# Anxieties of Reproduction: Narratives of (In)fertility in Sierra Leonean Films

#### Ashwini Shridhar

Humphrey School of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota-Twin Cities

#### **Abstract**

Children, and therefore fertility, are integral to the construction of the ideal family in Sierra Leone. The family unit holds great importance in people's everyday lives and motivations. While many metrics of family formation, such as fertility rates and contraceptive prevalence have been explored in demographic surveys and studies conducted in Sierra Leone, the social and political processes that enable the formation of family in Sierra Leone remain understudied in the discipline. In this paper, I attempt to understand these social processes in a manner that emphasizes their political and cultural nature. Here, I ask 1) How do Sierra Leonean films help elucidate the socio-cultural and political processes involved in family formation in Sierra Leone? 2) How can we incorporate methods and methodologies that emphasize contextually grounded knowledge to push the boundaries of traditional demographic research. To do this, I conduct a discourse analysis of narrative films made by Sierra Leoneans. This novel approach offers an opportunity to understand some of the silences in demographic research (such as infertility and infecundity) along with a deeper understanding of and potential for disturbing some of the concepts taken for granted by the discipline.

This draft is the author's unpublished work and is shared only within the context of the International Population Conference 2025. Please do not share this document without the express written consent of the author.

#### 1. Background

Children, and therefore fertility, are an important part of society and integral to the construction of the ideal family in Sierra Leone. The family unit holds great importance in people's everyday lives and motivations. While many metrics of family formation, such as fertility rates and contraceptive prevalence have been explored in demographic surveys and studies conducted in Sierra Leone, the social processes that enable the formation of family in Sierra Leone remain understudied in demography. This project has two aims: 1) elucidate the processes of fertility and infertility that mediate family formation in Sierra Leone using narratives presented in Sierra Leonean films; 2) incorporate methods and methodologies that emphasize contextually grounded knowledge to push the boundaries of traditional demographic research.

The discipline of demography has a tremendous influence on policymaking in countries around the world (Hodgson, 1983). This influence is not limited to matters of population censuses or macrolevel population growth; it extends to sexual, reproductive, and maternal health. In Sierra Leone, the United Nations Population Fund is one of the biggest government partners involved in contraception provision and family planning, and sexual and reproductive health (*UNFPA Sierra Leone*, n.d.). Demographic research relies on large and detailed demographic surveys that measure aspects of fertility, such as fertility rate, age at first birth, parity, birth spacing, and contraceptive prevalence. This emphasis on quantitative, positivist, and "objective" data collection and analysis has supported demography's place as a 'policy science' (Hodgson, 1983). It is both incredibly valuable and problematic that demography has the ear of policy makers. Demographers have tremendous potential to enact policy changes through their rigorous scientific analysis. But the narrow definition of scientific rigor has also done considerable damage to the ability of the discipline to be critical and reflexive of itself (Strong et al., 2023).

The work undertaken in demography is highly political, as evidenced by the influence of demography on population policies historically and contemporarily. However, the data collected and analyzed by demographers is typically seen as objective, neutral, and apolitical. It is important to recognize that the demographic processes of fertility, mortality, and migration are deeply social processes and do not occur in a narrow vacuum that allows for apolitical measurement. Using qualitative and critical methods to study demographic topics can help expand the scientific potential of demography as well as allow for a critical examination of the discipline's place and role in policy.

In this paper, I explore these social processes in a manner that emphasizes their political and cultural nature. I use the narratives depicted in Sierra Leonean films to flesh out the discourses around fertility and infertility. In doing so, I aim to expand and clarify ideas around agency, societal desires and responsibilities that mediate the formation of family, and on a larger

scale, population dynamics in Sierra Leone. How do Sierra Leonean films help elucidate the socio-cultural and political processes involved in family formation in Sierra Leone?

In population policies, fertility analysis, and demographic literature, women<sup>1</sup> are typically the key demographic of focus. Survey questions largely target women participants as family planning, sexual and reproductive health policies also target women. As a result, simplistic survey questions often reduce women's complex beliefs, experiences, and identities and often disproportionately scrutinize the roles and behaviors of women. Demographic studies also tend to obscure men's roles in family planning, sexual and reproductive health. By starting not from a subset of the population, but instead from the stories that people tell, we can understand the spaces that men and women occupy and include a wider spectrum of identities and processes to understand population dynamics.

