

'Monstrous Mothers' and the Media

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Abstract

Mothers have been receiving bad press since that mythological 'monstrous mother', Medea, killed her children. The "Cruel Mother" motif has been a recurrent representation in plays, ballads, poems and novels for centuries and continues to survive in the 'monstrous mother' motif of contemporary media infanticide and child abuse discourses. The demonising of mothers has reached an apex in media discourses of recent years positioning mothers - Kathleen Folbigg, Sally Clarke, Angela Cannings, Andrea Yates and Donna Anthony - as "Monstrous Mothers". Contemporary media discourse places the deviant mother within news texts as wicked and cruel, the antithesis of motherhood. Through the individualising of deviance within the 'monstrous mother' paradigm the media audience, and society, is absolved of responsibility through the actions of the individual. Using contemporary media texts I will examine the role the media plays in creating the social space in which motherhood continues to be constrained within a patriarchal ideology where women as mothers continue to be categorised, idealised and demonised and where deviant mothers are understood as 'monstrous'.

Keywords

Infanticide, celebrity culture, motherhood, media discourses, master narrative, dominant ideology, representation

1. Celebrity Mothers

In any given week tabloid stories on celebrity mothers abound. Maternity is the new must have; must do, for the female celebrity – in contemporary parlance motherhood is 'wicked'.

In the week of April 25 *Woman's Day* and *Who* magazines both ran front-page features on Britney Spears' pregnancy. *Who* displaying a bikini-clad Spears with the heading "I'm pregnant!" followed by a four-page spread of scantily-clad Spears relaxing on a Florida beach with friends under the oversized heading: She's having a *baby!*¹

According to the tabloid Spears has been transformed from "mean and lean" to "soft and sensual". Turn to the next double-page spread and you have the "baby clues": "The hair, the clothes, the, um, expanding body of evidence" and the cravings – chilli con carne, baked potatoes and burgers.

And then of course the obligatory drama – celebrities can't have straightforward pregnancies or births. *Woman's Day*, under "Pregnant Britney's hospital dash" told its readers:

The star spent two nights fearing for the life of her unborn baby in a leading Florida clinic after experiencing stomach cramps and severe bleeding."

"She was in a terrible amount of distress and her husband was at her side," an 'insider' said. "Kevin, 26, and a group of bodyguards were later seen pacing outside the medical facility fearing the worst. But on Sunday the young singer was given the all clear and Kevin took her home."²

Celebrity motherhood copy is not just the realm of tabloid magazines, now mainstream news discourses are occupied with celebrity motherhood stories beside serious news discourse. The *London Times*, the *Guardian*, the *Observer*, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, all ran the story of Spears' pregnancy as a hard news story. The *Houston Chronicle's* headline said it all:

"Britney prepares for motherhood – and we can't take our eyes off her"

Our little Mouseketeer is all grown up now and ready to start a nest of her own.

On Tuesday, Britney Spears confirmed what so many of the tabloids and celebrity-obsessed Web sites had mused: the pop star is pregnant with her first child.

The pregnancy is just the latest headline for Spears, who in the past 16 months had married and divorced a childhood friend, wed dancer Kevin Federline, gotten a new dog, and welcomed a new stepson.

We wonder what Madonna, the queen mum of music, would think of her bussing buddy's launch into motherhood. Madonna was 38 when she gave birth to her first child, Lourdes. Spears is 23.

At this rate, Spears could be a grandmother by 40.³

Thirty years have passed since Helen Reddy empowered women with her "I am Woman ... I am invincible". Now we have Britney's celebrity motherhood status appropriating the public news agenda as she sings:

My loneliness is killing me

I must confess I still believe
 When I'm not with you I lose my mind
 Give me a sign
 Hit me baby one more time.

Woman's Day continues with the celebrity motherhood trope with a front-page photograph of Nicole Kidman wearing a high-waisted Givenchy dress, that sparks pregnancy speculation that:

she may already be pregnant with the baby she so desperately wants. While the star continues to deny she is expecting she has gained some new curves, and even admitted to wearing maternity clothes. And, like a little girl struggling to keep a big secret, she's been blurting out increasingly personal details about her longing to have a baby and her past struggle with miscarriage.⁴

Kidman reportedly said, "I've hormones running through my system as I sit wriggling on my chair".

