

no más bebés



PBS National Premiere
Monday, February 1, 2016 - 10pm/9C (check your local listings)
on PBS's Emmy Award-winning series, "Independent Lens"

Directed/Produced by Renee Tajima-Peña / Produced by Virginia Espino

Running time: PBS version 54:00; Feature version 79:00

PBS press contact:
Mary Lugo, CaraMar Inc.
lugo@negia.net
cell: 770-623-8190

Moon Canyon Films
Renee Tajima-Peña
nomasbebesmovie@gmail.com
www.facebook.com/
NoMasBebesMovie
Twitter:@NoMasBebes



Plaintiff Maria Figueroa

Image Design: Bill Bryn Russell

Production Notes

"They came to have their babies. They went home sterilized."

Synopsis

No Más Bebés is the story of Mexican immigrant mothers who sued county doctors, the state, and the U.S. government after they were sterilized while giving birth at Los Angeles County-USC Medical Center during the 1970s. Alongside an intrepid, 26-year-old Chicana lawyer and armed with hospital records secretly gathered by a whistle-blowing young doctor, the mothers stood up to powerful institutions in the name of justice.

Their lawsuit, *Madrigal v. Quilligan*, is an untold chapter in the history of reproductive rights. In the lawsuit, the women asserted that their right to bear a child is guaranteed under the Supreme Court decision, *Roe v. Wade*. January 22 commemorates the 42nd anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*.

The setting for the film is the immigrant neighborhood of Los Angeles's eastside where young mothers, like Maria Hurtado, are building families and new lives in the U.S. Mrs. Hurtado is an earthy woman who loves to dance, and who finds sly ways of subverting traditional boundaries inside and outside the home. She lives in a housing project close by the massive county hospital that looms over the area.

There in the hospital, a young doctor named Dr. Bernard Rosenfeld, begins to notice a troubling practice in the maternity ward. He witnesses immigrant women, many of whom speak no English, being pushed into tubal ligations during the late stages of active labor. A first year intern with everything to lose, he secretly gathers evidence of the sterilizations and blasts letters across the country to try to get someone to take up the cause. Dr. Rosenfeld meets a newly minted law school graduate, Antonia Hernández, whose own mother has given birth at the hospital. Hernández and a group of young Mexican American lawyers, working out of a legal aid storefront, set out to file a civil rights lawsuit to stop the practice.

The unfolding drama of *Madrigal v. Quilligan* is told through multiple perspectives of key players at the center of the story. Six of the sterilized mothers agreed to be filmed. Four decades later, their memories of what happened to them inside the maternity ward are still raw. Many of the women had no idea they were sterilized until lawyers and activists helping with the case came knocking on their doors.

For the first time since the trial, the defendant doctors also agreed to be interviewed, including Dr. EJ Quilligan, the prominent head of OB-GYN, as well as doctors who performed the surgeries and were named in the lawsuit. Was the maternity ward functioning as a “border checkpoint” for unborn babies? Were the mothers pushed into signing consents in a language they did not understand when they were in no condition to sign, or did they agree to sign under threat?

Says Maria Hurtado, *“They must’ve thought ‘this woman has so many kids we’ll just sew her up, so she won’t know that we did the operation.’”* 23-year-old Consuelo Hermosillo has no idea she was sterilized until she asks her doctor for birth control. Many women are ashamed to reveal what happened to them. Marriages are broken, dreams of a family shattered. As one woman put it, *“Se me acabo la cancion.”* *“My song is finished.”*

Doctors’ perceptions of the events are strikingly disconnected from that of the women. They deny any abuse and insist that the OB-GYN unit thrived under the leadership of Dr. Quilligan, one of the world’s most esteemed obstetrical researchers. At the same time they describe the maternity ward of the massive, public teaching hospital as a “war zone,” where so many babies are delivered that women labored on gurneys in the hallways. Dr. Karen Benker, the only other doctor who agreed to testify against her colleagues, contends that the chaos bolstered the idea among doctors that too many poor and Mexican babies were being born.

