"BOUNCING BACK": HOW AUSTRALIA'S LEADING WOMEN'S MAGAZINES PORTRAY THE POSTPARTUM 'BODY'.

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ABSTRACT

Purpose: To examine how the Australian media portrays the childbearing body through the use of celebrity stories in women's magazines. The study aimed to provide insight into socially constructed factors that might influence women's body image and expectations during pregnancy and the early postnatal period.

Method: Media content analysis was used to analyse twenty five celebrity stories about the childbearing postnatal body (images and texts) collected from Australia's three leading women's magazines between January and June 2009 (n=58).

Findings: A variety of persuasive textual and visual messages were elicited. The major theme representing how the postnatal body was constructed was labelled 'Bouncing back'; the focus of this paper. The social messages inherent in the magazine stories were that women need to strive towards regaining a pre-pregnant body shape with the same effort one would employ when recovering from an illness. Three specific sub-themes that promoted weight loss were identified. These were labelled 'Racing to bounce back', 'Breastfeeding to bounce back' and 'Pretending to bounce back'. A fourth sub-theme, 'Refusing to bounce back: Celebrating my new body', grouped together stories about celebrities who appeared to embrace their changed, but healthy, postnatal body.

Conclusions: The study highlighted the expectations of the postpartum body in relation to speedy return to the pre-pregnant state. Understanding how these portrayals may contribute to women's own body image and expectations in the early postpartum period may better assist maternity health care providers to engage with women in meaningful discussions about this important time in their lives and challenge notions of ideal body types. Assisting women to accept and nurture themselves and have confidence in their ability as a new parent is a crucial element of quality maternity service provision.

INTRODUCTION

Pregnancy, birth and early parenthood are important life experiences and these represent a period of adjustment which is associated with personal, familial and social changes that often carry cultural significance [1]. As such, the childbearing woman psychologically adapts to the changes that are occurring. A woman is also faced with exploring the relationship between her changing body and her identity as a mother [2]. Women's expectations and beliefs about their body, childbirth and becoming a mother are strongly influenced by the public, private and professional discourses around birth and parenting [3, 4]. One potential powerful public discourse is the popular media. This paper presents some of the findings from a qualitative study that examined how the childbearing 'body' is portrayed through the use of 'celebrity' media images and texts in Australia's three leading women's magazines. The paper focuses on the changing postnatal body and highlights the messages that may contribute to a woman's expectations and experiences of the early postpartum period.

BACKGROUND

Sociologist and feminist Leslie Jefferies [5] has argued that the female body is constructed as a 'problem' in today's society. Like many of her postmodernist counterparts, Jefferies contests that language plays a pivotal role in this construction. Jeffries [5] makes the point that what we understand by the 'body' or the 'language' is dictated mainly by the norms and conventions of the context in which women find themselves and the cultural imperative for women to look 'good' is strong. In earlier work, Moira Gatens [6] examined traditional philosophical notions of the body, sex and gender. She argued that bodies should be seen as products of the way culture organises, regulates and remakes itself. She claimed that many of the functions we think of as being grounded in biology are in reality produced by cultural processes, institutions and expectations which are then, retrospectively, naturalised. Gatens [6] adds that the way our bodies look is not easily separated out from the way we feel about them and the expectations of others.

One of the major contributors to how society both constructs and simultaneously reflects existing attitudes, perceptions and culture is the popular media [7, 8]. The media plays a powerful role in shaping, framing and proliferation of certain body image ideologies [7, 8]. Women's magazines are particularity influential given their high distribution rates. Australia, for example, is the second largest per capita consumer of magazines worldwide [9]. In addition, the circulation and readership of a woman's magazine often depends on the celebrity depicted on the cover of the magazine as celebrities confer a certain discursive power [10]. The social status of celebrities gives them a voice above others and when channelled through the media often becomes significant [10]. While

