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Introduction [SLIDE 1]

After the October Revolution of 1917, the Bolsheviks embarked on an extensive campaign to encourage the Soviet population to engage with sport and physical culture. Initially focused on the nascent Red Army,¹ the propagandising of physical culture rapidly developed into a nexus for a complex web of discourses, not just about ensuring Soviet military strength, but also about public health; ideological soundness; women's emancipation; eugenics; and increased industrial and procreational productivity. Two significant threads linking these discourses appear to have been, on the one hand, the crypto-Lamarckian heritage of nineteenth-century Russian Darwinism, and on the other hand, the interlinked belief that the Revolution would call forth a new genus of humanity – the so-called 'New Person'.

This paper concentrates on images of women in some of Aleksandr Rodchenko's 1930s photographs of Soviet sports parades, and explores some of the ways in which the images related to the above mentioned mesh of discourses, albeit nuanced by contextually new concerns within the Communist Party and state – including the post-1934 requirements of Socialist Realism.² Ultimately, the paper proposes that the images may be seen as both confirmations of the ongoing evolutionary process, and alluring, aspirational exhortations for Soviet women to self-evolutionise into the prophesised 'New Person'.

Spectacles, Sports Parades and the 1930s

In the essay 'Mass celebrations in a Totalitarian State' (1993) Aleksandr Zakharov noted the mass spectacles of the 1930s and 1940s as amongst the 'most impressive and mysterious phenomena of Stalinism.'³ As exemplified by this press photograph of a sports parade at the Dinamo stadium in Moscow (late 1930s or mid 1940s), the spectacles were impressive on account of their large scale - often involving thousands of people - and also because of the military precision with which they

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² Even before the imposition of state control over the arts signified by the institution in 1934 of Socialist Realism as the sole mode of cultural production, Soviet visual culture contributed to the propaganda effort regarding sport and physical culture. After 1934 this was continued in a more codified way, with particular but not exclusive focus on the sports parade, an orchestrated and staged mass spectacle which, as Aleksandr Zakharov has pointed out, had only tenuous connections with sport. Aleksandr Zakharov, 'Mass Celebrations in a Totalitarian System' in Alla Efimovich and Lev Manovich eds and trs. *Tekstura. Russian Essays on Visual Culture*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1993, pp.201-218.

³ Aleksandr Zakharov, 'Mass Celebrations in a Totalitarian System,' p.201.

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were organised. Every last detail was prescribed to eliminate individualistic quirks that might detract from the visual representation of the masses as a unified entity.⁴ In Zakharov's view the spectacles were 'mysterious', because the visions of public enjoyment and festival do not fit with our post-hoc knowledge of Stalinist repression during this period – for instance the 'purges' of 1936-1939 – or with the hardships and deprivation undergone by the workers in the process of 'building socialism'.⁵ The spectacles were effectively utopian and mythological aesthetic representations of Soviet achievement, in which 'the real price of the achievements was carefully concealed.'⁶

An important principle of the mass spectacle, which endured into the 1930s was described in 1925 by a designer of such events, A.I. Piotrovskii, as being 'not simply to dress up but to be transformed'.⁷ This is a highly significant concept in relation to the utopian and mythological nature of the 1930s spectacles. Within the event itself, the 'transformation' was transitory. However, the more publicly durable representations of those who were 'dressed up' for the performance had powerful potential to be understood as depicting people who were already permanently 'transformed', even though the representations were effectively a use of one art form to depict another. [SLIDE 2] Perhaps the strongest examples of such images were the photographs of sports parades by Aleksandr Rodchenko, such as *Female Pyramid* (1936), that were published in Soviet coffee table books, and sometimes also as visual propaganda for foreign consumption, in overseas exhibitions or catalogues, or purpose-made thematic, Socialist Realist photographic albums.⁸

In 1934, Socialist Realism was declared to be the sole method of cultural production. One of its central planks, laid out by Andrei Zhdanov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, was that visual and literary culture should represent life not as it was, but as it should be in a society renovated by socialism, and the duty of artists and writers was to recruit the masses to the ranks of the potential New People, taking account of the specific shifting needs and policies of the

⁴ Ibid., 212-214; E. Riumin, *Massovye prazdniki*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1927, p.45. Rolf argues that the highly structured nature of the mass celebrations of the 1930s was designed to give a clear picture of the social hierarchy and the distance between the leaders and the mass of the people. Malte Rolf, *Sovetskie massovye prazdniki*, (German edition, Hanover, 2006) Moscow: Rossiskaia politicheskaia entsiklopedia, 2009, 165.