The issue here is not the sagacity, the truth, of these tabloid magazine texts, but the fact that they appropriate public discourse in such a way that news outlets, driven by the profit imperative, now feel compelled to enter into this vacuous motherhood discourse. This is in part due to the cross promotion concomitant with cross-media ownership – a subversive way of promoting your tabloid magazines through elevating their 'soft' stories into the realm of serious 'hard' news texts.

In the same week the tabloid magazines brought us Nicole and Britney under the rubric of celebrity mothers, the iconic symbol of modern motherhood, Demi Moore, came under the tabloid radar at the other end of the motherhood spectrum, - as a BAD mother. Moore, created the idealised icon of motherhood in 1991 when, heavily pregnant to Hollywood action man Bruce Willis, she appeared nude on the front cover of *Vanity Fair*.

This iconic image is credited with starting the media obsession with celebrity motherhood, and the new sexualization of the pregnant woman. Fourteen years on and the icon of modern maternity is now the monstrous maternal. In a glossy paparazzi spread the headlines admonished: "Demi – pregnant and smoking?"

Demi Moore's cigarette habit has landed her in hot water as she's caught on camera smoking while thought to be 11 weeks pregnant. These snaps of the star puffing away led one US magazine to exclaim, "Demi, you should be ashamed!"⁵

Keep turning the pages and you come to a full-page advertisement for face cream with the tag: "Now you don't have to be expecting to have that radiant glow everyday"⁶.

If pregnancy is the new beauty product, then why not pregnancy as the ultimate TV reality game show? According to Endemol, the makers of Big Brother, the next reality TV programme will be Make Me A Mum. In July last year the producers launched the concept of a new show that would see 1,000 men vie for the chance to father a child. "Make Me A Mum will whittle down the candidates until two hopefuls are selected to compete against each other," press reports said

The childless woman will choose the man she believes makes the best father – judged on sex appeal, personality, wealth and fitness. A second man will be picked on the basis of genetic compatibility and sperm quality.⁷

The proposal is to screen a "sperm race" using new technology, which would allow viewers to see which of the two finalists' sperm reaches the woman's egg first.

And if pregnancy is the new reality TV game show and the new beauty product, then childbirth is the new art form. A recent global news story "Performance The Art of Birth" told of Berlin artist Winfried Witt inviting 30 people to witness the birth of his child in the DNA-Galerie, claiming:

"It's a gift to humanity, a once a lifetime thing," Witt said.

He and fellow artist and partner Ramune Gele wanted to challenge artistic norms, gallery owner Joann Novak told Germany's *Bild* newspaper. The gallery, known for its installations and video art, would closed during the birth, invited guests would be summonsed as soon as Gele's contractions became regular. "The private aspect will be maintained," Noval said. Reuters reported another gallery owner in the street as saying "I find it mad."⁸

An AFP story quoted the artist as saying: The spectators, who registered for the exhibition via the Internet, will participate in "an exceptional experience,"

"Man, because he is unique, is an existential object of art."

Witt wants to "show living people, perceived at the same time as object and subject through a kind of magnifying glass and to expose man in the situations of his personal life."⁹

While "man, because he is unique" may be "an existential object of art", pregnant woman, in the form of Ramune Gele, remains mute. As the "existential object" of this living art she does not need a persona beyond that of a pregnant human. Gele is in fact the perfect parturient woman, silent and submissive, captured for the voyeur's gaze in the throws of childbirth as an artistic fetish. Through the female form Witt projects himself as the winner of the ultimate sperm race. The birth was due to take place this week. (May 6)

Motherhood as living art and prime time TV may be the extreme, but the idealisation of motherhood through the representation of celebrity mothers in tabloid news and magazines is now accepted unquestioningly as the crucial ingredients of a daily media diet.