celebrities may be a productive and an effective cultural force [11] they are part of a very elaborate media economy which is connected to audiences and value. Marshall [10] claims that saturation coverage, in terms of frequency of celebrity exposure, is recognition of cultural value. Readers of women's magazines may therefore be in a 'weak' position in relation to the producers of the various ideologically-laden messages about the childbearing female body; since they directly or indirectly offer advice about the best way to improve looks and attractiveness. Given the current climate of women's magazines being inundated with text and images of pregnant celebrities, their birth stories and their postpartum experiences one may conclude that this phenomenon may reflect a certain type of cultural value. For this reason we undertook this study.

METHOD

The aim of this study was to examine how the Australian media portrays the childbearing body through the use of celebrity stories (text and image). This study used the technique of media content analysis to examine the social construction of the early postpartum female body.

Media content analysis

Media content analysis is open to many interpretations, largely depending on the theoretical underpinnings of the author or researcher. It is characterised by a wide range of phenomena including the medium, production techniques, messages, sources quoted or referred to and context. The approach varies depending on the framework as well as the method and design tool used by the researcher. This study took a qualitative humanistic approach to media content analysis [8].

The humanist approach draws on psychoanalysis and cultural anthropology to analyse how media content reveal 'truths' about society. In essence it takes a look backwards and as such is a reflection of society and culture. While recognising that media texts will have multiple different meanings to different readers the approach attempts to determine the likely meaning of texts to audiences [8]. Qualitative media content analysis focuses on ways in which language and visual imagery combine to create meaning. In essence it is concerned with discovering the 'sub-textual' aspects of the information examined. The aim is to understand how things are said and what underlying socio-cultural meanings may be projected.

Data Collected

The data sources for this study were collected from Australia's three leading women's magazines; The Australian Women's Weekly (monthly magazine published by ACP Magazines), Woman's Day

(weekly magazine published by ACP Magazines), and New Idea (weekly magazine published by Pacific Magazines). The data collection period was between 1st January 2009 and 30th June 2009 inclusive. This resulted in the collection of 48 weekly magazines and six monthly magazines (n=58).

As the material used in this study was publicly available the research was 'unobtrusive' in nature [12]. This means that it did not involve asking people directly what they thought or did in relation to the research question. As such ethical approval was not required. However, an ethical stance was maintained throughout the research with issues such as privacy, confidentiality, duty of care and beneficence being considered. Using the images and quotes of celebrities was undertaken without intention to harm. Images have not been used in this paper due to copyright issues.

Sample description

This study drew specifically on texts and images associated with 'celebrities' in the selected magazines. Sampling was purposive and limited to media images and texts portraying stories of confirmed pregnant or postpartum celebrities, their birth stories and stories about their postpartum weight loss. Postnatal stories were limited to the first year postpartum. This paper focuses on postnatal stories. Further exclusions included stories about pregnancy rumours, expressions of interest in future pregnancy and parenthood by celebrities as well as stories about surrogacy, adoption and about parenthood in general.

Of the 58 magazines included in the sample, 20 magazines had qualifying data, specific to the postnatal body within their pages. A total of 25 stories over 38 pages met the selection criteria.

Data Analysis

Data analysis drew heavily on the work of Jeffries' [5]. The aim of the analysis was to interrogate the language and images in an attempt to better understand how social language constructs messages about the female body. Initially each piece of text and image was examined, in combination, to ascertain whether they portrayed the same message or whether they were used to polarise different messages and hence achieve a comic or sarcastic effect. In a sense, this step was aimed at finding out how the reader was potentially persuaded by combined language and visual imagery in order to create meaning. Following this, the data was examined using six analytical techniques defined and used by Jeffries [5] in her analysis of how the 'problem' of the female body is portrayed in the media. These are labelled; 'Naming', 'Describing', 'Contrasting', 'Enumerating and Exemplifying', 'Assuming and Implying' and 'Perfection and Attraction'.

