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Clothing the Soviet Mechanical-*Flâneuse*

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(Pre-print copy)

In simple, banal, and literal translations, the French word *flânerie* is designated meanings equivalent to the English idling and idleness (Concise Oxford 445). Regardless of whether it is the masculine *flâneur* or feminine *flâneuse*, the description implies someone with the time to idle through the streetscape. David Frisby, in his study of Walter Benjamin, notes an assertion that the ultimate demise of nineteenth century *flânerie* came in the early twentieth century with the advent of Taylorist scientific management and its attack on “dawdling” (Benjamin qtd. in Frisby 251). Yet Benjamin’s position on the demise of *flânerie* can be accused of not sufficiently accounting for attributes first identified by the mid-nineteenth century French essayist Victor Fournel. In Fournel’s estimation the qualities required for successful *flânerie* included an active life, distinguished by intelligence and the conscientious and scrupulous performance of the duties of observing and remembering everything (492).

Fournel reinforced his description of *flânerie* with a highly pertinent analogy, comparing the actions of *flânerie* to the operations of “an impassioned, peripatetic daguerreotype upon whom the least trace registers” (492). The *flâneur/flâneuse* reproduces and records these traces, as a camera would, “every reflection that they cast, the process of things, the movement of the city, the multifarious physiognomy of the public mind, the beliefs, antipathies and adorations of the mass” (Fournel 492). In short, Fournel’s model of *flânerie*, while undoubtedly described by him in gendered terms as a masculine activity, nevertheless set out a practice of being in-step and observing modernity on the move with the pace and technological efficiency akin to the rapidly improving apparatus of the camera.

Fournel’s template for *flânerie* is one that allows for the shift-in-shape and procedure of the *flâneur* (masculine) and *flâneuse* (feminine) in tempo with the times. The operation of this concept of *flânerie* gave rise to the articulated development of the late-nineteenth-century *flâneuse* as mechanical-*flâneuse*, with an identity that was trans-Atlantic. To demonstrate this transition, this essay uses the concept of the “mechanical-*flâneuse*” to examine a model of modern woman evident in cultural production over the first half of the twentieth century. Its core concern is the shaping of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*, often only

as representation, under the influence of Soviet adaptations of the American efficiency movement. Whether referring to representation or reality, however, the term *mechanical-flâneuse* does not imply an essential identity that is fixed in time or place. The *mechanical-flâneuse* is best understood as a set of characteristics that formed, coalesced, diverged, and then re-formed in a variety of patterns and combinations stretching across two continents, numerous economic and political systems, and an equal number of language groups.

In the mid-1920s, when the Communist variant of scientific management was most evident, the three Soviet designers engaged in shaping the Soviet *mechanical-flâneuse* were the fashion, costume, and fabric designers Nadezhda Lamanova, Varvara Stepanova and Liubov Popova. Ingiving form to the Soviet *mechanical-flâneuse* these three were not alone; this essay also examines exemplary representations of the *mechanical-flâneuse* in photographs by Aleksandr Rodchenko, posters by Aleksandr Deineka, and images in the documentary movie *The Man with a Movie Camera* (1929) by Dziga Vertov, in Czech writer Karel Capek's play *R.U.R.* (1922), and in Soviet exile Yevgeny Zamyatin's science fiction novel *We* (1920-21).

After the rise to power of Joseph Stalin and his increasingly brutal and pragmatic Soviet regime, the earlier and largely experimental articulation of the Soviet *mechanical-flâneuse* was re-molded in terms consistent with collectivization and the Five-Year Plans. Ironically, as the *mechanical-flâneuse* was being restricted under Stalin, she appeared in the West in arguably one of the most profound and applied definitions of the twentieth-century via the French fashion designer Coco Chanel. In a certain sense the Soviet *mechanical-flâneuse* as the efficient body of scientific management remained restricted to models, as seen in costumes for mannequins, short-run fabric prints, and representations in photomontage, graphics, and film. The Soviet *mechanical-flâneuse* remained an avant-garde productivist ideal, whereas the *mechanical-flâneuse* of Western Europe and North America was a type who entered production as an efficient employee and engaged in equally efficient activities as a consumer. In short, shifting focus from the early twentieth-century Soviet Union to Western Europe and North America reveals that cultural production of the *mechanical-flâneuse* moved onto the bodies of women engaged in modern capitalist work and leisure.

The development and articulation of the *mechanical-flâneuse* depended in part on contributions between 1913 and 1922 to the American efficiency movement by efficiency engineers Christine

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Frederick and Lillian M. Gilbreth, and automotive industrialist Henry Ford. After discussing the impact of these contributions on the formation of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*, this essay examines the apotheosis of this ideal, Hollywood's picturing of the mature Soviet variant in Ernst Lubitsch's movie for MGM, *Ninotchka* (1939). The movie by Lubitsch is an excellent example of the mechanical-*flâneuse* as a concept in cultural form moving back and forth across opposing ideologies. *Ninotchka*, a comedy, was the only movie Lubitsch made with Greta Garbo in the lead. It was her penultimate feature movie, couched inextricably in the political context of its time. Garbo played *Ninotchka*, the matter-of-fact, efficiency-preoccupied Commissar of Trade, who has her mechanical demeanor amended by that of the *flâneuse* after a posting to Paris. The audience witnesses this duality at play in the identity of *Ninotchka* as Soviet (American) mechanical-*flâneuse* in the discharge of her duties and return to Moscow, before the movie's ending in Constantinople.

Ford's Autobiography, Fordizatsiya, and the Call for Efficient Clothing

To understand the origins of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*, it is important to review the links between Lillian M. Gilbreth's and Henry Ford's demands for efficient clothing, on the one hand, and the closely corresponding Soviet clothing designers' attention to work-wear and their search for a distinctly new costume to replace pre-revolutionary Russian traditional dress on the other. By the 1920s, Henry Ford's manufacturing achievements had made him one of the most compelling personalities of his time. His industrial model captured the imagination of an extensive trans-Atlantic audience, especially in the new Soviet Russia. In the immediate post-Civil War climate of the collapse of manufacturing and infrastructure, Ford's pragmatic example complemented the scientific management theories of F. W. Taylor and Gilbreth that were energetically proselytized by Alexei Gastev and the Central Institute of Labor.

