Fashioning Spain

From Mantillas to Rosalía

Edited by
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For Alizah Holstein, molecular elegance.
For Yuri Morejón, fount of inspiration and strength.
Introduction

Fashion in Spain: Catalyst for Affect and Identity

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In the context of Spain, the word “fashion” conjures up countless images and associations. When we consider a material object such as Balenciaga’s Infanta dress, and in the next thought imagine the latest lineup from Zara, our minds must make the sizable leap from appreciating a one-of-a-kind couture creation to evaluating the products emerging from complex commercial and industrial systems within a specific cultural context.¹

Take, for instance, the front cover of this book. In this 1984 photograph taken by Nacho Pinedo, Laura Ubago models a design by Antonio Alvarado that mixes two distinct styles and consists of four key elements. The pillbox hat and gloves immediately recall a style popularized by Jackie Kennedy in the early 1960s. The high-waisted skirt and cropped jacket, meanwhile, remind us of later fashions such as the miniskirt and “hippy” styles. Our interest in this image, however, is not rooted only in Alvarado’s ability to distill the key styles of the 1960s into a fresh look for the 1980s. Rather, the image is compelling, too, for its fascinating story: how this outfit came to be, and what it meant in the cultural context of 1980s Madrid. For one thing, the piece is an exercise in contradictions. It exemplifies some of the elements that define couture—a unique garment, tailored by hand—while at the same time, it expresses a mordant critique of the fashion industry.

To fabricate this ensemble, Alvarado used cotton hand-towel rolls stolen from bar restrooms and surplus linen tablecloths from the Palace Hotel. It was debuted in a 1981 fashion show entitled “Baja costura” [“Low Couture”] in Madrid’s famous concert venue Rock-Ola.² Although it at first appears to be a provocative performance typical of Madrid’s 1980s underground culture, the limitations imposed by the fabric make it a true tour de force. Classic white linen tablecloths and hand-towels, only forty centimeters wide with two red lines running along the selvage, had to be expertly patterned, cut, and sewn.
Alvarado's piece tells us about tailoring and the recycling of styles, but also about ingenuity and creativity. We begin with Alvarado's suit constructed of simple, purloined linens executed using couture techniques because it represents a key point in contemporary Spanish history in which fashion played a pivotal role in the zeitgeist. During the long transition process after nearly four decades of military dictatorship (1939–75), fashion became a vehicle for expressing agency, creativity, and political leanings. As we will see in this collection, the work of successful designers and business models also consolidated in tandem with democratization and changes in patterns of consumption. The story of how fashion in Spain made it to this point, however, is just starting to be told. Despite being the origin of globally renowned designers and industrial models, Spain has not been deeply studied when it comes to fashion. This is especially so for the twentieth century.

In contrast, the Spanish Golden Age (roughly the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) and the centuries following it have received substantial scholarly attention. Carmen Bernis' work on Don Quijote (2001) is foundational, and the two volumes edited by José Luis Colomer and Amalia Descalzo (2014) are comprehensive and indispensable for understanding fashion in this period. Amanda Wunder succinctly explains the challenges scholars face when studying fashions during a long-past historical period. For instance, the most widely available primary sources—polemics, laws, portraits, poems, and theatrical works—were produced by a small group of elite males from the court. Relying on evidence from the male-dominated court is limiting, however, because “such sources reveal very little about women's actual experiences” with clothing (2015: 141–2). By using a wider body of evidence that includes Inquisitorial depositions, letters, poems written by women, tailors' record books, and lesser-known portraits sitting in storage, women's voices and experiences have been reinserted into the historical narrative (2015: 142). This expansive approach to archival research has deepened our understanding of Golden Age culture and fashion.