Naming

The naming process was used to undermine any sense of being over-serious or too pompous. There were some features of language in the data that can be described as overwhelmingly present, such as 'belly bulge', 'yummy-mummy', 'bouncing back' and 'post-baby body'. Jeffries [5] points out how the highly repetitive nature of 'naming' terms sends strong ideological messages and thus has the potential to influence readers' perceptions of women's early postpartum bodies.

Describing

The second analysis technique was 'describing'. Here the choices of adjectives were examined. These may be interpreted in the context as hyponyms of either 'good' or 'bad'. For example 'trim', 'toned' and 'glowing' is 'good' as opposed to 'tired', 'hasn't lost baby weight' and 'wearing dark glasses' which is 'bad'. Searching for the use of words such as 'glamorous', 'perfect' and 'ideal' as well as texts such as 'fabulous post-baby bikini body' provided insight into just how often women were exposed to ideological statements that reinforce the 'ideal' body image at this time in their lives.

Contrasting

Contrasting was the third analysis technique. This technique focused on identifying the construction of opposites. For example, the visuals provide the reader with 'before' and 'after' images, drawing attention to the contrast of the pregnant versus the postnatal body of this celebrity. These before ('fat') and after shots ('skinny' or still 'fat') can be compared to strategies used in weight loss campaigns.

Enumerating/Exemplifying

The fourth analysis technique, 'enumerating/exemplifying', sought to identify generic categories [5]. The object here is to identify a list of 'naming' and 'describing' words. The process ends in generating lists of members of a category.

Assuming and Implying

'Assuming' and 'implying' helps to naturalise important ideologies relating to the 'body'. This fifth analysis technique seeks to describe the functions of assuming and implying in texts as meanings communicating themselves to the reader at a relatively subconscious level. If reading texts of a

similar nature repeatedly delivers the same ideological assumptions, the reader is vulnerable to the conceptual influences that such repetition could have on world view or perceptions [5, 13].

Perfection and Attraction

The final analysis technique was 'perfection' and 'attraction'. Again while there is some overlap with the other techniques here the researcher attempts to identify the connection between being 'slim' and being 'sexy' as a part of a bigger tendency in the data to assume that the primary need is for women to appear appealing and sexy. For example commonly bigger breasts in pregnancy and throughout breastfeeding were portrayed as 'attractive' adding a sexual connotation to the message. In this way the pregnant or postnatal body is sexualised rather than being functional in mothering a child.

Table 1 provides an example of the audit trail for the theme labelled 'Bouncing back' using all six techniques.

FINDINGS

An overarching theme of 'exemplary women' emerged from the data and represented how childbearing celebrities are used by the media to create an image of the 'ideal' pregnant and postnatal body, almost creating a prototype or benchmark to aspire to. Contributing to this overarching theme were a number of major themes one of which was labelled 'Bouncing back'; the focus of this paper.

Bouncing back

The term 'bouncing back' was used to describe the postnatal body as one that needed or was required to 'bounce back' from pregnancy. The label of the theme originates from the commonly used media term that captures women's weight loss after pregnancy. It is also a term frequently used to describe ones recovery after an illness. The texts and images analysed in this study suggested that both meanings associated with the term were used to construct the bodily changes associated with pregnancy as something unnatural and unhealthy. The social message inherent in the magazine stories was that one needed to positively strive to regain a pre-pregnant body shape similar to the effort one would employ when recovering from an illness. Secondly, it was clear that 'exemplary women', such as celebrities, 'bounce back' quickly. Three specific sub-themes that promoted weight loss were identified. These were labelled 'Racing to bounce back', 'Breastfeeding to bounce back' and 'Pretending to bounce back'. A fourth sub-theme, 'Refusing to bounce back:

Celebrating my new body', provided readers with stories about celebrities who appeared to embrace their changed but healthy postnatal body.