⁶ Zakharov, 'Mass Celebrations in a Totalitarian System', pp.215-216.

⁷ A.I. Piotrovskii, *Za sovetskii teatr*, Leningrad, 1925, p.26.

⁸ For example the *Rhythmic Gymnastics* series (1936) used for *Procession of Youth*, a publication prepared for the World Fair, New York 1939 by Rodchenko and his wife, the artist and designer Varvara Stepanova.

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Party and state.⁹ This applied equally to all aspects of visual culture including public spectacles and photography. Given the transitory nature of the actual displays, photographic documentation potentially had a higher propagandist use-value. While those images that passed the Party censors and were published, could be seen as fulfilling the shifting Party requirements regarding Socialist Realism, they also constituted mechanically reproduced and objective, indexical evidence of physical phenomena and thus could be seen to represent 'truthful' information because of their documentary nature¹⁰ - even if the images, in this case by Rodchenko, were effectively a presentation of art about art.

Rodchenko began as a pre-Revolutionary, avant-garde abstract painter and constructor of objects. In the early post-Revolutionary period he became a central member of the Working Group of Constructivists, making paintings, constructions, and designs for artefacts, with the avowed intention of turning 'art into production'. He also engaged with photography and photomontage for a number of contemporary publications in the mid to late 1920s.¹¹ Towards the end of the 1920s, he became irrevocably connected with innovative photography, which he pursued as his main public artistic activity from the 1930s until his death in 1956.¹²

Female Pyramid 1936 was one of a series of photographs of May Day sports parades in Moscow's Red Square, shot by Rodchenko between about 1933 and 1938. The ornate 'D' on the little flags stands for Dinamo, the NKVD's sports club attached to the huge Dinamo stadium, seating 90,000 people and built in Moscow in 1928.¹³ The balletically poised young women are balanced on a structure fixed to a wheeled float impelled by hunky young men from the club, the tops of whose skull-capped heads are just visible at the bottom of the picture. The poses only had to be held for the time it took to traverse Red Square, jolting over the cobbles past Lenin's tomb where the Communist Party leaders stood to salute the athletes. Nevertheless, the individual display, as can be appreciated from the image, represented considerable body discipline. This photograph was

⁹ A. Zhdanov, 'Soviet Literature. The Richest in Ideas', in H.G. Scott, ed. *Soviet Writers Union Congress 1934. The Debate on Socialist Realism and Modernism in the Soviet Union*, London: Lawrence and Wishart, (1935) 1977, pp.15-24.

¹⁰ [Tagg/Sontag Barthes]

¹¹ Christina Lodder, *Russian Constructivism*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983, pp.193-204

¹² Alexander Lavrentiev, ed. *Alexander Rodchenko: Photography is an Art*, Moscow: Interros Publishing Program, Moscow House of Photography Museum/Ivan Polyakov Humanitarian Project, 2006, pp.459-477.

¹³ 'July 20, All-Union Physical Culture Day', *Soviet Calendar 1917-1947*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1947, no page numbers.

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effectively a confirming representation of the trained bodies of the 'transformed' New People displayed in the artistic spectacle, with a particular emphasis on young women. So what was the image referring to, in terms of Soviet utopian mythology, and how did this connection reflect back on the other images of sport and physical culture made by Rodchenko in the 1930s?