I focus mainly on non-documentary films made in Sierra Leone in this analysis. Narrative films are worlds within themselves: with their own language, culture, vocabulary, and in-world understandings of what is allowed and what isn't allowed. Narratives told through films can also play a normative role, especially in the context of Sierra Leone's history with respect to films. The film industry nests under the Ministry of Information, and films were first introduced to the country during British colonial times as a means of spreading important information on social programs, medical public service announcements, and influencing socially desired behavior. (Dr. J. Spencer, personal communication, May 27, 2025). Films are a canvas on which Sierra Leoneans depict desired social order. They can be expressions of societal transgressions and cautionary tales about the consequences of these transgressions. By examining the world of films and the societies they showcase, we can analyze demographic processes underpinned by the specific politico-cultural context. More importantly, we can expand on demographic concepts and processes that often get neglected in traditional demographic research.

Infertility and infecundity are often ignored in demographic research. Being unable to bear children has tremendous social and psychological consequences for individuals and families in Sierra Leone, and West Africa as a whole (James et al., 2018). While there have been some studies on infertility in other parts of Sub-Saharan Africa (Dhont et al., 2011; Dierickx et al., 2018; Donkor et al., 2017; Tabong & Adongo, 2013), infertility is understudied in Sierra Leone. Women traditionally bear a larger psychosocial burden of infertility due to both social stigma and lack of reproductive health facilities.

West African reproductive health policies largely ignore the issue of infertility as the region is traditionally framed as having sustained high fertility (Dierickx et al., 2018; James et al., 2018). Family planning policies focus mostly on the provision of contraception and ways to prevent pregnancies rather than assisted reproductive technologies (ART) to alleviate infertility.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Women here primarily refers to cisgender women. So far in my work in Sierra Leone, I have not come across dedicated policy or academic focus on transgender women. So to keep it focused on what I have seen so far, when I refer to women, it is cisgender women.

ART is only accessible to wealthier individuals in these countries, who are able to seek treatment in other countries where it is more easily accessible (Asemota & Klatsky, 2015). Despite infertility's high psychosocial burden in this region, it has not received adequate policy attention (Afferri et al., 2022). In fact, infertility is a health issue that has so far not received any attention in Sierra Leone's healthcare sector (Ministry of Health and Sanitation, 2023).

In this paper, I elucidate demographic processes and concepts using narratives depicted in films made by and in Sierra Leone. I pay specific attention to how fertility and infertility (infecundity) mediate family formation in these stories and in Sierra Leonean society writ large. To do this, I conduct a discourse analysis of narrative films made by Sierra Leoneans. I examine the filmmaking industry in Sierra Leone and the stories they choose to tell within their sociopolitical context. Through this examination, I build out the cultural understandings of fertility, infertility, and family formation in Sierra Leone and contribute to a more contextually grounded demographic study. In this preliminary analysis, I focus on the discourse analysis of these narrative films. I present the history of the film industry in Sierra Leone, explain the methods I use to create the final list of films for analysis, and the approaches I use to analyze them. The themes that emerge from this analysis are presented in the Results section. In the final section, I outline the conclusions and planned next steps.

#### 2. History of Film in Sierra Leone

Sierra Leone shows up as a subject of many documentary films and some narrative feature films made by entirely Western film production establishments, or as a collaboration with Western filmmakers. The most well-known example of a film about Sierra Leone, the critically acclaimed *Blood Diamond* (Zwick, 2006), starring Leonardo Di Caprio and Jennifer Connelly, and Djimon Hounsou, was not shot in Sierra Leone and did not feature any Sierra Leonean cast or crew. There are many examples of documentaries about Sierra Leone's civil war and the Ebola outbreak of 2014-2016. Some of these were made by homegrown media companies, with some collaborations with Western media companies. I came to be part of the film world in Sierra Leone thorough my partner, who is an active member of the Sierra Leonean film industry. Through my previous research work in Sierra Leone, I have built a social network with people who work in various capacities in the local film industry.

The homegrown film industry, with its own small-scale production and distribution has existed since British colonial times. However, it is difficult to find written records of this history in Sierra Leone. I had some informal conversations with a former Minister of Information in the Sierra Leone administration to gather more insight into the history of the film industry in the country. This person has been intimately involved with the film industry in the country. The film industry in Sierra Leone got its start as part of the British colonial administration. The main function of films at this point was to provide information for public services. Due to this function, the film sector has been nested under the Ministry of Information, even after the

country became independent $^2$ . Even today, the film sector's policymaking and regulation is contained within the Ministry of Information and Civic Education.