Racing to bounce back

'Racing to bounce back' conveyed the message that the childbearing body 'must quickly' return to its pre-pregnant state. Once pregnancy is over, all the signs of having carried and given birth to a baby need to be eliminated and surpassed as quickly as possible. The way the stories (texts and images) were presented created this sense of urgency. Celebrities 'raced' to get their bodies back and magazines competed with one another in seeking to publish the first pictures of the 'new', 'improved', post-pregnant body. The stories focused and glamorised post-pregnancy speedy weight loss. A good example is the coverage Bec Hewit, an Australian actor and celebrity, received after giving birth to her second child.

'Bec: Best baby body comeback ever! Bec has shown off an amazing post-baby body just over a month after giving birth to her son. The svelte blonde made her presence felt [...] showing off her slim figure in a simple black singlet and a pretty ruffled skirt [...] with her trim waist, and toned limbs, it hardly seemed believable the glamorous mum had welcomed her son into the world just weeks before [...] This isn't the first time Bec has regained her athletic body in record time. After giving birth to her first child [...] she amazed fans by showing off a taut tummy just eight weeks later' [14 p 8].

The messages about weight loss were intensified by the use of large colourful headings. A brightly coloured caption: *'Just 4 weeks after birth!'* [14 p 8] attracted the reader's attention with the placement of captions, texts and images appearing to provide the celebrity with a stamp of approval as a trim and healthy woman who has won the race to get her body back. This technique of portraying the process of a 'race' adds to the visual and textual persuasion of the message portrayed [15].

Another example was evident in the story titled: *'Rebecca's a Hot Mama! Just five weeks after giving birth to twin girls [...], Rebecca Romijn has entered the ranks of post-baby super slimmers'* [16 p 38]. This story referred to a celebrity who recently had given birth to twins. The statement 'entered the ranks of post-baby super slimmers' highlights the ideological process of weight loss post birth as a race and something to be achieved and celebrated. The celebrity had twins, yet entered those ranks nonetheless. The caption featured under the image suggested that there was a group/club called

'post-baby-super-slimmers' – a club to which women should or could aspire to be part of. However only women who 'bounce back' can be part of this club!

A further layer of persuasive language was added when magazines used the strategy of comparison and contrast, often with a number of celebrities at a time. There was the 'fat' picture before birth and the 'slim' after birth pictures. Colourful, stamp-like captions labelled the images of each celebrity. For example, one of the captions read: '*Nicole Kidman, lost 9kg in 14 days. How she did it: Just two weeks after giving birth' [17 p 11]*. Titles such as these highlight the amount of weight lost in a specific time frame, again exemplifying the 'race' and adding the 'wow factor'. The stories provided the reader with the celebrity's 'secrets' to weight loss. The silent message was that there are no more excuses for the reader not to achieve the same weight loss and that racing to get one's body back can be achieved by everyone.

Clearly there was an expectation that the body should 'change back' quickly. Additionally the message was that these 'exemplary women' were not only able to have babies and be mothers, they were simultaneously able to lose large amounts of weight in a short amount of time, look glamorous and retain their image as a celebrity. Being able to achieve this represented a certain ultimate social status, the power of attractiveness, fertility and fame. As a result it is this image of the body that becomes framed as the currency to acceptance and integration in society [18, 19].

Breastfeeding to bounce back

There were frequent references of celebrities choosing to breastfeed. Breastfeeding in the context of celebrity stories was most often constructed as a strategy to optimise weight loss; to 'bounce back', much like other weight loss strategies such as dieting. The messages portrayed in the stories of breastfeeding celebrities were that women needed to conform to expectations of society, to control the body, regain the pre-pregnant body and ultimately to be 'thin' and therefore look 'good'. The following excerpts provide insight into how breastfeeding was constructed as the answer to weight loss and regaining ones pre-pregnant body;

 '*Although she gained 25kg while pregnant, [...] just 12 weeks later, Hale, had lost most of her baby weight. Her secret? Breastfeeding and a healthy diet [17 p 11].*

'While the 36 year old actress no longer has time for her old exercise routine, she admits it's been almost effortless losing the bulk of her pregnancy weight. "Breastfeeding is the best diet I've been on"'[16 p 38].

