Mika Rottenberg's video installations outline production chains of «impossible products», such as cherries made from red-lacquered fingernails or towelettes flavoured with traces of lemonade in sweat. Her «Bachelor(ette) Machines» parody (post-)Fordist modes of production, exposing the absurdity of global commodity production.² They are therefore discussed as «a critique of commodification that is also a surreal imitation of commodification»,³ Her video installation Cheese (2008), focusing on the relation between agricultural production and biological production (or procreation), however, is rarely considered within this context which instead emphasises factory-like production methods. The video depicts a pre-industrial dairy farm run by six sisters who keep farm animals like geese, chickens and horses as well as milk goats to produce cheese and butter. The farm is presented as a nineteenth-century setting, with plain wooden sheds and the women farmers all walking barefoot and wearing long white dresses with tailoring vaguely reminiscent of the period. Additionally, the women all have very long hair, which they tie into a bun for work – at first. Given that the farm is only barely profitable, the sisters redesign their business model to utilise the material products of their own bodies.

For the video production, Rottenberg herself constructed the farm on Robby William's Flying W Air Ranch Petting Zoo and Airport in Bushnell, Florida. In addition she introduced the animals to the area and engaged the film crew, as well as the extremely long-haired women. 4 During the 2000s, Rottenberg frequently collaborated with actresses who, as she explains, autonomously use their own bodies as a «means of production».5 «Using female actors who in real life market their own physical peculiarities, she sets up complex production systems whose end products are commodities created through the manipulation of body processes and fluids.»6 In this video installation, the artist directs attention to the divergence between the self-contained marketing of female farmers' bodies and their marketing of the bodily products of animals. In the context of agriculture, animals are not typically afforded the opportunity to consent to the marketing of their bodily products; these are appropriated, including the milk produced by female animals due to hormonal changes associated with their biological reproduction. The video installation frames the commodification of women's bodies as a consequence of the unsuccessful appropriation of the reproductive products of female animal bodies. This remains largely invisible in everyday life, or is assumed to be natural because of the animal bodily processes on which it is based. In what follows I propose to argue that Rottenberg's dairy highlights the physical, hormonal and biochemical processes such as hair growth and lactation, which, unlike labour, cannot be easily striked and stopped, together with their capitalist exploitation.⁷ Although both approaches are similar, this particular focus differs from the topics currently discussed in feminist and Marxist studies. They critique «social reproduction» as gendered, racialised and unpaid care work that reproduces its own conditions.⁸ In addition, these studies analyse the consequences of reproductive technologies, like the birth control pill or conceptive therapies, that have failed to fulfil the hopes for women's liberation as advocated in the 1970s.⁹ In contrast, Rottenberg presents reproduction as a female physical process that is transformed into production. Considering gender as a cultural construction as opposed to the supposedly fixed category of sex, the question of female biological reproduction as an essentialising one might appear to be outdated.¹⁰

Rottenberg's feminist and Marxist approach, however, raises an issue that remains unresolved, even with a different organisation of care work, namely the link between production and biological reproduction. These two concepts cannot be separated as easily as Western political theory since the nineteenth century has led us to believe by distinguishing between the «production of the means of subsistence, of food» and the «production of human beings themselves». 11 This is all the more true today if we take as our starting point the post-humanist theories of the social proposed by Bruno Latour or Rosi Braidotti, which take into account all actors. In contemporary art, the relationship between production and biological reproduction has been addressed since the 1990s, for example, through the material of milk, whose production methods I would like to subject to a close reading, focusing on Rottenberg's video installation Cheese. My aim is twofold. Firstly, this paper analyses production relations from a materialist and feminist perspective in this anti-pastoral, which is in fact about milking and working. Secondly, it argues that the video installation makes production relations visible as gender relations, rather than critiquing capitalism in terms of alienated labour, property, class or commodity. The video demonstrates that production cannot be separated from reproduction by showcasing the biological re-production of raw materials by female animals and their transformation into commodities, in this case milk, butter and cheese, and the gendered division of labour that is practised during this process. The analysis thus ties in with the work of the feminist Marxist sociologist Frigga Haug, who defines the «relations of production» as «gender relations» and «vice versa», on the assumption that the relations of production cannot be shaped independently of the historically, socio-politically determined notions of gender.¹² Moreover, by focusing on a selection of actors and practices, this approach avoids the dichotomy of production and reproduction that is often assumed in political theory. Practices can perhaps also be used to overcome dualisms in art history as Ted Schatzki argues for the social sciences - regardless of the fact that neither milk nor feminism play a significant role in current practice theories. 13 Nevertheless, I use practices as an analytical criterion – and as a magic word, because they encompass «forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, <things> and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge», in other words virtually everything. 14 But I understand them as historical in order to differentiate which gender-political codings they can evoke.