The story of the case, and the setting of Los Angeles’s eastside are vividly evoked by news clips as well as a wealth of archival footage shot by seminal Latino filmmakers during the 1960s and 70s. The film moves between past and present, testimony and dreams. The original hospital site is now abandoned, but still furnished with bassinets and surgery equipment. This presence of absence is a visual subtext of the film, linking the trauma of lived experience on the maternity floor to an alternative history of reproductive rights.

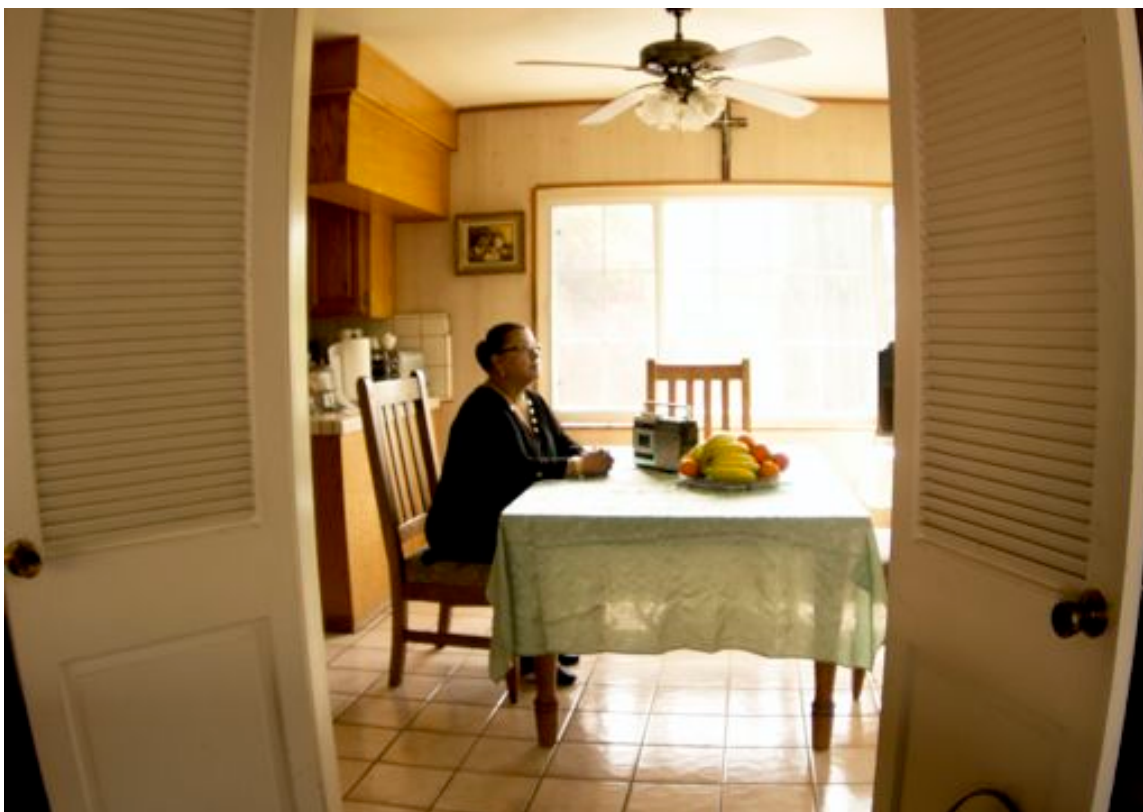
The *Madrigal v. Quilligan* case coincided with a virtual epidemic of sterilizations of poor women at public facilities across the U.S., and through programs tied to American foreign aid in developing countries. Critics of the sterilization programs argue that a perfect storm of public attitudes and policy regarding population control, welfare dependence, and remnants of eugenics practices, created an environment for abuse.

No Más Bebés comes at a time of growing activism around confronting the legacy of sterilization abuse, and putting an end to present-day practices. Even as past wrongs are being addressed, involuntary fertility control and sterilizations have been occurring around the world. Most recently, incarcerated

women have been targeted, such as women in California prisons given tubal ligations without proper approvals and a Tennessee prosecutor who offered plea deals in exchange for sterilization.

