This is a paper written by a history undergraduate. This paper was the culminating product of a summer research grant that allowed the student to delve deep into sources and write up her analysis under the direction of a faculty mentor, Professor Stephen Lewis. Though formatted slightly differently for this journal, this paper used Kate L. Turabian's Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations, which is typical of papers in this discipline.

Women's Fertility and Social Transformation in Modern Mexico, 1968-1988

Vivian Hernandez

The 1960s brought great change to the lives of Western European and American women. They were mobilized into the workforce like never before and actively participated in the student movements that swept the decade. The United States legalized birth control in 1960 and European countries such as Germany and France soon followed. This freed many women from unwanted pregnancy which consequently gave them more choices and freedoms in their personal lives. By the end of the 1960s, more than 80 percent of American wives of childbearing age were using contraceptives. However, this was not the case for Mexico, which trailed behind the U.S. and Western Europe in terms of family planning and population control for several significant reasons.

Historically, the Mexican government resisted contraception and instead encouraged population growth in an attempt to protect the north from U.S. expansion, to replenish the casualties suffered during the Mexican Revolution and the influenza epidemic, and to bolster economic development in the country. The 1947 General Population Law created regulations that prohibited the sale and use of contraceptives and criminalized abortion.[1] The government's pronatalist agenda continued to encourage the country's rapidly growing population and prohibited the use of contraceptives until the late 1960's.

The Catholic Church also delayed the acceptance of artificial contraceptives by denouncing them and encouraging women to have as many kids as God pleased. The church encouraged people to have large families and advocated for natural family planning such as the "rhythm method." This calendar-based contraceptive method relied on keeping track of a women's menstrual cycle and predicting when she was most likely to ovulate. The Catholic Church was still against the use of contraceptives in the late 1960s and through the 1970s when the birth control pill was introduced in Mexico. In July 1968, Pope Paul VI released *Humanae Vitae* which reinforced the Catholic Church's stance on artificial contraceptives and referred to them as intrinsically wrong.

Despite these political, economic, and religious restrictions, in 1968, the birth control pill was legalized. By 1970, 13 percent of married women used contraception. By 1980, that number had jumped to 40 percent. It coincided with other cultural changes in Mexican society that advocated for women to take active control of their bodies, minds, and careers. This change allowed women of all classes to participate more freely outside the home without the constraints of motherhood. In a society where women were expected to be subservient to their husbands and mothers to their children,

[1] Gabriela Soto Laveaga. "'Let's Become Fewer:' Soap Operas, Contraception, and Nationalizing the Mexican Family in an Overpopulated World," *Sexuality Research and Social Policy*, vol. 4, no. 3 (2007): 23.

contraceptives enabled women to challenge traditional gender roles by allowing them to enter the workforce, participate in politics, and obtain an education. For the first time in Mexico, women were able to gain control of theirbodies and their lives.

This paper will explore the main economic, political, and cultural factors that brought such a significant change to Mexican society. It will also explore how this shift in acceptance and widespread use of contraceptives affected the lives of Mexican women socially, politically, and economically.

Changing the Law: Political and Economic Motivations, 1970 to 1976

The Mexican government's efforts to encourage population growth succeeded; between 1950 to 1970 the population nearly doubled in size and grew at an annual rate of 3.2 percent.[2] The growth in the urban population can be associated with the increase in income that was created by what some economists called the "Mexican Miracle." The extension of modern health care to rural areas resulted in higher fertility rates and lower mortality rates. Consequently, there was an increase in the rural population. The efforts to grow the population, though, were too successful. Overpopulation threatened the growth in economic prosperity and globalization also seen during this same time period, which ultimately influenced the Mexican government to tackle its population problem. As researchers Chen, et al. suggest "the motivation for contraception depends on socio-economic development which in turn affects the desired number of children."[3]

This played out in the efforts of President Luis Echeverría who created government-sponsored family planning programs because he inherited a Mexico that was growing at an alarming rate. Echeverría, who held office from 1970-1976, "insisted that a better Mexico was one that regulated its population growth."[4]