When Ford published his first autobiography, *My Life and Work* (1922), Soviet official endorsement of the publication followed quickly. By late 1924 it had seen four Russian editions, and would be published another four times (Hughes 269; Rogger 382-420; Stites 148). In this autobiography Ford set out to promote, in addition to his industrially profound, contentious, homely, and populist points of view, ideas on simplicity and utility in the design of clothing and domestic appliances:

My effort is in the direction of simplicity. . . . Our clothing, our food, our household furnishings—all could be much simpler than they now are and at the same time be better looking. . . . Real simplicity means that which gives the very best service and is the most convenient in use. (13-14)

Ford's point of view on these issues, as a mark of efficiency, was neither unique nor the first of its kind,¹ and was formed in the ambience generated by the preceding writings and public lectures of Christine Frederick and Lillian M. Gilbreth.² For instance, Frederick had harnessed F. W. Taylor's scientific management in the service of the domestic domain as early as 1912 (Frederick 4-16). Frederick's interest in the efficiency movement or Taylorism eventually led to her major contribution, *Scientific Management in the Home: Household Engineering*, published in 1920, two years before the first edition of Ford's *My Life and Work*. Similarly, Lillian M. Gilbreth in 1914 called for standardized work clothes to "resemble rather the blouse or pinafore of the artist, the outfit of the submarine diver or the fireman" (qtd. in Spriegel and Meyers 412). In drawing attention to the need for efficient work clothing, Gilbreth nominated sports apparel as the model for emulation and adaptation by the efficiency engineer, observing that the "greatest advance toward standardizing clothing has come in the sports, which, in many respects, present admirable object-lessons" (412). She believed that the success of contemporary sportsclothing was attributable to pragmatic necessity:

In the tennis court, on the links, on the gridiron, the diamond, or track, the garment worn of itself does not increase fatigue. On the contrary, it is so designed as not to interfere with the efficiency of the wearer. (412)

The trend in clothing that the Gilbreths pursued in an applied and specific manner (Lillian often collaborated with her husband Frank) had been socially visible and evolving in reaction to need for some time.³ However, the pre-eminence Lillian Gilbreth assigned to sports apparel was very much in keeping with the Gilbreths' research and professional interests. The Gilbreths followed this interest up in 1916 with their collaborative study on fatigue, as this passage about the "Clothing of the Worker" shows:⁴

It must be said, in the first place, that there is no more reason for the common custom of the worker providing his special outer clothing while at work than there is for his providing other tools and equipment. In other times, the workmen of many trades preferred to provide their own tools, and did so, but in a scientifically managed plant today, the workers are

provided by the management with standard tools. The management has standardized the best in a tool, and keeps it in the best possible working condition. In the same way, it should be the duty of the management to provide special working clothes, when they have been standardized. (323)

The Gilbreths' combination of emphasis on efficient motion, the lessening of fatigue, and appropriate clothing was a potentially revolutionary and liberationist idea which the Soviets adopted ten years later (fig. 1). The attraction lay in the Gilbreths' logic of fewer movements being required to perform work tasks, which meant saving time and money, and the effective and efficient physical maintenance of the workers. Their method promised to save the proletariat from the destructive drudgery associated with industrial labor. Paradoxically this objective elevated the motion and movement of efficient work actions and worker clothing to the status of an ideal, one that could be standardized. Similarly, Lillian Gilbreth's earlier analysis of sports apparel in *The Psychology of Management* (1914) carried a precursory resonance, not only with respect of Ford's 1922 opinions, but also significantly in relation to the pronouncements and products of the Soviet cultural avant-garde. This was first articulated after the opening of the post-revolutionary Workshops of Contemporary Dress as industrial-art subsections within the authority of the People's Commissariat for Public Education-Fine Arts Section (IZO Narkompros) and would remain a central preoccupation over the next decade.

The concept and organization of these workshops were attributable to the eminent fashion designer Nadezhda Lamanova. Her independent professional status and success, with strong connections to Parisian fashion designers, had been established well before the revolution. However, in contrast to other members of service industries who had relied upon privileged patronage, Lamanova stayed in Russia and sided with the Bolsheviks. Her initiative toward organizing the Workshops of Contemporary Dress proceeded with official support from the People's Commissar of Public Education, Anatoli Lunacharsky. Consequently, Lamanova's statement to the first All-Russian Industry Conference in August 1919, and her syllabus and directional aims for the Workshops, carried the Regime's imprimatur as one of the first Soviet articulations of applied industrial and efficiency principles (Strizhenova, *Soviet* 37-38). The first two of Lamanova's directional aims set forth an agenda that the Soviet avant-garde would also adopt, when she called for "artistic value" to be given "to the industrial production of clothing" and urged that

Zaletova et al. 170). In familiar terms, Lamanova recommended these workshops as study:

[a] ways of simplifying clothes, making simplicity the characteristic of the workingman's clothes in contrast to the clothes of the bourgeoisie

b) the dynamics of contemporary costume

c) the practicality of contemporary clothing (working clothes, everyday wear, smart clothes, sportswear, professional clothes, evening wear and headgear, etc). (170)

Lillian Gilbreth's statements prefigured both Lamanova's call to address the "practicality of contemporary clothing" and the equation: "Taylorism + Fordism = Americanism."⁵ In industrial management and applied design, Americanism, understood in terms of the above equation rather than as indolent capitalist excess, rapidly became a dominant cultural expression in Europe and the Soviet Union during the 1920s and early 1930s (Hughes 249-94).

Fordism, one of the two components of Americanism, was familiar to a large Soviet demographic because Ford's autobiography was published in several editions and popularly read in the USSR, bringing his views on extending efficiency beyond the factory floor and into the personal sphere of clothing and domestic space. Ford's ideas were available to all firsthand, whereas in contrast the Gilbreths' ideas had filtered down through the Soviet efficiency movement. Similarly, Ford's orientation toward simplicity and utility in clothing, food preparation, and domestic appliances was exemplary of industrial modernism of the period. His opinions reinforced the earlier sentiments of Inessa Armand who, in 1918, acting as first head of Zhenotdel (the Communist Party's Women's Department), promoted the rationalization of domestic chores and the establishment of communal kitchens.⁶ The central ideas of Ford, like the precepts of Taylor and the Gilbreths, appealed to the ideological and aesthetic position of the Soviet avant-garde. The Fordist position on the efficient manufacture and use of materials also suited the Soviet garment industry, still coping with deficiencies and shortages in the wake of the civil war, where the only available textiles before 1924 "were unprinted fabrics; linen canvas, cloth, tarpaulin, soldier's cloth, low-grade woollens, thick flannelette, coarse calico and cotton" (Strizhenova 37). This was a range of clothes presumably not unlike the staple fabrics offered to the thrifty or canny shopper in New York on the third floor of Macy's during the 1920s and 1930s.⁷