The landmark civil rights lawsuit filed by the mothers, *Madrigal v. Quilligan* in 1975, anticipated the re-emergence of the reproductive justice movement today. Chicana activists sought to redefine reproductive politics--not only as the right to abortion, but also the human right to bear a child. Their demand that the needs of poor women and women of color be heard resonates powerfully, as women's reproductive choice is under attack and the reproductive justice movement struggles to insure that all women have a voice in the debate.

No Más Bebés is directed by Academy Award®-nominated filmmaker Renee Tajima-Peña and produced with historian Virginia Espino. It is a Co-Production of Moon Canyon Films, and the Independent Television Service (ITVS), in association with Latino Public Broadcasting (LPB) with funding provided by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), and Chicken & Egg Pictures. Executive Producer for LPB – Sandra Pedlow. Executive Producer for ITVS - Sally Jo Fifer



Plaintiff Consuelo Hermosillo listens to her own voice 30 years prior.

Photo Credit: Claudio Rocha

Cover page photo: Maria Hurtado in the maternity ward of Los Angeles County-USC Medical Center.
Photo credit: Claudio Rocha



LOS ANGELES COUNTY-USC MEDICAL CENTER (LAC+USC) is a public hospital located in the heart of the largely immigrant community of Los Angeles's eastside. The massive Beaux-Arts building looms over the surrounding neighborhoods. The exterior was used as the setting for the popular soap opera "General Hospital." We filmed in the old hospital buildings, which still stand but are now shuttered. A new facility has been built nearby. At the time of the *Madrigal v. Quilligan* case, OB-GYN at the hospital was one of the world's premiere research institutions in the field.



THE MOTHERS

CONSUELO HERMOSILLO is most comfortable cooking up exquisite dishes from her hometown of Vera Cruz, Mexico and today is the head chef for her son Oscar's string of successful restaurants. She has always fought on behalf of her children and her community. But in audio interviews recorded in the 1970s, it is clear the sterilization left her shaken and vulnerable.



CAROLINA "MARIA" HURTADO is a feisty and funny woman who loves to dance, and who finds sly ways of subverting traditional boundaries inside and outside the home. Back in the day, she used to sneak out with her daughter to cruise Whittier Boulevard. She talks about her romance with her husband, SALVADOR, with a glint in her eye. The HURTADO's valued family above all, but their plans were cut short.



DOLORES MADRIGAL and her husband worked at factory jobs to save up for a house and family. When she learned she was sterilized, DOLORES'S husband was not only angry at the hospital, he directed his accusations of betrayal at her. She was the lead plaintiff in the civil rights lawsuit, *Madrigal v. Quilligan*.



MARIA FIGUEROA is a vivacious woman who raised her children on a hilly street in east Los Angeles. She savored her peaceful routine. When she was not at work, she was always with her kids. But when she discovered that she was sterilized at LAC+USC, her life and marriage took an unexpected turn.

ALSO FEATURED: Melvina Hernandez and Jovita Rivera, who were sterilized at LAC+USC. DOLORES MADRIGAL's son, ORENCIO, who now works as a trucker; MARIA HURTADO'S husband Salvador, who worked in construction for the city, daughter Carol, a construction supervisor, and her son, Raul, an engineering inspector.

THE LAWYER



ANTONIA HERNÁNDEZ migrated from Mexico as a child and grew up in east Los Angeles. Her mother gave birth to her little sister at LAC+USC. Hernández was a 26-year-old UCLA Law School graduate, working at the Los Angeles Center for Law & Justice, when she met DR. ROSENFELD. She and lead attorney, CHARLES NABARRETTE, who was all of 29-years old, filed the landmark civil rights lawsuit *Madrigal v. Quilligan*. HERNÁNDEZ went on to become President of the Mexican American Legal Defense & Education Fund and is now the CEO of the California Community Foundation.

ALSO FEATURED: Defense attorney for the doctors, Nancy Menzies Voessen and lead plaintiff's attorney, Charles Nabarrette.

THE DOCTORS



DR. EDWARD JAMES QUILLIGAN was the esteemed and beloved head of the Women's Hospital at LAC+USC when the sterilizations were taking place. Formerly the Chair of OB-GYN at Yale, QUILLIGAN is preeminent in his field. A pioneer of maternal fetal medicine, he is former president of the American Obstetrics and Gynecology Society. As a main defendant in the *Madrigal v. Quilligan* lawsuit, he steadfastly denied that any improprieties took place.