"[...] and breastfeeding does help you to lose weight. I was thinner than I'd ever been by the time they were six months old' [20 p 216].

In addition to the promoted benefits of early weight-loss, breastfeeding was also sexualised in some stories. Weight loss was situated within the context of increased breast size which portrayed the message of 'sexy'. Larger breasts in pregnancy and throughout breastfeeding were commonly sexualised. For example; *'She amazed fans by showing off a taut tummy just eight weeks later. She said breastfeeding was helping her trim – but giving curves too. "My bust size will increase a couple of sizes if I miss a feed"' [14 p 9].*

As a result women's postnatal bodies, breasts and breastfeeding were portrayed as sexual objects.

Pretending to bounce back

Contributing to the construction of the post-birth body as unacceptable and in need of a makeover were the stories that described how some celebrities' bodies 'bounced back' to their pre-pregnant shape through the use of commercial products. There were a number of excerpts in the data set that saw celebrities admitting to wearing body shaping underwear and girdles after having had their babies. Some celebrities' quotes convey a message of indifference or nonchalance about their new post-baby bodies, which initially appeared refreshing on reading. The tone created in these stories reflected a more 'laid back' attitude to weight loss with celebrities claiming their focus to be on gaining enough sleep and enjoying their newborn rather than actively working to lose weight. They went on to disclose, however, that wearing body shaping underwear helped them regain their shape. The reader was thus exposed to contradictory messages by celebrities who initially reported that they were not about to be pressurised into losing weight but then conformed to society's expectations to 'bounce back' using whatever means they could to achieve this. The following excerpts are examples of the theme 'Pretending to bounce back';

'I don't care about the saggy bits because it's given me my boys. And you can get great uplift bras these days and fabulous suck-it-all-in knickers' [20 p 216].

'While the 36 year old actress no longer has time for her old exercise routine, she admits it's been almost effortless losing the bulk of her pregnancy weight [...] But she reveals she's had a little help in the way of figure-shaping underwear to get her looking her best' [16 p 38].

One story, accompanied by numerous glamour photos alongside the texts, immersed the reader in the private life of the celebrity, their status as a celebrity and their status in society. Sophie Falkiner, who is an underwear model was photographed in three different outfits, and is described by the author as '*looking tanned, toned and happier than ever'*, '*stunning'* and that she '*looks like the ultimate yummy-yummy'* [21 pp 28-30]. Yet in the story the celebrity insists that her focus has not been on, as the author writes, '*getting her fabulous body back'*. *"The trick is to wear a girdle after the birth – it holds everything in and helps you go back in shape!"* The reader is then advised to *"[...] go and get some good, sturdy underwear. It works"* [21 pp 28-30].

Refusing to 'bounce back': Celebrating my new body

The last sub-theme explored the texts and images found in only two postnatal stories where celebrities declared their appreciation of, and for, their changing body. In essence this sub-theme illustrates a celebration of the transforming childbearing body, one that is positive and accepting with celebrities refusing to succumb to the pressure to 'bounce back'.

The notion of 'celebrating the body' was evident in a story about Jennifer Garner's postnatal body although she seemingly had to justify her position. The story was headlined by the caption '*Proud Jen: I look like a normal mum'*. The story commenced '*[...] Actress Jennifer Garner says she is still resisting the Hollywood pressure to be red-carpet ready, five months after the birth of her second daughter'* [22 p 28]. Jennifer Garner was quoted later in the piece saying *"I would think I looked appropriate for someone who had a baby. What am I going to do, not eat? I don't look perfect all the time and I am not all the way back in shape"* [22 p 28]. The rather defensive language highlights the need to validate her position of not restoring the Hollywood norm. Interestingly while the celebrity is making her point and celebrating her female shape the techniques of visual persuasion (which include large images of Jennifer in shorts) possibly provide the reader with various messages. Using the combination of descriptive and contrasting language the author writes '*dressed in running-shorts and a t-shirt, Jen's womanly curves are in stark contrast to the ultra-slim figures of some of her fellow celebrity mums'*; the reader may perceive the article as appreciating her point of view or alternatively possibly criticism or mockery.