Before the 2000s, there were many cinema halls in the capital city Freetown and each major city in the rest of the districts also contained one or two film halls. These film theaters primarily screened Western, Indian, and other African films from Ghana, Kenya, and Nigerian films. Going to the film halls was an extremely popular pastime. The first film to be fully locally produced in Sierra Leone was in the early 1990s. Prior to this, there was an influx of Nigerian filmmakers and members of Sierra Leone's diaspora who had settled in Nigeria producing and setting films in Sierra Leone. There was a concerted attempt by Sierra Leonean diaspora to tap into the much-larger Nigerian film market to distribute these films (Dr. J. Spencer, personal communication, May 27, 2025).

The Sierra Leonean film industry witnessed a boom in the early 2000s, with the costs of production coming down with the introduction of more digital technology. While the war affected the film halls in other provinces, in the capital Freetown, digital distribution technology also meant that film halls became less popular and consequently closed (Dr. J. Spencer, personal communication, May 27, 2025). Smaller scale entertainment centers, with a VCR or DVD player and a TV, started gaining more popularity in the early 2000s. These play movies from all over the world, and more frequently, they screen live football matches.

At this point in 2025, there is one private film theater attached to a luxury hotel in the capital city of Freetown. In the cities and towns outside of the capital, there are still small entertainment halls that primarily screen live football matches and occasionally play movies, but no major cinema theaters. Distribution of films in Sierra Leone post the decline of film halls has been primarily through DVDs and in the past few years, on YouTube.

There has been a deliberate effort to formalize the film industry in the country. The Ministry of Information and Civic Education has been working on building a national film policy that centrally manages different film operations, boosts training for film technicians, and provides permits and other regulatory processes (Awoko News, 2021). The film industry has operated so far largely without much centralized attention, regulation, or control. This analysis comes at a time when the Sierra Leonean film industry is attempting to become more established and regulated. This may potentially also lead to a change in the kinds of stories that get told post the establishment of the centralized film policy. This analysis can provide a snapshot of the kinds of stories that were being told without much regulation, content moderation, or government oversight.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sierra Leone gained independence from British rule in April 1961 and became a republic in 1971.

#### 3. Methods

#### 3.1. Methodology

I primarily rely on discourse analysis methods to conduct my analysis. Discourse analysis is premised on social constructionist approaches, meaning that the social world is not predetermined, but actively produced (Jorgensen & J.Phillips, 2002). Applying this approach to my analysis means that I examine the various forms of language used in the films made in Sierra Leone, and how they constitute meanings of fertility, infertility, and family.

Discourse analysis is a flexible, iterative, and reflexive method that allows for disturbing the taken-for-granted definitions used in demographic research. Discourse analysis methods have been previously used in demographic research to reexamine concepts such as pronatalism and population aging using media sources (Lundgren & Ljuslinder, 2011; Pérez-Caramés, 2017). These works trace the historical evolution of ideas around population aging in European contexts (Sweden and Spain); they explain how population aging went from a somewhat neutral idea to a problem to be solved with deliberate pronatalist policies. Similarly, discourse analysis approaches have been used to examine the evolving narratives around the 'boy' child in Kenya (Pike, 2020). Fictional work has also been analyzed to understand how demography as a discipline gets understood by members of the lay public (Basu, 2014). In demography, where contextual knowledge too often gets a lower priority in favor of standardizable and comparable estimates, discourse analysis provides a way to incorporate historical, political, and subjective knowledge.

Additionally, I use feminist film theories to examine questions of agency and power within the films I analyze. Feminist film theory developed in the 1970s to understand how women are represented in films and the role of the spectator, adopting principles of psychoanalysis and structuralism (Thornham, 1999). In this work, I derive from some of these theories to examine how women are represented, what roles they occupy within film narratives, and how their relationships with men and other members of society in these stories help clarify the meanings of fertility and infertility in this context. While film theory traditionally includes the analysis of the visual language deployed in films, in this preliminary analysis I focus mainly on characterization, dialogue, and plot.

