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Family planning, the pill, and reproductive agency in Italy, 1945–1971: From ‘conscious procreation’ to ‘a new fundamental right’?

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ABSTRACT

The article analyses post-war family planning campaigning in Italy and the legalization of the Pill (1971), in order to illustrate wider processes of change in sexual norms and practices, the feminization of contraception, and the emergence of notions of individual rights in procreation. Situating the Italian family planning movement as part of a transnational network and a global agenda, it problematizes understandings of family planning as a site of individual liberation only, highlighting the hierarchization of reproductive bodies that underpinned the campaigns of many family planning activists. Drawing on archives, publications and memoirs by family planners in Italy and the US, this is the first scholarly analysis of the Italian family planning movement’s role in the (illegal) distribution of contraception and sexual information, as well as its key contribution to the legalization of the Pill. The article aims to offer an original contribution to the socio-political negotiation of reproductive agency in the post-war period, set against the backdrop of the globalization of demographic debate, secularization, changing gender roles and new medical technologies.

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Historians of gender and sexuality address the question of reproduction and reproductive choice as a site of political negotiation, motivating a wide range of actors, shaping medical processes and creating cultural norms and legal regulation. After 1945, discourses of individual freedom in reproductive behaviour gained prominence and gradually came to underpin political debates on issues such as contraception and abortion – and this at national levels as well as internationally, specifically in the United Nations system. A notion of reproductive rights as human rights, framed in terms of health and informed agency, was agreed upon at the UN International Conference on Population and Development held in Cairo in 1994. It marked the culmination of three decades of shifting global debates on population, ‘third world’ development and women’s rights.¹ This article contributes to an understanding of the emergence of reproductive rights thinking in post-war Europe, set in the aftermath of the Second World War and against

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the backdrop of sexual revolution, innovation in contraceptive technology, women's changing social roles, and shifting demographic debate. It does this by exploring family planning (FP) advocacy and the debates leading to the legalization of the contraceptive pill in Italy in 1971. The article is focused on the most influential family planning organization, the Associazione italiana per l'educazione demografica (AIED), created in 1953. AIED's discourses and actions are approached here as a prism which sheds new light on the legalization of the Pill and wider cultural and value change with regard to sex in 1950s–1970s Italy.

Viewed internationally, Italy presents a compelling case study thanks to its national specificities as well as its strong responsiveness to global developments. The global FP movement developed a keen interest in Italy, but encountered a highly specific national landscape, shaped by the legacies of Fascism, the pervasiveness of Catholic culture, a distinct demographic situation compared with north-western Europe, and a prohibitive legal framework. Indeed, Article 553 of the Fascist-era Penal Code, in force until 1971, stipulated that it was illegal to 'publicly incite to practices against procreation' and 'use ... propaganda in their favour'. This included a ban on the advertising, sale and use of contraceptive technology.² Traditionally, Catholic morality had shaped a culture of sexual taboo and female shame, as well as the mystification of motherhood and the total identification of a woman's destiny with it. The legal and cultural ban on contraception had been strengthened under Fascism primarily for demographic reasons, as enshrined in the pro-natalist language of Article 553. Pro-natalism and women's obligation to procreate were not diminished in popular culture or public discourse after 1945, and yet, as discussed in more detail later, in impoverished areas, specifically in the south, the State had no interest in stimulating fertility.

In Italy as elsewhere in Western Europe, FP organizations were key actors in shaping sexual change between the 1950s and 1970s. On a practical level, they were often the main agent legally or illegally providing contraception, and more widely their discourses of modernity and individual responsibility were central to wider value change with regard to intimacy and family. A key premise here is the need to transnationalize the history of Italian and West European post-1945 family planning. Post-war FP and the spread of contraception have for Western Europe been studied mostly from a national perspective,³ and Europe has not yet been fully inscribed into the thriving scholarship on FP as a transnational movement embedded in the globalization of demographic debate, the global Cold War and the politics of population control.⁴ Recent analyses of post-1945 FP programmes in the developing world understand the dissemination of birth control as contributing to individual autonomy, while also pointing at the coercive practices adopted in some of these programmes. Fundamentally, these studies highlight the ideologies of population control and the racialized, hierarchical views on reproductive bodies that underpinned FP programmes around the world in the 1950s–1970s. I propose that such a nuanced approach to the historical emergence of reproductive rights principles can add depth to our understanding of FP and sexual change in the Western world, too.⁵ Until recently, historical analyses of birth control, family planning and the sexual revolution in post-1945 Western Europe have tended to present a teleological, at times naïve picture of ever-growing (women's) liberation. Some scholarship on Italy has succeeded in avoiding such a one-dimensional narrative of the sexual revolution as ever-increasing individual liberty for both women and men,⁶ as has recent

comparative work on France and Britain.⁷ Situating Italy in the global history of post-war FP allows us to complicate the narrative of the struggle for legal contraception: not simply presenting it in terms of sexual liberation, but also asking to what degree the principles of population control and the hierarchization of reproductive bodies characterized FP discourse and practice in Europe too. Specifically, as illustrated in what follows, it helps to understand the processes of racialization of reproductive bodies affecting southern and impoverished women in Italy.

Around the world, the dissemination of birth control through FP programmes involved, implicitly or explicitly, a hierarchical view on reproductive bodies and citizens according to social class, race or ability – that is to say, the view that some bodies are more worthy of procreation and some individuals more endowed with the cultural capacity to make informed and autonomous choices.⁸ Drawing on early-twentieth-century models and networks in the UK and the US, the post-war FP movement originated in private organizations including the Population Council (PC) set up by J. D. Rockefeller III in 1952, the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) created in the same year and based in London, and the Pathfinder Fund, founded in 1957 in Massachusetts.⁹ The latter two were highly significant in shaping FP approaches in Italy. The post-1945 FP movement aimed to globalize the small nuclear family model, and to disseminate ‘modern’ sexual practices centred on the responsibility of the married couple in intimate behaviour. Its campaigners were shaped by neo-Malthusianism, a political and demographic discourse centred on the fear of ‘global overpopulation’ and high fertility in the developing countries, and which maintained that these phenomena strained resources, stifled socio-economic development, upset the ‘balance’ of population numbers around the world, and would provoke famine and social instability. Most family planners adhered to a population control agenda in the developing world and vis-à-vis deprived social groups in the Global North – although varying positions existed as to the degree of coercion that could be applied in the implementation of FP programmes.¹⁰ In a number of cases, including India and Kenya, FP programmes adopted coercive practices such as unconsented abortion and sterilization, or insufficient provision of information in the administering of contraceptives.¹¹ This did not stop the transnational FP and population control networks in the 1960s from becoming a ‘powerful epistemic community’,¹² with growing support in the US government, and around the UN from the end of the decade. In order to situate Italian FP in the transnational flow of ideas and practices, the analysis made here is based not only on Italian sources (AIED newsletters, publications and memoirs by its leading figures, press material), but also on archives and publications of the International Planned Parenthood Federation and Pathfinder International, as well as memoirs of leading US-based family planners.