The Gendered Production of Milk

Milk is a central element in the multi-channel video installation *Cheese*, which is screened in the niches of a simple wooden shed built from the setting of the filmed dairy farm. It is presented as a bodily fluid, although a number of sequences

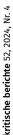


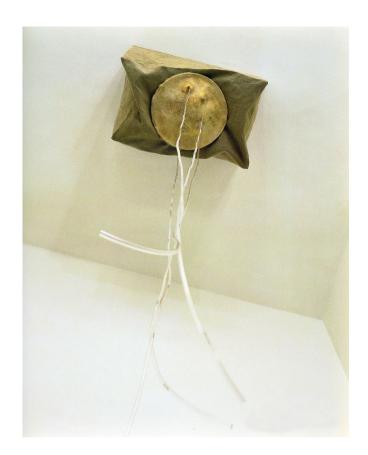
1 Mika Rottenberg, *Cheese*, 2008, still, multichannel video installation with sound, 16:07 min., dimensions variable

denaturalise its origin in udders. It also serves as a medium of reflection for the six long-haired sisters, whose milking practices are carefully staged. While the farm has various crops and animals, the focus of their work is on caring for their hair, which varies in texture and colour, and on the goats. The animals are supposed to walk along the wooden fence to the milking parlour every morning, but they resist, run wild and can only be whipped, shooed, tempted and rewarded with the help of the dairywomen's long hair, which shimmers so enchantingly in the light. 15 However, the milking process, which is a key activity on a dairy farm, is not immediately visible but can be heard. The video captures the sounds of jets of milk splashing into a metal bucket from various directions. Meanwhile, static shots show a milker from the back, the movements of a bicep, a knee, goat's horns, a face and an eye, as if one of these body parts were producing the milk we are hearing. Only at the end of the sequence, when the milking noises are superimposed, do we see a close-up of a hand on the teat, the bulging, hairy udders and the fine jets of milk collected in a funnel (fig. 1). The milking is presented in saturated colours and golden light, but it is not staged as a bucolic idyll. Instead, it is rendered as work that is hardly worthwhile on the «failing farm», even though the six sisters also tap an unknown source of milk in the ground as if it were oil.16 Consequently, the long-haired farmers critically evaluate the results of their agricultural efforts, which include a pile of churned butter, a piece of cheese and the milk in the vat. This self-inspection is staged as a witty shot-counter-shot montage that puts the viewer in the place of the milk. Firstly, the sequence shows a full-frame view of the liquid, in which the women look at the result of their work and at their mirror images at the same time. Then the shot switches so that the sisters' scrutinising gaze now meets us, the viewers, whereupon the dairywomen start «milking their own appearance», the only thing that really thrives on this farm as the artist puts it: «And there is this maybe shift of power [...] from kind of milking the animals they milk themselves.» 17 Using mist from the nearby Niagara Falls and their own hair, they make an elixir by mixing the two, which is then bottled and sold at the fence – a tribute to the long-haired Seven Sutherland Sisters, who gained fame in the nineteenth century by selling their hair-growing compound.

