

Appendix: Maternal Demographics

	N = 38	%
<i>Education</i>		
High school	7	18
Tertiary degree	17	45
Graduate degree	14	37
<i>Age (years)</i>		
20–24	5	13
25–29	4	11
30–34	14	37
35–39	14	37
40+	1	2
<i>Marital status</i>		
Married	28	74
De facto	10	26
<i>Employment</i>		
Full-time	18	47
Part-time	10	26
Unemployed	1	2
Student	9	25
<i>Parity</i>		
0	24	63
1	11	29
2+	3	8
<i>Ethnicity (by birthplace)</i>		
Anglo	36	95
Not Anglo	2	5

Notes

Introduction

1. I refer to Western Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand as ‘the West’. I utilise this term as a construction or a theory more than a particularity of time or place.
2. Paid parental leave was introduced in Australia in January 2011 (see Family Assist Office, 2011). Paid parental leave has been available in New Zealand since 2002. The UK has offered paid maternity leave since 1994 and paid parental leave since 2009. To qualify for these benefits, most countries require women to have some prior work history. Benefits are contingent on the length of time employed. There is no scheme for paid maternity/parental leave in the US. California, Hawaii, New Jersey, New York and Rhode Island provide payments, however (see Debusmann, 2011).
3. In the UK, the average age of mothers at first birth has increased by two years since 1971 to 26.7 years (Office of National Statistics, 2010). In the US, the average age of first-time mothers increased from 21.4 to 25 years between 1970 and 2006 (Matthews and Hamilton, 2009). New Zealand has experienced increases in the age of mothers at first birth similar to that of Australia: from 25.8 years in 1970 to 29.6 years in 2009 (Statistics New Zealand, 2011).
4. Miranda Kerr appears naked and pregnant in the 2011 *Vogue* feature article. She is clothed on the cover.
5. While the Australian media industry is arguably less developed than that of either the US or the UK, celebrity stories have become a critical component for the success of the Australian women’s magazine market (see Turner, 2004, p. 41).

1 The Research Story

1. Beale (2003, p. 53) writes that the ‘single most important (and frustrating) challenge to my research’ was the inability to pursue interviews with the majority of maternity retailers with whom she hoped to engage.
2. For an overview of grounded theory see Glaser (1992).

2 Theories, Frameworks and Debates

1. MacCormack and Strathern (1980) argue that it is a western cultural assumption that women are passive actors, ‘naturally’ resigned to the ‘private’ sphere.
2. I do not draw directly on Foucault in this book. It is important, however, to mention that he has provided an important view of the ‘self’ in claiming a history for the body (see McLaren, 2002).

3. Yet, experience for some women suggests that being read as 'fat' can occur regardless of whose body one is being compared to. 'Fat' as a relational concept may only apply to those bodies that are below certain socio-cultural size thresholds.
4. BMI = kg/m², a measure of body 'fat' based on height and weight.
5. These considerations are in light of new research suggesting babies born to overweight women are more likely to be overweight by the age of three and to have higher blood pressure (see Committee on the Impact of Pregnancy Weight on Maternal and Child Health, 2007).
6. Restricted eating in pregnancy is not exclusive to the 'West' (see Lai et al., 2005).

3 'In-between' Pregnant Bodies

1. Based on the accounts of my participants, the 'in-between' phase of pregnancy is applicable until about 17 weeks.
2. For example, the majority of mainstream western pregnancy guidebooks are divided according to 'trimester', with the implication that certain bodily phenomena are limited to a particular time period, with little ambiguity.

4 Visibly Pregnant Bodies

1. I define 'properly' pregnant bodies as being between 20–40 weeks, based upon my participants' accounts.
2. These participants had homebirths. One woman 'freebirthed', meaning that she gave birth on her own at home without the assistance of a midwife or doctor. Two women gave birth at home with the assistance of a midwife or doula.

5 Dressing and Maternity Fashion

1. Darrell Lea is a confectionary business in Australia. The first retail store in Melbourne opened in 1939.
2. Names and other identifying details of maternity designers and stores have been changed.
3. The prominence of the 'yummy mummy' in the western media spawned a swath of books questioning its meaning as a problematic paradigm for contemporary western middle-class motherhood. For example, in the US: Douglas and Michaels, 2004; Warner, 2005. In the UK: Neill, 2007; Williams, 2007.
4. I realise that 'yummy mummy' is a problematic term. It has been argued that 'yummy mummies' only exist in rarefied spheres of 'Hollywood' and celebrity that most everyday people do not encounter. I employ this term to attend to the continuation of a certain level of body discipline associated with contemporary middle-class Australian womanhood in pregnancy and beyond.

