The Art of Maximal Ventriloquy: Femininity as Labour in the Films of Rachel Maclean

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> It wasn't until I was looking at the world of female artists and thinking of the way that women are presented in the media that I really became aware of what I was being pressurised to be. I'm angry that there's not more done to help women and young girls be aware of what is being thrown at them. Not to protect them from seeing it but to understand how you push against it.[1]

This essay makes a case for Scottish artist Rachel Maclean's work as a form of feminist critique, positioning her within the tradition of women's performance-based video art, such as that of leading figures Martha Rosler, Joan Braderman, Sadie Benning and, more recently, Pipilotti Rist and Miranda July. It considers how the intensive labour of her own performances, in which she plays the dual function of artist/director and performer, together with her thematic focus on the values of youth, celebrity and beauty, foregrounds a wider consideration of the work of femininity in contemporary culture. Often the weird and wonderful array of characters played by Maclean invoke familiar pop cultural types. Always strikingly off-kilter they enable her to excavate the saccharine surfaces of popular culture in order to reveal the more grotesque and disturbing seam running beneath.

As well as being evident in her films, Maclean's position in relation to feminism is now well documented. In one interview, she describes her interest in the ways in which identity is articulated through pop music as part of a 'largely a feminist critique'[2] (she is particularly preoccupied by the complex contradictions of media representations of women, which conflate female sexuality and childhood innocence). The forthcoming film *Make Me Up* (2018), her longest and – by her own admission – most ambitious film to date, is inspired by the late 19th and early 20th century women's suffrage movement and commemorates the 100-year anniversary of women's voting rights. Of the film, she says 'I'm delighted to have the opportunity to explore the excitements and complications of contemporary feminism.'[3] The increasing clarity of Maclean's position on feminism and her propensity to speak about its centrality to her work aligns her with an emerging generation of women artists who explicitly call attention to their feminism, both in discussion and in the themes, methodologies and strategies of their work.[4]

At first glance, Maclean's work may seem as innocuous as the texts it references. It may look like trivial pieces of culture for which she essentially serves as the ventriloquist (or, 'the dummy'). However, the many distancing devices, from the exaggerations and ruptures of her performances to the post-production distortions of the image, draw out the darkness of certain themes - such as the fetishisation of youth - that signals her work as a sharp critique of twenty-first century culture. In the dystopian space of her 2015 film *Feed Me*, for instance, adults are addicted to baby-shaped candies, doled out to them by mobs of streetwise, soother-sucking, big-eyed youths. The film's *mise-en-scène* is peppered with the accoutrements of childhood, such as bibs, satin bows and toys, but they are either too-large or out of place (worn and played with by adults) and the melancholic tone that runs throughout clashes with the many exclamations of something being 'too cute' or someone feeling 'too happy.' Maclean's video works are as beguiling as they are frustrating in their loosening of the lid of the complex psyche of contemporary popular culture.

Maclean's performative self-imaging shares much in common with photographer Cindy Sherman, who she cites as an influence.[5] Like Maclean, Sherman also performs in all of her work and designs her own sets and costumes. Her photography often involves her performance of a great range of different characters or types within a number of dramatic contexts that are highly evocative of various genres - from film stills to centrefolds - and their associated conventions. Sherman is still best known for her breakthrough series of *Untitled Film Stills* (1977-80), which staged generic stills from films that did not exist, although the more overt artifice of other series such as *Headshots* (2000-02), a tragi-comic collection of ageing actresses' publicity stills, bears a closer relationship to Maclean's work. Because Sherman draws on so many familiar tropes, the viewer is left with the uncanny feeling that they have seen the image before and that the work references an actual film or media text. This *déjà vu* quality is also present in Maclean's work where it is often further heightened through a use of found audio texts which carry with them their own nostalgic resonances. Both Sherman and Maclean's work is densely loaded with approximated references to popular culture in an aesthetic style Maclean refers to as maximalist.[6] Maximalism, in a visual art context, is more than simply a reaction against minimalism. Rather, it describes labour-intensive practices that result in visually and referentially excessive works; a 'more is more' aesthetic.