Post delivery, a glamorous, fur-draped, scarlet-lipped and sultry Jerry Hall was featured on the front page of *Vanity Fair* in 1999 offering her infant son a full pendulous breast. This provocative image caused a divisive debate about mothers breastfeeding in the public, a debate which still holds news currency today. Last August *Washington Post* columnist, Roxanne Roberts, wrote a column "Do Me a Favor, Keep a Lid on Your Double Latte" in which she claimed her right to a peaceful cup of coffee was being undermined by women breastfeeding in Starbucks¹⁰. Her attack was on one particular mother, Lorig Charkoudian, "a Silver Spring woman who not only wants to breast-feed her daughter at Starbucks whenever she likes but expects me to avert my eyes or leave if I don't share her enthusiasm for double breast milk latte".

It's not enough that a new Maryland law supports her right to lactate in public – no, she wants Starbucks to issue a nationwide corporate policy supporting her position. Speaking for the school of not letting it all hang out, let me say: Don't. Please, please please. Just don't.

The demonising of women who breastfed in public – branded by Roxanne Roberts "Breast Nazis" is a core concept of society's expectation that motherhood is sacred. Women who openly breastfeed in public push us to acknowledge that breast-feeding is simultaneously sacred and sexual, thus creating an anxiety in Western culture which continues to inform debates about motherhood.

On the one hand the new mother is vilified for breastfeeding her baby in Starbucks and on the other hand she is pressured to "get back" her pre-pregnancy figure, to make herself sexually attractive, or run the risk of being vilified as fat and frumpy. Celebrity mothers, as personified by the gorgeous Liz Hurley, who the tabloid magazines tell us, lost all of the 24 kilos she gained during her pregnancy within ten weeks, create an ideal which the average woman - without the personal trainer, the nanny and the villa in Gibraltar - can ever live up to. Journalist Dominique Jackson posed in a recent article:

While it is clear that glamour, social life and career do not have to be casualties of motherhood, what of the downside of the celebrity approach? The women who can't live up to the expectations? What if you don't feel like exercising a week after giving birth? What if you can't re-emerge, Liz-Hurley-like, more gorgeous than ever?¹¹

Psychologist Helen Skouteris (lecturer in the School of Psychological Sciences at La Trobe University, Australia) who is researching the impact of body image on post-natal depression, thinks celebrities can be both damaging and reassuring.

On the one hand, the models in the media make it look like you can regain this amazing figure weeks after having a baby; on the other hand, even famous, wealthy women, when they have babies, have fluid retention and stretchmarks.

What effect does the marketing of pregnancy as sexy, and of babies as the latest must-have fashion accessory has on public opinion? How does the formation of public opinion on the status of motherhood play out in the general community?

I contend that the distorted representation of motherhood – from the idealised Madonna to the evil Medea - does influence the way society conceptualises motherhood. The publicity attendant with celebrity fame puts celebrity women under the unrelenting scrutiny of the media gaze, as we have seen with the transformation of Demi Moore from perinatal sex goddess to deviant mother, but it also presents an often unattainable ideal for the majority of mothers.

2. Sporting Mothers

Successful sportswomen, of child-bearing age regularly find themselves as news copy, not for their sporting achievements, but because of their maternal status – athleticism and motherhood, like sexuality and breastfeeding, are an uncomfortable mix and the dominant media ideology projects the female athlete who is a mother as within the ‘sporting mum’ rubric. When Australian diver Chantelle Newbery won gold at last year’s Olympic games she was immediately projected out of the sporting shadows into the media spotlight as “Gold medal mum Chantelle Newbery” thus foregoing Ian Thorpe’s sponsorship dollars, fast cars and luxury boats... and in the moment of her greatest sporting achievement Olympic Gold – she became the subject of media speculation as to whether this “mother of a two-year-old” would continue on in her sporting career or choose to give it up to be a full-time mother¹².

Britains have seen corresponding coverage with Paula Radcliffe: “Radcliffe’s longing for motherhood put on hold” readers of the London *Times* were told last month, with Radcliffe’s supposed *admission* that she has delayed starting motherhood while she concentrates on her running career.