The analysis highlights two key developments in the changing social status of the reproductive body during this period: responsabilization and feminization, both closely connected to the introduction of the Pill. These discursive and normative shifts were driven by FP organizations but grew into wider cultural phenomena. The responsabilization of (married) couples was central to the strategies and discourses of the FP organizations in Western Europe: couples (and later individuals) were endowed with responsibility and agency in their reproductive choices and sexual behaviour. By responsibility here was meant the need for individuals to take account of the wider societal

repercussions of their reproductive choices, vis-à-vis the nation's demography, economy and wellbeing. Reproductive responsabilization was linked in with secularization: 'fate' and religious intervention lost their discursive power, as rational individual agency took centre-stage in public discussions of intimate matters.¹³ However, as will become clear, responsabilization hinged on a tension between valuing people's reproductive agency on the one hand, and, on the other, the construction of these same reproductive subjects as never quite sufficiently autonomous and therefore in need of education and regulation. Responsibilization sat hand in glove with the feminization of reproductive agency, or the growing tendency for women to appropriate choices regarding reproduction in the intimate sphere. Scholarship on France and Britain has highlighted the gradual feminization of reproductive decision-making within the heterosexual couple between the 1920s and the 1950s. It preceded but was accelerated by the introduction of the Pill in the 1960s, and played a key role in fertility decline.¹⁴ Also in public discourse, medical practice and laws regulating contraception and abortion, as well as human procreation came, in mid-twentieth-century Europe, to be associated with women, their health, their life choices and their rights. While much remains unknown with regard to Italians', and specifically Italian women's, sexual practices during this period, the following analysis illustrates family planners' and politicians' growing focus on women as the chosen agents for the 'modernization' of sexual practices, but also on the female reproductive body as requiring regulation.

The Italian context

Around 1960, the Western European FP organizations affiliated to IPPF formed a network within which knowledge, practices and discourse circulated intensely. They included the Family Planning Association in Britain, *Maternité Heureuse*, refounded as *Mouvement Français pour le Planning Familial* in 1960 (France), *Pro Familia* in West Germany, the Swedish Association for Sexuality Education, and AIED in Italy. The key aims of these organizations included the countering of what they saw as archaic sexual cultures and religious influences, as well as the fights for social stabilization, against poverty and against the spread of communism.¹⁵ A focal point for those fearing communist expansion in Western Europe, Italy became a key, if unlikely, site of interest for the global FP movement. Perceived by many in the Atlantic world as situated on the fringes of the Western democratic sphere, post-war Italy was home to the Western world's largest communist party (*Partito Comunista Italiano*, PCI), and marked by poverty and relatively high fertility in the southern regions. Demographically, Italy was distinct: while the French and to a lesser degree British and West German governments feared demographic shortage following 1945, Italy saw high fertility throughout the 1940s–1960s, with significant decline occurring only after 1975. The overall population number grew from under 45 million in 1945 to over 53 million in 1970.¹⁶ Italian debates on demography were framed by alarmist discourses on social deprivation. The routine social hierarchization of reproductive bodies was hereby evident, for instance in the constant discursive linking of 'hyper-fertility' with the 'squalor' characterizing the lives of those in the slums in the Roman periphery or downtown Naples.¹⁷ The Christian

Democrat governments of the 1950s and early 1960s responded to the perceived problem of overpopulation with managed labour emigration to north-western Europe rather than by discussing birth control, which was unacceptable to the Catholic Church.¹⁸

Throughout this period, the main actor opposing not only the legalization of contraception but any change in sexual norms was the Catholic Church. Catholic influence played a key role in the maintaining of Fascist-era censorship, which involved a ban on numerous films and books. On RAI state radio and television words such as *membro* (male genitalia), *verginita* (virginity) and even *gravidanza* (pregnancy) were banned.¹⁹ Faced with the unprecedented cultural change provoked by the 'economic miracle' (1958–63), Americanization, mass internal migration and the democratization of education, the Church lacked a coherent vision of Catholic modernity. This led to popular disaffection, in spite of the attempts at *aggiornamento* ('updating') by the Second Vatican Council under John XXII and Paul VI (1962–65).²⁰ Although secularization in post-war Italy remains partly understudied, the rapid decline of Sunday Mass attendance from the early 1960s gives an indication of the Church's loss of social power over ordinary citizens, particularly so in large cities and among the young.²¹ To be sure, the Church's political power remained significant, thanks to its proximity to the Christian Democrats (Democrazia Cristiana, DC), the country's largest party and in government throughout the Cold War. From the 1960s, however, it was increasingly clear that the DC operated as a 'party of the state', serving the bourgeoisie whether religious or secular, and that religious belief no longer mapped onto voting behaviour.²² At the same time, 1960s–1970s Italian Catholicism was not marked by straightforward secularization; rather, it was dominated by the momentarily impactful dissemination of Liberation Theology and the left-Catholic agenda. While revitalizing belief practices at the grassroots, it accelerated the erosion of institutional authority and hierarchy. Left-Catholics were among the most vocal proponents of sexual modernization, and they embodied the fact that one could call oneself a Catholic while using contraception.²³

Recent work by Niamh Cullen, based on the dairies of ordinary Italians produced between 1945 and 1974, demonstrates that profound shifts took place with regard to norms and values surrounding sex and family. However, these were diversely shaped by geography (with a very different picture in urban and rural areas) and gender (with the new, male-centred permissiveness creating heightened unease among women). While traditional discourses of honour and fidelity did lose some of their discursive power and a culture of individual choice in romantic partnerships emerged, men and women found themselves constrained in novel ways by the commercialization of romantic love, and women specifically by the continued double sexual standard.²⁴ These complex socio-cultural transformations witnessed during the 'miracle' years gave way to the sexual revolution, occurring in Italy between the mid-1960s and mid-1980s.²⁵ The term sexual revolution is used here to refer to visible changes in sexual cultures and discourses as they unfolded in much of the industrialized world during this time. Two aspects of the sexual revolution, highlighted in recent work by Fiammetta Balestracci, are particularly relevant to the analysis below: the growing politicization of sex, whereby experiences of sex were considered legitimate expressions of the self, and the foregrounding of sex as pleasure and its disconnection from sex as procreation.²⁶ The contraceptive pill started circulating illegally in Italy in 1963, and AIED played a key role in disseminating it. By 1968 an estimated 135,000 Italian women were using the Pill.²⁷ Thus, AIED's actions shaped the

material reality of Italy's sexual revolution, despite the fact, as detailed later, that many within the organization upheld rather traditional norms on sex as exclusively situated within marriage.