The Echeverría administration launched its first national family planning campaign in 1972 in hopes that fertility would begin to decline. In 1974, Mexico made family planning the constitutional right of all married couples. This dramatic policy allowed married women to decide when and if they wanted to have children. Gabriela Soto-Laveaga states that this created a shift of "authority to determine how many children a couple could and should have from a religious platform to one where it was dictated by the state."[5]

This constitutional amendment challenged the Catholic Church's influence on family planning in Mexico. Many were concerned that Echeverría's administration would receive massive backlash from the Mexican Catholic Church but that was not the case. Jay Winter and Michael Teitelbaum reveal that

> some attribute this silence to the Mexican church's 'great tolerance regarding the contraceptive practices of its congregation.' Others reported that before announcing his new population policy in 1972, President Echeverría summoned churchleaders,

[2] Robert Reinhold. "Mexico's Birth Rate Seems Off Sharply." *The New York Times*, November 5, 1979.

[3] Jain-Shing A. Chen et al., "Economic Development, Contraception and Fertility Declining in Mexico," *Journal of Development Studies,* vol. 26, no. 3 (1990): 417.

[4] Gabriela Soto-Laveaga, *Jungle Laboratories: Mexican Peasants, National Projects, and the Making of the Pill* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009), 12.

[5] Gabriela Soto Laveaga, "'Let's Become Fewer:' Soap Operas, Contraception, and Nationalizing the Mexican Family in an Overpopulated World." 30.

> informed them of his decision, and made it clear to them that he expected to hear of noopposition to the policy from the church.[6]

Regardless of whether it was Echeverría's influence or the Catholic Church's genuine tolerance regarding the use of artificial birth control amongst its members, the Mexican government was able to implement successful family-planning programs without the expected strong opposition of the church.

On March 27, 1974, President Echeverría, along with the minister of state, the ministers of health and public assistance, the minister of public education, the minister of foreign relations, and "distinguished personalities" established the *Consejo Nacional de Población* (CONAPO), formed what was the country's first National Population Council.[7] The post-1974 ideals of population control attempted to "forge a better society not simply by creating better citizens but by having fewer of them."[8] By this time, the Mexican government realized the country was not creating enough jobs to sustain its growing population.[9] The cities and urban areas were becoming overcrowded with young people who fled rural areas in search of jobs and a better life. Therefore, the population control campaign had economic motivators behind it as well. The Mexican government continued to support the availability of birth control through the 1970s, and in 1975, public health agencies began to advocate for the distribution of free oral contraceptives in pharmacies.

The use of contraception was becoming widely available for middle-class women in urban and metropolitan centers under the Echeverría administration but not in more impoverished rural areas. The rural populations had much higher fertility rates and used contraceptives far less than their urban counterparts. Fortunately, Echeverría's successor continued his family planning legacy. President Jose Lopez Portillo implemented family planning programs that targeted rural areas and aided them with contraceptives. In 1977, these services began to spring up in the rural areas of the country. Widespread poverty, dispersed villages, and the lack of employment outside of the agricultural realm plagued rural Mexico. These issues led those involved in implementing the population policy to regard "the task of promoting increased contraceptive practice and lower fertility in rural areas as a major challenge."[10]

Vamos Haciendo Menos: Educational and Cultural Change, 1970-1986

Education was crucial to decrease the fertility rate among Mexican women.[11] CONAPO had conducted studies after 1974 that "showed that many of the previous family planning campaigns were considered unsuccessful because women simply did not have easy access to information about

---

[6] Jay Winter and Michael Teitelbaum*, Population, Fear, and Uncertainty: The Global Spread of Fertility Decline* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 211.

[7] Gabriela Soto Laveaga, "'Let's Become Fewer:' Soap Operas, Contraception, and Nationalizing the Mexican Family in an Overpopulated World," 21.

[8] Ibid, 23.

[9] Vivianne B. de Márquez, "La política de planificación familiar en México: ¿Un proceso institucionalizado?" *Revista Mexicana de Sociologia,* vol. 46, no. 2 (1984): 290.