It is widely accepted as a biological fact that milk, unless it is a vegan substitute, is a secretion produced in the glands of the breasts which we consider as female.18 However, this fact is obscured in everyday life, despite the grazing cows that usually adorn the milk packaging.¹⁹ According to Esther Leslie and Melanie Jackson's lecture performance, the industrial process of separating milk from animals and pasteurising it is based on «extractions and abstractions» from all lactation.²⁰ Milk is commodified through the separation of the animal from the calf, the extraction of milk from the mammal's breast and the elimination of all associations with mother's milk. The material is clearly distinguished from its short-lived secretion, which is hormonally triggered by regular pregnancies at controlled intervals and births.²¹ The bodily fluid should not be traced back to its concrete origin, which at the same time is the basis for the way it is ideologically charged. For instance, in his Mythologies of Everyday Life at the end of the 1950s, Roland Barthes acknowledged that wine could not be an «unalloyedly blissful substance» because «its production is deeply involved in French capitalism» and colonialism.²² In contrast, he praised milk as an «anti-wine» and glorified it as an «exotic substance», disregarding its capitalist production conditions.²³ The «Ur-substance» is the first to be ingested outside the uterus and is believed to bestow mythological and economic superpowers.²⁴ In mythology, it creates worlds and galaxies – and in Western industrialised countries, it feeds the masses. The product of biological reproductive processes, it has been used to reproduce the workforce for economic and political reasons. Since then, both women's milk and cow's milk have been subject to the same strict hygiene controls, and their processing has been regulated and industrialised. As a result, both milk banks and dairies guarantee a germ-free, homogeneous emulsion of water, proteins and fats, which, at least in the West, also promises purity on a metaphorical level because of its colour.25

Rottenberg's video exposes what is typically hidden from consumers in their daily lives. Most people do not own cows or goats, nor do they have access to dairy farms or dairies. They only see the final product, packaged for mass consumption. Furthermore, images depicting milk production and processing are typically only found in technical literature or industrial and educational films such as Die Sendung mit der Maus (Mouse TV). Since the 1970s, this popular programme on West German public television has been showing the «workflows and working conditions in factories» and explaining how «materials are transformed into consumer goods».²⁶ Milk was chosen as one of its first subjects to visualise the hidden secrets of industrial production. Apart from lactation scenes, which are legitimised by the genre as history paintings or genre depictions, the production methods and milk extraction were also invisible in the arts for a long time. In the exhibition space milk is usually presented as white material without any reference to its origin, use or consumption, for example, «the milk splash as a cipher for Action Painting», 27 The «social uses» of milk and its material history were to be programmatically left behind with this transfer.28 Thus, for his part, Wolfgang Laib describes how the milk on his Milchsteine (milkstones), the slightly concave, polished slabs of white marble, is no longer a quickly consumed nourishment for the body, as in a cup of coffee in the morning, but something almost the opposite, «so universal».²⁹ But whereas Laib himself collects the pollen he also uses for installations directly from the meadows





2 Rosemarie Trockel, It's a Tough Job But Somebody Has to Do It, 1990, cow's udder, canvas, plastic tube, 52 × 81 × 52 cm

by hand over months and keeps it for years, for the milk stones, whose installation is only rarely on public display, he chooses mass-produced goods, which are disposed of every evening and poured freshly onto the marble slabs every day, if not always contemplatively by the artist himself.³⁰

In contrast, Cheese presents milk as a product of animal bodies and udders. The video installation avoids relying solely on milk's material properties or mythological associations. A similar approach can be observed in the case of feminist art of the 1990s in the Global North, which situates milk as a product of cows' and women's bodies. Dorothy Cross, for instance, uses tanned udders to create surreal objects that blur the lines between in- and outside, up and down, animal and female bodies.³¹ Kiki Smith stages milk as one of many bodily fluids, regardless of its material appearance, biological reproduction or care work. Several silver-coated water bottles are placed side by side, without hierarchy or system, and the inscription in German Gothic lettering indicates that milk is presented at the front left alongside urine, mucus and diarrhoea.³² Rosemarie Trockel, on the other hand, transfers the udder and its milk flow into the exhibition space (fig. 2). It's a Tough Job But Somebody Has to Do It is a flexible cube made of canyas, with a tanned cow's udder mounted on a round disc. Long plastic tubes extend from its four teats into the exhibition space, as if museum visitors could drink the milk directly from the udder with straws. The object links milk, which is not physically present but appears to be in the white light reflections in the tubes, with cow lactation. Yet, the cow's body is alienated by its shape and the way it is mounted on the wall, as if it were a machine, while the title, reminiscent of Barbara Kruger's slogans, is so ironically exaggerated that it is immediately clear that the cows have no choice but to do their tough job.