Although Sherman continues to make critically and commercially successful work, she was active during the emergence of the first feminist art movement of the 1970s and 80s and, as such, her relationship to feminism necessarily differs from artists of Maclean's generation. Maclean is making work at a time that coincides with a renewed interest in feminist art, heralded by the spate of survey shows that included *WACK!: Art and the Feminist Revolution (2007)* at MoCA, Los Angeles and *elles@centrepompidou* (2009) at Centre Pompidou in Paris.[7] This renewed interest, much of which historicises feminist art, also provokes urgent questions of what feminist art is and can be today and, by extension, what forms contemporary feminism might take. Feminist art critic Amelia Jones warns against a hasty celebration of the artworld's revival of feminist art, which she characterises as a post-feminist closing down of the possibilities of feminist art by reducing it to a highly marketable brand of 'sexy art' that has developed from the 'bad girl' art of the 1990s and which centres on highly sexualised images of the woman's (often the artist's) body. Jones' point is that this market friendly brand of feminist art has closed the gap between the object of critique and the critique itself.[8]

These are questions that Maclean's work usefully addresses, by focusing on significant themes to a generation of women who grew up in an era of so-called 'post-feminism' and immersed in social media. A recent example of this is provided by Amalia Ullman's *Excellences and Perfections* (2014), a performance work in which the – conventionally attractive – artist adopted a fake persona and set up a fake Instagram account that documented various aspects of her life, including what she's had for breakfast, a nervous breakdown and breast enhancement surgery.[9] This visual diary is replete with Kardashian-like clichéd sexy selfies. Like Maclean's work, Ullman's performance was intended as a feminist commentary on media pressures placed upon young girls and women and an exposition of the labour intensive artifice of 21st century normative femininity. In an interview for the *Telegraph*, she says: "I wanted to prove that femininity is a construction and not something biological or inherent to any woman […] the joke was admitting how much work goes into being a woman."[10] The widespread celebration of Ullman's work, which exemplifies the 'sexy feminism' that Jones cautions of, and the renewed art-world interest in feminism more generally, are part of a broader mainstream cultural embrace of feminism. However, by embodying the object it intends to critique, by passing as 'the real thing,' Ullman's performance effectively shores up the gap that is essential to the

efficacy of feminist art.[11]

Although Maclean engages with mass culture's perpetuation of the woman's body as fetish object, she avoids the ambivalence that Jones warns of and that Ullman's performance exemplifies by consistently framing her citations off-kilter – through a combination of visual hyperbole (in her performances, costumes, props and postproduction effects) and various disjunctures between sound and image. Or, as with her photographic work *Candy Girls* (2014), she inflects them with elements of the grotesque which conflate the hypersexualised female body, the candy coloured palette of hyperfemininity and the wizened face of the fairy-tale witch. Here three women – all played by Maclean – with fake breasts and witches faces adopt clichéd sexually provocative poses in thongs and high-heels whilst pink ice cream squirts from their 'twerking' behinds and fluffy pink toy monkeys drink their pee. Through these strategies she variously dislodges what cultural theorist Homi K Bhabha refers to as the fixity of the stereotype. Bhabha describes the stereotype as 'a form of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is always 'in place,' already known and something that must be anxiously repeated.'[12] Maclean's invocations of 21st century gender stereotypes involve a series of adjustments, designed to intervene in this relentless process of 'anxious repetition.' Thus the satirical or parodic intent of Maclean's work is always obvious and, in that sense, her work disrupts (if not completely undermines) the visual pleasures of the cultural texts she cites; pleasures, associated with a privileged 'male gaze,' which often remain intact in the work of many so-called feminist artists since the 1990s (as per Jones' critique).

It's What's Inside That Counts (2016), part of Maclean's solo show *Wot u :-) about?* (2016-17), at HOME in Manchester, is a three-screen work that centres around a perpetual selfie-taking, Kardashian inspired celebrity called Data, who is worshipped by a mob of onesie-wearing, pimpled-faced zombies and fed off by a race of underground rodents dressed as children. Religious devotion meets obsession as the mob's Gregorian-inspired chants of 'We Want Data. Again. Again. Again' clash with the frenetic, speeded up pop singing of the rodents, whose lyrics also include the childish refrain 'again and again and again.' Just as Data feeds off the devotion of the enthralled zombies, the rodents in turn literally feed off Data - by biting through (or hacking) - the data cables that can be seen varyingly as her veins or life-support. A satirical poke at our culture's insatiable appetite for celebrity, the film also takes a shot at the darker side of

data use, surveillance, algorithms, celebrity culture and forensic self-monitoring that power the contemporary media landscape. More often than not, the most difficult images in Maclean's films involve the bodily violation of women and girls. Indeed, in a 2018 interview with Phil Millar for *The National*, Maclean states that she wants her work to be 'uncomfortable and difficult to watch' to challenge the apathy that our culture promotes when we are confronted by images of violence against women:

> I've been disturbed and troubled by the recent rise and confidence in misogyny, the rise in anti-feminism, and reactionary attitudes to feminism, and that coupled with a feeling that we are immune, as a culture, to violence against women in images and the exploitation of women – images of women's bodies used to sell perfume or cars – and it is so ingrained we are not shocked by it anymore.[13]

The seduction of watching Maclean's work is quickly replaced by repulsion, as the image spills over the edges of the familiar into morally uncomfortable territory; the 'beast' pulls the girl down into the underground sewers in *Feed Me*, the rats gorge on Data until she is immobilised in *It's What's Inside That Counts*.

One of the most compelling aspects of Maclean's films is the intensive labour that has gone into their making, visible in their maximal aesthetic. Up until recently (around 2016) they have generally been low-budget productions, usually made for a few thousand pounds, which were, by nature and necessity, one-woman shows; the elaborate sets and costumes are all created by Maclean herself who also acts in, writes, directs and edits her films. At art school Maclean began experimenting with green screen technology and constructed a screen in her bedroom to perform her characters in front of. Although the budgets for Maclean's films have steadily increased alongside her growth in notoriety as an artist, her approach has remained relatively consistent with the practice she developed as a student, suggesting that this multiple-role approach has significance beyond the 'needs must' dictate of low budget productions.

Writing of the process involved in creating her persona for *Germs* (2013), Maclean describes how:

> The 2-day shoot followed a manic and sleepless few days of costume and prop production, so I was pretty exhausted and confused. However, I just about managed to pull off an improvised dance routine in a life-size 'germ' costume, which was

> constructed using the contents of 2.5 double duvets. Consequently, the suit was so amazingly insulating that I was concerned I might pass out from heat exhaustion, so had to aim a fan into my face at intervals to cool down.[14]

Maclean's multiple-role approach facilitates the simultaneous staging of different types of creative labour, from time-consuming artisanal making of props, sets and costumes, which often involves small repetitive acts, to the physically demanding endeavour of performing. The exhaustion Maclean describes above that resulted from the frenzied acts of making, the heat of the heavily insulated 'germ suit' and the physical and mental demands of improvising together characterise her practice as a kind of endurance test.

It is interesting to consider the highly elaborate nature of productions such as this, which involve obviously laborious processes largely undertaken by Maclean, in relation to the function of women's labour within the work of women artists. In particular, the overwork of Maclean's own performance serves as a kind of extreme counterweight to her videos' appropriation of existing sound files, what might be seen as a kind of casual theft that mirrors contemporary practices associated with user-generated content as well as contributing to a tradition of feminist appropriation art that simultaneously critiques popular culture and art history. Recalling some of the debates around authorship and originality sparked by 1980s feminist appropriationists such as Sherman, Sherrie Levine and Barbara Kruger, the high visibility of her performances parodically inscribes the videos with her own authorship.

Maclean's approach also raises general questions in relation to women's labour in the digital economy, taking into consideration questions like the relationship between work and play in online contexts; in particular, she uses visual hyperbole to emphasise women's online content production as frivolous, playful and purely recreational rather than another site of unacknowledged labour. The production of the self as brand that drives the now ubiquitous social media selfie culture, exemplified by platforms such as Instagram and Snapchat, requires participants - most of whom are young women - to invest in sophisticated levels of what Elizabeth Wissinger refers to as 'glamour labour'[15] and elsewhere Ana Sofia Elias, Rosalind Gill and Christina Scharff refer to as 'aesthetic labour.' [16] These terms denote the myriad forms of normalised beauty work that women carry out in attempts to maximise their bodily capital and include increasingly complex and time-consuming levels of personal styling and online self-

representation. The desired aesthetic is most often associated with girlhood, where even adult women are encouraged to maintain the attributes of youth via make-up, flattering camera angles, the ubiquitous 'head-tilt-duck-face' pose, filters and 'face tuning' apps. In Maclean's work, femininity is characterised as a kind of manic positivity, where women and girls take seriously the tasks of looking nice and always smiling. Maclean's video *Lolcats* (2012) is perhaps her most explicit exploration of 'cute,' drawing from a number of tropes associated with lolcats[17] and other elements of meme[18] culture. Her website, like her films, is cast in a 'girly' palate of pastel pinks and blues, and features rainbow cursive bubble fonts, online slang, and other tropes of online culture, many of which play on the conventions of online etiquette and the humour that erupts when they are transgressed. In 2016, when Maclean's website was down for renovation, the notice alerting visitors to the website's status features a sad smiley face with the message 'SOZ! Website is 2 Sad : (Still hungry? Y no HappyChat wit me herez:' the page then goes on to list her other email and social media accounts.