DR. BERNARD ROSENFELD was a young resident at LAC+USC when he began to suspect that Mexican immigrant women were being sterilized by tubal ligation without their consent. The grandson of a Torah scholar, DR. ROSENFELD felt it was his duty to speak up about the practice. He risked his career in his relentless pursuit of justice, confronting DR. QUILLIGAN and doctors at LAC+USC, and secreting medical evidence to the young Mexican American lawyers who agreed to take the case. A longtime advocate for women's reproductive choice, DR. ROSENFELD now has an OB-GYN practice in Texas, where he specializes in reversing tubal ligations and also continues to be an abortion provider.



ALSO FEATURED: Defendant doctors Dr. Jerry Neumann and Dr. Michael Krietzer, Dr. Howard Blanchette, a former resident who trained under Dr. Quilligan, and Dr. Karen Benker, a medical student who testified against the doctors.

THE JOURNALIST



FRANK CRUZ, was raised in an immigrant family in East Los Angeles. He taught Chicano history before becoming the first Latino anchor on Los Angeles television news. He was the only TV reporter to cover the Madrigal v. Quilligan trial. CRUZ went on to co-found Telemundo, and twice served as Chair of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. He is currently a member of the Board of Trustees of the University of Southern California.

THE ACTIVIST



GLORIA MOLINA, the eldest of ten children grew up on the eastside. She was a young legal secretary and president of the nascent feminist organization, Comisión Femenil, when the group signed on as class representatives for the Madrigal v. Quilligan suit. MOLINA went on to a groundbreaking career in electoral politics. She was the first woman elected to the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors. As Supervisor, she implemented reforms at the hospital and oversaw the construction of a new LAC+USC facility.



Timeline-Madrigal v. Quilligan

- 1858 Los Angeles County Hospital founded. The county has a population of about 11,000 people.
- 1885 The hospital becomes affiliated with the University of Southern California (USC) as a teaching facility.
- 1927 In *Buck v. Bell*, the U.S. Supreme Court upholds state statutes permitting compulsory sterilization of the unfit “for the protection and health of the state.” The ruling has never been overturned.
- 1934 A new, 1,680-bed facility for Los Angeles County Hospital is dedicated inside an imposing concrete edifice.
- 1968 Paul Ehrlich publishes *The Population Bomb*, which warns of the possibility of mass starvation in the United States in the coming decades due to overpopulation.
- 1969 Dr. Edward James Quilligan is appointed the head of the Women’s Hospital and Chairman of the Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology at Los Angeles County-USC Medical Center (LAC-USC).
- 1970 The population of Los Angeles County is more than 7 million.
- 1971 Maria Figueroa is sterilized by doctors at the LAC+USC Medical Center.
- 1972 Carolina “Maria” Hurtado and Jovita Rivera are sterilized by doctors at the LAC+USC Medical Center.
- 1972 Dr. Bernard Rosenfeld joins the obstetrics staff at Los Angeles County General. He soon begins documenting what he says is a policy to pressure Mexican women to be sterilized during labor at the hospital.
- 1973 Landmark U.S. Supreme Court decision, *Roe v. Wade* affirms the right to privacy, to use contraception, terminate a pregnancy, and or bear a child.
- 1973 Lawyers from the Southern Poverty Law Center file a lawsuit on behalf of Minnie and Mary Alice Relf, two sisters age 14 and 12, charging that doctors sterilized them at the age of 14 and 12 after authorities forced their illiterate mother to “sign” a consent form.
- 1973 The Committee to End Sterilization Abuse is formed in New York by Dr. Helen Rodriguez-Trias and Latina activists.
- 1973 Dolores Madrigal is sterilized by doctors at the LAC+USC Medical Center.
- 1973 Consuelo Hermosillo is sterilized by doctors at the LAC+USC Medical Center.
- 1974 The *Los Angeles Times* runs a front-page story alleging doctors have pushed several Mexican origin women into unwanted sterilizations at the LAC+USC Medical Center

without their full knowledge or informed consent.