#### 3.2. Selection of films to be analyzed.

I start by creating a database of existing films that are publicly available in Sierra Leone. For the sake of this preliminary analysis, I focus primarily on films that can be accessed through YouTube. While I understand that this may not encompass all the films made in Sierra Leone, this provides a more accessible way to watch many films. In subsequent analysis, I will include films that cannot be accessed through YouTube, but are available through physical media such as DVDs, or obtain physical copies directly from filmmakers. Another limitation of this method is identifying the year that films were made in. When films get uploaded to YouTube, it is not often done by the film production companies themselves. Older films are uploaded without much

information on when they were made and released. Wherever possible, I add further details on when the films were made but for a significant number of films this information is not available and is difficult to find. This preliminary list contained approximately 57 movies.

A unique feature of Sierra Leonean films is that the story is split into multiple feature length parts (~70 minutes). For example, the movie *The Ashes* has two parts, each close to 72 minutes in length. These are frequently uploaded at the same time on YouTube. The plot picks up right when the previous part ends and, in some cases, it is clear that both these films were shot simultaneously but split into two parts. Many movies in my list are serialized in this manner. I count each part of the movie as a separate film for analysis.

The films that I analyze are in English, Krio, or a combination of the two. Most films do not have English subtitles or subtitles in other languages. However, I have working fluency in Krio, so I was able to follow along to a reasonable level of comprehension. In some instances, when there are some other local Sierra Leonean regional languages mixed in, I took the help of a research assistant who helped translate those sequences to the best of their ability. The films were first screened for video and audio quality. In cases where the video and audio are extremely difficult to understand, I omit those films from analysis.

After a quick initial screening, I decided to omit comedy films from the analysis. The comedy films I saw were primarily physical comedies. There was generally a theme for the movie, but the plotlines and sequences were disjointed. Identifying common themes and worldbuilding was not straightforward, so at this point in the analysis, I do not include comedy films. The films I include are primarily dramas, fantasy, thrillers, or some combination of these genres. My final list of films that have been viewed and preliminarily analyzed so far contains 22 films. The list of the films that were analyzed with a brief plot summary and other details are included in Appendix A.

Once the final list of films has been selected, I watched the films in full once. Here, I watch to get an idea of the general plot and overall story. After this initial viewing, I go back to specific scenes that expand storylines related to family formation, fertility, and infertility. In these closer watches, I start identifying and building the general themes that repeat across films. At this stage of analysis, I have identified overarching tropes and themes that repeat across the movies. These themes are explained further in the Results section. In the next stage of analysis, I plan to use specific films and scenes to compare and juxtapose with each other to examine the themes I have identified in more depth.

Sierra Leonean films have a meandering storyline which generally follows one or two protagonists interspersed with tangential and detailed sequences with the supporting characters. I classify the films by settings: 1) rural/village setting 2) urban/city setting. Further explanation of the differences between these settings is explained later in this paper.

It is also important to note from my preliminary analysis and informal conversations with people in the film industry that productions are sometimes driven more by practical needs than story needs. This is not to say that films are made without a script or story in mind. However, there are other practical aspects of filmmaking that might shape the final product. This highlights the political nature of narrative-building and allows this analysis to emphasize the constructive nature of these discourses. From my conversations, I learned that film productions are usually a 'friends-and-family' type operation. People serve multiple roles—cast members are also crew members, there are usually no auditions held for roles. Scripts are written with certain friends already in mind to play specific roles. Due to scheduling reasons, cast members that show up once as a key character may never come back on screen. Films are funded with personal funds by the director, or the writers. Often parts are written in for friends who can pitch in some money to fund the production.

These conversations provide further context and help me build reflexivity into my analysis. In subsequent viewings of these films, I hope to identify some ways through which practical conditions of the filmmaking process appear on screen. At a later stage of this project, I am hoping to further expand on this aspect of filmmaking and how it affects the narratives that get finally depicted on screen by conducting key informant interviews with filmmakers in Sierra Leone.

#### 4. Results

In the previous section, I outlined how the films were selected for the final analysis. I placed the films broadly in two categories based on their settings- rural/village and urban/city. This categorization provides a useful way to demarcate some of the genre beats that can be expected. Both settings often contain fantastical and supernatural elements, but these elements frequently play a more central role in films set in Villages.