[10] Joseph E Potter, "The Persistence of Outmoded Contraceptives Regimes: The Cases of Mexico and Brazil," *Population and Development Review,* vol. 25. no.4 (1999): 715.

[11] Ansley J. Coale, "Population Growth and Economic Development: The Case of Mexico," *Foreign Affairs,* New York, N.Y., vol. 56, no. 2 (1978): 419.

contraception."[12] CONAPO officials hypothesized that education affected fertility indirectly through its impact on desired family size and on contraceptive utilization by increasing exposure to information and ideas disseminated through printed material.[13] In 1973, 70 percent of all contraceptive users relied on the commercial sector. By 1982, 53.4 percent of women began receiving their contraceptives through government-sponsored programs and by 1987 the number increased to 61.8 percent.[14] Sex education also had to occur at home in order for change to happen. By educating women on how to prevent pregnancies and what birth control options they had, they could gain control of their bodies and decide when and if they wished to have children.

CONAPO and Mexican media giants joined forces to get the message across to urban and rural households to reduce their sizes. Soto-Lavaega expresses that "throughout the campaign, the government acknowledged the increased presence of women in the workforce, of absent fathers, and of a population that was more urban than rural."[15] The first of three CONAPO sponsored family planning campaigns was introduced in 1974 under the name *Vamos haciendo menos.* This campaign specifically targeted macho men and passive women in an attempt to forge a better Mexico by creating responsible citizens who took on the responsibility of family planning. For example, a poster targeting passive women read:

> She who is a true woman assumes responsibilities and takes decisions over her own life, her family and her productive activities. She who is passive fears responsibilities. A true woman intervenes, has opinions, decides, participates, contributes… and is active. The passive one waits.[16]

The second campaign, *La Pequeña Familia Vive Mejor,* was launched in 1975.[17] This campaign expressed the need to have fewer children due to the socio-economic problems that plagued large urban spaces. The third campaign was implemented in 1976 and was titled *Señora: Usted decide si se embaraza.*[18] It became CONAPO's most controversial campaign because it encouraged women to decide on their own when and if they wanted to have children. This idea directly challenged the machista and patriarchal norms that permeated Mexican society. The campaign received significant backlash from men who believed the decision to have children was their own.[19] CONAPO used posters, magazine, newspaper, radio, and televisions slots to spread its message to the masses. In 1978, *El Programa Nacional de Educación Sexual* was created. The following year, CONAPO launched another campaign that focused on addressing the question, "*¿Que es planear la familia*?" This time, CONAPO used pamphlets with statistics and graphs to relay their message to the urban population. CONAPO's family planning campaigns encouraged Mexicans to be more active as citizens and take control of their reproductive decisions to better their lives.[20] Most importantly, the campaigns reflected a changing global scene and a

[12] Joseph E. Potter, "The Persistence of Outmoded Contraceptives Regimes: The Cases of Mexico and Brazil," 23.
[13] Jain-Shing A. Chen et al. "Economic Development, Contraception and Fertility Declining in Mexico," 419.
[14] Y. Palma Cabrera "Planificación familiar: Niveles y tendencias recientes del uso de anticonceptivos," *Demos,* (1988): 26.
[15] Gabriela Soto Laveaga, "'Let's Become Fewer:' Soap Operas, Contraception, and Nationalizing the Mexican Family in an Overpopulated World," 20.
[16] Ibid, 25
[17] Ibid, 25.
[18] Ibid, 25.
[19] Ibid, 25.
[20] Ibid, 25.

cultural change in Mexico which made it clear that the modern Mexican woman was no longer submissive.