Varvara Stepanova's Prozodezhda—"TODAY'S" Clothes in Action

Almost immediately after its first publication in the USSR, Ford's *My Life and Work* began to influence the outlook of the Soviet avant-garde, specifically in 1923 when echoes of Ford's views on efficient clothing surfaced in the journal *Lef*. For instance, Varvara Stepanova, in an article emphatically entitled "TODAY'S FASHION IS THE WORKER'S OVERALL," demanded that "Today's clothing must be seen 'in action', outside of this is unimaginable, just as any machine is absurd outside of its work" (qtd. in Zaletova et al. 173-74). In the title of her article and the article's core aim, Stepanova's emphasis was on the present-presentness of "TODAY." In other words, weight was placed on the revolutionary modernist "now" and its perpetuation, as the focused considerations of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* confronting the tasks of industry. Stepanova's central demand was profound in that it linked several key ideas. These included not only the idea of rationalized clothing as proposed by American industrialists and efficiency engineers and picked up by Lamanova, but also Gastev's dream of "social automation" (qtd. in Stites 152) and Yevgeny Zamyatin's dystopic vision of the future masses moving "all in accordance with Taylor" (81). Stepanova achieved this conceptual synthesis through an analogy which drew a parallel between new Soviet clothing and protective metal covers such as the safety shield on gears or the bonnet of an automobile: clothing in action is like the machine at work. Her statement extolling Soviet clothing as the new covering for the revolutionary (robotic-tractor) body was reinforced when she expounded:

All decorative detail is abolished with the following slogan: "The comfort and practicality of clothing must be linked to a specific practical function". Not only is a mass control on what clothes are worn necessary but clothing must also pass on from being the product of an artisan to that of industrial mass-production. Thus clothing loses its "ideological" meaning and becomes an aspect of cultural reality. The fact that the evolution of clothing is tied to industrial development, is beyond doubt. Only today, given the far-reaching achievements of technology and industry, clothes for pilots and chauffeurs, protective overalls for workers, footballer's boots and military raincoats and jackets have now been produced. In establishing contemporary clothing, one needs to follow it through from the design stage to the material production, where, taking into account the specific nature of the work for which it is intended, one stipulates a particular way of cutting. It is even necessary to substitute

aesthetic elements with the production process for sewing the same thing. (qtd. in Zaletova et al. 173-74)

Central to Stepanova's agenda was the stipulation that today's fashion be tied to "specific practical function" and be the result of an ordinance on "what clothes are worn" (173-74). The implication was that the Soviet citizen should be clothed in uniform accord with comrades in similar functions. This ideal performed an ironic new variation on the pre-Revolutionary distinctions of social station in clothes, where class registers were recognised via the bespoke (made-to-order) quality of garments. In the new Soviet society the citizen's status was just as recognizable, but costume now acted as a reflection of proximity to the goals of the state including "industrial massproduction" (173-74).⁸

Stepanova's argument hinged on dismissing the disdain for the ready-made clothing during the Czarist regime. She did this by proposing that clothing under the new circumstances "becomes an aspect of cultural reality" which, as she made her readers aware, was "tied to industrial development" (173-74). In Stepanova's estimation, Soviet clothing was unambiguously industrial in production and purpose. In this respect she followed Lillian Gilbreth's example; when setting models for the new Soviet look Stepanova advocated the "far reaching achievements of technology and industry, clothes for pilots and chauffeurs, protective overalls for workers, footballer's boots and military raincoats and jackets" (173-74). Finally, Stepanova's new Soviet fashion concept was "to substitute aesthetic elements with the production process" (173-74). The implication was that fashions took on the appearance of their own manufacture with a simplification of elements best suited to the template process in fabrication. Consequently, the efficient worker and wearer of "TODAY'S" fashion doubled as machine and operator, and through the wearing of the same machined product became an adjunct machine in the cultural reality of industrial development (fig. 2).

The development of Soviet costume indicates that a considerable amount of standardization in worker clothing resulted from material restrictions rather than avant-garde influence (Strizhenova, Zaletova et al.). Stepanova's wearer of "TODAY'S FASHION" remained an ideal that was slowly realized in Soviet society. Gradually change in dress occurred, in part through increasingly diverse selections of cloth and improvements in manufacturing expertise and in part through poster campaigns

safety goals.⁹ Stepanova's vision of the efficient worker who doubled as machine and operator resonates with Karel Capek's dialogue on the look of the Robot in *R.U.R.*:¹⁰

a working machine must not play the piano, must not feel happy, must not do a whole lot of other things. A gasoline motor must not have tassels or ornaments. . . . And to manufacture artificial workers is the same thing as to manufacture gasoline motors. The process must be of the simplest, and the product of the best from a practical point of view. (Capek 16-17)

The reduction of detail and the recourse to the simplest means was a well understood motif of early twentieth-century industrial design. Ornamentation of the covering for a motor was an exercise in redundancy and inefficiency, done away with by Henry Ford. The reductionist principle in industrial design quickly established simplicity as a modern aesthetic expectation; it could be reasonably presumed that the sudden appearance of unnecessary ornamentation would lead to incredulous disbelief in the model citizen of the Worker State.

This ideological dimension of clothing designs was exploited by Ernst Lubitsch and his screenwriters in a scene of *Ninotchka* set in Paris before a storefront window display. *Ninotchka*, played by Greta Garbo, speaks for Stepanova's efficient worker and ideal woman of "TODAY'S FASHION":

0.20.09: NINOTCHKA: (inquires) "What is that?"

KOPALSKI: (replies) "It is a hat, comrade, a woman's hat."

NINOTCHKA: (retorts) "How can such a civilization survive that permits women to put things like that on their heads? . . . Won't be long now, comrades."