5. 'Four-wheel drive' in Australian vernacular is akin to the 'SUV' or sport utility vehicle in the US.
6. Cosmic Clothing has at least three different styles of maternity jeans (boot-leg, three-quarter length, and cargo styles) and skirts available in various fabrics and colours, ranging in price from AU\$50–80.
7. For example, in 2007 it was reported that 170 Australian women experienced discrimination due to pregnancy (see Markson, 2008). In the US, pregnancy discrimination complaints increased almost 53 per cent between 1997 and 2010 (see Equal Employment Opportunity Commission [EEOC], 2011). Each year in the UK, nearly 30,000 women lose their jobs because of pregnancy (see Equal Opportunity Commission [EOC], 2005, p. 4).
8. *What to Expect When You're Expecting* suggests that pregnant women wear their 'husband's t-shirts' as their bellies grow larger (see Eisenberg et al., 1991, p. 148).
9. Consisting of an elastic band and a stretchy fabric panel, the 'belly belt' is buttoned into a pair of pre-pregnancy trousers using the existing buttons and buttonholes. A gap is created in the trousers that will expand as a woman's pregnant belly grows. At Fertile Mind, the 'belly belt' and stretchy band called a 'bando' both retail for AU\$24.95 (www.fertilemind.com.au).
10. This is a bi-annual brand extension of the non-pregnant fashion magazine of the same name. *Cosmopolitan Pregnancy* features pregnant models and a number of 'real' pregnant women throughout the magazine, with stories about sex, nutrition and fashion in every issue. *Cosmopolitan Pregnancy* currently sells for AU\$13.95 (during the research period, the magazine sold for \$11.95), which is considerably more expensive than the non-pregnancy version of *Cosmopolitan*, which retails for AU\$7.95. *Cosmopolitan Pregnancy* establishes its market by setting its price significantly higher than most other non-pregnancy fashion magazines, as well as other mainstream Australian and British pregnancy magazines such as *Pregnancy & Birth* (AU\$8.95) or *Mother & Baby* (£2.70).
11. Liza Elliot-Ramirez, founder of *Expecting Models*, a pregnancy modelling agency, noted that she has seen a 45 per cent increase in demand for pregnant models from non-maternity, mainstream advertisers. In Australia, *Bump Models*, founded in 2008, was the first pregnancy modelling agency to open in the Southern Hemisphere. In the UK, pregnant models can be booked through *Beautiful Bumps* and *Pregnant Pause Agency*.
12. US size 10/UK size 12 to US size 12/UK size 14.
13. US size 2/UK size 4.
14. US size 4/UK size 6 to US size 6/UK size 8.
15. I also identified informal exchange networks for baby clothing and nursery furniture in Melbourne. These types of networks have been formalised through the 'Baby & Kids Market' operating throughout the major capital cities in Australia, where parents can sell 'pre-loved' infant and children's clothing, nursery furniture and toys. The location of the market in Melbourne changes each week. Three of my participants went to this market during pregnancy to buy infant clothing. In the US, mothers can use the new service *Thred Up* to swap children's clothing and toys online.

16. Two of my participants bought new maternity wardrobes due to gaps of at least 12 years between first and second pregnancies.
17. A number of recent North American studies examining demographic profiles of typical eBay consumers generally agree that the majority of eBay users are extremely familiar with the Internet, female, and have a higher income than those who do not use eBay. My Australian participants who utilised eBay tended to fit this profile (see Black, 2007).
18. I have written about this elsewhere (see Nash, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2007, 2009a, 2009b).