Interactions between society, fashion, and modernity during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have also been the focus of studies by Ana María Díaz Marcos (2006), Francisco de Sousa Congosto (2007), and Jesús Cruz (2011). Among several works on these two centuries in Spain, we would like to highlight Rebecca Haidt's Women, Work and Clothing in Eighteenth-Century Spain (2011). This is an important interdisciplinary contribution to fashion studies in our discipline of Spanish cultural studies. Haidt's book is a cultural history of theatrical depictions of Madrid fashions such as the maja and the petimetra.
It explores how garments offer a privileged location for thinking collectively about social changes in Madrid involving women, labor, immigration, and class. Clothes in eighteenth-century Spain were considered to be almost more valuable than money, since they immediately located the wearer within the social hierarchies of the moment. Haidt succeeds at mapping the multiple cultures of the city and the ways in which fashion was central for working-class women's agency and financial survival. Among scholars in Spain, the works of Mercedes Pasalodos Salgado (2007, 2012) and Pablo Pena González (2008) constitute essential reading for this period.

The twentieth and twenty-first centuries, meanwhile, have received less attention. This is perplexing but not surprising, since some academics see contemporary fashion as a superfluous expenditure while others see it as a capitalist ploy to drive conformity and consumption. We, however, see fashion as a subject to be studied with attention and subtlety for what it conveys about social and cultural systems. Paul Julian Smith, for instance, wrote in 2003 about the interrelation of economic and aesthetic aspects of fashion in a case study of Adolfo Domínguez, a long-established Spanish designer. Smith detailed “the Galician localism of this global company” and the way in which brands like this helped incorporate Spain into the global fashion scene of the 1980s and 1990s (2003: 51). Elegantly connecting Roland Barthes' ideas about the instability of fashion as an object, Pierre Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*, Jennifer Craik's work on fashion systems, and the role of female museum curators as pioneers of the study of dress, Smith challenged scholars to connect the fashion object to theory in order to study the use of fashion in everyday life. He emphasized that “fashion is not to be minimized” and that its objects and artifacts are “witnesses to material culture” (2003: 34, 36). Smith's salient study ushered us into twenty-first-century thinking about the plurality of meanings that may be drawn from examining fashion in Spain. Inspired by Smith and others, we aim to show that fashion is much more than borrowed aesthetics and conspicuous consumption.

Those who give only a cursory glance to fashion's inherently exterior façade may fail to see the complexity it represents. This is not surprising since in Yurika Kawamura's words, “fashion is not visual clothing but is the invisible elements included in clothing” (2006: 4).

Fashion is certainly endowed with materiality, designed and produced within a specific social, technical, and economic context. If carefully studied in a structured way, art historian Jules Prown showed that any material object or artifact may reveal a wealth of information about a given society or community's beliefs, assumptions, values, or the organizing principles of its industrial
systems (1982: 1). That his definition of material culture did not focus on fashion does not make it less useful. Prown, for instance, identified the importance of style: “If the cultural significance of a device is perceivable in its style rather than its function, then there is reason to conclude that, for purposes of material culture analysis, the aesthetic aspects of artifacts are more significant than the utilitarian” (1982: 15). Prown understood that style could eclipse function. We take this idea to heart as we explore the elusive and subtle elements in fashion.

Fashion is a sum of both material and intangible elements. From design to production, fashion is created by ghost labor, the “invisible hands” that make the garments we wear possible and that, in the case of couture, considerably raise its value. That phantasmagoric aspect of fashion also lends it important attributes, such as being a catalyst for affects and belonging.

Wearing certain clothing can make us feel different, and act accordingly. Alternatively, the clothes we wear may cause others to see and treat us differently. Fashion is a vehicle for class distinction and upward mobility. It can be mobilized to change identities, mask origins, go incognito, or start anew.

Fashion also has its critics. Baudrillard, for instance, argued that fashion—and its ancillary, consumption—replace systemic change and social mobility. By channeling the need for transformation into cyclical changes of styles, fashion allows fundamental social structures to remain the same. Writing late in his career, he concluded that the impression of change embodied in fashion is also the illusion of democracy (1993: 78). From another perspective, Efrat Tseelon described fashion as a form of “false consciousness” (1995: 79–91). Social conventions, fashion, and a male-pleasing standard of femininity lured women, according to this theory, into acquiescing to their exclusion from politics and the economy. But fashion, as we will see, is neither a substitution for political citizenship nor mutually exclusive from it. In fact, they often go hand in hand—clothing may be a form of protest or resistance against social disciplinary practices. Baudrillard and Tseelon thus offer suggestive but unavoidably limited interpretations of complex processes of collective changes in taste and agency.