From 1977-1986, CONAPO partnered with Televisa, Mexico's largest television company, to create *telenovelas* for development. The first of these telenovelas was *Acompañame* which aired in 1977.[21] It followed the lives of three sisters who made different decisions in terms of family planning. *Acompañame* was followed by four other *telenovelas* that encouraged Mexican couples to incorporate family planning in their relationships.[22] Soto-Laveaga comes to the conclusion that

> by incorporating family planning into the vision of the ideal familial unit, the state irrevocably challenged traditional female roles and instead, publicly and controversially, altered the role of the mother as a passive and obedient citizen to that of the modern wife as an active and vocal advocate of these new family values.[23]

CONAPO reported an increase from 0 to 500 calls asking for family planning information after *Acompañame* began to air on television.[24] Additionally, 2,500 women signed up to volunteer for the National Plan for Family Planning. Most importantly, there was an increase of 23 percent in contraceptive sales in 1977.[25] However, these changes did not occur for those who did not watch the *telenovela.* This campaign only impacted the lives of women who had access to a television and cable. Nevertheless, during the decade-long run of the *telenovela* campaign, Mexico's population growth decreased by an astounding 34 percent.

Mexico's Scientific Contribution to the Creation of *La Pildora Anticonceptiva*

Mexico played a direct role in the development of the birth control pill. Barbasco, a wild species of yam, played a critical role in developing of hormonal contraception and consequently prompted the Mexican government to make it accessible. The wild barbasco yam is native to Mexico's geography and can be found in the southeastern states of Tabasco, Chiapas, Veracruz, Oaxaca, part of Puebla, and smaller regions in México and Michoacán.[26] In the 1940's, Mexican scientists discovered that barbascos chemical compounds could be used to make steroids and oral contraceptives. Research with diosgenin, which is a precursor for several hormones, by the Mexican chemist Luis Ernesto Miramontes created what he believed to be a substance that would prevent women from miscarrying but instead became the basis for oral contraceptives.[27] Miramontes went on to become one of the co-discoverers of the chemical compound which led to the global production of oral contraceptives. The vast availability of the yams allowed for the mass production of oral contraceptives. Products derived from barbasco altered modern medicine, aided advances in science, and arguably, granted millions of women some control over reproduction.[28]

Echeverría was eager to fund and establish family planning programs due to the economic benefits that the distribution of barbasco-derived hormonal contraception could bring to the Mexican economy. The availability of barbascos and their contribution to the development of hormonal contraceptives made the yams a valued

[21] Ibid, 26.
[22] Ibid, 26.
[23] Ibid, 27.
[24] Ibid, 27.
[25] Ibid, 27.

[26] Gabriela Soto-Laveaga, *Jungle Laboratories: Mexican Peasants, National Projects, and the Making of the Pill*, 4.
[27] Ibid, 3.
[28] Ibid, 2.

commodity in Mexico. Echeverría's administration wished to capitalize off of theprofit that barbascos could create. In 1974, Echeverría spoke at CONAPO's inauguration and stated,

> I understand that it is only a few transnational companies who sell oral contraceptive pills…with that in mind I would like to urge Mexican researchers, that they discover Mexican pills so that they can curb the commercial influence of large transnational pharmaceutical companies that sell these pills.[29]

The yam therefore came to "symbolize the first step toward an independent Mexican pharmaceutical industry."[30] Mexico was able to profit from barbasco production while simultaneously tackling their population problem. Echeverría used barbascos as a way to maintain control in the rural countryside by stimulating economic development. The states where barbasco was grown were very impoverished and in need of economic development. The production of barbasco created many jobs for the poor rural communities in southeastern Mexico.

La Nueva Ola and Mexican Women's Political Participation

The introduction of contraception affectedthe lives of women socially, politically, and economically. The feminist, sexual, and student movements that swept through Western Europe and the United States also made their way to Mexico during the late 1960's and continued into the 1970's. The Tlatelolco massacre of 1968 pushed women to participate in the student movement and directly influenced the Mexican feminist movement.[31] Elaine Carey claims that "Mexican feminism was also influenced by events that took place beyond the nation's borders."[32] The student movements of the late 1960's gained a lot of exposure and were able to reach the Mexican audience. Moreover, the publications of intellectuals and journalists regarding the feminist movements of the late 1960's and early 1970's influenced Mexican women. Globalization and interconnectedness with the rest of the world allowed Mexican women to question and fight for many of the same beliefs and ideas that their counterparts in the United States and Western Europe were advocating. Rosario Castellanos and Marta Acevedo were two of the most important feminists during this time. They brought attention to the new wave of feminism emerging in the United States through their publications in the newspaper *Excélsior* and the cultural magazine *Siempre.* Castellanos and Acevedo paved the way for the Mexican feminist groups that would emerge in the 1970's and fight for the distribution of contraception to all women.