When Alison Hargreaves became the first British woman to climb Everest unsupported by oxygen or Sherpas, the media wanted to know how she could go off climbing mountains when she was the mother of two children? When Hargreaves tragically died on a subsequent expedition to K2 the media turned on her in an unprecedented manner. While male sporting elites who are struck down in their prime are afforded heroic status, Hargreaves was immediately vilified as a BAD mother and accused of being irresponsible to leave her children behind as she attempted her life-threatening climbs. Jim Ballard later told an *Observer* journalist: “There were some very hurtful things said in the press after Alison died.”¹³

In their bid to entertain and increase profits for shareholders, media idealise motherhood in the form of celebrity mothers, but also seek out the equally newsworthy and highly saleable darker side of motherhood in the representation of the monstrous mother.

3. “Monstrous” Mothers

While Medea news stories entertain their audience, they also inform on many levels, and significantly impact on the ways in which society views motherhood. *GQ* magazine in 2002 managed to package sex and infanticide into a highly disturbing media discourse. Illustrated with a full-page colour photograph of a beautiful topless model, with her back to the camera, Robert Draper’s article “A Prayer for Tina Marie” begins: “Gentleman, here is your child, 22, with a soft round face you could hold in one hand and chew like a peach muffin... She will have sex with you on the first night...” The subject of the article? A young woman, named Tina Marie Cornelius who is serving the rest of her life in jail in Texas for murdering her two young children. “She turned to prostitution and drugs after unwanted attentions from her former stepfather.”¹⁴

Kathleen Folbigg in Australia, like Andrea Yates in America, became the media icon of monstrous motherhood when in 2003 she was convicted of the murder of her four infant children. The *Daily Telegraph* published a running banner: “Monstress: the diary of a child murderer”¹⁵ as they catalogued Folbigg’s record of infanticide through the publication of her incriminating diaries. One chilling entry:

January 16 1998

The gym was pivotal (sic) part of me, and now because I can’t go without taking Laura its (sic) put a damper (sic) on everything. I’ve had my one and only escape taken away from me.

Judith Warner’s new book, *Perfect Madness: Motherhood in the Age of Anxiety*, Examines the American condition she has coined ‘the mommy mystique’. Warner, who interviewed 150 well-off Manhattan mothers, says mothering has gone from an art to a cult, with devotees driving themselves to ever more baroque extremes to appease the goddess of perfect motherhood. Warner fails, however, to acknowledge the other end of the spectrum where poor mothers are under the increased economic, social and psychological pressure that saw a young American Mother, Christina Rugg, with no food for her children, smother her babies. She was executed in 2001. Warner believes our neurotic quest to perfect the mechanics of mothers can be interpreted as an effort to do on an individual level what we’ve stopped trying to do on a society-wide level.

4. Crack Mothers

In the mid to late 1980s a moral panic emerged in the US from Ronald Reagan’s “war on drugs” which saw crack-addicted mothers demonised. In 1985 Susan Spencer reporting for CBS News used as her source a *New England Journal of Medicine* study claiming that cocaine had just as devastating an effect on pregnancy as heroin, that it caused spontaneous abortions, and that babies born to mothers who used coke went through withdrawal (Douglas and Michaels: 154-5). One of the authors admitted it was a “limited but important study” designed to raise questions and concerns about using cocaine while pregnant (155). While Spencer’s story focused on the health warnings for all pregnant women, her story initiated a media campaign which quickly

narrowed its focus to black or Latino women. In 1989 CBS cited estimates that “15% of all babies born had mothers who abused drugs.” (CBS News, January 9, 1989; Douglas and Michaels:155).