The films set in rural settings occur over an unspecified time. There are no depictions of modern appliances or allusions to a specific year or period of history. In these films, it is clear from the costuming, location design, and formality of some of the dialogue, that this story occurs sometime in the past. There are some clear differences in the types of topics that can be explored in each setting. Typically, the central conflicts that emerge in rural-setting films are existential, with more emphasis given to legacy and preservation of their existing society. In urban-setting films, the stories emphasize individualized stories, with only 2-3 characters in focus. The central conflicts here are typically more relevant to romantic betrayals and individual desires.

Below, I outline some of the overarching themes and patterns that I have identified so far after viewing the screened list of films. These draw generally from all the films and are admittedly quite broad and preliminary. They also overlap with each other in different ways. Subsequent analysis will further synthesize these themes to elaborate on the processes involved in family formation in Sierra Leone.

#### • What roles do women play?

As a first step, I identify what roles women play in these films. There are women of all ages represented in these films, except for small children (this is elaborated on in a later bullet point). Young women are typically love interests and this drives the plot in a lot of rural-setting movies. It is unclear if they are involved in any specific occupations and they are mostly depicted doing domestic work such as cooking and fetching water. In urban-setting movies, young women are still love interests but are also shown working in a variety of jobs. Some sell goods in the city market, some work in corporate offices. In most of the films, the role of the women is relegated to being the love interest and propelling the plot in that way. Young women compete for romantic attention from the male lead, and in that process, manipulate or do evil schemes against their rivals or their male romantic interest.

For older women, who look to be past childbearing age, there is a wider variety of roles portrayed. Some are part of the village chief's council and advise them on important village matters, some are mothers of the main lead giving them sage advice. In some cases, older women are pitted against the younger female character as a villain in their story.

#### • Punishments for transgressions

Here, I observe who gets punished for transgressions and in what way. Typically, the punishments are borne by the female characters. Punishments are usually banishment to a mystical world for disobeying their elders or gods in the fantasy genre. In some cases, it is social ostracization for seducing a male character to cheat on their partner. In severe cases, the female characters die because of their transgressions such as infidelity.

For male characters, the transgressions they are punished for are greed or coveting what somebody else has. In some cases, these male characters who are covetous end up collaborating with their rivals, but largely, they are punished with social ostracization or death. In a few of the films, the male lead is punished for a transgression (example- carrying on a relationship with the chief's daughter, the princess) but this strengthens his overall arc, and the punishment is reverted to satisfy the needs of the overall plot.

#### • Who gets to self-actualize?

This is a common trope in almost all films. Unless a film is explicitly focused on female characters where the men are often depicted as aggressors and exploiters, films start with a focus on the main female character, but then turn into a quest for riches, love, or turn into a coming-of-age story for the male character.

These quests are full of obstacles that test their intelligence, loyalty, and courage. These journeys can start because they must save a woman from a supernatural being who has taken her or because she needs to be freed from a deal with the devil. They start the journey with a group of friends (and sometimes rivals), at each obstacle they lose members of their team and finally

emerge as the worthiest of riches, the affections of the female lead, and the approval of the society.

While the male leads are on this journey of self-actualization, the woman is mainly a catalyst for man's journey, and she is either in the spirit world waiting for him to free her, or she is waiting for him to come back.

#### • No children in movies- children haunt the plot

In these movies, there is a lot of importance placed on having children. This come through in the dialogue- where women express love by saying 'I want to have your child', romantic couples discuss their future in terms of the children they want to have. However, there are barely any children actually seen on screen. In all the films I have watched, there are about 2-3 that feature any children, including babies. This is perhaps for practical reasons, as children are difficult to manage on a film set.

Conversations about children are also dominated by the 'right' type of child. Usually, the desire for children is brought up in the context of extending the legacy of the chief. The next child, usually a male child, is what the village needs to continue their legacy and protect them from their enemies. Any children that exist previously are either sidelined because they are girls, or because they may not be their biological child. The desired child is the 'promised one' and inability to provide this also comes with negative ramifications for the women involved.

#### • Curse of infertility

The onus of producing children, and additionally a child that is worthy of carrying forward the name and legacy of the male chief, is shown to be the responsibility of the woman. Consequently, if the desired and worthy child is not produced, the shame and stigma is also borne by the woman. The legacy of the woman is not germane to the conflict in these films. Legacy holds legitimacy only if it follows the line of the man. In these films especially, the fertility potential of the chief is never in question. They have not had children so far because their wives are barren. Infertility is placed in direct conflict with ideas of longevity and legacy in these films.