Notwithstanding the taboo on contraception in hegemonic culture, the advantages of birth control had been debated in small but culturally influential circles since the late nineteenth century.²⁸ From the outset, such advocacy was associated with neo-Malthusianism and radical-left circles. The Italian Neo-Malthusian League, created in 1913, espoused a social-paternalist agenda focused on educating working-class mothers and promoting the principle of fertility restraint. A female campaigner, Ettorina Cecchi, published a controversial manual entitled *Practical Neo-Malthusianism: Anatomy of Genitalia* in 1913, intended as a book of popular sexology focused on contraception.²⁹ The author turned the legal proceedings against her into a campaign for the spread of birth control and neo-Malthusianism,³⁰ a tactic later adopted by AIED. The centrality of pro-natalism to the Fascist regime contributed after 1945 to situating anti-natalism and FP on the left of the political spectrum. Rinaldo De Benedetti (1903–96), one of AIED's founders and a Jewish anti-Fascist activist during the 1930s–1940s, equated anti-natalism with 'demographic anti-Fascism', and renowned anti-Fascist intellectuals such as Ernesto Rossi and Guido Tassinari openly supported legal birth control. The connection was also evident in the fact that AIED's first office in Milan was located in the headquarters of the main association of former anti-Fascist partisans.³¹ Anarchists Cesare Zaccaria and Giovanna Caleffi openly called for legal contraception for couples in their 1948 booklet *Controllo delle nascite* (Birth Control).³² They argued for family size to be 'proportionate to economic means' and stressed the need for 'moral and sexual education' among the poor, but combined such social-paternalistic views with the principle of 'freedom in life-choices'. Although the booklet was banned, the Court, in a sentence that significantly facilitated AIED's later work, found the authors not guilty of breaching Article 553. It ruled that in advocating 'conscious procreation' (*procreazione cosciente*), the text did not argue for diminished family size as such, and that such a notion might well be 'more beneficial to society than a pro-natalist policy'.³³

AIED: anti-natalism and responsabilization

AIED was created following a meeting in 1953 between Rinaldo De Benedetti and Vittoria Olivetti Berla. The latter, a law graduate in her late twenties, was the daughter-in-law of typewriter producer Adriano Olivetti, one of very few Italian businessmen to support the movement financially. In 1957 she published *Il controllo delle nascite* (*Birth Control*, not to be confused with the 1948 publication mentioned earlier). It was a shocking book to many, featuring women's testimonies of contraception use, abortion and family life, drawn from hundreds of letters to the AIED offices, the communist women's paper *Noi Donne* and the left-liberal weekly *L'Espresso*.³⁴ In her publications she argued for the legalization and dissemination of birth control (primarily the diaphragm at the time), invoking as key argument the need to lower fertility rates, specifically among the 'poor and deprived'.³⁵ She was well-connected not only to Italian intellectual and business circles, but also internationally: during a 1953 stay in Stockholm she attended IPPF's founding Conference and became acquainted with the Swedish National League for Sex Education.³⁶ The few but influential women in AIED introduced a gendered perspective and a wider cultural critique: Anna Garofalo, one of few female radio

journalists in Italy at the time and an outspoken advocate of women's rights, underpinned her campaigning for birth control with a pioneering critique of what she termed 'the Italian cult of motherhood'.³⁷

AIED's central notion of conscious procreation, used also by IPPF, implied responsibility and restraint. In the Italian context it was adopted in order to avoid a popular backlash that would doubtlessly have resulted from using the more explicit term birth control (*controllo delle nascite*).³⁸ During 1954–55, AIED activists set up branches in Milan, Genoa, Naples and Rome. The Rome branch was to acquire particular significance thanks to its size and the radicalism of its activists, in particular Luigi De Marchi and Maria Luisa Zardini De Marchi. Zardini, born 1921 in the Dolomites area, was entirely self-taught as a clinic manager and contraception expert.³⁹ This revealed her tenacity as well as her disregard for medical professionals and institutions – a general characteristic of AIED's methods. She was married to Luigi De Marchi (1927–2010), a Doctor in Psychology influenced by Malthus and Freud, who played a key role in introducing Wilhelm Reich to Italy. His *Sex and Civility* (*Sesso e civiltà*, 1959) and *Sexual Repression and Social Oppression* (*Repressione sessuale e oppressione sociale*, 1964) were widely debated. An early advocate of free sexual expression, he considered what he referred to as Italy's 'sex-phobia' to result in equal measure from Catholicism and the PCI's moral conservatism.⁴⁰ The De Marchi couple encountered hostility for their sexual radicalism in society and even among family planners, including Olivetti Berla. The majority position in AIED upheld a traditional model of sexual restraint and spouse fidelity, while for De Marchi and other radicals, FP created the opportunity for a transformation of sexual culture based on the celebration of pleasure. At the same time, De Marchi's strong neo-Malthusianism was uncontroversial among Italian family planners: his reference to 'the global demographic explosion' as 'the mother of all tragedies' in the modern world formed part of a standard discourse.⁴¹

AIED was affiliated with IPPF between 1954 and 1965, receiving yearly *ca.* US\$3000, as well as a regular stream of publications (the IPPF newsletter, academic books and sex manuals).⁴² IPPF's Italian 'field representative' was controversial US eugenicist Dorothy Brush, who since the 1930s had been involved with programmes in the Southern US states aimed at lowering fertility among Afro-Americans, and had founded the Brush Foundation for Race Betterment in the 1920s.⁴³ Within AIED, the active discouraging of those deemed less fit to procreate – be it due to poverty, Southernness or disability – was a broadly accepted position. Domenico Peretti Griva, a renowned judge and president of AIED in 1958–60, wrote in 1959 that 'those who suffer from a physical or physiological handicap' and run a significant risk of 'generating abnormal children', ought to abstain from procreation.⁴⁴ However, such positions did not remain unchallenged, as they stood in tension with the professed anti-Fascism of other leading AIED figures. De Benedetti, for instance, argued that any state-led population management programme aimed at 'changing the makeup of the population' ought to be opposed, as this 'easily leads to racist aberrations'.⁴⁵