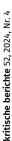
The theoretical and historical context of these artworks encompasses diverse agrarian, media and feminist approaches, even if they are not explicitly stated. Since the 1970s, agricultural science has defined milk production as a form of «biotechnology» that involves «combining biological systems and physical-technical systems». Around the same time, the media philosopher Vilém Flusser, who frequently wrote for *Artforum*, warned against misinterpreting cows, that is the biotechnical systems we have created, as natural:

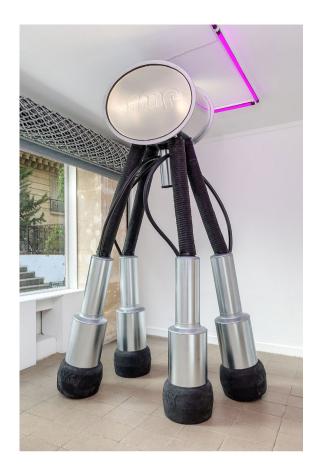
«Cows are efficient machines for the transformation of grass into milk, and if compared to other types of machines, they have an unquestionable advantage in this regard. For example: they are self-reproductive, and when they become obsolete, their hardware can be used in the form of meat, leather, and other consumable products. [...] Their care and handling is not costly and does not require highly specialized manual labor. [...], they could be considered as prototypes of future machines.»³⁴

Flusser discussed these practices from a purely phenomenological perspective, while the activist Carol J. Adams focused on them in her 1990 feminist-vegetarian theory. Later, she developed this theory into a feminist-vegan critique of protein extraction, arguing that milk, dairy products and eggs are «feminized protein». Adams considers these to be plant proteins, such as those found in grass, which we appropriate by "[ab]use of female animals' reproductive cycles to produce food», even though we could consume them directly from plants: «Their labor is both reproduction and production.» Rottenberg's video highlights the false naturalness of this appropriation by idealising and finally abandoning it. The women are milking by hand, barefoot, bathed in golden light, in other words, in a supposedly completely natural and pre-industrial way.

Gendered Practices

In Rottenberg's video of the fictional dairy, milk production and processing are staged as gendered practices, with milking, butter churning and cheese making presented as women's manual labour. The female workers enjoy direct contact with the udders and the butter, with hardly any loss of tactility (fig. 1), even though Rottenberg could have used machines that were already employed for milking in the nineteenth century for this «period piece», as she characterises it.³⁷ Instead, we see traditional milking techniques that are still recommended in guides to small-scale goat husbandry today.38 Rottenberg's gender coding of dairy practices may reflect her fundamental interest in women's labour. However, it also corresponds to the historical gender coding of non-industrial milk production in the Global North. Milking and the various ways in which milk is processed have historically been regarded as domestic work in both the United States and Western Europe. This domestic work has been understood as a «labor of love» rather than «work (for money)», and therefore as women's work.³⁹ It was devalued as a reproductive activity, in that Western political economies and theories distinguished it from productive work in factories and agriculture with the establishment of capitalism, even though milking can produce goods. 40 Even in settings beyond the household, such as in dairies and cheese factories, milk-related tasks were traditionally viewed as women's work, except for the churning of butter, which could be done by men, animals or machines.⁴¹ In addition, the care of dairy





3 Lucie Stahl, *Surge*, 2019, mixed media, variable dimensions

cows was (and is still) thought to require love, as cows have been shown to produce more milk and remain healthier when they are cared for and given names.⁴² According to the essentialist argument, cisgender women with mammary glands and breasts we call female seemed more suited to this work and to handling the material milk than cisgender men, although they also have mammary glands and nipples and could lactate.⁴³

In contrast to Rottenberg's pre-industrial dairy farm run by women, Lucie Stahl stages milk production as masculine in a series of works, featuring industrialised and male-coded production techniques and an upside-down milking machine. Her monumental sculpture *Surge* from 2019 (fig. 3) shows the production methods of the dairy and oil industries, both of which extract liquids, as structurally similar. The sculpture's shape and material resemble milkers, but blown-up in scale and turned upside down. Its four teat cups appear to be legs, as if they could walk around and pump liquid directly from the ground instead of from udders.⁴⁴ Although this orientation may suggest oil extraction, the sculpture is actually branded *Surge*, after one of the largest American manufacturers of milking machines. It presents milk production as a technical process of raw material extraction, seemingly devoid of milk-producing animals, udders, manual and female labour, and coded as masculine through the use of machines and steel. This re-coding corresponds to that of milk production and processing, which was massively centralised, mechanised and