Educated middle-class women and university students were active participants of the second-wave of feminism in Mexico during the 1970's. Jocelyn Olcott expresses that

> Mexico's small but energetic feminist movement, dubbed the "new wave"- *la nueva ola*- of Mexican feminism, took on its inchoate institutional formation in 1970 with the founding of *Mujeres en Acción Solidaria* (MAS) under the leadership of MartaAcevedo, a leader during the 1968 student movement who had witnessed the Tlatelolco massacre.[33]

[29] Gabriela Soto Laveaga, "'Let's Become Fewer:' Soap Operas, Contraception, and Nationalizing the Mexican Family in an Overpopulated World," 22.

[30] Gabriela Soto-Laveaga, *Jungle Laboratories: Mexican Peasants, National Projects, and the Making of the Pill*, 127.

[31] Elaine Carey, *Plaza of Sacrifices: Gender, Power, and Terror in 1968 Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 177.

[32] Ibid, 177.

The Mexican feminist groups of the 1970s played a crucial role in advocating for the distribution of contraceptives to Mexican women. Some of the other groups included *el Movimiento de Liberación de la Mujer* (MLM) and *el Movimiento Nacional de Mujeres* (MNM) which were composed of women who were brought together due to the marginalization and oppression they faced in their daily lives.[34] MAS held several conferences that directly addressed issues that Mexican women faced including "Abortion and Sexuality," "The Condition of Women," and "Feminism in Politics."

In 1975, the UN held the International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City. As Jocelyn Olcott states, "the Echeverría administration hoped that the International Women's Year conference would allow Mexico to showcase its efforts to address the intractable problems of inequality and population growth."[35] The Mexican government was eager to host the conference to gain global recognition, which some feminists disliked. The Women's Front against International Women's Year was organized to protest the conference and stated the Mexican government's state planning was "a lukewarm and opportunistic appropriation of feminist proposals."[36] The conference brought to light many of the issues Mexican women were facing such as making contraceptives accessible and the legalization of abortion.

First Lady Maria Esther Zuno, a longtime advocate for women's rights spoke at the conference. She addressed the "depressing alternative" women faced which was either "to become merely reproductive beings and renounce their social creativity or to sacrifice their maternity and abandon their family."[37] Zuno stated that women had to overcome this false obstacle in order to realize their full potential. Although Zuno's message encouraged women to enter the workforce, Joseph Lenti states that she did so "inside legally established frameworks and called upon the regime to pursue gender equality in a way that complemented its interventionist agenda."[38] Nonetheless, Zuno still pushed for strict equality in the workplace. President Echeverría also spoke and claimed that he wanted to ratify an amendment that would "incorporate women into all aspects of political, economic, and social life," but these remarks in the end exemplified the state's hypocrisy because such an amendment never materialized.[39] Regardless of whether women were for or against the hosting of the IWY conference, women mobilized together like never before to advocate for universal equality.

The formation of *La Coalicion de Mujeres Feministas* (The Feminist Women's Coalition) in 1976 was composed of six different women's organizations. *La Coalicion de Mujeres Feministas* began to fight for the idea of "voluntary motherhood." They advocated for "sex education specifically developed for different age groups and social sectors, reliable and inexpensive contraceptives, abortion as a last

[33] Jocelyn Olcott, *International Women's Year: The Greatest Consciousness-Raising Event in History* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2017), 57.
[34] Estela Serret, "El feminismo mexicano de cara al siglo XXI," *El Cotidiano,* vol. 16, no. 100 (2000): 46.
[35] Jocelyn Olcott, *International Women's Year: The Greatest Consciousness-Raising Event in History,* 60.
[36] Ibid, 58.
[37] Joseph U. Lenti, *Redeeming the Revolution: The State and Organized Labor in Post-Tlatelolco Mexico* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2017), 218.
[38] Ibid, 218.
[39] Elaine Carey, *Plaza of Sacrifices: Gender, Power, and Terror in 1968 Mexico,* 185.

resort, and rejection of forced sterilization."[40] According to Marta Lamas, this agenda became "the basic component of the defense for reproductive and sexual rights in Mexico."[41] However, by the 1980's, "voluntary motherhood's" demands were overshadowed by the issue of abortion and the push to legalize it.