Ninotchka's disdain for the superfluity of the hat was an effect of Soviet-Americanism (modern efficiency) confronting the Parisian (pre-modern "bespoke" inefficiency and decadence). Her reaction was an attribute of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*, clothed and operating as an efficient engine, confronting a different component—the over-elaborate form of which negated any useful function. *Ninotchka*'s retort was the statement of "cultural reality," where that reality was a product of the means of production. It was this perception of Taylorism's (and Americanism's) ultimate effect that motivated the fictions of Capek and Zamyatin, while conversely being the goal of Gastev, Meyerhold, Stepanova, and the Communist Party's reconstruction of Soviet society and industry. The Soviet mechanical-

flâneuse, as an outcome of the efficiency movement, was on the one hand a distinct yet fictional possibility and on the other an immediate aim and present reality (is now and will be).¹¹

The outcome of this confluence was that by 1922, the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* had added to her attributes another paradox, that of mythical-fact. This does not mean that the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* was nonexistent; indeed, she lived, but her identity doubled as “TODAY’S.” In other words, it was an identity that existed in posters, plays, novels, movies, and designers’ manifestos, but also in role models such as Stepanova herself. Thus the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* existed in the revolutionary moment, yet only on a limited and exclusive scale; she held out a promise for the masses following faithfully and working efficiently toward the revolutionary goals (is now and will be). Yet if reality and necessity dictated, this identity could be put aside, postponed, or suspended, to be spoken of as an ultimate possibility, a Soviet destiny. In short, the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* was both the present and the future. Meanwhile, in the present, clothed in Stepanova’s ideal of “TODAY’S FASHION,” the mechanical-*flâneuse* was the machine. The paradox of being and not being, but becoming, now entered into the identity of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* as her attribute of flexibility. Likewise, it mattered little if she was only a cultural product: the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* found herself placed before the perpetual goals set for the masses by the Communist Party and by its leading advocates.

To arrive at the aim of producing TODAY’S fashion, Stepanova advocated the elimination of previously popular and conventional fabric designs such as “the plant motif,” urging for their replacement with “geometrised shapes,” as in, for example, her *Design for a Dress*, 1924 (qtd. in Strizhenova *Soviet* 141-42) (fig. 3). Both Stepanova and her close friend and colleague Liubov Popova had for some time set themselves the task of producing this outcome.¹² Their designs have been described as “combinations of various geometric lines and figures—circles, zigzags, broken lines, lattices, fly-wheels, and segments of a circle” (qtd. in Strizhenova *Soviet* 141-42). The organization on the two-dimensional field of these designs was such that they flowed “from one form into another, or abruptly and unexpectedly crossed, or ran in rhythmic patterns,” denoting the “obvious influence of machine industry,” with their “industrial motifs—cogs, wheels, and levers” (Strizhenova 141-42) (fig. 4). Popova’s fabric and clothes designs, according to Bowlt, also reflected her enthusiasm for jazz, evoking “syncopation and arhythmicity,” adding yet another Americanism to the cluster around the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* (Bowlt 22).¹³

In one of Liubov Popova's photomontage illustrations from 1924 (fig. 5) the combination of the above Americanisms appears obvious. The pictorial field is comprised of a female figure wearing a Popova dress design. The mannequin occupies the foreground and is placed slightly to the left, stretching from the base to the top of the page. This figure is standing in constructivist-inspired shoes on a narrow beam that acts as the bottom border of the graphic, her left foot pointing diagonally downward as if about to step off the beam and out of frame. The date, 1924, in *sans serif* typeface (the *de rigueur* machine font style of modernists) straddles this beam. The numeral "1" rises out from behind the beam and the model's left foot; the remaining numerals "9," "2," and "4" are set on the beam to the left of the shoe, with the "4" just inside the edge of the page. The woman's right hand rests with two elegant fingers on her waist and her left hand equally elegantly reaches back and touches the top of her bare left shoulder. The dress is of horizontal thick dark lines broken up by an alternating pattern of thick dark vertical lines just above and below the waist and again just below the knee running down to mid-calf. Large soft white lapels stretch across and hang off the points of the woman's shoulders, and a large white border runs around the bottom of the skirt bracketing the patterns. The waistline is accentuated by a thick sash tied in a bow, and she wears a broad-brimmed summer hat banded by the same material as used for the sash. The woman is looking out of frame to her left. In mid-distance behind her, with its right front tire partly obscured by the bow of the sash and with its bonnet below her raised left elbow, can be seen an open tourer. The make of this automobile is not easy to discern, but its profile is one that was generic at the time and might easily fit the description of a later Model "T" Ford or the popular French Avions Voisin vehicle.

The positioning of the modern woman with the automobile as a machine operator or controller can be traced to the early twentieth century. In 1910 the retailer and mail order firm Sears, Roebuck & Co., for instance, targeted women drivers by depicting in their *Motor Buggy Catalogue* images of the mechanical-*flâneuse* at the tiller of a "A Perfect Car for the Ladies" (qtd. in Schroeder and Factor 11-14, 16, 18-19). Two years later the same subject also appeared on a cover by Clarence F. Underwood for the 15 June 1912 *Saturday Evening Post* (Cohn 62). Similarly, in Sweden a decade later, and shortly after Lubitsch in Germany began his career in movies, a young department store sales assistant, drama student, and aspiring actress, Greta Gustafsson (Greta Garbo), was posing before both still and movie cameras. On at least one of these occasions, in 1923, Gustafsson posed as automobile controller on behalf of the new

four-door model open tourer from *Lancia*, the Italian automobile marque (Walker 21).¹⁴ These representations are but a few among numerous examples on both sides of the Atlantic that register the woman as operator of a machine in her movement forward as mechanical-*flâneuse*.

In Popova's image, however, the woman's relationship to the automobile is ambiguous at the very least, and perhaps contradictory. The dress in Popova's image is less than efficient; its billowing skirt, trailing waist sash, large soft lapels hanging off the shoulders, the points of which would extend past the breasts, and the summer hat are not the most manageable attire for the serious "autoist." But these misgivings aside, the image presents a woman clothed in a design whose simplified planes of construction and pattern conform to the graphic artist's mechanist agenda. The obvious elegance in this creation is not one of old-world superfluity but rather an attempt to render the same qualities in the mass-produced. Equally, the simple lines of the efficiently mass-produced motor in mid-distance were meant to correspond to the woman's elegant new machine look.

The qualities exhibited in Popova's photomontage were not hers alone; other instances of their registration are found in vastly different references from the same era. One 1926 reference that resonates with Popova's photomontage was Parisian by way of Detroit. Edmonde Charles-Roux, in his biography of Coco Chanel, one of the leading haute couture designers of the period, reiterated the connections between Henry Ford's revolution in mass production and one of the most profound contributions to humanity in the twentieth century, the little black dress:

In 1926 the American edition of *Vogue* predicted that a certain dress, disconcerting in its simplicity, would become a sort of universally adopted uniform. It had neither collar nor cuff, it was made of black crepe de chine, had long, very tight-fitting sleeves, and bloused above the hips, which were closely hugged by the skirt. It was a Chanel dress, a simple sheath. Would large numbers of women consent to wear the same dress? The prediction seemed wildly improbable. So, to persuade its readers that this dress would owe its success to its convenience, and perhaps even to its impersonal simplicity, *Vogue* compared it to an automobile. Did one refuse to buy a car because it was identical to another car? On the contrary. The likeness was a guarantee of quality. And applying this principle to fashion in

general and to Chanel's black dress in particular, the magazine concluded: "Here is the Ford signed Chanel." (Charles-Roux 246-47)

Chanel's implied adoption of Henry Ford's famous dictum, "Any customer can have a car painted any color that he wants so long as it is black," resulted in women wearing the little black dress as an anamorphic extension of the bonnet over an efficiently working "engine" (Ford 72). The little black dress enhanced a woman's ability to negotiate unremarkably a world equitably populated by others similarly garbed, to merge with the mass as *flâneuse*, while equipped and clothed in a perennial marker of present-presentness. Coco Chanel had ironically contributed an item to the identity of the mechanical-*flâneuse* that would be found on, and at the same time traverse, the second and third floors of Macy's (in other words, never out of place).