In its early years AIED struggled to impact either on parliamentary debate or on the medical profession. According to an enquiry it conducted in Milan in 1957, around 80% of practising physicians were unaware of the vaginal diaphragm or other birth control methods.⁴⁶ Contrasting to other FP organizations in Western Europe at the time, few physicians were involved in or supportive of AIED, which can be ascribed to the broad

influence of conservative and religious thinking in the profession.⁴⁷ Conservative and Catholic actors fought the organization in whichever way possible. Conservative discourse in the 1950s–1960s attacked birth control advocacy on a number of levels: by celebrating the virtues of motherhood; by presenting family planning as a foreign import; by labelling contraception as ‘pornographic’ and conflating it with abortion⁴⁸; and by arguing that overpopulation ought to be addressed in other ways. Catholic discourse was more specifically centred on the foetus’s ‘right to birth’ (*diritto alla nascita*) from the moment of conception, based on the sanctity of life,⁴⁹ and on the centrality of procreation within the family as a cornerstone of the societal order.⁵⁰ The Vatican’s official paper, *Osservatore Romano*, waged a sustained campaign against AIED, stressing the ‘immoral’ and ‘perverse’ character of contraception,⁵¹ and unsuccessfully calling on the state to outlaw the organization.⁵²

Further, AIED was in the early years opposed by the powerful Communist Party. The PCI’s views were influenced by the USSR, which rejected FP as a US-driven global agenda aimed at weakening the developing countries, although from the mid-1960s adopting a more favourable position on the matter in the UN.⁵³ The PCI had long considered (neo-)Malthusianism to be a strategy for disempowering the working classes, and its daily paper *L’Unita* in 1958 referred to AIED as ‘a provocation of international capitalism, aimed at destroying the proletariat with contraceptives’.⁵⁴ However, the Party was by the late 1950s no longer able to maintain consensus within the ranks around its traditional notions of sexual mores, family life and gender roles.⁵⁵ Specifically, the *Unione donne italiane* (UDI), the PCI’s women’s organization counting close to 200,000 fee-paying members at the time, started openly to distance itself from the party line on birth control, divorce, sexual values and abortion.⁵⁶ In 1958 its widely read periodical *Noi donne* published a nationwide survey of birth control practices and knowledge among women; it was a major moment in shifting public discourse. Powerfully entitled ‘We choose how many, we choose when’ (*Quanti ne vogliamo, quando li vogliamo*), the dossier resolutely called for legal birth control and centred its argumentation on a woman’s right to choose. UDI’s position was significant not only for the bold disagreement with the Party, but also for its proposition of women’s bodily autonomy as a key principle, distinct from AIED’s arguments centred on demography and the small-family ideal. AIED was noticeably influenced by UDI’s pioneering positions: Ruggero Zangrandi, AIED supporter, author and former anti-Fascist militant, maintained in a widely read series of articles in *Paese Sera* of 1957 that birth control ought to be viewed not as ‘an instrument of demographic manipulation’ but as an opportunity ‘to capture a new fundamental right’.⁵⁷

AIED’s Roman branch established the first Contraception Consultation Centre (Centro di Consulenza Contraccettiva) in 1956 in Via Collina. Initially the clinic did not publicly promote contraception, instead more covertly referring couples to one of the private physicians in the area known to provide the vaginal diaphragm.⁵⁸ No arrests occurred thanks to legal cushioning by supportive MPs, who threatened a challenge to government in the case of arrests.⁵⁹ Luigi De Marchi did receive two police denunciations, which were filed and to which he responded, in line with AIED strategy, by invoking Article 21 of the Constitution guaranteeing freedom of expression, and Article 32 of the Constitution, ‘in defence of women’s health’.⁶⁰ The latter article, dating

from the interwar period, declared that the State was responsible for the protection of women's health in their role as mothers. It was ironic that birth control activists were compelled to invoke one Fascist-era law to critique another, and that both laws equated womanhood with motherhood. While AIED welcomed the coverage of the clinic in Italian and international media,⁶¹ it was less satisfied with the fact that the majority of visitors (around 200 in the first eight months according to De Marchi) were affluent and well-educated.⁶² AIED wished foremost to reach working-class women and to disseminate contraception in the south. In 1961–63, clinics were opened in Naples, Palermo and Vibo Valentia in the region of Calabria. The latter location was chosen because it had among the country's lowest average incomes and highest birth rates, while being home to a relatively strong AIED branch.⁶³ While this clinic encountered widespread local opposition, it started distributing the Pill among local women for free in 1964 and until its closing by the Christian Democrat City Council the following year – a remarkably bold strategy revealing the organization's determination to reach the southern poor.⁶⁴ Overall, the clinics contributed significantly to AIED's visibility and growth: by 1962 it counted around 2000 fee-paying members, although its circle of supporters was wider.⁶⁵

International connections and local impacts

From 1958 AIED was strongly influenced by the US-based Pathfinder, directed by Clarence Gamble. Director at the Procter & Gamble Company and long-standing advocate of population control, Gamble had in the interwar period called for the sterilization of black women in the Southern US.⁶⁶ He founded the Pathfinder Fund in 1957 as an organization that was to globally promote FP, specifically by making various forms of contraception cheaply available through local clinics in poorer countries. Pathfinder financially supported pharmaceutical research into developing the contraceptive pill. In Puerto Rico, Pathfinder was involved with the birth control pill trials during the mid-1950s, and with sterilization programmes, some of which included forced sterilization of women.⁶⁷ Gamble favoured using cheap, sometimes insufficiently tested devices such as salt rice jelly and the salt-and-sponge method, attempting to persuade women to use these whilst bypassing medical supervision and playing little attention to sexual education. In 1955 Pathfinder sent AIED a start-up donation followed by \$1000 annually until the late 1960s.⁶⁸ Throughout this period Gamble also sent over nine square feet of salt rubber as well as supplies of vaginal diaphragms and jelly – all of which were hard to obtain in Italy.⁶⁹

In 1959, Maria Luisa De Marchi Zardini, encouraged by Gamble, began to visit the large slums in the Roman periphery (Pietralata and Centocelle, among others) to freely distribute various forms of contraception.⁷⁰ Forgotten by the post-war reconstruction drive of the economic miracle, the 'borgate romane' (Roman boroughs) were characterized by poverty, lack of infrastructure and overcrowding. Its inhabitants were routinely portrayed as culturally deprived.⁷¹ To Gamble, Zardini and their supporters, 'cleansing' the Roman slums acquired deep symbolic significance and formed part of a wider modernization drive. Their approach betrayed a hierarchical notion of reproductive

bodies, with the poor, uneducated situated at the bottom of society, and viewed as dispossessed of sexual knowledge and bodily autonomy. As discussed in AIED's newsletter:

[Zardini's] heroic work in the Roman slums is unprecedented: for the first time, these men and women living in squalor [...] will receive an education of intimate matters, which, it is hoped, will allow them one day to make responsible choices.⁷²