- 1974 Hundreds march from a local park to LAC+USC Medical Center to protest the sterilizations there.

- 1975 The *Madrigal v. Quilligan* lawsuit is filed in federal court in Los Angeles by Charles Nabarrette, Antonia Hernandez and Georgina Torres-Rizk of the Los Angeles Center for Law and Justice, with assistance from Joseph Levin and Charles Abernathy of the Southern Poverty Law Center.

- 1978 Federal judge Jesse William Curtis, Jr. delivers a verdict in *Madrigal v. Quilligan* trial.

- 1979 The U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare implements new guidelines for sterilizations performed with public funds.

- 1979 California's state sterilization law is repealed in a measure introduced by Assemblyman Art Torres. Torres represents East Los Angeles neighborhoods where several of the *Madrigal v. Quilligan* plaintiffs live.

- 1991 Gloria Molina, former president of Comisión Feminil, class representatives of *Madrigal v. Quilligan*, is the first woman elected to the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors.

- 2000 Frank Cruz, former KNBC reporter who covered the *Madrigal v. Quilligan* trial, is appointed to the Board of Trustees of USC.

- 2003 The SisterSong Women of Color Reproductive Justice Collective introduces the term "Reproductive Justice," that is, the right to have children, not have children, and to parent the children one does have in safe and healthy environments

- 2008 The 74-year-old County Hospital building is shut down and a new facility is opened in its place.

- 2006 – 2008 Nearly 150 women are improperly sterilized with tubal ligations at California state prisons.

- 2013 The North Carolina state legislature approves \$10 million in compensation to and men who were victims of eugenics sterilization between 1929 and 1974

- 2015 Virginia is the second state to agree to compensate victims of eugenic sterilization.

- 2015 It is disclosed that a Nashville, Tennessee prosecutor has made sterilization a part of plea negotiations for women.

Director's Statement

I first heard about the story of the sterilizations from my neighbor, historian Virginia Espino, during a play date when our kids were toddlers. As the children played and we chatted about our work, Virginia described her research on Mexican American women who were sterilized at the Los Angeles county hospital. Here I was, a new mother completely enthralled with the experience of pregnancy and parenthood. When she told me the story, it hit me in the gut.

The hospital is only a few miles from where I grew up and still live, but like most people I've encountered since, I had never heard of the sterilizations. The case had been forgotten, and Virginia devoted much of her career to keeping it alive. We decided to make a film and talk to the people who actually lived the story: the mothers, the doctors, and advocates on both sides of the lawsuit. And we wanted to set the film in the tumultuous place and time that was Los Angeles's eastside during the 1970s, as the Chicano and feminist movements were converging. We were lucky to find archival footage by young Chicano filmmakers who were capturing that history as it was happening, and news reports from young reporters like Frank Cruz who insisted on covering the community.

It was the era of *Roe v. Wade* which, for generations of middle class women like myself, meant the right to abortion. I never considered I would ever be denied the choice to *have* a baby. Today there is a growing reproductive justice movement that argues for a woman's control over the full range of her fertility—the right to terminate a pregnancy, to have a child, and raise that child in dignity. Forty years ago, there were women who were talking about reproductive justice but were way ahead of their time. They understood that their race, poverty, and legal status effected whether or not they had any choice at all. But their voices were shunted to the margins. That is the story of the women of *Madrigal v. Quilligan*.

Anywhere we filmed on the eastside, the old county hospital loomed over the landscape. People of a certain age know it as the exterior used for the soap opera, *General Hospital*. The building is all but abandoned, but still a colossus. We returned there to film with Maria Hurtado, one of the plaintiffs in the lawsuit. Empty bassinets and operating tables still linger in the empty rooms. It reminded me of a haunting, not like a ghost story of the popular imagination, but a place where memory and history collide. For Mrs. Hurtado, the empty maternity ward conjured the infinite joy of giving birth, but also unspeakable loss. It was filled with the presence of absence.

No Más Bebés is a film about a civil rights lawsuit, but it is also a film about the meaning of that absence in the lives of the mothers who were sterilized at the hospital. When Virginia wrote about the case as a historian, she kept returning to the idea of motherhood as a political practice. In the 1970s, mainstream feminism associated motherhood with tradition and shackles of the past. Even while making the film today, I heard those voices: Why have more children, isn't it holding her back? Can she afford it? Can society afford these children? But as plaintiff Consuelo Hermosillo said simply, "It's not their decision, it's *our* decision."