To document the epidemic, the networks, after showing the requisite preemie in a neonatal ICU, then routinely showed dozens of bassinets lined up side by side in maternity wards, all of which allegedly contained “crack babies”. All kinds of estimates were thrown out – that anywhere from three to five hundred thousand crack babies would be born that year alone, that 15 percent of babies born were crack babies, that five years hence the , that five years hence the schools would be overrun by “a tidal wave” of crack kids who would be handicapped in all kinds of ways. (NBC News, Oct. 29, 1988. (Douglas and Michaels:155-6)

The *Washington Post* at the same time warned of “A Time Bomb in Cocaine Babies” and then the reality “Crack Babies: The Worst threat is Mom Herself” (cited in Faludi, 427; Douglas and Michaels 157). A *Los Angeles Times* headline adopted Reagan’s slogan: “Parents who can’t say ‘No’ are creating a generation of misery”.

Repeatedly journalists emphasized that crack mothers lost, or never had, basic maternal instincts and ‘had utter disregard for their children’; crack severed “that deepest and most sacred of bonds: that between a mother and child” (158: Rosenbaum)

Douglas and Michaels: “Was there an epidemic of underweight babies damaged for life, destined to become a menace to society because their mothers were smoking crack? No, or to put it another way, crack babies were a media creation, a hyping and misrepresentation of medical studies...

It turns out that the symptoms the news media attributed to crack use as often as not were the effects of alcohol, tobacco and, most importantly, poverty and lack of prenatal care. (Douglas and Michaels 160).

In later studies, in which observers did not know which infants had been exposed to what, they were unable to detect “foetal cocaine withdrawal” (cited in Morgan and Zimmer, Douglas and Michaels 161). But these later studies received “virtually zero” media coverage. Douglas and Michaels found that academia is not immune to media effects and that “In fact, even in the academy (like we’re really pure and immune to trends) the hysteria found a home” (161).

One 1989 study in *The Lancet*... found that “scientific results describing harmful effects of cocaine use during pregnancy were more likely to be accepted for conference presentation and publication than studies of equal or superior methodology showing few or no effects. (Coffin; cited Douglas and Michaels 161)

Media coverage of “crack babies” served as a powerful cautionary take about inherent fitness of poor or lower-class African American women to be mothers at all. (161)

At the same time in The United States, Britain, and in Australia the issue of child abuse, with a particular focus on abusive mothers, was gaining stature within the sensational news paradigm.

The “crack babies” moral panic may have dissipated, drug-using mothers are still headline copy. In a recent case of neglect in Australia a 19-year-old drug-injecting mother, whose third baby was born by emergency caesarean five weeks premature due to her drug use, was found guilty of neglect when it was revealed that the 10 month-old infant weighed just 6.82 kilogram. The court heard how the mother was ‘spread thin’ and was under the pressure of poverty and lack of support in parenting her three children. No where in the press discourse is their mention of the responsibilities of the father.

“Community fear of child-abuse is news; ‘teaching’ how to sustain a culture of child-care is not. The consequence is that news rarely reports what may be learned from instances of child-abuse by parents, carers and children themselves. There is no editorial urgency about preventative policies.” (Hartley: 69) (John Hartley “JUVENATION News, girls and power, *News, Gender and Power* (Ed) Cynthia Carter, Gill Branston and Stuart Allen, London: Routledge, 1998: 47-70)

5. A Master Narrative – Murdering Mothers and the 10-point-Triple Back Flip

In the UK four mothers, Sally Clarke, Angela Cannings, Trupti Patel and Donna Anthony were part of a highly newsworthy master narrative of murdering mothers.

These women each became collective fodder for a media feeding frenzy on deviant motherhood, which has recently been forced to do a complete turnaround.

Sally Clark was portrayed as a selfish, career-driven drunk who resented her babies for the loss of her pre-pregnancy figure. The *Daily Telegraph* ran an article "Against the Odds" after Clark's conviction and when the public discourse - outside of the media - was questioning her conviction. This *Telegraph* article illustrates the media's agility in being able to spin a story 360 degrees without missing a beat, but also the way a media organisation can be at one and the same time part of the pack and apart from the pack. The *Telegraph's* Bob Woffinden, claimed the media had treated Clark poorly. Sally Clark, he said, had been portrayed as enjoying a 'champagne lifestyle' in a luxurious cottage in the stockbroker belt of Cheshire" and was portrayed as:

a selfish, alcoholic, grasping, depressive, career-obsessed woman who liked pretty clothes, and who first abused and then murdered her children because they ruined her figure and stood in the way of her lucrative future.¹⁶

As Sally Clark's husband, Steven, reminds us, "in the pursuit of sensation, no media, at the time of her trial, pointed out that the prosecution's medical evidence was flawed and discredited, even by the Crown's own witnesses".