Additionally ironic was that Chanel's little black dress epitomized, in its appearance on Macy's floors, the mechanical-*flâneuse* fashion values that Stepanova set forth and pursued with Popova, but was unable to realize due to shortages that shaped the Soviet drive to industrialize.¹⁵ The result was that their sets of experimental fabric prints and maquettes for clothing design were made at best in short runs for special purpose events, and Stepanova's "TODAY'S FASHION" as the new Soviet dress did not achieve production and circulation in critical mass. A contributing factor was that, outside avant-garde circles, the highly abstract designs met with a cool reception. In her diary, Stepanova complained that when put before the council of the First Textile Print Factory, her textile samples elicited the opinion that "constructivism should be covered with a veil of fancy, only then will the designs be acceptable" (qtd. in Strizhenova *Soviet* 142-47). But even as the particular vision of "TODAY'S FASHION" fell short of general distribution, the masses were, during the hardship of the early 1920s and in compliance with industrial agenda, still clothed in variations of the machine, or the Soviet's own version of ready-to-wear practical clothing. Thus, while the product of the avant-garde lacked overwhelming acceptance and eventually even official endorsement, the scientific management basis on which the avant-garde views were built persisted. Nevertheless, it should be recognized that Popova and Stepanova, through their roles as members of the avant-garde, seeking to speak for, plan, and clothe the new Soviet woman, offered themselves as examples of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*, comparable to American women such as Christine Frederick and Lillian Gilbreth who were concurrently prominent in the US efficiency

movement.

The efficient clothing of the machine operator of new Soviet industry, as already outlined, was understood as a two-way process; the body itself had to be efficient to operate efficiently the machines and systems of Taylorism. Consequently, the ideals behind Stepanova's designs for overalls and sports uniforms in the mid-1920s were echoed again and again in Soviet culture.¹⁶ They appeared in Vertov's depiction of swimming lessons and sporting events in *The Man With the Movie Camera* and in Rodchenko's photographs of synchronized masses of taut muscle in May Day Parades of the mid-1930s. Significantly, these ideals are depicted in a poster on the wall of Ninotchka's room in Moscow—or more accurately on a Hollywood studio set for Lubitsch's movie in 1939. The poster in this scene is Aleksandr Deineka's *Collective Farmer – Be an Athlete* (1930) (fig. 6).¹⁷

Deineka's composition, which has been described as one that “exemplified the new image of the female body,” shows in the foreground, from left to right, a young woman, a young man and another young woman (Bonnell 105-06). All three are dressed in singlet-topped sports clothes, and in perfect order they are engaged in synchronized calisthenics. On the far right under the raised arm of the second young woman is the poster banner, its words punctuated by a medicine ball, exercise club and rifle with bayonet. In mid-distance between the young man and the second woman can be seen a second young man, bare-chested, drying himself with a towel. In the far distance, between the first young woman and the young man, is a tractor and driver at work, moving parallel with the exercises but facing the opposite direction. As Victoria Bonnell has pointed out, “the women have short hair (in the style of women workers) and trim bodies,” while the “tractor driver serves as a reminder that exercise is connected to work, that it enhances labor power” (106).¹⁸

Nadezhda Lamanova, Peasant Embroidery, and Ninotchka's Ball Gown

As the mid-1920s approached, goods, technology and expertise began to enter the USSR in effective quantities, and the previous stringent economic logistics were partially relieved. The possibility of consumption now presented another conundrum for the Soviet conscience and the mechanical-*flâneuse*. The command presumptions of authoritarian Soviet Taylorism, captured in Stepanova's demand for mass accord in “TODAY'S FASHION,” now confronted other grudgingly permissible alternatives.

Nevertheless, it may well have appeared to some that, metaphorically, the choices offered on the second floor of the department store were about to expand. For Lamanova the less strident political atmosphere during the period of Lenin's New Economic Policy (NEP) made it possible to turn attention toward modern leisure clothing to suit women workers (Strizhenova *Soviet* 76-77). In this she pursued a similar approach to that of Stepanova and Popova, seeking "methods for simplifying costume" (76-77). However, influenced by her pre-Revolutionary experience in fashion, Lamanova looked for recognizable significance to incorporate into the new Soviet costume. To achieve this she sought a product that would reflect sympathetically upon the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* beyond her identity as machine operator, but at the same time one that would underline worker solidarity.

Lamanova's solution to this practical and conceptual problem was straightforward. She turned to traditions of peasant embroidery (a product of ordinary working women), a widely understood and recognized embellishment for clothing and other household fabrics.¹⁹ Basing her costumes upon incorporation of embroidered items such as tablecloths and towels, Lamanova kept the use of materials within the ready-to-hand facility of the individual citizen as much as the manufacturer of mass production. Her resulting garment constructions were of rectangular shape, lending themselves to a simple cuts using inexpensive material onto which the embroidered works were sewn, creating a silhouette and elongated proportions popular in European fashions and furthering interest in Lamanova's designs (Strizhenova, "Textiles" 3-14). The novelty and broad domestic and industrial application of Lamanova's solution to an economic and ideological problem appealed to the regime. A selection of her works was exhibited at the 1925 Paris *Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes*, winning a Grand Prix, thus adding international prestige to a Soviet solution for the worker's costume (fig. 7).²⁰ Photographic records of Lamanova's earliest designs incorporating peasant braid and embroidery, including her 1925 Grand Prix exhibit, clearly indicate her method of placing strong decorative and some times repeated elements across the chest or midriff, hem, sleeves, and collar.