About the Filmmakers

Renee Tajima-Peña, Producer/Director: Tajima-Peña is an Academy Award®-nominated filmmaker, whose directing credits include *Calavera Highway*, a road movie influenced by the novelist Juan Rulfo, about her husband Armando Peña's journey to bring his mother's ashes back to South Texas; "*The Mexico Story*" of *The New Americans* series; *Labor Women*; *Skate Manzanar* (performance and installation); the Sundance award-winning *My America...or Honk if You Love Buddha*, *The Last Beat Movie*, a search for the Beat poets; *The Best Hotel on Skid Row*, narrated by Charles Bukowski, and *Who Killed Vincent Chin?* Her films have premiered at Sundance, Cannes, San Francisco, New Directors/New Films, Toronto, the Whitney Biennial and festivals around the world. Among her honors are a USA Broad Fellowship, Peabody Award, Dupont-Columbia Award, Alpert Award in the Arts, IDA Achievement Award, and a Guggenheim Fellowship.

Virginia Espino, Producer: Espino is a historian at the UCLA Center for Oral History Research, and has conducted oral histories with major figures in the Latina/o community. Her research on coercive sterilization at LACMC provided the basis for the documentary project. Her research was published *Las Obreras: Chicana Politics of Work and Family*, edited by Vicki L. Ruiz, and *Latinas in the United States: A Historical Encyclopedia* and was supported by the Woodrow Wilson Dissertation Grant in Women's Health, Ford Dissertation Fellowship for Minorities, Smithsonian Institution Minority Fellowship, Smithsonian Institution Inter-University Program for Latino Research Fellowship, and Irvine Fellowship. She has served on the California Commission for Sex Equity, and the Los Angeles Chicano/Latino Education Committee.

Johanna Demetrakas, Editor: Demetrakas's career as a director and editor spans over forty years. Her editing credits include the *The World According to Sesame Street*, *Angels in the Dust*, *Amanda: A Revolution in Four Part Harmony*, *Manuel Ocampo: God is My Co-Pilot*, and Tajima-Peña's films, *Calavera Highway*, *My Journey Home*, "*The New Americans*," *My America*, and *The Last Beat Movie*. She directed the new documentary *Crazy Wisdom*, co-directed and edited the *Bus Riders Union* with Haskell Wexler, and was a director on *Some Nudity Required*, and the classic documentaries *Womanhouse*, *Out of History: The Making of Judy Chicago's Dinner Party* and *Celebration at Big Sur*.

Aldo Velasco, Additional Editor: Aldo Velasco is a filmmaker and playwright born in Guadalajara, Mexico. He received his MFA in Film Production from the UCLA School of Theatre, Film and Television. His short films have screened at the Sundance, SXSW, and Los Angeles Film Festivals, among others. His editing credits include *Chittagong*, *Janeane from Des Moines*, and *The People I've Slept With*. He directed and edited two shorts for the Independent Television Service series "*Futurestates*," *Excacerated* and *Tent City*, and co-directed the television movie *Jungle to Jungle*.

Claudio Rocha, Cinematographer: Rocha is a veteran cinematographer whose credits include *Kingdom of Shadows* and *Reportero* (director Bernardo Ruiz), *The Mexican Suitcase* (director Trisha Ziff), *Harlistas: An American Journey* (director Alfredo de Villa), and documentaries for director Philip Rodriguez, *Ruben Salazar: Man in the Middle*, *Latinos '08*, *Brown is the New Green: George Lopez and the American Dream*, and *Los Angeles Now*. He was a cinematographer on Bernardo Ruiz's *The American Experience: Roberto Clemente*, Sydney Pollack's *Sketches of Frank Gehry*, and feature films such as *Jolene* and *The Whole Wide World* (director Dan Ireland), *The Maldonado Miracle* (director Salma Hayek) and *Picture Bride* (director Kayo Hatta). Rocha also directed the documentary series *Ciudades del Mexico Antiquo*.