The Evolution of New Person

The idea that the new form of society brought on by the October Revolution would engender what Trotsky called 'a new biologic type'¹⁴ of human being, was one of the most fundamental and enduring myths of Soviet culture. It was partly rooted in the notion of 'New People' presented in Nikolai Chernyshevskii's novel *What is to be Done* (1864) and in the pre-Revolutionary writings of Maxim Gorkii, Anatoly Lunacharskii and Aleksandr Bogdanov – all of whom became leading figures in the early post-Revolutionary period.¹⁵ The belief was also partly encouraged by Friedrich Engels' writings on Darwin, which allowed for the possibility that the evolution of a socialist society would prompt a new stage of human evolution.¹⁶ The central tenet of the Bolshevik New Person myth was that such evolution could be engineered by changes of environment and habit.¹⁷ This idea gained reinforcement from the dominant tendency of thought amongst the leading pre-Revolutionary Russian Darwinist scientists who were adopted by the Bolsheviks - such as plant biologist Kliment Timiriazev, zoogeographer Mikhail Menzbir, physiological psychologist Ivan Sechenov, and the behavioural psychologists Vladimir Bekhterev and Ivan Pavlov. These scientists, as Vucinich has argued, were inclined to subsume into their versions of Darwinism, Lamarck's ideas of the inheritability of characteristics acquired through environment and habit.¹⁸ The Bolsheviks and their supporters within the avant-garde also derived from the Russian

¹⁴ Leon Trotsky, *Literature and Revolution* (1924), trans Rose Strunsky, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1968, p.145.

¹⁵ N.G. Chernyshevsky, *What is to be Done*; Mike O'Mahoney, *Sport in the USSR. Physical Culture - Visual Culture*, (London: Reaktion Books, 2006), 22; Maksim Gorkii, *Isповед'* (Berlin: J. Ladischnikow, 1908), 196; Maksim Gorkii, 'Razrushenie lichnosti', *Ocherki filosofii kollektivizma* (St Petersburg, 1909) translated as 'The Destruction of Personality' in *Literature and Life : A Selection from the Writings of Maxim Gorky*, trans Edith Bone (London: Hutchinson International Authors, 1946), 112-125; A. V. Lunacharskii, *Religiia i sotsializm*, (2 vols, St Petersburg: Shipovnik, 1908-1911); A. V. Lunacharskii, "Pered litsom roka: k filosofii tragedii", *Obrazovanie* 12 (1903): 58; A. V. Lunacharskii, 'Faust and the City', *Three Plays*, trans L.A. Magnus and K. Walter, (London: G. Routledge, 1923), 132, 134; A. A. Bogdanov, *Krasnaiia zvezda* (St Petersburg: Tovarichestvo khudozhestvennyi pechati, 1908); A. A. Bogdanov, *Inzhener menni*, (Moscow: Moskovskii rabochii, 1923); A. A. Bogdanov, *Vseobshchaia organizatsionnaia nauka (tektologia)*, (Berlin: Grzebina 1922).

¹⁶ Friedrich Engels, 'Letter to Friedrich Albert Lange in Duisburg', 161-162.

¹⁷ Simpson, 'Imag(in)ing Post-Revolutionary Evolution', Larson and Brauer, *The Art of Evolution*, 226-261.

¹⁸ Alexander Vucinich, *Darwinism in Russian Thought* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1988), <http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft5290063h/>, pp.

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Darwinists a construct of the human body as a mechanism that was perfectible through 'conditioning' and body discipline.

[SLIDE 3] The avant-gardists of the 1920s, as I have discussed elsewhere, enthusiastically heralded the coming of the New Person and engaged in a variety of theoretical and would-be practical schemes to create the requisite conditions for the evolution of this new genus.¹⁹ Rodchenko's contribution included designs for furniture, ceramics and worker's clothing. [SLIDE 4] Meanwhile, on the part of the new government, the Commissariat for Health, led by Nikolai Semashko supported the establishment of eugenics research institutes, and embarked on a multi-pronged programme of prophylactic medicine and social hygiene propaganda, as the first step towards a full-scale adoption of eugenics, which he called 'the science of making the human race healthy'.²⁰ As with eugenics discourse elsewhere in the world, a focal concern was with the medicalisation of women's bodies, the promotion of hygienic maternity and the control of Soviet woman's sexuality.²¹

Physical culture was identified both by Semashko and also by Lunacharsky, now Commissar for Enlightenment, as the ideal multi-purpose body discipline through which to engineer a strong and healthy workforce; healthy and productive potential mothers; and to prevent sexual excess - especially in young people.²² Physical culture was also given two other significant attributes. Firstly it was perceived as a means to bring people into disciplined collective activity and under the wing of the Party. In this sense participation in physical culture and sport was to be equated with ideological correctness.²³ Secondly, following a tradition established in Russia by the biologist P.F. Lesgaft in the late 19th century,²⁴ participation in physical culture was perceived to promote and signify female emancipation, and was understood by Lenin and other Bolsheviks as a mean to draw women into social life and ultimately - the workforce.²⁵ Thus from the 1920s onwards, images of physical culture in the USSR, particularly those containing women, can be argued to be extensively ideologically charged with reference to pre-existing constructs of the evolution and attributes of the utopian and mythological future New Person.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Semashko, *Nauka o zdorov'e*, 53-4.