4 Mika Rottenberg, *Cheese Unlimited*, 2018, cheese from the Vorarlberg from Alma Bergsennerei Lutzenreute, sold at Kunsthaus Bregenz, 2018

industrialised in the Western capitalist countries in the twentieth century. Although women have been using various technologies to draw their own milk since ancient times, the use of machines has rendered dairy work masculine.⁴⁵

Instead, Cheese presents the methods of milk production as explicitly feminine. However, the video does not merely function as a vegan, anti-speciesist or feminist didactic. On the one hand, the long-haired women in the video no longer appropriate the goats' milk but autonomously milk their own bodies, figuratively speaking. On the other hand, given the video installation's production modes, it is Rottenberg who is the only one seen in the video who is in fact milking, and who continuously profits from the women's extremely long hair.⁴⁶ The video loop shows poses and hair practices for which at least one of them would have been paid in «monthly fees» by her private clients on the internet.⁴⁷ In return, Rottenberg presents their hair as stunningly beautiful, praising it in every interview as «beautiful and mesmerizing», as Dyg, Heidi, Jeanette, Kelsey, Lady Grace and Leona negotiated during their strike at the start of filming. 48 Furthermore, the video subverts the gender coding of the dairy, which it stages with such precision. Rather than simply depicting the process of milk production in an objective manner, the video uses its very production methods to defamiliarise it. All but one of the milk-producing animals are male goats, who only appear to be dairy goats through what Rottenberg calls «movie magic editing». 49 The video showcases a method of milking that involves the use of eyes, biceps, a spring in the ground and hair, so that the milk can be extracted in a supernatural way, independent of reproductive cycles. The products are also manipulated: instead of milk, Rottenberg filmed an industrially produced cheese from the local Walmart, smeared with margarine, and a mixture of water, powdered milk and white paint.⁵⁰ Notably, in the exhibition Rottenberg literally confronts viewers with the cheeses of the failed dairy in whose ruins they stand. Having tried unsuccessfully to sell the

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refreshing towels made from a bodybuilder's sweat on Ebay following the production of her video installation *Tropical Breeze*, she shifted the sale of the goods directly to the art institution. ⁵¹ After showing «the hidden abode of biological re-production» in the video installation – I am bending Marx a bit – the corresponding products were sold in the museum shop. ⁵² Rottenberg cooperated with a mountain dairy in the area, which sold its cheese at Kunsthaus Bregenz under the name *Cheese Unlimited* (fig. 4). The packaging did not feature a picture of the milk-producing animals or plump udders, as is often the case in supermarkets. Instead, it displayed a video still of *Cheese* showing the six long-haired sisters, as if the cheese were actually made from their hair. However, even this estranged production mode did not deter visitors from appropriating the feminised protein.