Fashion, although understudied in Spanish cultural studies, has been a topic of discussion among artists and intellectuals. For some, fashion was something to be rejected, or, at the very least, disassociated from women. Already in the nineteenth century, Concepción Arenal rejected the gendered stereotype that attributed excessive interest in fashion and decoration to bourgeois women. She concluded that it was a lack of formal education and access to higher-minded jobs that limited women to those trifles over which they exercised control: “Women become slaves to the fashion illustration and the dressmaker, pinning
their wellbeing to the elegance and ornamentation of their dress, and in the luxurious furnishing of their homes" (1916: 59–60).12 In the late 1920s, Carmen de Burgos would similarly reject the organic pairing of fashion and women since “for a long time, women have had no other field than fashion to deploy their imagination” (1927: 252).13 For Concepción Arenal and Carmen de Burgos, fashion was neither an instrument of social control nor a free-for-all. Instead, their work provides an early model of how to approach fashion studies, treading the fine line between agency and social conformity.

Approaching Fashion: A Question of Agency

In this collection, our approach to fashion will be the broadest possible, and always identity-focused as opposed to system-focused. While we try to “historicize” fashion in every chapter, to borrow Fredric Jameson’s term, we do not attempt to take on the ambitious project of writing an encyclopedic history of fashion in Spain.14 This volume is not about how fashion has been represented but rather about how fashion works as a cultural practice over time. In this sense, we rely on Jo Labanyi, who challenges us “[t]o treat cultural texts as forms of cultural practice [. . . in the sense that] cultural texts are ‘things that do things’: that is, things that have the capacity to affect us” (2010: 233). This collection sees clothes as cultural texts that, beyond their materiality, are produced and understood within a social context that both creates and alters affect and meaning.

Drawing on Teresa Brennan’s *Transmission of Affect* (2004), Labanyi notes: “affect means to be affected by and to affect; one person’s affect affects others” (226). This suggests that affect is part of social relationships, and we see fashion as one of the affective linchpins in the complex social dynamics of identity and belonging. Labanyi’s work relates to our idea of affect, in the sense that fashion objects can be a vehicle through which emotions are felt and experienced, conveying things other than social status and class. For instance, wearing certain fashion objects can make people feel empowered, or feel like they belong, or that they are a truer version of themselves.

In this vein, we explore questions such as: How did wearing items like *la mantilla* create different social and political meanings over time? How does couture communicate affects and meaning to film audiences? In what ways does commercial fashion photography become a political statement? How do fashion and comics help us to represent a historical moment and, at the same time, imagine alternative futures? How do people interact with clothing virtually,
either shopping online or touring a virtual museum? In what manner do brick-and-mortar museums like El Museo del Traje in Madrid redefine what is worthy of collecting in an age of fast fashion? What do music and fashion tell us about the world as exemplified through a performer like Rosalía? And, fundamentally, how do we engage with reality through the clothes we wear?

Keeping these questions in mind, we turn to Margarita Rivière (1944–2015), a precursor of fashion studies in Spain, who argued that "fashion is communication" (1977). We cannot agree more. Fashion is an interface by which we relate to the world. In 1971, Rivière presented an expert analysis of fashion in the magazine *Triunfo*. For her, fashion was not simply a business, but a marker of group belonging. Her essay, "Las monas vestidas de seda" ("Monkeys in Silk"), argued that fashion's main function is to simultaneously offer both the security of being accepted in a group, and the guarantee of originality and individual singularity. In other words, fashion represented the paradoxical affirmation of individuality within the illusion of differentiation (1971: 17–18). Fashion, not bad or frivolous per se, was after all an expression of the cultural structure of the West (1971: 18).

Undoubtedly influenced by German sociologist Georg Simmel (1858–1918), Rivière identified the intersection of collective and individual identities as the site at which fashion becomes the mechanism for social articulation, integration, and differentiation.