Men are cursed because of infertility, because their name and legacy are threatened. But their physical bodies or their place in society are mostly secure. However, the curse of infertility for women comes with ostracization, or even death. In a few of the movies set in urban settings, the lack of desire to have children on the woman's side is also punished with ostracization and she is painted as someone without strong morals.

#### • Sexual violence

In some of these movies, sexual violence is depicted extremely graphically. This violence is always committed by men on women, and the consequences of these are also usually suffered by women. Even if in the plot, the perpetrator of this violence is eventually punished, there is an

outsized focus on the suffering of women. Sexual violence is shown as a way to stop women from falling outside the expected norms or attempting to reach beyond their limits.

#### 5. Conclusion and Next Steps

In this paper, I examine Sierra Leonean films to flesh out the discourses of fertility and infertility to better understand the processes involved in family formation in Sierra Leone. I examine films within their socio-political context to understand how these stories emerge from and add to the cultural understandings on the demographic processes involved in family formation in Sierra Leone. The eventual goal of this work is to juxtapose these cultural narratives with the population policies that are in play in Sierra Leone.

With this work, I am also attempting to showcase the utility of non-traditional data and methods in demographic research. This novel approach offers an opportunity to understand the silences in demographic research and provides a deeper understanding of some of the concepts taken for granted by the discipline.

#### Next steps

I will further synthesize some of these ideas and themes expressed above to build a clearer picture of how demographic processes are depicted and understood in Sierra Leonean society. At a later stage, I hope to conduct formal key informant interviews with filmmakers involved with some of the projects on my list. Additionally, I would like to screen a selected number of films for members of the public and conduct focus groups with members of this audience to understand how they may or may not resonate with the narratives depicted on screen.

#### 6. References

- Afferri, A., Allen, H., Booth, A., Dierickx, S., Pacey, A., & Balen, J. (2022). Barriers and facilitators for the inclusion of fertility care in reproductive health policies in Africa: A qualitative evidence synthesis. *Human Reproduction Update*, 28(2), 190–199. https://doi.org/10.1093/humupd/dmab040
- Asemota, O. A., & Klatsky, P. (2015). Access to Infertility Care in the Developing World: The Family Promotion Gap. *Seminars in Reproductive Medicine*, *33*, 017–022. https://doi.org/10.1055/s-0034-1395274
- Awoko News. (2021, March 4). *Government assures Film Council of an enviable Policy— Awoko Newspaper SL*. https://awokonewspapersl.com/government-assures-film-councilof-an-enviable-policy/, https://awokonewspapersl.com/government-assures-film-councilof-an-enviable-policy/
- Basu, A. M. (2014). Demography for the Public: Literary Representations of Population Research and Policy. *Development and Change*, 45(5), 813–837. https://doi.org/10.1111/dech.12122
- Dhont, N., van de Wijgert, J., Coene, G., Gasarabwe, A., & Temmerman, M. (2011). "Mama and papa nothing": Living with infertility among an urban population in Kigali, Rwanda. *Human Reproduction (Oxford, England)*, 26(3), 623–629. https://doi.org/10.1093/humrep/deq373
- Dierickx, S., Rahbari, L., Longman, C., Jaiteh, F., & Coene, G. (2018). 'I am always crying on the inside': A qualitative study on the implications of infertility on women's lives in urban Gambia. *Reproductive Health*, *15*(1), 151. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12978-018-0596-2
- Donkor, E. S., Naab, F., & Kussiwaah, D. Y. (2017). "I am anxious and desperate": Psychological experiences of women with infertility in The Greater Accra Region, Ghana. *Fertility Research and Practice*, *3*(1), 6. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40738-017-0033-1
- Hodgson, D. (1983). Demography as Social Science and Policy Science. *Population and Development Review*, 9(1), 1–34. https://doi.org/10.2307/1972893
- James, P. B., Taidy-Leigh, L., Bah, A. J., Kanu, J. S., Kangbai, J. B., & Sevalie, S. (2018).
  Prevalence and Correlates of Herbal Medicine Use among Women Seeking Care for Infertility in Freetown, Sierra Leone. *Evidence-Based Complementary and Alternative Medicine*, 2018, e9493807. https://doi.org/10.1155/2018/9493807
- Jorgensen, M., & J.Phillips, L. (2002). *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. SAGE Publications Ltd. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781849208871
- Lundgren, A. S., & Ljuslinder, K. (2011). Problematic Demography: Representations of Population Ageing in the Swedish Daily Press. *Journal of Population Ageing*, 4(3), 165–183. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12062-011-9048-2
- Ministry of Health and Sanitation. (2023, April). Sierra Leone Framework for the Person-Centered Life Stages Approach to Service Delivery.
- Pérez-Caramés, A. (2017). The breakdown of consensus on pro-natalist policies: Media discourse, social research and a new demographic agreement. In *Framing Age*. Routledge.
- Pike, I. (2020). A Discursive Spectrum: The Narrative of Kenya's "Neglected" Boy Child. *Gender & Society*, *34*(2), 284–306. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243219863029