Kate Trumbull-LaValle, Associate Producer: Kate is a documentary filmmaker who is the director/producer of a new film about the East Los Angeles Latina bicycle brigade, ***Ovarian Psycos***, produced in association with ITVS. A graduate of the Social Documentation Program at UC Santa Cruz, she was formerly the Education & Youth Media Program Coordinator Education for the San Diego Media Arts Center, and Community Outreach Coordinator for the San Diego Latino Film Festival. Trumbull-LaValle is also assistant editor, archival researcher and community engagement director of ***No Más Bebés***.

Bronwen Jones, Composer: Bronwen composes music for documentary films, industrials, and public service announcements and also orchestrates for feature films. She has received an Emmy for writing music for the American Public Television Series ***"Your Turn To Care,"*** and was nominated for a South East Regional Emmy for her score of the PBS documentary ***Sisters Of Selma: Bearing Witness for Change***. Other documentaries that Bronwen has scored are ***Good Kurds, Bad Kurds, Roots In The Sand***, and ***Pictures From the Old Country***. Bronwen has been orchestrator for Reinhold Heil and Johnny Klimek for 12 years. Films include ***Perfume, Sophie Scholl, Iron-Jawed Angels, One Hour Photo, The Cave, One Missed Call*** and ***Anamorph***.

Additional Music: **William A. Garcia, a.k.a. Little Willie G of Thee Midnighters, Quetzal Flores, and Jimmy LaValle of Album Leaf.**



Plaintiff Conseulo Hermosillo.

Photo Credit: Claudio Rocha

What people are saying about No Más Bebés

Katie Walsh, Indiewire:

The fight for reproductive justice is a fight for humanity, a fight to define personal worth through the ability to have autonomy over one's body. Documentary "No Mas Bebés," directed by Renee Tajima-Peña, is a beautiful depiction of this, and a definitive reinserting of the voices and experiences of women of color into this ongoing struggle. The film tells the shocking story of Latina women who were sterilized without informed consent at the LA USC Medical Center in the late '60s and early '70s. Often women were forced to sign papers consenting to tubal ligation while they were in active labor, and given forms in English that they could not read. Many of these women were having complications with their labor, and were told they would die if they didn't sign. The film interviews ten Latina women who sued the hospital for denying their human rights, as well as the whistleblowing doctor who brought attention to the issue, and their lawyer, a young Latina herself, who took on the system to assert these women's rights. This incredibly moving story details how this lawsuit brought about regulatory change and exposes this all-too-recent horrific and biased practice. These women, sterilized against their consent in their early 20s and 30s demonstrate incredible strength of character in fighting for the right of all women to choose how and when they want to have children.

R.H. Greene, KPCC

"...sterility is the curse chronicled in "No Más Bebés," a shattering new documentary from director Rene Tajima-Pena that unfolds like a science fiction nightmare. It's the early 1970s. Poor women all over America check into charity hospitals to give birth. They return to their families sterilized and baffled. In L.A., County-USC Medical Center is the epicenter. There are suggestions of racism in the court case that follows: Latinas accusing white male doctors of sterilizing them against their will. But "No Más Bebés" resists using its real doctors as stock movie villains. The medical men are allowed their point of view. But it's also quite clear where "No Más Bebés" stands: with the women the filmmaker sees as real-world heroes."

Vicki L. Ruiz - President, American Historical Association; Distinguished Professor of History and Chicano/Latino Studies at University of California, Irvine:

Powerful and compelling, *No Más Bebés* reveals the tragic story of sterilization at the USC/Los Angeles County Medical Center during the 1960s and 70s. For the first time, we hear from Mexican American women who bravely filed suit and learn about the impact that sterilization had on their lives. One cannot help but fall in love with these resilient, beautiful women whose quiet courage drive the narrative. The film provides multiple perspectives from the women themselves, their attorney, and from the doctors who practiced at the hospital, especially the intrepid whistleblower. Given the current discourse over citizenship and "anchor babies," this haunting documentary provides critical historical context for understanding the resonance of nativism in the everyday and in public health.



Maria Figueroa, a mother and plaintiff in the case.

Photo Credit: Claudio Rocha

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