Responsibility here was a loaded term: it was implied that this segment of the population lacked it innately, and that intervention in their intimate practices was required to initiate a transformation of their lives and communities. Despite the reference to education, Zardini had little regard for what today we call informed consent, and seems to have shared only limited pharmaceutical information with the women she visited; indeed, the emphasis was on disseminating contraceptives, not knowledge.⁷³

Zardini pursued this activity for 10 years, visiting and holding records on 558 women. She noted that the average age of the women was 33 years old, and that for every three children, these women typically had two abortions.⁷⁴ Before the introduction of the Pill, Zardini distributed the low-quality Rendell's Gel, donated to AIED by the UK producers through Gamble's intervention. It was a vaginal suppository based on quinine sulphate developed in the UK in the late nineteenth century, which in many countries had become unpopular due to its uncertain medical implications.⁷⁵ The police did not obstruct Zardini's work, despite insistent pressure by Catholic action groups.⁷⁶ In 1963 AIED presented Zardini's work at a press conference, framing it as a pioneering initiative of sexual education. Scandal ensued in the conservative press and the Church issued a strong condemnation.⁷⁷ However, papers on the left of the political spectrum were supportive, including *Paese sera*, the socialist daily *Avanti*, and, more surprisingly, the PCI daily *Unita*.⁷⁸ On the centre-left, Zardini's actions were broadly hailed as signs of the irresistible modernization of the country, and the fact that she worked primarily with women was noted positively. Zardini did not explicitly frame her work in terms of women's rights, but did deliberately work with women separate from their husbands, investing onto the former responsibility for their own reproductive behaviour and more broadly for a modernizing shift among the deprived.⁷⁹ As she explained in AIED's newsletter: 'One needs to work with the women directly: it will be the women who will change wider attitudes among these sectors of the population.'⁸⁰ While Zardini contributed to the feminization of reproductive agency in public discourse, her views on the need for intervention in poor women's sexual and reproductive practices betrayed the conviction that the latter in fact lacked the capability for autonomous decision-making.

From 1963 AIED openly started promoting the Pill, which had been approved for use in the USA in 1960. AIED argued that it ought to be introduced to the female adult population as a whole, and that fears around longer-term health impacts were ill-founded.⁸¹ It produced leaflets on the Pill for medical professionals, and translated English-language popular-medical books, among which were C. Tietze and R. Frank's *A Birth Control and Marriage Manual*.⁸² Its own texts included a plain-talking manual on sexual intercourse and pregnancy by Tina Franchini and Fiorella Ferrazza, entitled *How Children are Born*.⁸³ These publications – which remarkably remained uncensored – contributed to creating a new climate in which sex as pleasure, including pre-marital sex, became debatable.⁸⁴ AIED's campaigning and the introduction of the Pill

contributed to growing parliamentary support for legislative change. Between 1952 and 1968 eight bills proposing the abolition of Article 553 were presented to the Lower Chamber. A proposal put forward by the small social-democratic party PSDI in 1958 stated the need to abolish the ban on contraception on the basis of changing demographic conditions, the Fascist origins of the law, and the pragmatic observation that many Italians were already using birth control. Both this and a 1964 PSI–PSDI proposal failed to generate majority support, but amidst the parliamentary and public discussions it was clear that taboos were evaporating rapidly. Crucially, illegal abortion – a widespread but long silenced phenomenon in Italy – was brought into the discussion by supporters of these bills, as a warning point and a key reason why contraception ought to be legally available.⁸⁵

Furthermore, AIED saw its support and political impact significantly enhanced thanks to its alliance with a new party created in 1955, the Partito Radicale (PR). While in the 1960s–1970s attaining only limited parliamentary representation, the PR enjoyed strong exposure in the media and was able to impact on political life through the introduction of a new individual rights-based agenda. This included campaigns for the legalization of contraception, on which it worked closely with AIED from 1962, as well as the legalization of no-fault divorce, and in the 1970s abortion on demand and gay rights. Convinced that Italy was lagging behind neighbouring nations, its discourse was centred on modernization, secularization and ‘Europeanization’.⁸⁶ Yet as its message thus gained ground, AIED was faced with a distinct set of critiques, articulated by those who objected not to family planning as such, but to this being underpinned by demographic arguments, and who pointed out that gender-blind modernization discourse fell short of strengthening women’s rights. It was women of the left – UDI, women in the PSI and PR, and from 1969 the new, small feminist collectives in Milan, Turin, Padua and Rome – who introduced principles of individual (women’s) rights and bodily self-determination as underpinning the promotion of birth control. They sharply disentangled the latter from any population management agenda, challenging the earlier approaches of birth control advocates. Quickly turning their attention to abortion, they pointed at the limits of campaigns aimed only at the legalization of contraception. Instead, they articulated a much broader, innovative agenda for political and cultural change, centred on women’s full self-determination (encapsulated in the slogan ‘io sono mia’ or ‘I am mine’) and the fundamental rethinking of sexual norms and practices.⁸⁷

Amidst such critiques, AIED in the mid-1960s was faced with several acrimonious departures and the creation of two rival organizations. The first, the cautiously named Association for Marriage Education (Associazione per l’Educazione matrimoniale), was led by Vittoria Olivetti and others who objected to the De Marchis’ sexual radicalism. The second, led by De Benedetti and others who opposed AIED’s proximity to Pathfinder, the population management principles and the lingering eugenics, was the Italian Union of Marital and Premarital Education Centres (Unione italiana dei centri della educazione matrimoniale e prematrimoniale), which was granted affiliate status with IPPF and acted as government adviser in the 1970s.⁸⁸ Such tensions mirrored the changing global FP framework. The creation of the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) in 1968 and the linking of FP with human rights principles at the Conference on Human Rights in Tehran in the same year,

demonstrated the UN's embracing of FP principles, but it also changed the principles underpinning FP interventions, refocusing these on health and human rights.⁸⁹ As a result, the approaches taken by organizations such as IPPF became more professional and culturally cautious, cooperating with local medical institutions and governments rather than parachuting fieldworkers with little understanding of cultural context – as Pathfinder was wont to do. Moreover, IPPF now adopted stricter policies on deploying only contraceptives that had been approved by US or international agencies. As a result, tensions between Pathfinder and IPPF exacerbated over the salt-and-sponge method, which the former also used in Italy.⁹⁰ IPPF was increasingly alarmed by Zardini's methods in the Roman slums, and in 1965 it withdrew AIED's affiliation without explanation.⁹¹