Another example was found in a story about Jessica Rowe, an Australian newsreader, printed after the birth of her second child.

'In what proved a dream pregnancy for Jessica, the slim star welcomed her baby body, describing it as 'lovely' and explains that she has "more cellulite and stretch marks, but now I look at that as the songlines of my baby"'[23 p 26].

This quote uses the terms *'cellulite and stretch marks'* most commonly associated with negative images of the body, to highlight and celebrate the reality and the normality of growing and birthing a baby. It is likely that many women readers of this story would find these comments reassuring and comforting.

DISCUSSION

The media's portrayal of the 'thin', 'ideal' female body is well documented. From these media and cultural messages emerge, somewhat 'exemplary', stereotypes of beauty, success as well as health and an image of being in control [24, 25]. The findings of this study suggest that the highly mediatised 'ideal' of the non-pregnant body is transferred to expectations of what the early postpartum body should look like as well.

This study revealed the strong competition between magazines to publish images of pregnant and postnatal celebrities and what is now coined as the 'yummy mummy'. Stories of how women transform their childbearing body back into prime physical condition within weeks of birth regularly adorned the covers and pages of the magazines sampled. The text and images in the stories analysed highlighted societies' preoccupation with the body [26]. The findings of our study identified how text and images of celebrities' post birth experiences frequently reinforced the ideology of the 'ideal' and/or 'perfect' body. There was a noticeable and overriding concern with re-gaining the pre-pregnant body; considered to be the 'normal' body. The post birth body was constructed as abnormal or 'troublesome' and tied to bodily functions [27]. The ideology of the unchanging female body, interrupted briefly by pregnancy, was reinforced repeatedly throughout the texts and images. Celebrities were portrayed as being able to, with little effort, resume control over their 'problematic' pregnant bodies once they had given birth. The hard work associated with losing weight after birth was rarely discussed and was often invisible within the texts and images. There were only two stories where the post birth body was acknowledged and glorified as beautiful, healthy and serving a multiple of purposes in ensuring both woman and child thrived.

As previously eluded to Jeffries [5], a feminist linguist, claims that the cultural imperative for women to look good is strong and readers of women's magazines are exposed to various ideologically-laden messages about the female body which offer advice about the best way to improve looks and attractiveness. The findings of this study support Jeffries work and demonstrate that these message also apply to the post birth body. The frequency and intense nature of the media messages highlighted in the theme 'bouncing back' have the potential to normalise extreme expectations of the early postpartum body, encouraging readers (mostly women) to think that they are not only meant to, but must, regain their pre-pregnant weight and shape. This message is overlayed with the assumption that the transformation should also be completed in a timely fashion (often only weeks after birth).

Similar to the way in which the 'ultra thin' female body is portrayed, the texts and images analysed for this study frequently 'beautified' celebrities who could 'show off' 'ultra thin' post birth bodies in 'record' time [27, 28]. The portrayal of glamorised celebrities, much like the use of models, presented the message that in order for a woman to be successful, accepted and indeed a good mother, she must re-gain her pre-pregnant, 'attractive' and 'thin' body. Directly, or indirectly, these stories portrayed the message that character, personality, and how one is adjusting to motherhood are less important than appearance (such as a person's weight). These messages glamorised extreme weight loss after birth promoting body shapes that would be unrealistic and unattainable for most [18].

