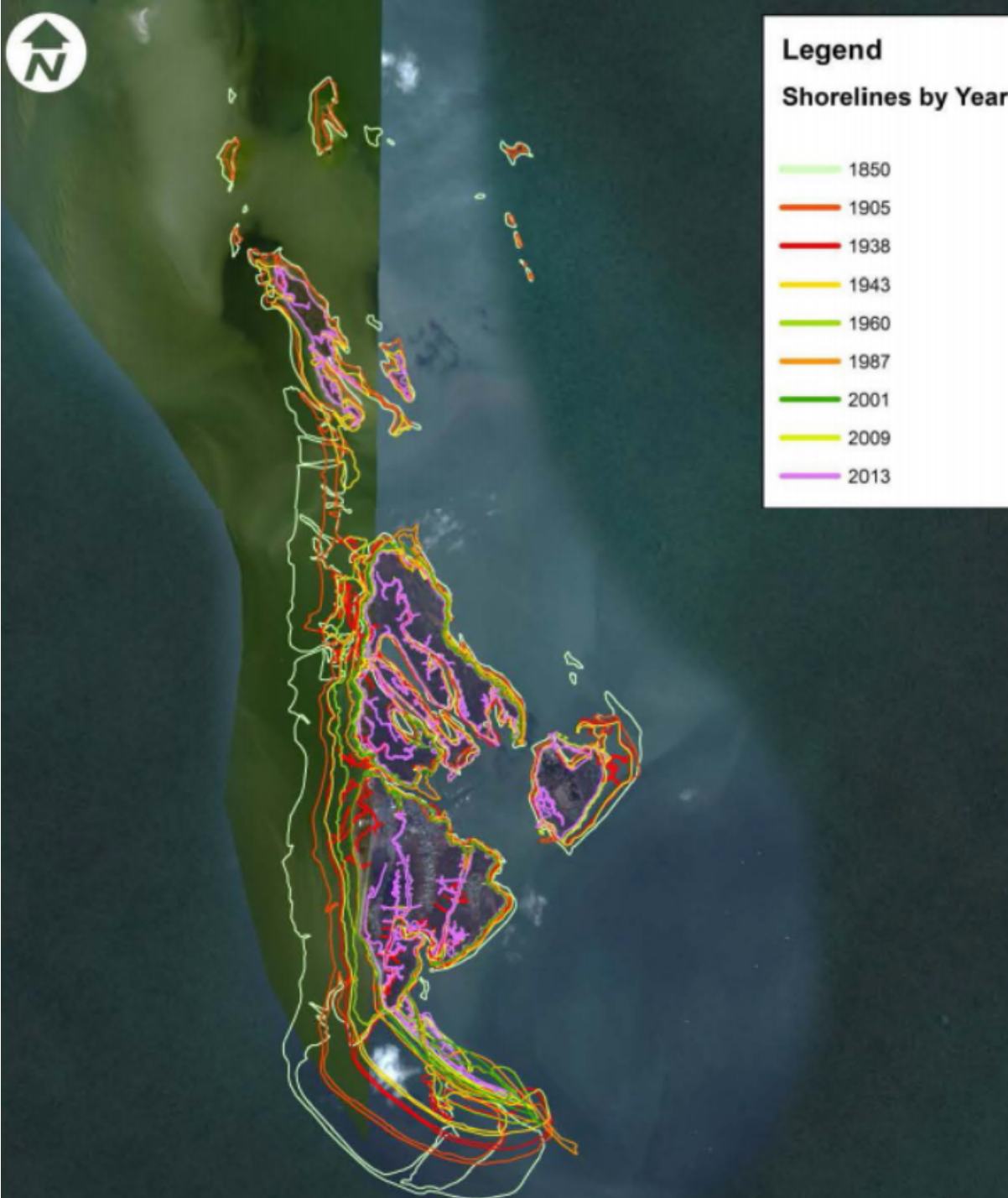
- Perceptions, motives, rationales
- Policies
- The puzzle of Tangier Island:
- Why should people who are likely to be the first climate refugees in the US have voted so strongly for Trump -- someone who has denied that climate change is either real or the cause of their plight?

The background of the book cover is a photograph of a small, weathered fishing boat on a calm sea. The boat is positioned in the center of the frame, slightly below the horizontal midpoint. It has a dark hull and a light-colored upper section. A person is visible on the deck, leaning over the side. The sky is a mix of soft orange, yellow, and pale blue, suggesting a sunset or sunrise. The water is a deep blue with gentle ripples.

CHESAPEAKE REQUIEM

A YEAR WITH THE
WATERMEN OF
VANISHING
TANGIER ISLAND

EARL SWIFT



Tangier Island has been losing ground to erosion for hundreds of years.



play

Destroyed crab shacks are seen in this aerial view over Tangier Island, Virginia.

<https://www.ghanagrio.com/news/435684-tech-trump-told-the-mayor-of-a-disappearing-island-not-to-worry-about-sea-level-rise-%E2%80%94-these-photos-show-how-grave-the-situation-has-become.html>



From New Yorker article - photo by Gorden Campbell

- Scientists say Tangier is being flooded by interlocking elements: Sea level rise, global warming and “glacial isostatic adjustment” (the relative sinking of a region as adjacent lands rebound from the weight of glaciers). Tangiermen insist the cause of creeping inundation is what they see every day, simple “erosion” which an equally simple dyke or seawall could halt.
- ...
- The island became so famous for its plight and characters that President Trump phoned. (Tangier gave him 87 percent of its votes.) As Mayor ‘Ooker’ Eskeridge related, “He said ‘Your island has been there for hundreds of years and I believe your island will be there for hundreds more.’” To which author [Swift](#) adds, “Many islanders are reassured by this.” ...
- Kopper, review of the book, Washington Times



David Schulte, from the Army Corps of Engineers, on the beach in what's left of the Tangier region called Uppards – image from the NY Times – photo by Andrew Moore



A backyard of a home on Tangier Island gives way to marsh, a trend affecting more and more homes, as erosion, land subsidence and sea level rise afflict the island. Photo taken on Saturday, July 1, 2017 – image and text from The Virginian-Pilot – by Steve Earley

Trump told the mayor of a disappearing island not to worry about sea-level rise. Here's what it's like to live there.

Submitted by Tech Insider on October 2, 2018 - 9:00am





Cameron Evans, 17, looks for artifacts from Canaan, one of the communities that once existed on Uppards. This stretch of shoreline, about a 10-minute boat ride from tangier Island's harbor, has been receding at a rate of 15 feet or more a year recently – image from The Virginia-Pilot – photo by Steve Earley – Friday, June 30, 2017

Various videos on Tangier Island (Chesapeake Bay) and its imminent disappearance

<https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/will-the-traditions-of-tiny-tangier-island-survive-or-sink>
(9+ mins)

→ **CBS:**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TA5cq6JinoY> (5:06)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qfeVbQ8fbw4> (2:03)

Global warming denial from tangier island Virginia

→ **France24**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qw1AokdZWPU> 6:17

The mayor of Tangier Island, vs Al Gore:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qfeVbQ8fbw4>

(2:03)

→ **Samantha Bee**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WZoVYl9ltcA>

(6:17)