Following recognition at the *Exposition Internationale*, Lamanova's template appears to have become a schema meant to represent the Soviet democratization of the mechanization of modern life and mass consumption. The preference of Soviet shopgirls was not for shoddy silks but for elevated peasantry (d'Avenel qtd. Williams 98).²¹ Lamanova's celebration of a rural tradition, embroidery, was a fortuitous

circumstance for the regime: it created a sense of national continuity and assisted in distracting attention from the effects of Stalin's policy of enforced collectivization. This coincided with a shift in Soviet clothing concerns, which now allowed for displays that were exclusive of the workplace and not overtly deferential to the efficient machine body. The premise for this addition of allowable matters can be found in a very Lubitsch-like statement from the People's Commissar for Enlightenment, Anatoli Lunacharsky (1928), supporting a qualified return to style:

There are those among us who are afraid that clothing will become elegant or coquettish, and this they consider a grave crime. It smacks, they say, of philistinism or, even worse, the bourgeoisie. Nonetheless, a certain amount of smartness and fashion is by no means unsuited to the proletariat. . . . Of course, with each new day of our economic prosperity, there will be improvements in the worker's apartment, his food, the way he spends his time, and, naturally, in the clothes he wears. . . . (qtd. in Strizhenova, *Soviet* 205)

The following year, Lamanova's work was displayed by the Soviets in New York and orders for her designs were met (Strizhenova, *Soviet* 68). The Lamanova template was now established as one of the methods by which the new Soviet clothing idea was to be recognized. In the Soviet Union, new clothing was most effectively promoted through cinema, and the Lamanova template was pointedly paraded in a segment of Vertov's *The Man With the Movie Camera*. This occurs toward the end of the eighth thematic section of the movie, featuring leisure and exercise, when there is a jump cut from motorcyclists on a racetrack to a merry-go-round or carousel at a fairground. Two women ride opposite each other on the carousel. One, an older woman, is dressed in peasant (rural) work clothes and appears to be chaperone to her younger companion, who wears a modern costume. The younger woman's dress carries the Lamanova sign in its simplicity of cut and, importantly, in the incorporation of peasant embroidery, although more generous with material than the original Lamanova template. The older woman represents several readings. The first is conventional: a return to the stable and traditional moral values some felt had been threatened during the early years dominated by left communism (Stites, *Women's Liberation* 346-91). The second is that she acts as both a contrast and a link between the "was then, is now" of the Russian past and the Soviet present, Vertov's own cine-eye documentary variation on the soon-to-be-enforced Stalinist "is now, will be" formula (Holtz 73-74). The younger woman represents what was not

available to the older woman in her youth, but is now, thanks to Communism. Thirdly and somewhat paradoxically, the older peasant woman is the source, if not keeper, of the technique of embroidery (work) celebrated on the younger woman's dress.

Ironically, Lamanova suffered rebuke in the early 1930s as Stalinism pursued those who had attained success in the first decade of the revolution. The attack on her came in 1933, when the use of embroidery was criticized as “applied decorativeness that over emphasised handicraft or bespoke skills” (Strizhenova, *Soviet* 199). At the same time, her 1928 creed for clothing designers was also accused of formalism for its statement that “material determines the form” and for its emphasis on simplicity in fabrication (103). Despite these trials by accusation, Lamanova's template survived. Stalin's 1937 purges and program to suppress foreign influences, including those in fashion, encouraged a reconsideration of her design initiatives. This occurred when, for example, the Soviet fashion designer Elena Savkova used embroidery insets for the USSR's 1939 New York exhibition (288-91) (fig. 8). It is an open question whether in the same year Adrian, the costumier working on *Ninotchka*, became acquainted with Lamanova's or Savkova's designs, but when the fidelity of his outfits for the film are taken into account, such an acquaintance is more than likely. Consequently it comes as little surprise that in the scene at the ballroom, *Ninotchka* is wearing a white (or light colored) gown, decorated across the midriff with patterns based on peasant embroidery, and with sleeves that are a variation on the Tolstoy blouse (fig. 9). This was a minor concession on the part of the Hollywood clothes designer, but it permits *Ninotchka*'s drift within the present-presentness of the heroic Soviet caught up in Parisian modernity, without discarding her defining ethic.

From the establishment of the Workshops of Contemporary Dress in 1919 to Lamanova's template in Vertov's *The Man With the Movie Camera* in 1929, Soviet clothing moved away from the strident productivist and efficiency rhetoric of the avant-garde to a position where it was considered as a projection of Soviet identity and desire. In the mid-1920s, Stepanova and Popova offered their own career trajectories as models for the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*, but their attempts to strap mass identity into efficiency were thwarted by the shortages that undermined the Soviet drive to industrialize. To address the Soviet masses' increasingly sophisticated aspirations, Stalin took advantage of projections of Soviet typology coupled with the spectacle of material reward. This occurred in the context of the maneuvering

that marked the first of the Five-Year Plans and the Stakhanovite movement. In the West it was Coco Chanel's "little black dress" that actually realized what Popova and Stepanova attempted to achieve through simplification in clothing print and construction, as less than subtly illustrated by Popova with her photomontage. After 1929, the Great Depression in America blunted conspicuous superfluity, but it also galvanized prudent efficiency. Throughout these circumstances strode the mechanical-*flâneuse* toward her characterization as Ninotchka.

Notes

1. Notwithstanding the influence of Christine Frederick and Lillian M. Gilbreth, it might also be reasonably argued that Ford's opinion on clothing and domestic design was very much the pious echo of America's Protestant work ethic so economically manifest in the functional designs of Shakerism.
2. Frank and Lillian Gilbreth had long been active campaigners for the use of time-and-motion studies and strategies to reduce fatigue in a wide range of applications. They were a husband-and-wife team: he came from a background in building while she held a Ph.D. in psychology. See the anthology edited by William R. Spiegel and Clark E. Meyers, in which the major published writings, studies, and research by the Gilbreths between 1908 and 1921 are reprinted. The Gilbreths' studies were widely known on both sides of the Atlantic, and by 1922 had been read and annotated by Lenin and promoted by Gastev.
3. Elizabeth Wilson traces the impact of increasing female participation in social and organized sport on women's clothing toward the end of the nineteenth and into the early twentieth century. Wilson also traces the almost simultaneous impact that riding on, then in, and then driving the early automobile had on women's fashion (157-64).
4. See Spiegel and Meyers 303-40.
5. "Taylorismus + Fordismus = Amerikanismus" is the title of Thomas P. Hughes's sixth chapter in *American Genesis* (1989). Hughes traces the relationships between the Soviet Union, Germany, and the USA between 1917 and 1936, and in doing so examines the European enthusiasm for Taylor, Henry Ford, and the image of an industrially and technologically successful USA in general. In particular Hughes traces the involvement of American industrialists and companies in the USSR over the same period.
6. Two of the leading figures among Bolshevik women of the early Revolutionary period were Alexandra