6 Eating for Two?

1. The consumption of alcohol in pregnancy has recently engendered heated debate in Australia and New Zealand. Law-makers are considering the placement of 'warning' labels on bottles of alcohol alerting pregnant women to the dangers of foetal alcohol syndrome (see AAP, 2011; Switzer, 2007).
2. This is a significant change since 1985 when one of the first studies of Australian nutrition was conducted in Melbourne, which found that 96 per cent of respondents had never heard of 'Australian dietary guidelines'. Of those respondents, however, one-third of tertiary-educated women surveyed claimed that they were attempting to follow some of the nutritional advice recommended by the guidelines (see Worsley and Crawford, 1985).
3. In July 2008, a West London restaurant developed a menu of 'pregnancy pizzas' after allegedly receiving requests for 'bizarre' toppings from pregnant women. The first request was for an 'ice cream pizza' combining mozzarella, ham, cranberries and pistachio ice cream (see Thomas, 2008).
4. In Australia, organic consumers are mostly female (44 per cent), have a tertiary education, and earn over AU\$50,000 per year (see Lockie and Donaghy, 2004; Mishra et al., 2002). Recent research from Wales suggests that the typical organic food consumer in the UK is middle-class and female (see Timmins, 2010).
5. The term 'orthorexia nervosa' is derived from 'ortho' meaning 'straight' or 'true' and modifies 'anorexia nervosa' to describe a 'fixation with righteous eating'. This new eating disorder was coined by US academic, Dr. Steven Bratman.
6. Chocolate and foods high in sugar have long been associated with women. In Australia, cultural stereotypes suggesting that women crave sweet foods contribute to the conflation of femininity and weakness and women's hapless surrender to temptation.
7. Vegemite is a popular Australian spread made from yeast products.
8. A Tim Tam is an Australian chocolate-covered biscuit/cookie.
9. To illustrate, a 1954 study of rural pregnant African-American women reported that cravings for chocolate were rare. Cravings for fruit were reported almost exclusively. In contrast, a 1978 study reported that the most pronounced cravings of high-school-educated, urban Anglo-American women were for dairy items and chocolate. This suggests that geographic and cultural factors also contribute to the representation of 'cravings' in pregnancy. Previous exposure to a particular food item and its local

- availability can influence what women 'crave', perhaps more so than biology (see Edwards et al., 1954; Hook, 1978).
10. Outbreaks of listeriosis and other 'food scares' in the early 1980s in Britain and the US were especially important in linking deaths in babies with bacteria lurking in common foods. In highlighting the possible perils of pathologically 'infected' everyday foods, these panics can be a source of anxiety and guilt for pregnant women, who can feel like self-indulgent failures and 'bad' mothers for not avoiding all of the 'danger' foods (see Lupton, 1996).
 11. During the research period, the British government announced its plans to implement a 'Health in Pregnancy Grant', starting in April 2009, in which pregnant women would receive a one off payment of £190 to spend on 'healthy' food from their 25th week of pregnancy with the aim of reducing infant mortality and closing the healthy inequality gap. Criticised at the time for contributing to a 'nanny state', the proposed plan only allowed women to access the funds by meeting with a health professional to discuss prenatal nutrition (see Revill, 2007). There was no discussion of a mechanism to monitor how pregnant women spent the allocated funds. At the time, I wondered whether British women would be charged with foetal 'abuse' for not using their grant appropriately. It was later announced (in June 2010) that the Coalition government would abolish the grant by April 2011 as part of widespread budget cuts aimed at reducing the 'explosion in welfare costs' in Britain (see Bachelor and Collinson, 2010).
 12. In this example, Heather was referring to (Mayo Clinic, 2004).
 13. Amazon.com provides a forum for customers to rate (from 1 to 5 stars) and review every product (see <http://www.amazon.com>).
 14. Comment provided by 'Sarah', Rowlett, Texas, 21 March 2009.
 15. Comment provided by 'Kelly', Kennesaw, Georgia, 7 October 2000.
 16. Comment provided by 'David and Lindsay Dreher', Plano, Texas, 14 August 2007.
 17. Comment provided by 'Mandolin Bleu', Forest Falls, California, 12 June 2007.
 18. The diet is designed for 'better odds that your baby will be born in excellent health and better odds that you'll recover faster from pregnancy and delivery' (p. 74).
 19. Similar notions of maternal 'fatness' and 'thinness' apply cross-culturally (see Sobó, 1994).

7 Exercise

1. US marathoner Kara Goucher has attracted similar attention in the North American media. She documented her training regimen throughout her first pregnancy on her personal blog (see Goucher, 2011).
2. Utilising some of the theoretical insights of Bourdieu (1984, 1985), I argue that by embodying a 'fit' pregnancy, women raise their 'physical capital'. As Thorpe (2009, p. 496) has argued, Bourdieu has some difficulty in explaining how women accumulate capital as subjects with 'capital-accumulating strategies of their own'. Nevertheless, using feminist theoretical frameworks, I still believe that this can be a useful strategy for understanding

prenatal fitness culture. In this chapter, I propose to consider pregnancy 'fitness' within some of the terms offered by Bourdieu; however, I conduct my analysis using feminist theoretical work to provide a spatially sensitive, performative account. In line with Skeggs (1997) and other feminist critiques of Bourdieu (see Adkins, 2004; Gregson and Rose, 2000), I choose not to employ the term 'habitus' as it can be a static and dualistic conception (see Bell et al., 1994).