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²⁴ Riordan, 'The Rise, Fall and Rebirth of Sporting Women in Russia and the USSR', p.187.

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[SLIDE 5] In the early 1930s, physical culture propaganda aimed at women was given a higher profile, for example through Aleksandr Deineka's famous *Fizkulturnitsa* poster from 1933, which declared to women: 'You may not be able to be an athlete, but you can be a physical culturist'.

[SLIDE 6] Rodchenko's photograph *Make Way for the Women* (1934), showing a column of women in sports kit infiltrating between two ranks of men, also seems to engage with this political move. Some of the curious and appreciative glances of the men even appear to hint at the event as a desirable novelty.

For Rodchenko, this photograph, which was shown in the exhibition *Masters of Soviet Photography*, Moscow 1935, was a significant example of the shift in his work from the 'revolutionary leaps and crude agitation'²⁶ of his more abstract photographs such as *Pioneer with a Bugle* (1930), which had had been criticised in the journal *Soviet Photo* for 'formalism'. His new approach, in response to the demands of Socialist Realism, was to focus on the thematic social content of the shot. In 1935, in an open letter to the editors of *Soviet Photo* he declared: 'The time has come to build a metro. I want to build a metro of photography as well.'²⁷

Rodchenko was referring to the building of the Moscow metro, a key element of the planned renovation of Moscow into a modern city, a symbol of the Soviet impetus to remake reality and, as Mike O'Mahony has argued, 'a means and metaphor for the transformation of the Soviet citizen.'²⁸ It seems that Rodchenko's intention was not only to remake photography as an art form, but also through his photographs to participate in the process of engineering the New Person's evolution.²⁹

[SLIDE 7] Indeed he made a number of photographs of this generic type shot from above, such as *Opening of the Sports and Athletics Meeting at Dinamo Stadium* (1937), which projects both a sense of the mass discipline required from New People, and the undifferentiated equality of the

²⁶ Alexander Lavrentiev, ed. *Alexander Rodchenko: Photography is an Art*, Moscow: Interros Publishing Program, Moscow House of Photography Museum/Ivan Polyakov Humanitarian Project, 2006, p.263, fn.5.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Mike O'Mahoney, 'Archaeological Fantasies: Constructing History on the Moscow Metro', *The Modern Languages Review*, vol.98, no.1, January 2003, p.143.

²⁹ In relation to this, his concern with imaging sport and physical culture appears closely tied to the mythos of the New Person for he believed that 'The best human type is the sportsman'. A.Rodchenko, pencil draft of a 1930s lecture on sports photography, cited in Alexander Lavrentiev, ed. *Alexander Rodchenko: Photography is an Art*, Moscow: Interros Publishing Program, Moscow House of Photography Museum/Ivan Polyakov Humanitarian Project, 2006, p.264. Rodchenko also had view of the future as characterised by hygiene, health, sport, light and youth'. A.Rodchenko 1934 unsourced writing on his designs for Mayakovsky's play *The Bedbug* cited in A. Lavrentiev, 'The Workshop of the Future', Chris Carrell, Katya Young, Euan McArthur, Christina Lodder, eds, *The Rodchenko Family Workshop*, Glasgow and Strathclyde/London: New Beginnings/Serpentine Gallery, 1989, p.19.

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sexes proclaimed in the Soviet Constitution and woven into the design of that particular physical culture display. The sports parade photographs focused on women, however, arguably underscored elements of traditional gender stereotyping that became emphasised in that period.³⁰

[SLIDE 8] An ostensible factor in the increased emphasis on encouraging women into physical culture was the institution between 1933 and 1934, of the 'Ready for Labour and Defence' (GTO) and 'Be Ready for Labour and Defence' (BGTO) badges. The awards were based on those in Baden Powell's *Scouting for Boys*, and graded according to age and sex. One of Rodchenko's Red Square photographs from 1936 shows a valiantly smiling young woman decoratively wedged into a huge reproduction of the GTO badge set into a wooden stretcher carried by ten stalwart men. One of these men seems to be blowing out his cheeks, showing signs of strain - a moment of humanity in a clearly not quite renovated New Man captured by the telephoto lens. The faultless woman, however, was apparently the perfect icing on the decorative display cake.