Kollontai and Inessa Armand, who took important roles immediately post-Revolution. The scope of these roles brings to mind concerns that preoccupied Christine Frederick and Lillian Gilbreth. For instance, at the 1918 Moscow meeting of the All-Union Congress of Working and Peasant Women, Armand, acting as first head of Zhenotdel, set out the early post-revolutionary agenda. This agenda included a call for a movement to “separate domestic economies” comprised of “primitive, unhealthy and badly-equipped kitchens and primitive wash tubs” from public economies comprised of “communal kitchens, communal canteens, communal laundries” managed “by people paid specially to do the job” (qtd. in Waters 33-34). In part, Armand’s call for public economies was an ideal informed by the political left’s long legacy of suspicion that the root of capitalist ideology and suppression of women was closely linked to the bourgeois family unit. This view was certainly articulated in Armand’s statement to the All-Union Congress of Working Women (33-34). A belief in modern efficiency’s ability to meet the ever-increasing hardships brought on by the civil war and immediate post-Revolutionary economic collapse also informed Armand’s call for collectivized kitchens.

7. In Macy’s Department Store, New York during the 1920s and 1930s, Parisian knock-offs and more luxurious garments were displayed on the second floor, while cheaper ready-to-wear remained on the third floor.

8. Tatiana Strizhenova gives a useful anecdotal insight on this point:

Fashion even attracted the attention of the *belles-lettristes* who have provided us with a vivid picture of the 1920s. In his feature story “On High Living,” Pavel Nili wrote: “Kostia Zaitsev bought silk pyjamas with sky-blue satin lapels at the second-hand market in Rostov. He then went to the steppe. And in the morning his behaviour was discussed by the bureau of the Komsomol (Young Communist League): ‘K. Zaitsev, a Komsomol member, is degenerating before our very eyes.’ ‘It means losing touch with the masses,’ said Gromov, secretary of the bureau and a coal cutter, when it was discovered during the debate that besides the pyjamas Zaitsev had also acquired a felt hat, a dotted crimson necktie and yellow gaiters.’ ‘An intellectual, indeed!’ The Party secretary defended Zaitsev but advised him not to wear the pyjamas. ‘You are over-hasty. . . . And this is wrong. The masses think you are a

crank. . . an eccentric. . . and you are a member, as you know, of this bureau. You see it's quite improper.' Zaitsev hid the pyjamas in a trunk." (53-54)

9. Soviet worker uniforms and prudent casual wear took on added status as signifiers of the collective effort in poster campaigns after the mid-1920s (Bonnell 117-18, 248-50).

10. Note that significant differences exist between the American translation and production of *R.U.R.* in 1923 and the British translation and production of the same year. In the British production this dialogue was omitted and the Taylorist references are less emphatic, with a shift toward bio-geneticist and biblical inferences.

11. Representation of the present-as-future was a frequently used trope in Socialist Realist painting, one usually applied to pragmatic yet equally ideal images of Soviet achievement. The political scientist Wolfgang Holz has referred to it as "the 'illusion of instantaneous progress' or 'the immediate equation of "is" and "will be'" (74). Holz linked the increasing use of this formula in cultural expression with the ideology of Stalin's economic and industrial aims:

The inner logic of the Five-Year Plans as organizational models for Stalinist society required life, work and production to be perceived as a continuous and inexorable movement from one target to the next, according to pre-ordained norms. Thus life under the Five-Year Plans conceived of contemporary existence—the "is"—as a permanent progress toward future socialist happiness—the "will be." These kinds of utopian visions (which nevertheless differed from real utopias in the sense that they were intended to come about) were expressed iconographically in various forms of allegory, which represented precisely this movement from "is" to "will be." (74)

12. Popova had designed the costumes and sets for Vsevolod Meyerhold's production of *The Magnanimous Cuckold* in 1922, and both Popova and Stepanova entered their famous relationship with the First State Textile Print Factory late in 1922 (Bowlt 21-22).

13. Bowlt also points out that there was a "clear connection" between Popova's approach and "the doctrine of Taylorism, industrial gymnastics, and industrial gesticulation being researched concurrently at the Institute of Rhythm in Moscow" (22).

14. Reproductions of these advertisements featuring the young Greta Gustafsson (Greta Garbo) can be

seen in Walker 16-21. The publicity photograph for Lancia is reproduced on page 21 in this volume.

15. Bowlt (26-27) and Strizhenova (142-47), are two historians among many who have substantiated this observation.

16. In the history of modern fashion and apparel one of the more iconic images is that of Aleksandr Rodchenko (1891-1956) posing in overalls designed in 1922 by Varvara Stepanova. Her design of the overalls had the effect of making Rodchenko look like an aviator or submariner, an image in keeping with the sentiments of Lillian Gilbreth.

17. Deineka's poster is visible in the shared room scene after Ninotchka returns from marching in the May Day Parade.

18. The presentation of trim, fit worker bodies exercising, as a form of leisure within the context of work (the tractor and driver in Deineka's poster) contains attributes conflated in the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*. The combination of physical exercise as leisure and work was exhibited both in Ninotchka's ability and determination to climb the 829 steps up the Eiffel Tower when out to inspect the technical achievements of the city and in a later scene of her participation in the Moscow May Day Parade.

19. In Moscow, Walter Benjamin noted the excesses of the New Economic Policy entrepreneurs as late as 1927, while the historian Richard Stites has chronicled the disdain in which the committed left held those who took advantage of or abused NEP opportunities. See Walter Benjamin, *Moscow Diary* (1926-27) 70; Richard Stites, *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia* 356-57, 359-84 and 394.

Briony Fer also acknowledged the opening up of "markets for consumer goods such as fashions and textiles" as a consequence of the NEP, but argued that Lamanova's combination of hand-made and machine-made textiles was a case of "women's work" (134-35). In reference to designs by Popova, Fer reads a certain modernist appropriation of the abstract elements found in folk traditions of embroidery to meet the needs of mass production (Fer 87-170).

20. Other Soviet textile and clothing designers who exhibited at the 1925 Paris *Exposition Internationale* included Liudmila Maiakovskaia, Vera Muchina, and Nadezda Makarova who, in 1934, became the first head of the Moscow Fashion House (Strizhenova, *Soviet* 77).