3. Although the Australian Sports Commission (2002, p. 22) encourages exercise in pregnancy, at the same time, it has provided extensive guidelines for both pregnant athletes and sporting administrators in preventing liability. According to current Australian legal precedent, individuals can 'sue retrospectively for injuries that occurred while in the womb' (p. 23). This means that pregnant athletes are thought to 'owe' a duty of care to their foetuses.
4. Middle-class bodily management is not limited to the 'West' (see PuruShotam, 1998).
5. Fitness magazines available in Australia, North America and the UK include: *Fit Pregnancy* (US), *Women's Health and Fitness* (AU), *Women's Health* (US), *Shape* (US), *Pregnancy & Birth* (AU), *Slimming & Health* (AU), *Women's Health* (US, UK, AU), *Women's Fitness* (UK). In September 2011, *Women's Health* (AU) published *Bump*, a spin-off specifically focused on 'fit' pregnancy.
6. The risk of miscarriage in early pregnancy has been the source of intense debate in light of new research suggesting that vigorous exercise in early pregnancy *can* cause miscarriage. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, however, North American doctors were suggesting that exercise *did not* increase the risk of miscarriage (see Brody, 1994; Randerson, 2007). I have been unable to locate references to this debate prior to 1985 (see United Press International, 1985)
7. 'Hard-core' gyms refer to those that are dominated by male body builders and weight training equipment. Johnston (1998, p. 244) notes that in the 'hard-core' gym in which her research was based in Hamilton, New Zealand, the heavy-weights room was called 'The Black and Blue Room', based not only on its décor, but given its occupation by men. This name also references the strength and aggression associated with weight lifting. The aerobics room, in contrast, was brightly lit, painted in pastel shades, and dominated by women.
8. Childcare is available in a number of the *FitForTwo* venues but this service comes at a separate cost and must be booked in advance. For some participants who already had young children, having access to the crèche was paramount, but this was not always available given the popularity of the classes and the necessity of advance booking. Therefore, if childcare could not be organised, these women claimed they were unable to exercise.
9. Of course this observation is problematic given my presence at only a selection of the many classes run during the course of one week and in various locations across Melbourne. Given the cost associated with *FitForTwo* membership, as well as the relative affluence of the suburbs in which the venues are located, I assume that the overwhelming 'whiteness' and 'middle-classness' of the sessions I observed is indicative of the demographic of pregnant members overall. Class prices range from AU\$11 to \$19 per session, based upon membership choice. Participants receive a reduced rate

for purchasing a larger number of sessions from the outset of membership. There is also an 'unlimited' yearly membership which entitles the user to attend as many sessions as they wish each week.

10. I am not convinced that such a 'gaze' is necessarily a 'male' gaze. As much of recent contemporary feminist scholarship has shown, the idea of a 'male' gaze has morphed to look more like 'female' gaze(s) that may derive ultimately from a 'male' gaze but are not simply defined as male hegemony.
11. Ironic, considering that aerobics has been criticised by feminists for taking the exerciser '...nowhere – at full speed' (see Kagan and Morse, 1988, p. 169).
12. Fit Maternity is one of the largest retailers of maternity-specific workout apparel in North America, with a thriving online business since 1996. In the UK, Sporty Bump opened in 2008 and sells only a limited range of maternity workout clothing.
13. For example, Just4Mums and Queenbee only sell yoga pants and velour hooded jumpers that look more like fashion pieces than 'workout' apparel. I found only one North American website, Junonia, that sells 'plus-size' exercise clothes, and none that sell 'plus-size' maternity workout clothing.

Conclusion

1. Some feminists do not agree with McRobbie's definition of 'post-feminism'. Writing from New Zealand, Brooks (1997) argues that the 'post' of 'post-feminism' signifies an engagement with a process of change and transformation of feminist ideals through postmodernism, poststructuralism, and postcolonialism, as opposed to a disavowal of feminist ideals.
2. McRobbie seems to conflate 'modern' and 'postmodern' throughout her discussion of post-feminism, which is problematic.

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