As women began to take control of their lives through the use of contraception, they were also able to participate in politics. In 1953, Mexican women were granted the right to vote in federal elections and were able to run for congressional representative seats. The 1968 Tlatelolco massacre was followed by "women's activism in social and political grass-roots movements, such as the student uprisings of the 1970s."[42] By the 1970's and 1980's, women were slowly becoming active at the national level but were especially active at the local level. Many women were being elected mayors and held municipal positions across the Mexican states. In 1979, Griselda Álvarez Ponce de Léon became the first woman to become elected governor in Mexico. The 1985 Mexico City earthquake also mobilized women politically to meet the demands of the families who had been affected by the disaster.

Mexican Women's Economic Mobilization, 1976-1987

Mexican society underwent economic and sociodemographic change during the 1970s and 1980s, two decades characterized by "accelerated urbanization, the extension of industrialization, an increase in rural migration to the urban centers, increased access to education and diversification of urban job markets."[43] These dramatic changes allowed women to enter the workforce in large numbers like never before. Between 1976-87, the number of Mexican women over the age of 12 reporting themselves to be economically active increased from 16 percent in 1970 to 21 percent in 1979. This number grew to 32 percent by 1987.[44] Before the 1970s, the Mexican women who made up a majority of the workforce were young and single, but a clear change occurred between 1976-87. Within a span of 11 years, the economic participation of older, low-income, and less educated women increased. Data from the 1976 Mexican Fertility Survey and the 1987 National Survey of Fertility have allowed scholars to connect the increase in women's economic participation with the total fertility rate decline. In 1973, the fertility rate of Mexican women was at a staggering 6.3 but by 1986 the number had decreased to 3.8. This 44 percent drop in fertility is directly connected to the introduction of modern contraceptives. The percentage of women of reproductive age who used contraceptives increased from 30.2 in 1976 to 53.7 in 1987.[45] Mexican women began to participate in the labor force while simultaneously raising their children. Women who worked before marriage or at early stage of family formation were significantly more likely to reenter the labor force in the future.[46] The economic recession in Mexico during the 1980's, also drove women to enter the workforce

[40] Marta Lamas, "The Feminist Movement and the Development of Political Discourse on Voluntary Motherhood in Mexico," *Reproductive Health Matter,* no. 10 (1997): 58.
[41] Ibid, 58.
[42] Sonia Hernández, "Women in Mexican Politics Since 1953," Oxford Research Encyclopedia on Latin America, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 5.
[43] O. De Oliveira and B. Garcia, "Trabajo, fecundidad y condición feminina en Mexico," *Estudios demográficos y urbanos,* vol. 5, no. 3 (1990): 693.
[44] Y. Mier and M. Teran, "Descenso de la fecundidad y participación laboral femenina en Mexico," *Notas Población,* vol, 20, no. 56 (1992): 145.
[45] Ibid, 149.
[46] Ibid, 150.

Prior to introducing contraception and implementing family planning programs, Mexican women were participating in the formal and informal economic sphere. However, with a decrease in fertility rates and increase in education, Mexican women were able to join the workforce in larger numbers than before. Teresa Rendón Gan explains the earlier women begin to have children, the possibility of them entering the formal workforce becomes more limited.[47] Beginning in the 1970's, Mexican women's decreasing rate of fertility reduced the number of years women dedicated to raising and taking care of their children.[48] Rendón Gan explains that a drop in fertility rate in developed countries allows women to work as opposed to developing countries where the fertility rate is still high. Consequently, Mexican women were able to break away from their domestic duties at home and took on jobs in *maquiladoras* and as secretaries. Education also helped women gain access to the workforce. With more access to education, women could obtain better jobs, allowing them to get married later and have fewer children.[49]