As a language, fashion offers a deep semantic field. We explore some of these meanings in this collection, such as political expression and the communication of wealth and status. Like spoken languages, fashion does not exist without social interaction. Simmel emphasized this fundamental sociality of fashion. His sophisticated description of fashion at the intersection of space (in terms of which fashions are "in" or "out") and time (becoming fashionable or not) is essential for conceptualizing fashion as an evolving collective phenomenon (1923: 1–2).

Fashion is also a unique medium through which to think about the world. Marco Pecorari has argued that fashion is an epistemology. Inspired by Hans-Jörg Rheinberger's concept of "epistemic objects," Pecorari suggests that fashion objects generate concepts beyond the tenets of style (2016: n.p.). For example, consider the ripped fishnet stockings and safety-pinned black leather jackets common to 1980s punk culture in Spain and elsewhere. This fashion, which shaped and influenced social interaction, allows us to perceive the limits of propriety and acceptance of difference. Taken more broadly, certain fashion objects may signal societal change. Photographers such as Miguel Trillo, who captured images of the urban youth subculture fashions of the late 1970s and
early 1980s, left little doubt that Spain had fundamentally changed since the end of the dictatorship. Fashion objects, together with ideas and concepts, are therefore indispensable in the acquisition and formation of knowledge about the world and in the parallel construction and expression of identity.

The relationship between fashion and forms of identity, and how this relationship has changed over time, is one of the topics of this collection. At the end of the nineteenth century, the US American sociologist and economist Thorstein Veblen (1857–1929) was the first to theorize, in The Theory of the Leisure Class, that those who surround us influence our consumer choices ([1899] 2007). Others, also writing outside of Spain, such as American sociologist Herbert Blumer (1900–87), wondered to what extent fashion helps us to belong, and if class distinction and emulation are secondary to the desire to be modern and au courant in a constantly changing world (1969). As identity becomes plural, the meaning and expression of fashion becomes multiple too (Davis 1992: 17). We have arrived at a different understanding of fashion, where “the consumption of cultural goods, such as fashionable clothing, performs an increasingly important role in the construction of personal identity, while satisfaction of material needs and emulation of superior classes are secondary” (Crane 2000: 11). In other words, the construction of personal identity through clothing and the creation of affects and meaning is now more important than the fixed, class-bound reflections of status and distinction of the past.

Returning to the context of Spain, it is worth pausing to consider the ways in which people personalize fashion, whether out of necessity or through creative repurposing of clothing from flea markets like el Rastro in Madrid, Mercat dels Encants in Barcelona, Open your Ganbara in Bilbao, and vintage clothing stores everywhere. In postwar Spain, and especially during the 1940s and 1950s, secondhand clothing and shoes were the norm in cash-strapped Spanish households. These clothes, worn with dignity, were ideally clean and neatly repaired, signifying the virtuous identity markers of thrift and temperance born of necessity. In the 1970s and 1980s, parallel to the advent of prêt-à-porter and a wider sense of affluence, used clothes from flea markets became a cheaper avenue for expressing aesthetics, as well as personal, social, and political attitudes. Still, because clothing was expensive, mending and repairing clothes (a job taken on primarily by women) indicated a lack of purchasing power but also a sign of a good household economy. Today, in the era of easily accessible, mass-produced, and inexpensive fast fashion, new trends are emerging. Reusing or repairing clothing is considered a principled form of sustainable consumption, a trend endorsed and encouraged by a growing number of brands. These shifting
consumer practices reflect the historical changes of consumer capitalism, how people engage with the culture of the moment, and how they perceive and project themselves through clothes and fashion.

The do-it-yourself spirit of contemporary fashion confirms that "consumers are no longer perceived as 'cultural dopes' or 'fashion victims' who imitate fashion leaders but as people selecting styles on the basis of their perceptions of their own identities and lifestyles. The consumer is expected to 'construct' an individualized appearance for a variety of options" (Crane 2000: 15). Fashion is presented as a choice, rather than a mandate, and may not automatically recall class, political and environmental beliefs, or affiliations. In this spirit, we believe in agency and the creative impulse, while also recognizing that brands copy and co-opt people's aesthetic choices. Self-individualizing appearances have become the norm, thanks to social media. Kawamura describes it like this: "in postmodern cultures, consumption is conceptualized as a form of role playing, as consumers seek to project conceptions of identity that are continually evolving" (2006: 99). In this vein, those who broadcast their reconstruction and co-optation of looks via social media platforms instantly share their personal aesthetic choices with a wider community than ever before. Appropriating and broadcasting are no doubt fueled by the rapidity with which the latest fashions may be accessed, rather than waiting for fashion magazines to consecrate and publicize them, as was the practice in the past.