The stories also lacked any reference to Body Mass Index (BMI) which is usually used as an indicator of body fat [29]. Although not valid in pregnancy, a pre-pregnancy BMI can be used as a benchmark to discuss healthy weight gain in pregnancy and postnatally. There was no reference to BMI in any of the sample stories. Furthermore, there was no reference to the weight a woman may lose at the time of birth. The average weight of a healthy, term baby, plus the weight of the amniotic fluid, the placenta and blood loss as well other retained fluids expelled from the body in the first weeks postpartum may already represent at least 10 kilograms [29].

There are limitations associated with this research. Firstly, sampling was restricted to stories meeting a strict inclusion criterion within a defined time period and to those appearing in three specific women's magazines. Including a larger number of stories from a large number other women's magazines available on the market within the studies' six month time frame may have

produced different findings. It was hoped, however, that the selection of the three leading women's magazines in Australia compensated to some degree for this limitation. Secondly, this research did not solicit the feedback from the readers of women's magazine. Interviewing childbearing women about their perceptions of the stories analysed would have provided another dimension to analysis and findings produced.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this study was to describe how the Australian media portrays the early postpartum body. This was undertaken through an examination of stories and images involving celebrities' experiences. What was clearly evident was that woman's magazines produced a rapidly changing smorgasbord of images and ideas in which attractive, lively and charismatic people were given far more media space than measured experts [30]. This applied particularly to the domain of pregnancy, birth and the early postpartum period where readers were frequently exposed to ideologies about the 'ideal' body image after birth. Throughout the sample, celebrities who had recently given birth were given labels such as 'yummy mummy', 'drama mama' and 'hot mama'. The result of regularly repeating these terms created stereotypes [31]. Regaining ones 'slim', 'toned' and 'trim' pre-pregnant weight and shape was positioned as essential and something that needed to happen fairly quickly. Breastfeeding was a strategy to enhance weight loss and the use of figure hugging underwear was promoted as a way to at least appear to be bouncing back.

The findings of this study reinforce the need for health care professionals to be aware of, and reflect on, the type of information circulating in the media and how women may perceive the messages portrayed. The evidence produced by the study will hopefully raise maternity carers' awareness thereby stimulating debate and discussion between themselves and pregnant women and /or new mothers about what a healthy post birth body should look like and how it should function. Assisting women to accept and nurture themselves and have confidence in their ability as a new parent is a crucial element of quality maternity service provision.

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Table 1: Audit trail of how the category 'Bouncing back' was sourced from the six analysis techniques used.

Analysis technique	Example from sample source	concept
Naming	'*new hot bod*', '*fabulous post baby bikini body*' [32 p 9].	'New', 'beauty'
Describing	'*Amazing body*', '*the svelte blonde*', '*slim figure*', '*toned limbs*', '*regained athletic body*' [14 p 8-9].	'Slim', 'sexy', 'regained', 'Athletic'
Contrasting	'*piled on 32kg during her pregnancy but has slimmed down to a svelte 53kg after*' [32 p 9]. '*While pregnant [...] regularly gorged on pizza, creamy pasta and French fries, but since their arrival [...] has been noshing on much healthier fare*' [17p 12].	Uncontrollable in pregnancy But now controllable postnatally
Enumerating/ Exemplifying	The celebrity appeared to be the prototype of the '*yummy-mummy*': '*She stole the show*' as she had '*back magic*' going on in her '*daring black frock*', she '*looked amazing*' and was '*showing off her sexy figure*' and her '*adorable' daughter*' [33 p 24].	The 'to do list' for the reader to tick in order to be a 'yummy mummy'
Assuming and Implying	'*before*' (pregnant) and '*now*' (postnatal) image [17 p 13].	unglamorous, and looking 'heavy'
Perfection and Attraction	'*She looks fantastic, relaxed and not tired at all*' [34 p 10].	'Beauty' 'Relaxed, not tired'