Towards legalization

The disarray in the Italian FP movement coincided, paradoxically, with its growing societal impact amidst rapid cultural and value change. From the mid-1960s AIED's tactics centred on attempts to provoke the arrests of activists and physicians, which were expected to generate sympathetic press responses and create opportunities for Court appeals. Regular street demonstrations and conferences organized by AIED and the Partito Radicale in 1964–70 created a sense of momentum. In 1964 Luigi De Marchi and Carlo Matteotti were arrested in Florence for speaking at a Conference entitled 'The Social and Medical Risks of Uncontrolled Fertility'. It resulted in a Court decision against which they both appealed, eventually sending the case to the Constitutional Court. De Marchi and Matteotti pleaded not guilty on the basis of the two aforementioned Constitutional principles – freedom of expression and the state's obligation to protect women's health. They lost: the Court ruled that such principles could not be used to defend opinions that were 'contrary to good custom'. The latter argument had gained significant traction among opponents of legalization, as pro-natalism had largely lost its credibility as an argument.⁹² Yet while Article 553 was not compromised, the ruling did help the campaigners in stating that in 'certain extreme circumstances' (left unspecified), advocacy of birth control was in fact necessary and legal.⁹³ Meanwhile, the government coalition partners – DC and PSI, the mid-size, left-of-centre socialist party – were openly divided on the issue, prompting Prime Minister Aldo Moro, a progressive Christian Democrat, to cautiously initiate change. He allowed Italy's delegation at the Tehran UN Conference in 1968 to abstain rather than oppose the UN's Family Planning policy framework.⁹⁴

While 1967–69 saw an explosion of protests at schools and university campuses and industrial unrest that shook the country to its core, a series of legal changes transformed family life, sex and gender relations. In 1969 the laws that had criminalized adultery were abolished, and the following year, after intense parliamentary and media debate, no-fault divorce was legalized, with men and women now treated equally.⁹⁵ The legalization of divorce, and the defeat of a conservative attempt to undo it through a referendum in 1974, revealed the profundity of Italy's cultural transformation. Not only did it expose how far the Church's influence over ordinary people had receded, it also offered women an opportunity to express a new-found thirst for liberation. Indeed, polls in 1974 revealed that large numbers of (Catholic) women voted in favour of

keeping divorce legal.⁹⁶ Furthermore, the mid-1960s saw, at last, careful shifts in official Catholic discourse. This reflected the changes in sexual norms among Catholics, who, whether nominal or practising, continued to constitute a large majority of the Italian population. Especially after the introduction of the Pill, Catholic women used contraception in rapidly increasing numbers and were now willing to discuss this publicly.⁹⁷ *Gaudium et Spes* (Hope and Joy), Pope Paul VI's Pastoral Constitution of 1966, featured subtle discursive shifts, suggesting that love between spouses was 'not only aimed at procreation'.⁹⁸

However, such tendencies were nipped in the bud by the publication of *Humanae Vitae* (HV) by the same Pope in 1968.⁹⁹ The Encyclical, rigidly conservative in its restated opposition to non-natural birth control, was devastating to the growing numbers of progressives within the Church. While the Church's continued ban on contraception had precious little impact on Catholics' intimate practices, it contributed – in Italy perhaps more strongly than in other countries – to the ongoing erosion of the Church's political and social power.¹⁰⁰ Zardini's book *Inumane Vite*, published in 1969 as a riposte to HV, was widely debated and provoked shock in mainstream opinion, but it also contributed to the now open, wide-ranging critiques of the Church in Italian society. The most-commented on part of the book contained extracts of Zardini's interviews with women in the Roman slums, in which she foregrounded the lack of sexual knowledge, domestic violence, backstreet abortions and material poverty. Throughout the book, Zardini referred to a 'backward Catholic culture' as the central cause behind such phenomena.¹⁰¹ Once again, the calls for access to contraception were framed in a paternalistic discourse emphasizing (some) women's lack of agency and knowledge.

Two appeals cases brought to the Constitutional Court in 1971 led the latter to declare Article 553 unconstitutional. In April 1969, Virginio Bertinelli, MP for the PSI and president of AIED, was arrested and sentenced by the Viterbo Court following AIED's publishing of a leaflet entitled *Conscious Procreation and Birth Control Techniques*. Later that year Luigi De Marchi was arrested, following the opening of another family planning clinic in Rome, the first in Italy to offer the Pill to any adult woman requesting it.¹⁰² Both defence pleas invoked women's health, freedom of expression and global over-population. On 18 March 1971, the Constitutional Court in a shock verdict ruled Bertinelli and De Marchi not guilty, and declared Article 553 incompatible with the Constitution. The ruling was based on the principle of free expression of opinion, the protection of women's health and the population paradigm, stating that the main motivation behind the Fascist law – elevating the birth-rate – had lost its validity. It did not mention individuals' self-determination in reproductive matters. Furthermore, the Constitutional Court argued that the notion of 'defence of good custom' ought to be reconsidered in light of cultural change as well as medical-technological progress.¹⁰³ In other words, the use of contraception was no longer perceived as a threat to morality in sexual conduct between men and women. Herewith the Court acknowledged the separation of sex as pleasure from sex as procreation. New legislation, introduced later that year, abolished Article 553 and legalized the advertising of contraception as well as its sale to married, adult women and men.¹⁰⁴

Conclusion

The abolishing of Article 553 is a milestone in recent Italian history, transforming the lives of ordinary women and men by changing the legal and social parameters of sexual behaviour. And yet, its immediate impact should not be overstated, limited as it was by the specificities of Italy's sexual revolution. Sexual education remained near-absent in schools, and a plethora of Catholic groups engaged in virulent campaigning against contraception, abortion and homosexuality.¹⁰⁵ According to media reports of 1975, only 5% of married adult women were using the Pill; indeed, women's access to the Pill was hindered by widespread hostility to it among physicians and pharmacists.¹⁰⁶ At the same time, it was clear that the abolition of Article 553 reflected the rapid transformation of values and practices among Italians. Birth control advocacy prior to 1971 contributed vitally to the early sexual revolution: it was in this discursive context that sexual activity was politicized as an expression of the responsible self, and that the distinction between sex as pleasure and sex as procreation, including for women, lost its taboo quality. After 1971, AIED continued to act as an agent of sexual cultural change, specifically by producing 'photoromances' featuring explicit discussion of sex and contraception.¹⁰⁷

However, FP initiatives in 1950s–1960s Italy played an ambivalent role in the emergence of principles of reproductive rights and autonomy. Most advocates of legal contraception in 1950s–1960s Italy were neo-Malthusians driven by the desire to reduce births specifically among the poor and the youth. Initiatives such as the free distribution of contraception in the Roman slums, in the absence of medical supervision and what we now call informed consent, illustrate a vision of women's reproductive bodies as vehicles for demographic change rather than autonomous agents, as well as of the hierarchization of such bodies based on social class. Often a moralistic tone on sexual restraint and a normative view on the small-family model prevailed over notions of autonomy. The discourse of responsibility, while endowing individuals with agency, implied a normative view on desirable decisions in family formation, family size and sexual practice. The feminization of reproductive agency that occurred through the discourses and actions of AIED, too, was a complex development: placing in women's hands the responsibility for making those right choices, family planners called on women to lead the 'modernization' of their communities more broadly.