Another of these murdering mothers, Trupti Patel, was portrayed as a "qualified pharmacist", as if being qualified set her apart. She was presented as a career-driven, cold and uncaring mother. Patel's case is doubly disturbing because her media misrepresentation continues. Unlike the other women, Patel was *never* convicted of murdering her children, she was found innocent of all charges; she never spent time in gaol. And yet last month British newspapers (The *Guardian* and the *Times*) and others, were still running news stories in which all of the women, including Patel, were convicted and jailed for murder.

Donna Anthony, who spent six years in jail for the murder of her two children, was labelled a "baby-killing bitch"; and "evil mother" who killed her son to get sympathy and to make her estranged husband feel guilty after an argument¹⁷. Angela Cannings was portrayed as a 'dull' and 'ordinary' woman who couldn't cope with motherhood so she serially smothered her children.

So, what does the media do when the women they so energetically vilified as 'monstrous Medeas' are found to be innocent after all, the victims of faulty expert medical evidence? They seamlessly perform a 10-point-Triple Back Flip and recreate these women in another sensationalised construct as the 'martyred mothers', and at the same time find a new monster in Professor Roy Meadow, and the audiences lap it up with the voracious appetite of a gallows pack.

Dr Theodore Dalrymple wrote in a 2003 *Daily Telegraph* profile on Meadow:

Professor Sir Roy Meadow is the villain of the week, the man we all love to hate. This once highly-respected indeed world-famous, emeritus professor of paediatrics at Leeds university, now 70 years old, has been called "the child-snatcher-in-chief" by The *Daily Mail*, a sobriquet that will probably further confuse the part of the population that has difficulty distinguishing between paediatricians and paedophiles.¹⁸

What Dalrymple got wrong was the calculation that Meadow would be villain for a week that his newsworthiness would be transitory. The 'demon doctor' implicated in hundreds of cases is the new media monster.

The martyred mothers narrative, I suspect, with its symbiotic relationship to the demon doctor, will be consumed within this new 'Demon Doctor' master narrative, allowing the deviant mother narrative to survive in its many manifestations.

There is one category of mother who murders her children who is privy, for the most part, to a sympathetic press. The mother who murders her disabled child is regularly exculpated through media coverage with thinly veiled eugenics undertones.

1.4 Conclusion

The media has clearly identified motherhood's news values as coming from the two extremes: from the idealised to the demonised: from the sex goddess whose perfect body has been transformed by the seductive fecundity of maternity, to the "Monstrous Mother" who murders her own babies. In terms of media attention, outside these disparate constructs, 'regular' mothers can only register on the news values radar when they:

- are perceived as super mothers with ten kids under eight,
- give birth to quintuplets
- or deliver on the right calendar event – Christmas Day; New Year's Day; Mother's Day

Anything in between these extremes holds little or no news values. While regular sleep-deprived mothers, struggling to nurture their babies amidst household debt and stretch marks and flabby stomachs, continue to be absent from the media motherhood discourse, society's expectations of mothers and motherhood will remain

trapped into a damaging circularity, shutting out important social discourse on issues such as poverty, social isolation and child-care which impact directly on women's mothering experiences.

Jennie Lusk recommended in her 2001 study of Mexican neonaticide that consideration be made to the "societal implications of our impulse to shun neonatidical mother"¹⁹.

Individual opinions and knowledge of crime and health issues such as infanticide are rarely based on direct experience. Rather highly abstracted and tenuous opinions are formed from and based upon media discourse. Michelle Oberman says "...parents, social service agencies, and the legal, medical, and mental health communities have stumbled in their responsibility to address the complicated, myriad issues that smoulder beneath a layer of public indignation over the lurid details that surround these killings"²⁰.