Rodchenko's photographs in the mid to late 1930s, return time and again to sports parade visions of the youthful New Soviet Woman as attractively posing, sometimes in bizarre and precarious positions. [SLIDE 9] For example *Wheel* (1936) from the Red Square series showing a 'flower' of hand-locked smiling women strapped into what might be interpreted as a monster Catherine wheel, and *Moscow Champions* (1938), a photograph of young women arrayed artistically on scaffolding poles. [SLIDE 10] The most extreme example is perhaps *Male Pyramid* (1936), where the pile of hunky male bodies is surmounted by an attractive young woman clutching a bunch of flowers. This is paralleled by *Girl with a Bunch of Flowers* also from 1936, which, by the use of an upward camera angle appears to represent an apotheosis of the familiar flower-bearing female offering homage to the Soviet leadership, and also a symbol of female emancipation on a par with the torch-bearing statue of liberty.

The 1930s concept of female emancipation was differently nuanced to that of the 1920s. Early Revolutionary discourse and legislation focused on releasing women from the bonds of the patriarchal family in order to become, literally, 'human beings' with equal rights and social

³⁰ So did his images of men to some extent. Rodchenko seems to have made relatively few photographs of exclusively male sports parade displays. But when he did, the images tended to visually equate ideal masculine physique specifically with military readiness, as in the photograph of the Zenit All-Union Sports Society for workers of the arms industry, pulling a small tank through Red Square in 1936, and the flyleaf for the Red Army photo album in 1937, showing muscled bare-chested soldiers marching with grim determination.

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responsibilities to those of men. [SLIDE 11] In this period of so-called 'sexual revolution', marriage and divorce laws were simplified, abortion and contraception were legalised and there were grand plans for a new way of life involving the provision of crèches, communal dining rooms and laundries, in order to liberate women from domestic drudgery. This scheme was largely abandoned by the end of 1932, and women were thenceforward expected to take on a dual burden of domestic and paid work which was enshrined in the new Constitution of 1936. In this year also, there was a shift back towards emphasis on the traditional family, with changes to the marriage laws and the abolition of contraception and abortion - all designed to raise the low birth-rate. [SLIDE 12] Additionally, as part of the New Moscow fantasy in which Stalin proclaimed 'Life is getting better Comrades, Life is getting jollier!', there seemed to be an increased emphasis in Soviet advertising on women having a decorative appearance – nice clothes, smart hairstyles, perfume – things which were emphatically not part of the official, rather ascetic vision of the emancipated woman of the 1920s.³¹

[SLIDE 13] Given the context, it is difficult not to see the mid-to late 1930s displays of women's bodies, filtered through double layers of artfulness,³² as fantasies of an eugenic ideal of womanhood, and potential objects of desire for the male spectators. There are, however, some problems with this interpretation, at least in relation to official discourse. Firstly, official support for eugenics research and discourse had ceased between 1931-1932 – although it continued under the title of 'medical genetics' until the late 1930s. Secondly, although Nikolai Bukharin had suggested that there should be a Soviet eroticism, the tenets of Socialist Realism forbade the representation of Soviet women as domestic or sexual objects, and severe censorship was applied to images, writings or displays perceived by the Party checkers to be titillating or pornographic. Because of this, and unlike contemporary German discourse on the ideal woman, there was little or no specific commentary on the attributes of female bodies in journalism or art criticism.³³

³¹ Rolf, citing Chatterjee, notes that the essential narrative of the 1930s regarding women concerned their abandonment of the 'backward past' and 'breakthrough to the 'happy' and 'prosperous' life in the present'. Malte Rolf, *Sovetskie massovye prazdniki*, (German edition, Hanover, 2006) Moscow: Rossiskaia politicheskaia entsiklopedia, 2009, p.168; C. Chatterjee, *Celebrating Women: Gender, Festival Culture and Bolshevik Ideology 1910-1939*, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000, pp.??;