- Strong, J., Nandagiri, R., Randall, S., & Coast, E. (2023). Qualitative research in demography: Marginal and marginalised. In *How to Conduct Qualitative Research in Social Science* (pp. 147–163). Edward Elgar Publishing. https://www.elgaronline.com/edcollchap/book/9781800376199/book-part-9781800376199-15.xml
- Tabong, P. T.-N., & Adongo, P. B. (2013). Understanding the social meaning of infertility and childbearing: A qualitative study of the perception of childbearing and childlessness in Northern Ghana. *PloS One*, 8(1), e54429. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0054429
- Thornham, S. (Ed.). (1999). *Feminist Film Theory*. NYU Press. https://nyupress.org/9780814782446/feminist-film-theory/
- UNFPA Sierra Leone. (n.d.). Retrieved June 28, 2025, from https://sierraleone.unfpa.org/en/what-we-do
- Zwick, E. (Director). (2006, December 8). *Blood Diamond* [Adventure, Drama, Thriller]. Warner Bros., Virtual Studios, Spring Creek Productions.

### APPENDIX A: Table with a list of the films analyzed, details on the year they were made, uploaded to YouTube, languages, setting, and brief plot summary

Sl.no	Name of film	Number of Parts	Year uploaded to YouTube	Year made	Language	Setting	Plot Summary
1	Ar'mantree	2	2022		Krio/Themne	Village	A drama with some fantastical elements but follows the journey of a woman (Finor) who ends up being the second wife of a man eligible to become the village chief. The village elders encourage the man (Nyola) to marry Finor as his first wife is barren and he needs to have children to be eligible to become the village chief.
2	Becky Meddo	2	2024		Krio	City	Love story between Becky and Meddo. Becky gets mistreated by her stepmom but her and Meddo have a timeless and unconditional love story. They run away to Freetown, but Becky's sisters come and first put a curse on Becky where she becomes mentally unstable and then on Meddo where he becomes blind. The film ends on a cliffhanger.
3	Between worlds	1	2024	2023	English	City	Love triangle between Ava, Ryan, and Justin. Ava and Justin have a child together, they are about to get married, but Ava gets a call from her first love who she believed to be dead. So, she calls off the wedding and has to decide between the two men in her life.
4	Beauty of a woman	1	2021	2017	English	City	A group of female friends and male friends get entangled in different ways. We focus on two girls from the group- Aisha wants to be a traditional wife and prioritizes her beauty to attract men. The other (Faith) wants to be independent and successful, doesn't want to cater to men. Then Faith seduces Aisha's boyfriend, and the friend group splinters
5	Conspiracy	1	2023		English/Mende	Village	The chief's brother conspires to kill his brother to take over the chiefdom. He is successful and becomes the new chief, but now he has been visited by a devil and told that he needs to send a group of virgin maidens from the village to appease the devil and retain his chieftaincy. He kidnaps Sowie, the girlfriend of Saffa, the main male lead as part of his deal