Notes

- 1 Jonathan Beller: Rottenberg Pearls, in: Parkett, 2016, no. 98, pp. 150–157, here p. 151.
- **2** Germano Celant: Mika Rottenberg's Bachelor(ette) Machines, in: Parkett, 2016, no. 98, pp. 180–183.
- 3 Linda Williams: On Squeeze, in: Mika Rottenberg. Dough Cheese Squeeze and Tropical Breeze. Video Works 2003–2010, exhib. cat., Amsterdam, de Appel Arts Centre, New York 2011, pp. 182–188, here p. 183. Cf. Marina Vishmidt: Situation Wanted. Something about Labour, in: Afterall. A Journal of Art, Context and Enquiry, 2008, no. 19, pp. 20–34.
- 4 Production credits: Cast: Dyq, Heidi, Jeanette, Kelsey, Lady Grace, Leona, Cinematographer: Mahyad Tousi, Sound Design: Tina Hardin, Pomann Sound, Special Effects and Installation: Katrin Altekamp, Edo Born, Deville Cohen, Special thanks to Robby William's Flying W Air Ranch Petting Zoo and Airport.
- **5** Eleanor Heartney: Mika Rottenberg. Putting the Body to Work, in: Artpress, 2011, no. 377, pp. 49–52, here p. 49.
- 6 Ibid.
- **7** See Angela Dimitrakaki: Arbeiter/innen, die ihren Arbeitsplatz niemals verlassen: Das Abjekte nach der Postmoderne, in: Mika Rottenberg, exhib. cat., Bregenz, Kunsthaus, Köln 2018, pp. 120–138, here p. 124.
- **8** See Cooking Cleaning Caring. Care Work in the Arts since 1960, ed. by Friederike Sigler/Linda Walther, exhib. cat., Bottrop, Josef Albers Museum Quadrat, Berlin 2024; Marina Vishmidt: The Two Reproductions in (Feminist) Art and Theory since the 1970s, in: Third Text 31, 2017, no. 1, pp. 49–66; and on biopolitical production instead Michael Hardt/Antonio Negri: Multitude. War and Democracy in the Age of Empire, New York 2004, p. 148.
- **9** See Martha E. Gimenez: Marx, Women, and Capitalist Social Reproduction. Marxist-Feminist Essays, Leiden 2019, pp. 188–209; Shulamith Firestone: The Dialectic of Sex. The Case for Feminist Revolution, London/New York 2015 (1970), p. 213.

- 10 See Judith Butler: Gender Trouble. Feminism and the Subversion of Identity, New York 1986, p. 6.
- **11** Frederick Engels: The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State. Introduction by Evelyn Reed, 2. edition, New York 1973, p. 26.
- **12** Frigga Haug: Gender Relations, in: Historical Materialism 13, 2005, no. 2, pp. 279–302, here p. 299.
- 13 This paper is part of a larger project on industrial production methods and practices in art. See https://gepris.dfg.de/gepris/projekt/508930320, last accessed on 29 February 2024. Theodore R. Schatzki: Introduction. Practice Theory, in: idem/Karin Knorr Cetina/Eike von Savigny (eds.): The Practice Turn in Contemporary Theory, London 2001, pp. 1–14, here p. 1. On microbes in cheese, cf. Heather Paxson: Post-Pasteurian Cultures. The Microbiopolitics of Raw-Milk Cheese in the United States, in: Alejandro Alonso Díaz & INLAND/David Prieto Serrano/Fernando García-Dory (eds.): Microbiopolitics of Milk, London 2022, pp. 104–162.
- **14** Andreas Reckwitz: Toward a Theory of Social Practices. A Development in Culturalist Theorizing, in: European Journal of Social Theory 5, 2002, no. 2, pp. 243–263, here p. 249.
- 15 See Mika Rottenberg: Preparatory Drawing for Cheese, 2008, in: Mika Rottenberg. The Production of Luck, exhib. cat., Waltham, Rose Art Museum, New York 2014, p. 88.
- **16** Ibid.
- 17 Christian Lund: Mika Rottenberg. Girl Power from Another Century, in: Louisiana Channel, 2017, https://channel.louisiana.dk/video/mikarottenberg-girl-power-another-century, last accessed on 23 February 2024.
- **18** See Anja Zimmermann: Brust. Geschichte eines politischen Körperteils, Berlin 2023, p. 117.
- 19 On the queering of milk, see Mathilde Cohen/Yoriko Otomo (eds.): Making Milk. The Past, Present and Future of Our Primary Food, London et al. 2017.
- **20** Melanie Jackson/Esther Leslie: Deeper in the Pyramid, London 2018, p. 7.