21. Rosalind Williams has explained how the mechanism of consumption explored by Georges d'Avenel, in 1897, reflected upon the uneven quality of industrial production entering the mass market, and the

extent to which it could in fact democratize the consumption of luxury. Williams illuminates this point via d'Avenel's investigation into the preferences exhibited by the French "shopgirl" for "shoddy, mass-produced silk" over a superior quality cotton, on the basis of the higher values placed on finer quality silks for 'intrinsic beauty'. Georges d'Avenel explained the preference displayed by the shopgirl as a type of illusion that had its basis in the 'aura of moneyed glamour' that came with the purchase of silk, even if it was inferior mass-produced silk.

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Film

- The Man With the Movie Camera (Chelovek s kinoapparatom)*. 1929. B/W, silent, 60 minutes. Released Moscow, 9 April 1929. VUFKU (Kiev). Directed by Dziga Vertov. Assistant Elizaveta Svilova. Photography Mikhail Kaufman.
- Ninotchka*. 1939. B/W, 110 minutes, released 6 October 1939. MGM production. Directed by Ernst Lubitsch. Screenplay by Charles Brackett, Billy Wilder and Walter Reisch. Starring Greta Garbo and Melvyn Douglas.

Illustrations

- Fig. 1: Lillian M. Gilbreth & Frank B. Gilbreth (obscured) monitor the efficiency of a typist. c.1916. Archive note with photograph reads “Scene in micromotion study laboratory, recording the One Best Method of a champion typist of the world for criticism, comparison and synthesis into a One Best Way for operating a typewriter.” n.di. n.p. Reprinted in Mike Mandel *Making Good Time: Scientific Management, the Gilbreths Photography and Motion Futurism*. Santa Cruz, CA: M. Mandel, 1989

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Fig. 2: Adjunct machines to the cultural reality of industrial development: Varvara Stepanova's students dressed in uniform sports clothing designed by her for a sports demonstration c.1924. n.di. Aleksandr Lavrentiev and the Rodchenko Family Archive, Moscow.

Fig. 3: Today's Fashion: Varvara Stepanova Design for a Dress. 1924. n.di. n.p. Reproduced in Tatiana Strizhenova. *Soviet Costume and Textiles 1917-1945*. Moscow: Avant-Garde. 1991. 157. Fig. 211.

Fig. 4: Industrial motifs – cogs, wheels, and levers: Varvara Stepanova *Fabric Design*. 1924. N.di. n.p. Reproduced in Tatiana Strizhenova. *Soviet Costume and Textiles 1917-1945*. Moscow: Avant-Garde. 1991. 146. Fig. 190.

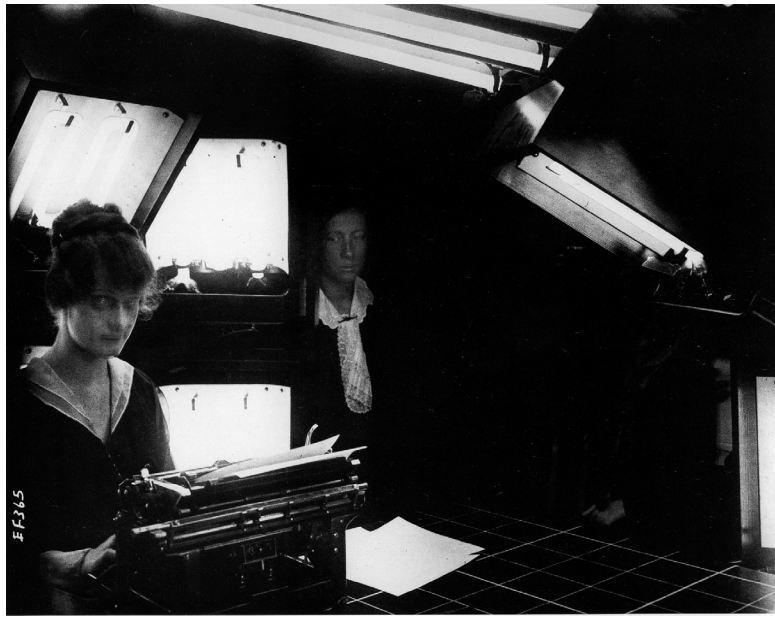
Fig. 5: The elegant new machine look: Liubov Popova Dress Design. Photomontage & graphic. 1924. 42.3 x 28.3 cm. Private Collection, Moscow.

Fig. 6: On the wall of Ninotchka's Moscow shared room. Aleksandr Deineka *Collective Farmer – Be an Athlete*. 1930. n.di. Russian State Library, Moscow.

Fig. 7: Nadezhda Lamanova *Dress decorated with hand woven folk designs*. Grand Prix winner. Paris 1925. n.di. n.p. Reproduced in Tatiana Strizhenova. *Soviet Costume and Textiles 1917-1945*. Moscow: Avant-Garde. 1991. 81. Fig. 97.

Fig. 8: Elena Savkova Sketch for a dress. 1939. n.di. n.p. Reproduced in Tatiana Strizhenova *Soviet Costume and Textiles 1917-1945*. Moscow: Avant-Garde. 1991. 290. Fig. 491

Fig. 9: Ninotchka. 1939. Film still: A decorative midriff and a variation on the sleeves of a Tolstoy blouse: Ninotchka and Leon at their table in the Paris ballroom scene.



Lillian M. Gilbreth and Frank B. Gilbreth (obscured) monitor the efficiency of a typist. *c.*1916. Archive note with photograph reads "Scene in micromotion study laboratory, recording the One Best Method of a champion typist of the world for criticism, comparison and synthesis into a One Best Way for operating a typewriter" (Fig. 1)



Varvara Stepanova's students dressed in uniform sports clothing designed by her for a sports demonstration *c.*1924. (Fig. 2)



Varvara Stepanova *Design for a Dress*. 1924. (Fig. 3)



Varvara Stepanova *Fabric Design*. 1924. (Fig. 4)



Liubov Popova *Dress Design*.
Photomontage and graphic. 1924. 42.3 x
28.3 cm. (Fig. 5)



Aleksandr Deineka *Collective Farmer – Be an Athlete*. 1930.
(Fig. 6)



Nadezhda Lamanova *Dress decorated with hand woven folk designs. Grand Prix winner. Paris 1925. (Fig. 7)*



Elena Savkova *Sketch for a dress. 1939. (Fig. 8)*



Ninotchka. 1939. Film still: A decorative midriff and a variation on the sleeves of a Tolstoy blouse: Ninotchka and Leon at their table in the Paris ballroom scene. (Fig. 9)