### Ashwini Shridhar IPC 2025: Paper draft

							with the devil. The male lead and his friends then band together to defeat the chief.
6	Future of a girl child	1	2023		English	City	An entrepreneur comes with an offer of a scholarship to Ghana. A group of college students compete to get this scholarship. The female students study diligently, the male students not so much. Some of the female students are getting distracted with their phones and their boyfriends. The group of boy students are feeling insecure because of one of the topscoring girl students, so they decide to sexually assault her to break her spirit. The entrepreneur decides not to provide any scholarships at the end because there aren't many female students applying or eligible for it.
7	Gina Part	2	2025	2012	English	City and Village	Gina is a woman from the devil's world. She runs off to the humans' world after she is forcefully married off. She falls in love with humans and their ways and falls in love with Juma. But her husband from the devil world finds out about this and comes to threaten Juma. To help Gina escape her husband and his hold on her, Juma and his friends travel to the spirit world to win riches and get Gina's freedom.
8	Hands off	1	2020	2020	Krio	City	A PSA about sexual violence and how to report it. Covers the story of Mahawa, whose husband beats her and rapes her nieces on a regular basis. Her friend helps her get the courage to report this and her husband is arrested and sentenced to death.
9	Mother of yaliba	2	2023		English	Village	A fantasy that follows a group of young hunters as they try to appease a goddess and stop the village chief's daughter, the princess, from dying. The goddess granted a daughter to the childless chief when he sacrificed a goat. However, the chief broke his promise to the goddess to send his daughter to her when she comes of age. The worthy young hunters appease the goddess and rescue the princess.

### Ashwini Shridhar IPC 2025: Paper draft

10	Munda	1	2023		English/Krio	Village	A coming-of-age story of the
	Tidilda		2023		Liigusii/Kiio	Villago	protagonist Munda, who was found as a child in the forest, adopted by hunters and raised to be a hunter. While it is not explicitly stated, the movie implies that he is the child of the village chief and his first wife. The chief banished his first wife for birthing a 'demon' child and is now struggling to have more kids as his second wife is infertile.
11	Ngboroh	2	2022	2022	Krio/Themne	Village	A love story between Abu and Sinnah. Sinnah is the chief's daughter and loves Abu. Abu has a history with snakes and there is some spiritual relationship between him and snakes. Sinnah is pregnant with Abu's child, and no one in the village knows about them, especially not her father. Sinnah gets taken away into the spirit world, and the chief blames Abu because somebody had seen them together. Abu is sentenced to death, but before he can be hanged, he disappears. In the second part, the plot largely deals with the village and the snake world showing their strengths. Abu and Sinnah's son is now a pre-teen, and curious about his father. He and a friend travel into the spirit world to see his father and then return to Sinnah who remembers Abu.
12	Pikin for be pikin	1	2022	2019	Krio	City	This follows the stories of Fatmata and Agness, two teenage girls who grow up in different financial circumstances. Fatmata is poor and Agness is rich. Agness is being groomed by her uncle and working as a sex worker, and when Fatmata wants to make more money Agness ends up getting her involved in it as well. Fatmata gets pregnant which breaks her mother's heart as she was depending on her daughter's education. Fatmata dies of pregnancy complications.
13	Sonia	1	2025	2023	English	City	This is the story of Sonia- the beautiful Diva. She lives in the city with her husband Sam. To help her around the house, Sam hires Mark, a college graduate who hasn't been able to find a better job. Sonia and Sam are having trouble in their marriage because of his work and lack of sexual attention towards her. So, she turns to Mark to fulfill her needs. This causes a further rift in their

## Ashwini Shridhar IPC 2025: Paper draft

							relationship and the rest of the movie deals with this fallout
14	Tangled with my boss	1	2024	2021	English	City	We follow Finda Josiah, a talented and ambitious young woman determined to make her mark in the professional world. However, her dreams are shattered when she becomes the victim of assault and sexual abuse at the hands of her powerful boss. She receives a lot of backlash for reporting him and standing up to him. She meets Daniela, a lawyer who goes through a similar experience. They form a bond and fight against their respective harassers and highlight other cases along the way
15	The Ashes	2	2023	2017	English /Themne	Village	We follow the story of a village that is cursed to have no kings. In the first part, we go back in time to understand why- the old king has cursed the throne, after all his sons were killed in a tussle for the crown. He exiled himself to the forest out of grief. Now, in the present, they are visited by the princess of the forest who tells them that the curse can be broken. The youth of the village need to take on a treacherous journey into the forest and the mountains. In part 2, we follow them along on this journey while they meet many obstacles and the hero emerges victoriously, and the curse is lifted.
16	The Return of Adama Gbosgbos	1	2025	2012	Krio	Village	Adama is a vengeful spirit, who is called upon by some evil men in the village to do their bidding. But she takes a liking to a young orphan girl who is mistreated by everyone in the village. She starts enacting revenge and justice on those who ill-treat her. She is finally defeated through religion, and the young girl she is protecting dies.