The issue of beauty and the attendant pressures on women to be attractive and agreeable has been part of feminist debate since the start of the second wave, but tended to be sidelined in favour of activist work that focused on women's labour; both in terms of unpaid domestic and reproductive labour and women's limited access to the professional world of paid employment. The engagement in Maclean's work with online practices that are often dismissed or trivialised bears a lineage to second wave feminist art practices such as found in the work of Miriam Schapiro, Chantal Ackerman and Rosler; pioneering figures of the 1970s feminist art movement whose practices variously utilise and stage women's domestic labour to challenge its denigration within a capitalist economy, while at the same time advancing a pointed critique at the artworld's relegation of women's creativity within modernist narratives of high and low art. For instance, Schapiro's feminist art practice drew from traditional women's labour and techniques such as quilting or patchwork, the kinds of women's work that are often trivialized and categorised as low art, and combined these with references to high art such as large-scale abstract expressionist paintings to orchestrate a collision of opposing cultural modes and their attendant value systems. Using the term femmage, Schapiro describes the approach where saving and collecting are important, much as they are to running a thrifty household; scraps are essential and are recycled in the work.[19] It is in this sense that Maclean's work functions as a kind of femmage, where the digital folk art of memes and mash-ups share much in common

with the scraps or found material of no discernable value, or the focus on the ordinary stuff of everyday - often domestic - life and personal anecdote, seen in feminist video art. For instance Ackerman's *News From Home (1977)*, is a poetic exploration of the correspondence between her and her beloved mother after she moved to New York in the early 1970s or Rosler's *Semiotics of the Kitchen* (1975), makes a parodic performance of a TV cookery demonstration in which kitchen utensils transform from tools of domestic creativity to weapons of war.

However, in recent years, the feminist focus on labour has shifted from the second wave's interest in what has often been term 'productive' forms of labour carried out by women, through domestic labour and childcare, to more insidious – and less overtly productive – sites of women's labour in emotional, affective and aesthetic registers. Much of the user-generated content Maclean is referencing is associated with leisure and play rather than with the legitimised work of the professional. One of the popular online formats Maclean makes considerable use of in her own work is the mimetic video. As Limor Shifman defines them, mimetic videos, are a type of user generated content, whereby users tend to mimic performances from pre-existing media text (e.g. the many video performances of Beyonce's 'Single Ladies (Put a Ring on It)'). Maclean's appropriation of the form serves to destabilise established styles of representation evident in the hypermemetic forms of contemporary culture. Her videos are a form of bricolage in the way that they often subvert the original meaning of the texts they reference and appropriate. This can be seen in Maclean's *Let It Go* (2015), a work comprised of six short videos, featuring Maclean miming to found audio recordings of people singing their own version of the popular song from Disney's 2013 film, *Frozen,* where the emotive musical performances of the disturbing pauper-like characters are interspersed with further found audio texts containing rather dark personal accounts of poverty and individual suffering. Similarly, in *Over the Rainbow* (2013), Maclean is drawn to subverting particular moments of emotional excess. In one of the video's sequences, Maclean mimes to audio from the popular television show, *Britain's Got Talent,* featuring one of the many 'show-stopping' performances by children (in this case, Connie Talbot, aged six), presumed too young to display such extraordinary talent. Maclean's articulation of the climax through her own performance creates a rupture in the representation that draws attention to the mimetic qualities of the original. The disjuncture between voice and image creates what might be seen as a kind of Deleuzian stutter [20] with the recontextualisation of the original recording serving to

make something familiar strange, fracturing what is presented as an indestructible loop of identity constructions in online spaces where meaning is built on endless recycling, and nothing is original.