- 21 For breast cups and Tetra Pak cf. ibid., pp. 43–45, 47.
- **22** Roland Barthes: Mythologies, transl. by Annette Lavers, New York 1972, p. 61.
- 23 Ibid., pp. 60-61.
- **24** Ibid., p. 3; Deborah Valenze: Milk. A Local and Global History, New Haven/London 2011, pp. 13–23, 253.
- 25 See Mathilde Cohen: Regulating Milk. Women and Cows in France and the United States, in: The American Journal of Comparative Law 65, 2017, no. 3, pp. 469–526.
- 26 Petra Lange-Berndt: Introduction. How to Be Complicit with Materials, in: idem. (ed.): Materiality. Documents of Contemporary Art, Cambridge/London 2015, pp. 12–23, here p. 12; Wie kommt die Milch in unseren Kühlschrank? Sachgeschichten mit Armin Maiwald, 1969, Bibliothek der Sachgeschichten, in: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LHwpNxyRUaM, last accessed on 27 February 2024.
- 27 See Kenneth Hayes: Milk and Melancholy, Toronto/Cambridge/London 2008, p. 120.
- **28** Pierre Bourdieu: Distinction. A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste, transl. by Richard Nice, Cambridge 1984 (1979), p. 21.
- **29** Sarah Tanguy: Making the Ideal Real. A Conversation with Wolfgang Laib, in: Sculpture Magazine, 2001, https://sculpturemagazine.art/making-the-ideal-real-a-conversation-with-wolfgang-laib/, last accessed on 20 February 2024.
- **30** See Clare Farrow: Wolfgang Laib. More than Myself, in: Parkett, 1994, no. 39, pp. 77–81, here p. 81.
- **31** See the artist's website: https://www.dorothycross.com/1999-88/udders, last accessed on 21 February 2024.
- **32** See Kiki Smith: Untitled, 1990, in: The Broad, https://www.thebroad.org/art/kiki-smith/untitled, last accessed on 21 February 2024.
- 33 Karl Rabold: Biotechnik der Milchgewinnung. Gesunde Kühe, richtiges Melken, mehr Milch, Stuttgart 1974, preface, unpaginated (my translation).
- **34** Vilém Flusser: Natural:Mind, transl. by Rodrigo Maltez Novaes, ed. by Siegfried Zielinski/Norval

Baitello Junior, Minneapolis 2013 (1979), pp. 43–44. See also Greta Gaard: Toward a Feminist Postcolonial Milk Studies, in: American Quarterly 65, 2013, no. 3, pp. 595–618, here p. 604.

- **35** Carol J. Adams: The Sexual Politics of Meat. A Feminist-Vegetarian Critical Theory, New York 1990; idem.: Feminized Protein. Meaning, Representations and Implications, in: Cohen/Otomo 2017 (as note 19), pp. 19–40, here p. 22.
- **36** Adams 2017 (as note 35), p. 23.
- **37** Cf. Heartney 2011 (as note 5), p. 52.
- **38** Bertl Schindlmayr: Die Ziege. Nutzbringende Haltung im Kleinbetrieb, Minden n.d. [1960], p. 29.
- **39** Gisela Bock/Barbara Duden: Arbeit aus Liebe. Liebe als Arbeit. Zur Entstehung der Hausarbeit im Kapitalismus, in: Frauen und Wissenschaft. Beiträge zur Berliner Sommeruniversität für Frauen, Juli 1976, Berlin (West) 1977, pp. 118–199, here p. 121 (my translation).
- **40** Ibid., p. 120.
- **41** Valenze 2011 (as note 24), pp. 120–122, 145.
- 42 Ibid., p. 1.
- **43** See Mathilde Cohen: The Lactating Man, in: Cohen/Otomo 2017 (as note 19), pp.141–160, here p. 145.
- 44 See Jackson/Leslie 2018 (as note 20), p. 44.
- **45** See ibid., p. 59; Michael Obladen: Guttus, tiralatte and téterelle. A History of Breastpumps, in: Journal of Perinatal Medecine 40, 2012, no. 6, pp. 669–675.
- **46** Ibid.
- **47** Cf. Leona Interviewed by Mika Rottenberg, in: exhib. cat. Mika Rottenberg 2011 (as note 3), pp. 144–145, here p. 144.
- **48** Cf. Judith Hudson: Mika Rottenberg, in: Bomb Magazine, 2010, no. 113, pp. 26–33, here p. 33.
- **49** E-mail from Tiffany Wang, Hauser & Wirth, to the author, 26 October 2022.
- **50** Ibid.
- **51** See Heather Foster Interviewed by Mika Rottenberg, in: exhib. cat. Mika Rottenberg 2011 (as note 3), pp. 39–40, here p. 39.
- **52** Cf. Karl Marx: Capital. A Critique of Political Economy. Vol. I, London 1976, p. 279.

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