While mothers in their various constructs are defined as newsworthy or not newsworthy, women are rarely the definers of news. Newsroom culture and practice means that few women, few mothers reach the upper echelons of gate-keeping. When they do the pressure is on to keep the winning status quo, to maintain the ratings, to increase the circulation figures – and as we all know the highest rating newspapers are tabloids, with Rupert Murdoch's *News of the World* and the *Sun* the highest circulation newspapers in Britain with their diet of bare-breasted page-three girls, of celebrity mums, and monstrous and deviant mothers.

Public opinion is informed by media coverage, decision makers, from policy makers to parliamentarians, from judges to juries, are all informed in part by a 'common-sense' knowledge of the world which is informed by public opinion. The demonising of certain mothers and the idealisation of others creates a pattern of representation which negatively impacts on the way society constructs motherhood.

Notes

¹ "She's Having a baby!" *Who Weekly*, 25 April 2005, 34-35.

² Pregnant Britney's Hospital Dash," *Woman's Day*, 25 April 2005, 10.

³ Lana Berkowitz, "Britney prepares for motherhood – and we can't take our eyes off her," *Houston Chronicle*, 15 April 2005, sec. HLF. (24 April 2005) <http://www.HoustonChronicle.com>.

⁴ "Nicole Reveals – 'I'm in baby mode'" *Woman's Day*, 5 April 2005, 14-15.

⁵ "Demi pregnant and smoking?" *Woman's Day*, 25 April 2005, 8-9.

⁶ "Now you don't have to be expecting to have that radiant glow everyday," *Woman's Day*, 25 April 2005, 27.

⁷ "Sperm Race," *Metro*, 23 July 23 2004, 3.

⁸ "Performance the Art of Birth," *The Weekend Australian*, 23-24 April 2005, 25.

⁹ "Artist Invites Public to Birth of His Child", AFP, 25 April 2005.

¹⁰ Roxanne Roberts, "Do Me a Favor, Keep a Lid on Your Double Latte," *Washington Post*, 11 August 2004, sec. CO1.

¹¹ Dominique Jackson, "Accessory after the act," *The Weekend Australian Magazine*, 29-30 March 2003, 33-37.

¹² Rebecca Williams, "Newberry keen to make new golden splash," *The Hobart Mercury*, 27 Jan 2005, 40.

¹³ Dee O'Connell. "What happened Next?" *Observer*, 30 March 2003 (24 April 2005) <http://observer.guardian.co.uk/print/0,3858,4646541-110648,00.html>

¹⁴ Jane Hall; "Fox News Watch", "How the Media Cover Women", 8 November, 2002 (29 April 2005) <http://www.tompaine.com/feature.cfm/ID/4385>

¹⁵ "Monstress: the diary of a child murderer," *Daily Telegraph*, 22 May 2003, 31.

¹⁶ Bob Woffinden, "Against the Odds," *The Daily Telegraph*, 11 May 2001, Sec. 2177

¹⁷ "Ken Norman, "Donna Anthony," 18 November, 1998, (24 April 2005).

<http://www.portia.org/chapter04/anthony.html>

¹⁸ Dr Theodore Dalrymple, Roy Meadow Profile," *Daily Telegraph* 14 December, 2003, sec. Op Ed.

¹⁹ Jennie Lusk. "Modern New Mexican neonaticide: Tranquilizing with this jewel/ the torments of confusion" *Texas Journal of Women and the Law*. Austin: Fall 2001. Vol 11, 1ss. 1. 93-130.

²⁰ Julie Brienza. "When the bough breaks: Can justice be served in neonaticide cases?" *Trial*. Washington: Dec 1997. Vol 33, Iss 12. pg 13, 4 pgs.)

(Julie Brienza. "When the bough breaks: Can justice be served in neonaticide cases?" *Trial*. Washington: Dec 1997. Vol 33, Iss 12. pg 13, 4 pgs.)

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