Despite obvious obstacles, notably the strength of the Catholic Church and the legal framework, the global FP movement saw 1950s Italy as an ideal site for campaigning and birth control dissemination, and one where social deprivation and the strength of the Communist Party turned demography into a seemingly urgent political matter. From around 1960 conflicts within AIED reflected the changes taking place in the global FP movement: as the latter was increasingly influenced by the more cautious and human rights-based UN framework, AIED's approaches provoked a new set of critiques in Italy too. It was expressed by those who did not object to legal contraception, but who called for such an agenda to be firmly based on (women's) bodily autonomy. What occurred here was the 'capture of a new fundamental right', as put by one anti-Fascist commentator. Anti-Fascism was significant as a mobilizing political framework in pointing at the dangers of lingering eugenics in birth control advocacy. However, it was the women's liberation movement after 1968 which more fundamentally shaped the articulation of this new right. The 'new feminism', centred on the reclaiming of the

body and the politicization of sexual difference, foregrounded principles of autonomy in reproduction, specifically in relation to abortion.¹⁰⁸ This, however, had been prepared by the feminization of reproductive agency and contraception in the 1960s. Not only was AIED instrumental in this shift, but so too was the mass-based communist women's organization UDI, in defiance of mainstream opinion and the PCI to which it was linked. Crucially, it was the critiques by women of the left regarding AIED's adherence to population management which generated novel, women-centred principles of reproductive choice.

Notes

1. Eriksson, *Reproductive Freedom*, 186–8.
2. Betta, “Note sulla storia,” 131–52.
3. But see also recent comparative and transnational approaches in: Olszynko-Gryn and Rusterholz, “Special Issue: Reproductive Politics”; Ignaciuk and Kelly, “Special Issue: Contraception and Catholicism.” See also the international contextualization of post-war sexual change in Italy in: Morris, “Let's Not Talk About Italian Sex,” 17–32.
4. Connelly, *Fatal Misconception*; Eager, *Global Population Policy*; Hartmann, *Reproductive Rights and Wrongs*; Rao, *From Population Control to Reproductive Health*; Birke, “It is Under the Banner,” 157–78; Frey, “Neo-Malthusianism and Development,” 75–97.
5. Among others: Takeshita, *The Global Biopolitics*; Thomas, *Politics of the Womb*; Nakachi and Solinger, *Reproductive States*.
6. Mainly: Willson, *Women in Twentieth-Century Italy*; Morris, *Women in Italy*.
7. Olszynko-Gryn and Rusterholz, “Reproductive Politics.”
8. An approach centred on social hierarchization of reproductive bodies in adopted for instance in: Roberts, *Killing the Black Body*; Briggs, *Reproducing Empire*.
9. On IPPF, in addition to the works already noted: Robinson and Ross, *The Global Family Planning Revolution*.
10. Connelly, *Fatal Misconception*; Eager, *Global Population Policy*.
11. Hartmann, *Reproductive Rights and Wrongs*, 55–87.
12. Frey, “Neo-Malthusianism and Development,” 90.
13. A theoretical perspective on responsabilization in reproduction: Mills, “Biopolitics and Human Reproduction,” 281–94; a historical perspective related to US family planning: Panu, *Contextualizing Family Planning*, chapter 4. This is a different, though related, notion of responsabilization to the one developed by scholars focusing on individualization and (sexual) citizenship in the context of neoliberalism, which falls beyond the scope of this article.
14. For both countries it has been suggested that women's employment and financial independence played a role in strengthening feminization in reproductive choice. Sohn, *Chrysalides*; Rebreyend, *Intimités amoureuses*; Pavard, “Contraception et avortement,” 100–13; MacKinnon, “Were Women Present,” 222–40. A different view, highlighting the continued role played by men in marital birth control practices: Fisher and Szyreter, *Sex before the Sexual Revolution*. Pointing at spouses taking joint responsibility: Rusterholz, “Reproductive Behaviour and Contraceptive Practices,” 41–68.
15. On IPPF's interest in Europe: Katz et al., *The Selected Papers of Margaret Sanger*, document 157.
16. Roberto, Patruno, and Venturi, “Demo-Geodemo,” demo.istat.it (consulted December 14, 2021).
17. Spinelli et al., “Family Planning in Italy,” 153–60.
18. Treves, *Le nascite e la politica*, 175–8.
19. Porta, *Amore e libertà*, 92–3.
20. Formigoni, *Alla prova della democrazia*; Diotallevi, “The Territorial Articulation,” 77–108.