Maclean's specific references to lolcats, referred to above, also connects to a major concern which she identifies in her videos: the 'complex relationship Western society has with notions of childhood innocence and female sexuality'[21] Lolcats are rarely just a picture of a cat, but often connect to complex networks of meaning drawn from contemporary culture and continually refined through the abundant articulations of memes by their various creators. As social media theorist Clay Shirky writes, they are 'the stupidest possible creative act. Formed quickly and with a minimum of craft, the average lolcat image has the social value of a whoopee cushion and the cultural life span of a mayfly.'[22] Nevertheless, for Shifman, lolcats can also serve as an effective way of communicating rather complex emotions, 'as indirect ways to convey a wide array of feelings and states of mind. Thus, although LoL Cats are often dismissed as emblems of a silly and whimsical culture, […] they actually fulfill diverse and complex social roles.'[23] The dismissal of lolcats for their ease of creation is problematised by Maclean's laborious creations. Her work highlights the labour that goes into the process of mimicry and the construction of identity, often resulting in a rupture at the seams which reveals the messiness of its construction. A moment where – to use Erving Goffman's terms[24] – the divisions between front stage performance and back stage performance are upset, and the stability of the constructed identity crumbles.

This chapter has attempted to connect Maclean's interest in the trivial spaces of 21st century popular culture to second wave feminist artists' challenges to the trivialising of women's work and point towards new directions of travel for contemporary feminist art. Second wave feminist artists such as Rosler or Shapiro emphasised the structural inequalities at the heart of late capitalist western society through a focus on women's domestic and affective unpaid labour, women's traditional crafts and – though more controversially at times – women's bodies as commodity fetish. Although these issues remain live and unresolved and continue to be challenged by feminist politics and activism, some of them would appear to be of diminished interest to a younger generation of feminist artists. Put simply, there would appear to be less feminist art about domestic labour and childcare, for instance, but an interest in the body

persists. Clearly glamour/aesthetic labour and the hypersexualisation of young girls and women are considered by a younger generation to be pressing and insidious sites of female bodily oppression, particularly in the face of the emergence of fluid, non-binary understandings of the body and identity. These artists are highly cognisant of what Elias et al point out in stating that 'beauty pressures do not exist in a social and cultural vacuum but are connected to broader social trends in complicated ways.'[25] To return to Jones' caution about the revival of art-world interest in feminism - we may simply be more attuned to these issues within an art context because the art world has spotlighted practices that focus on women's bodies much like the it did with feminist body art of the 1970s. However, in Maclean's maximal ventriloquism we find an effective parodic feminist politics which undercuts some of these tendencies, and instead constitutes an admirably sincere commitment to find a way for younger generations to see how women are presented by the media and 'to understand how you push against it.'[26]

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[1] Moira Jeffrey, 'Rachel Maclean and her 'maximal', MTV-inspired pop art, *The Scotsman,* 5 January 2016. Available at http://www.scotsman.com/lifestyle/culture/art/rachel-maclean-and-her-maximal-mtv-inspired-pop-art-1-3992369 (accessed 13 February 2016).

[2] Will Brown, 'Rachel Maclean: "I'm taking and contributing to the weird recycled ecosystem of the internet"' *Studio International*, 3/6/2015, http://www.studiointernational.com/index.php/rachel-maclean-interview-video-lolcats-britney-spears-scottishness-internet (accessed 2 December 2017).

[3] Phil Miller, 'Artist Rachel Maclean to make new film about women's right to vote in new commission with NVA' *Herald Scotland*, 23/1/18, http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15889352.Artist_Rachel_Maclean_to_make_new_film_about_women__39_s_right_to_vote_in_new_commission_with_NVA/ (accessed 22 January 2018).

[4] Other emerging artists who explicitly foreground feminist politics in both their practice and discussions of their practice are Ann Hirsh and Faith Holland (both of whom also, like Maclean, take the internet and social media as sites of critique).

[5] Moira Jeffrey, 'Rachel Maclean and her 'maximal', MTV-inspired pop art, *The Scotsman,* 5 January 2016. Available at http://www.scotsman.com/lifestyle/culture/art/rachel-maclean-and-her-maximal-mtv-inspired-pop-art-1-3992369 (accessed 13 February 2016).

[6] http://www.rachelmaclean.com (accessed 12 June 2015).