**Conceptualizing Fashion in Twentieth-Century Spain**

Over the course of the twentieth century, Spain's aristocracy reluctantly took a backseat to rapid industrialization driven by bourgeois, and later, middle-class values and interests, eventually pivoting toward democracy, mass culture, and a market economy. As regards fashion, the works of painters such as Raimundo Madrazo, Joaquín Sorolla, Santiago Rusiñol, and Ignacio Zuloaga provide numerous examples of turn-of-the-century dress. Fashion in early twentieth-century Spain can also be traced through popular magazines such as *El Correo de las Damas*, *La Ilustración Española y Americana*, and *Blanco y Negro*. What we see in these depictions are men and women sporting the latest fashionable European styles. It is worthy of note that Sorolla and Zuloaga were also very interested in regional dress, and were often commissioned to paint it.

Capitalizing on this growing Spanish bourgeoisie, French fashion designer Jeanne Marie Charlotte Beckers (also known as "Paquin"), a pioneer in the
business of modern fashion, opened an atelier in Madrid in 1914, bringing the city into an international circuit of fashion. A few years later, a modern multistory department store, Almacenes Madrid-Paris, would be purposely built on Madrid's main thoroughfare, Gran Vía, 32. Taken together, magazines, paintings, and these new forms of consumption illustrate the way people came into contact with fashion and how it was at the center of their experience of modernity.

Industrialization meant the serialized and large-scale manufacture of products for a growing consumer base—something that did not escape the critical eye of intellectuals and artists. Among the many writing about fashion in the early twentieth century, Salvador Dali (1904-89) offers a remarkable example of a cutting-edge artist theorizing on the spirit of his time and the mechanisms that made it move. For Dali, the mass market represented the meaning of modernity and perhaps the destiny of art. Reaching that market was the goal of his collaborations with avant-garde artist and designer Elsa Schiaparelli (1890-1973). In the 1930s, Schiaparelli transformed Dali’s art into wearable garments, so that his famous lobster migrated from the telephone to become a print on a dinner dress. Reflecting on the intersection of everyday life, modernity, and art, Dali published a number of articles in favor of a popular and cosmopolitan “anti-art” based on technology and expressed in industrial buildings, cars, and planes—what today we would call industrial design.

Dali captured the essence of the modern world as he envisioned it when he wrote in L’Amic de las Arts in 1928: “Modernity is not signified by Sónia Delaunay’s hand-painted fabrics, nor Fritz Lang’s Metropolis. It means: a hockey sweater made by an unknown English factory, it means a funny movie, also anonymous, of racy reputation” (1928: 279). Aside from rebuffing “high” avant-garde art such as the geometric designs of Delaunay or the dystopian sensibility of Metropolis, what is interesting about this quote is the interaction of the concepts of style, mass culture, and anonymity that conflate different layers of experience into one, that of modernity. Groundbreaking films or paintings are no more indicative of the modern condition than a mass-produced garment or a titillating movie. The anonymous masses who find and define their aesthetic identity in a brandless, mass-produced sports sweater remain doubly anonymous in a dark movie theater watching risqué comedies that have stilled the radical elements of avant-garde art in order to produce en masse and distribute imaginary happiness.

Anonymity and standardization were not negative in Dali’s view. Similar to what Margarita Rivière would say decades later, Dali identified the potential of
technology as a social equalizer, both in the cheap mass production of textiles and in film. Inexpensive clothes and comedy films—fashion and entertainment—made possible by technology and the advent of a mass-market economy were, in Dali’s estimation, the gateway to the democratic experience of modernity. In the case of Spain, this would not begin to materialize until the long transition to democracy from the 1960s on into the 1980s.