21. Pollard, *Catholicism*, 144–5.
22. Pollard, *Catholicism*, 146–7.
23. Horn, *The Spirit of Vatican II*.
24. Cullen, *Love, Honour, and Jealousy*.
25. In terms of periodization, Paul Ginsborg suggests that the major cultural shifts regarding sexual norms occurred in the early 1970s. Ginsborg, *Storia D'Italia*, 293–5. Further on sex and morality in the early post-war era: Budini, *La donna italiana*. On cultural change during the 'miracle' years: Gabrielli, *Anni di novita'*, 280–5.
26. Balestracci, *La sessualita'*, 57–79; a similar conceptualization of the sexual revolution in: Herzog, *Sex After Fascism*.
27. An estimate in Boneschi, *Santa Paziienza*, 78.
28. Wanrooij Bruno, *Storia del pudore*.
29. Cecchi, *Neo-Malthusianesimo pratico*.
30. Porta, *Amore e liberta'*, 6–7.
31. Petricola, "Dal discorso sulle donne," 184–234.
32. Zaccaria and Caleffi, *Controllo delle nascite*.
33. The ruling in: *Volonta: Rivista anarchica mensile*, V, 1950, 273–7.
34. Olivetti, *Il controllo delle nascite*.
35. One among several articles: Didimo (pseud.), "Noi siamo troppi e la terra e' stanca."
36. Porta, *Amore e liberta'*, 15.
37. Garofalo, "Maternita' volontaria," 34–5.
38. 'Conscious procreation' was discussed for instance in: De Benedetti, "I figli della fame," 5; "Programma dell'AIED," in Olivetti, *Il controllo*, 142.
39. Very little has been written about Maria Luisa Zardini. Ribero and Vigliani *100 titoli*, 100.
40. De Marchi, *Repressione sessuale*, 100–2.
41. De Marchi, *Sesso e civiltà*, 36.
42. Williams and Williams, *Every Child*, 379–80.
43. Franks, *Margaret Sanger's*, 44–9.
44. Peretti Griva, "Prefazione," xv.
45. De Benedetti, "Aspetti eugenitici," 35.
46. Porta, *Amore e Libertà*, 25.
47. On (female) physicians' support for FP in Britain: Rusterholz, *Women's Medicine*. In France, a College des Médecins was active within the MFPPF in the 1960s–70s, playing a key role in shaping more positive attitudes vis-à-vis contraception (and abortion) in sectors of the medical profession: Pavard, *Si je veux*, 53–67; Garcia, "Expertise scientifique," 196–215.
48. For instance in: "Il numero e' potenza," *Il Borghese*, V, September 15, 1954, 262.
49. Discussed in: "Demografia, eugenetica, limitazione delle nascite," in *Famiglia e Civiltà*, X:4, 1958, 144.
50. Chappel, *Catholic Modern*, 13–14.
51. "Mosche cocchiere," *L'Osservatore romano*, November 12, 1954.
52. The main Jesuit paper called for the state to act against AIED: "Associazione italiana per l'educazione demografica," *Aggiornamenti sociali* IX: 2 (1958), 126.
53. Hilevych and Sato, "Popular Medical Discourses," 99–121.
54. "AIED e il controllo delle nascite," *L'Unita'*, April 4, 1958, 3. Although Luigi and Maria Luisa De Marchi both worked at the US Embassy throughout the 1950s, their birth control work was in fact met with hostility by US diplomats in Italy, who wished to avoid antagonizing the Church and the DC. Williams and Williams, *Every Child*, 378–9.
55. Bellassai, *La morale comunista*.
56. On UDI and divorce: Seymour, "Steel Capsules" (consulted March 2, 2021); on UDI and abortion: Pastorino, "I figli che non nascono."
57. Zangrandi, "Il controllo delle nascite."
58. Williams and Williams, *Every Child*, 380.
59. "Genitori per vocazione," *L'Espresso*, II:47, November 18, 1956, 4.
60. "Gli arresti recenti," *Notiziario dell'Aied*, September 1956, nr 11, 1–2.

61. The opening of the clinic was covered in France (“Sensation a Rome,” *L’Express*, February 4, 1956), the UK (*Guardian*) and the US (*New York Herald Tribune*). Porta, *Amore e liberta’*, 47.
62. “Il nuovo Centro: Bilancio iniziale,” *Notiziario dell’Aied*, June 1956, nr 10, 2–3.
63. Williams and Williams, *Every Child*, 384–5.
64. Porta, *Amore e liberta’*, 52–6 and 122.
65. Porta, *Amore e liberta’*, 139.
66. Franks, *Margaret Sanger’s*, 43–4.
67. Robert, *Contraception*, 185–6.
68. Williams and Williams, *Every Child*, 81.
69. Suttentfield et al., *Pioneers*.
70. See Williams and Williams, *Every Child*, 385.
71. Farina and Villani, *Borgate romane*.
72. “Maria Luisa De Marchi e le borgate romane,” *Notiziario dell’Aied*, March–April 1961, 2–3.
73. An indication of this can be found in Zardini’s very limited reference, in her book *Inumane vite* and in interviews, to educational work or informative conversations with the women.
74. Sollazzo, “Inumane vite,” 17.
75. Williams and Williams, *Every Child*, 383–90.
76. Suttentfield et al., *Courageous Pioneers*.
77. In the conservative paper *Il Borgese*: Eckermann, “Roma: la capitale,” 18. In the Vatican’s daily, *Osservatore Romano*: “A proposito di limite delle nascite,” July 11, 1963, 1.
78. Porta, *Amore e liberta’*, 118.
79. Zardini, *Inumane vite*, 4.
80. Zardini interviewed in: “Un lavoro importante nelle borgate romane,” *Notiziario dell’Aied*, September–October 1960, 2.
81. “Contraccettivi orali,” in *Notiziario dell’Aied*, January–April 1963, 35–6.
82. Translated as: Orietta Avenati, *Procreazione cosciente e tecniche antifecundative* (Edizioni Tempora, 1964).
83. Franchini and Ferrazza, *Come nascono i bambini*.
84. For instance, an investigation among young people’s attitudes reported in: Bisutti, “Il fidanzamento,” 2–5.
85. Betti, “Note sulla storia,” 138–9.
86. Petricola, *I radicali*; Ponzone, *Il partito radicale*; Arconti and Turco, *Marco Pannella*.
87. Bracke, *Women and the Reinvention*, 79–85.
88. Porta, *Amore e liberta’*, 138–141.
89. Birke, “It is Under the Banner”; Connelly, “Seeing Beyond the State.”
90. Williams and Williams, *Every Child*, 359; Eager, *Global Population Policy*, 35–41.
91. George Cadbury of IPPF explicitly objected to various De Marchi–Zardini initiatives. Williams and Williams, *Every Child*, 395–408.
92. Betta, “Note sulla storia,” 146–7.
93. Porta, *Amore e liberta’*, 155–8.
94. “L’impiego degli anticoncezionali e i problem che ne derivano per la sanita’ pubblica. Relazione della Direzione Generale dei Servizi di Igiene Pubblica, Ministero della Sanita,” *Notiziario dell’Amministrazione Sanitaria*, XX:5, 1968, 2–6.
95. Seymour, *Debating Divorce*, chapters 8–9.
96. Bracke, *Women and the Reinvention*, 72–8.
97. Barbagli et al., *La sessualita’*, 58–60.
98. Paul VI, *Gaudium e Spes*; Horn, *The Spirit of Vatican II*, 13–17.
99. Paul VI, *Encyclical Letter Humanae Vitae*.
100. Varaia, *Dossier sull’ Humanae Vitae*; Bocchini Camaiani, “Famiglia e sessualita’,” 187–212; Vassalle and Faggioli, “A Kind of Reformation,” 211–28.
101. Zardini, *Inumane vite*.
102. Betta, “Note sulla storia,” 150–2.

103. Betta, "Note sulla storia," 146–8. The sentence in: *Atti Parlamentari*, Va legislatura, *Documenti: Documenti parlamentari*, Doc. VII, n. 114, F.
104. Porta, *Amore e liberta'*, 191–3.
105. Bonifazio, "The Secret Pill."
106. Purison, "Paola Pitagora," 5.
107. Bonifazio, *The Photoromance*.
108. See Bracke, *Women and the Reinvention*, 91.

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