[7] See Hilary Robinson's discussion of a number of these survey shows, 'Feminism meets the big exhibition: Museum Survey Shows Since 2005,' *ONCURATING*, Issue 29, May 2016, http://www.on-curating.org/issue-29-reader/feminism-meets-the-big-exhibition-museum-survey-shows-since-2005.html#.WdaCXGXePFI) (accessed: 29 January 2018).

[8] Amelia Jones, 'The return of feminism(s) and the visual arts, 1970/2009,' Malin Hedlin Hayden and

Jessica Sjöholm Skrubbe (eds.) in *Feminisms is Still Our Name: Seven Essays on Historiography and Curatorial Practices* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), p.16

[9] This performance work, which Ullman intended to comment on femininity as construct, has reached artworld acclaim and is included in Tate Modern's 2016 show 'Performing for the Camera' which also includes the work of second wave feminist artists Hannah Wilke and Sherman.

[10] Alistair Sooke, interview with Amalia Ullman, 'Is this the first Instagram masterpiece,' *The Telegraph*, 18/02/2016, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/photography/what-to-see/is-this-the-first-instagram-masterpiece/ (accessed 10 October 2017).

[11] For a further discussion of Ullman's work in relation to feminist body art, see Sarah Smith, 'Posing as art: the ambiguities of feminist body art and the misclassification of Natasha Merritt's pornographic photographs,' in *Feminist Media Studies*, Volume 17, Issue 5, pp.774-789

[12] Homi K Bhabha, 'The other question: the stereotype and colonial discourse,' in K.M. Newton (ed.), *Twentieth Century Literary Theory: A Reader* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997), p.293.

[13] Phil Miller, 'Shocking new film by Scots artist Rachel Maclean, inspired by Trump, goes on show at the Venice Biennale,' *The National*, 9/5/17, http://www.thenational.scot/news/15273002.Shocking_new_film_by_Scots_artist_Rachel_Maclean__inspired_by_Brexit_and_Trump__goes_on_show_at_the_Venice_biennale/ (accessed 22 January 2018).

[14] Rachel Maclean, 'Where I Make', *Central Station,* Featured Blog, 19 February 2013. Available at http://thisiscentralstation.com/where-i-make/where-i-make-rachel-maclean/ (accessed 12 June 2017).

[15] Elizabeth Wissinger has brought this term to prominence in her book: *This Year's Model: Fashion, Media and the Making of Glamour* (New York: New York University Press, 2015).

[16] Ana Sofia Elias, Rosalind Gill and Christina Scharff (eds.), *Aesthetic Labour: Beauty Politics in Neoliberalism* (London: Pargrave Macmillan, 2017).

[17] Lolcats are memes comprised of a photo of a cat accompanied by a humorous caption, written in a kind of broken English known as 'lolspeak'. They are generally perceived as childlike texts – playful and harmless.

[18] The term meme was first used by Richard Dawkins in 1976 who described memes as 'small units of culture that spread from person to person through copying or imitation'. Richard Dawkins, *The Selfish Gene* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976).

[19] Thanks Lucy Reynolds for drawing attention to the term in her lecture on women artists and collective practice at Glasgow School of Art, 11 February 2014. Available at https://vimeo.com/89595036 (accessed 12 June 2015).

[20] Gilles Deleuze, *Essays critical and clinical* (Brooklyn, NY: Verso, 1998).

[21] A Will Brown, 'Rachel Maclean: "I'm taking and contributing to the weird recycled ecosystem of the internet"', *Studio International: Visual Arts, Design and Architecture,* 3/6/15, http://www.studiointernational.com/index.php/rachel-maclean-interview-video-lolcats-britney-spears-scottishness-internet (accessed 12 June 2015).

[22] Clay Shirky, *Cognitive surplus: Creativity and generosity in a connected age* (Penguin, 2010).

[23] Limor Shifman, *Memes in Digital Culture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2013).

[24] Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978).

[25] Ana Sofia Elias, Rosalind Gill and Christina Scharff (eds.), *Aesthetic Labour: Beauty Politics in Neoliberalism* (London: Pargrave Macmillan, 2017), p.9.

[26] Moira Jeffrey, 'Rachel Maclean and her 'maximal', MTV-inspired pop art, *The Scotsman,* 5 January 2016. Available at http://www.scotsman.com/lifestyle/culture/art/rachel-maclean-and-her-maximal-mtv-inspired-pop-art-1-3992369 (accessed 13 February 2016).