Conclusion

The rapid increase in Mexico's population between the 1950's-1970's prompted the Mexican government to take the initiative to control its population growth. With the introduction of the birth control pill in 1968, Mexico's population began to decrease. President Echeverría and President López Portillo's family planning programs and services helped make contraceptives accessible while simultaneously changing how Mexican society viewed women. CONAPO's family planning programs created cultural change that targeted machos and passive women. The introduction of the birth control pill caused Mexican women to no longer be viewed as submissive individuals. Most importantly, the introduction of the birth control pill was crucial to Mexican women's participation in social movements, the political sphere, and the workforce because for the first time in Mexico's history, women were able to take control of their bodies and decide when and if they wanted to have children.

[47] Teresa Rendón Gan, *Trabajo De Hombres y Trabajo de Mujeres En El México Del Siglo XX* (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México, D.F.: Programa Universitario de Estudios de Género, 2003), 72.
[48] Ibid, 72.

Bibliography

Books

Carey, Elaine. Plaza of Sacrafices: Gender, Power, and Terror in 1968 Mexico. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2005.

Laveaga, Gabriela Soto. Jungle Laboratories: Mexican Peasants, National Projects, and the Making of the Pill. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009.

Lenti, Joseph U. Redeeming the Revolution: The State and Organized Labor in Post-Tlatelolco Mexico. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press. 2017.

Olcott, Jocelyn. International Women's Year: The Greatest Consciousness-Raising Event in History. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Rendón Gan, Teresa. Trabajo De Hombres y Trabajo de Mujeres En El México Del Siglo XX. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México, D.F.: Programa Universitario de Estudios de Género, 2003.

Winter, Jay and Teitelbaum, Michael. Population, Fear, and Uncertainty: The Global Spread of Fertility Decline. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013.

Newspaper Articles

Reinhold, Robert. "MEXICO'S BIRTH RATE SEEMS OFF SHARPLY." The New York Times, The New York Times, 5 Nov. 1979.

Scholarly Articles

Chen, Jain-Shing A, et al. "Economic Development, Contraception and Fertility Decline in Mexico." *Journal of Development Studies,* vol. 26, no. 3, 1990. 408-424.

Coale, Ansley J. "Population Growth and Economic Development: The Case of Mexico." *Foreign Affairs (New York, N.Y.)*, vol. 56, no. 2, 1978: 415-29.

de Márquez, Viviane B. "La Política de Planificación Familiar en México: ¿Un Proceso Institucionalizado?" *Revista Mexicana de Sociología,* vol. 46, no. 2, 1984: 285.

De Oliveira, O., and Garcia, B. "Trabajo, fecundidad y condición feminina en Mexico." *Estudios demográficos y urbanos.* vol. 3, no. 3. 693-827.

Hernández, Sonia. "Women in Mexican Politics Since 1953." Oxford University Press. 2018.

Lamas, Marta. "The Feminist Movement and the Development of Political Discourse on Voluntary Motherhood in Mexico." *Reproductive Health Matters.* no. 10: 1997: 58-67.

Laveaga, Gabriela Soto "Let's Become Fewer:' Soap Operas, Contraception, and Nationalizing the Mexican Family in an Overpopulated World." *Sexuality Research and Social Policy.* vol. 4, no. 3, 2007: 19-33.

Mier, Y. and M. Teran, "Descenso de la fecundidad y participación laboral femenina en Mexico," *Notas Población,* vol, 20, no. 56, 1992: 145.

Palma Cabrera Y. "Planificación Familiar: Niveles y Tendencias Recientes Del Uso de Anticonceptivos." *Demos*, 1988: 26-27.

Potter, Joseph E. "The Persistence of Outmoded Contraceptive Regimes: The Cases of Mexico and Brazil." *Population and Development Review,* vol. 25, no.4, 1999: 703-739.

Serret, Estela. "El feminismo mexicano de cara al siglo XXI." *El Cotidiano,* vol. 16, no. 100, 2000: 42-51.