³² Of the sports parade tableaux and then of Rodchenko's photography

³³ Hence the caption for 1936 images from the *Rhythmic Gymnastics* series and published in the photo album *Procession of Youth* put together by Rodchenko and his wife Varvara Stepanova for the 1939 World Fair in New York, refers only obliquely to the beauty and grace of the women's bodies, by saying: 'Clever and plastic mass exercises of gymnasts. Girl students of one of the physical culture institutes perform a beautiful scarf dance in the Red Square.' Alexander Lavrentiev, ed. *Alexander Rodchenko: Photography is an Art*, Moscow: Interros Publishing Program, Moscow House of Photography Museum/Ivan Polyakov Humanitarian Project, 2006, p.263.

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[SLIDE 14] Erotic voyeurism, in relation to semi-clad women in sports parades, was nevertheless a distinct possibility for male spectators, as alluded to in Yuri Olesha's novel *Envy* 1928, and perhaps obliquely also by some of the male glances captured in Rodchenko's *Make Way for the Women* by the differently voyeuristic, and would-be objective telephoto lens.³⁴ Officially, however, the function of Soviet spectatorship went beyond visual pleasure. The duty of Socialist Realism by which the spectacle and the photography were equally bound, was to present inspiring and aspirational images. Reciprocally, the duty of the spectator was to respond proactively to the visions of the transformed New Person.

Within 1930s discourse on the New Person there was a slight change in the notion of the body as a perfectible mechanism. While the rise to power of Trofim Lysenko ensured the continuance of the Russian Darwinist tendency towards Lamarckian ideas of the inheritability of acquired characteristics, the purging and reorganisation of Soviet educational psychology resulted in theorisations of the transformation process that gave less emphasis to automatic response to state-provided environment, and more to the exertion of individual will to engage with the 'training and self-training' necessary for transformation. Central to these theorisations was the idea of choosing role models of physical and ideological correctness. From an official point of view, then, the carefully designed sports parade spectacles and the equally carefully designed representations of them by Rodchenko offered such role models of already transformed New People, to assist and enable ordinary citizens, particularly women, to self-evolutionise and become productive/reproductive parts of the renovated world of the new Moscow.

Summary/Conclusion

In this paper I have offered a short exploration of the ways in which some of Aleksandr Rodchenko's 1930s images of women in Soviet sports parades arguably intersected with a mesh of interlinked discourses relating to the engineerable 'evolution' of the so-called Soviet New Person, which originated in the 1920s and connected to crypto-Lamarckian Russian Darwinist ideas. In the

³⁴ Rolf, in discussing Samokhvalov's painting *Kirov Greeting a Sports Parade* (1935) suggests that the element of eroticism in relation to the attractive, bouquet-bearing young women's ecstatic demeanour and 'shining eyes', signifies that they are 'lovers of the party' – in effect, an abstract and carnally pure form of eroticism that might be perfectly acceptable to the censors (although he does not actually say this...). Malte Rolf, *Sovetskie massovye prazdniki*, (German edition, Hanover, 2006) Moscow: Rossiiskaia politicheskaiia entsiklopediia, 2009, p.160.

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1920s such ideas became associated with the Soviet espousal of physical culture and sport, and, I suggest, then became part of the utopian and mythological aspects of the spectacular, designed and controlled 1930s sports parades. In the 1930s context, certain aspects of the mythology regarding the role of women were differently nuanced in relation to contemporary legislation, effectively positioning them primarily as domestic producers of children, but still with a duty to engage with paid employment.

I have argued that Rodchenko's photographic representations of the ephemeral spectacular displays, while effectively being art about art, were potentially powerful propaganda tools in generating belief in the possibility of evolutionary 'transformation' of ordinary women's bodies, because they held a high perceived truth-value related to the indexical nature of the photograph. While the displays and Rodchenko's photographs of them may well have held an erotic charge for male spectators and viewers, their official function in relation to the contingently nuanced 1930s construct of the New Person, was both to offer role models to encourage ordinary Soviet women to self-evolutionise into future mothers of New People, and to confirm, to Soviet and overseas viewers, that this evolutionary process was under way.