At the end of the 1920s, however, Dali’s ideas clashed with those of philosopher José Ortega y Gasset (1883–1955), who doubled down on the concept of fashion as an expression of class distinction and privilege: “Elegant clothing always communicates latent social power, which is expressed in the soberest way possible. Elegance is the simplest modulation of a given fashion that seeks to express, in turn, the well-being of the upper social circles” (1928:228). Unwittingly perhaps, Dali represents one side of the enduring rift between those who see the potential for creativity, equality, and enjoyment in the fashion industry and those who, like Ortega y Gasset, understand fashion as simply reflecting social status and conformity.

**From Balenciaga to Prêt-à-Porter**

In thinking about Spanish fashion design in the early twentieth century, two names immediately come to mind: Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo (1871–1949) and Cristóbal Balenciaga (1895–1972). Fortuny was a creator in the widest sense. He envisioned innovations in textiles, clothing, wallpaper, and lighting, and his inventions left their mark on fashion, opera, architecture, and photography. His best-known design is the Delphos gown, a form-fitting, pleated silk dress. A resident of Venice for most of his life, Fortuny found inspiration in the Mediterranean cultures of the past. His Knossos scarf and the fabric prints he designed are good examples of how Muslim and ancient Greek material cultures came together in modern fashion.

Balenciaga, too, developed a successful career outside of Spain. The Basque couturier, already well established in San Sebastián, Madrid, and Barcelona, moved abroad to avoid the Spanish Civil War (1936–39), settling in Paris, where in 1937 he opened an atelier. In the 1950s and 1960s, Balenciaga produced his best-known works, becoming Europe’s most sought-after couturier and the teacher of several generations of fashion designers. For photographer Cecil Beaton, reflecting on the designer’s relationship to Cubism via his use of geometric shapes and his turn to abstraction, “Balenciaga was fashion’s
Picasso" (Beaton 1954: 259 in Bowles 2010: 5). His designs, at once austere and fanciful, were sometimes inspired by Spanish culture (especially the fine arts, referencing El Greco, Goya, Velázquez, Zurbarán, Tápies, and others) as well as Catholic ritual garments, liturgical vestments, clerical dress, and other Catholic accoutrements as Balenciaga was a deeply religious man, monastically devoted to his work (Bowles 2010: 6). His designs are fundamentally structural, reinterpreting chasubles and robes and even the nun's wimple. Volumes and forms are purposely enhanced and, at the same time, protect the body's true form. For instance, he adopted "the colorful mantón de Manila, the embroidered shawl worn by flamenco dancers, which in his hands became a sinuous evening gown that wraps the body as the dancer's shawl envelops her" (Bowles 2010: 5). The advent of prêt-à-porter convinced Balenciaga that the era of couture as he understood it was over, leading him to close his atelier in 1971, shortly before his death.23 His work, nevertheless, remains the benchmark of top craft.24

Putting aside these two remarkable examples, Spanish couture began to reorganize in Barcelona soon after the Spanish Civil War despite the destruction of the industry, massive poverty, rationing, ideological repression, and extreme Catholicism. Top couturiers, taking inspiration from the French Chambre Syndicale de la Couture Parisienne, launched the Cooperativa de alta costura in 1940.25 Those involved included Pedro Rodriguez, Manuel Pertegaz, Asunción Bastida, Santa Eulalia, and Dique Flotante. They would later be joined by, among others, Pedro Rovira and Carmen Mir, and eventually Elio Berhanyer. Surviving records of the Cooperativa's earliest work are few, since to protect their designs they did not allow press coverage of their shows until well into the 1950s. One early record of such an event, however, is a 1949 No-Do that depicts one of the first public fashion shows by Spanish alta costura.26 On the patio of a bar in Barcelona's Poble Espanyol, smiling young women saunter down a catwalk while a formally dressed jazz band plays to a small, indifferent audience composed mostly of men (No-Do: 339).

As reflected in this No-Do, alta costura served the "leisure classes": the aristocracy, old bourgeoisie, and the new rich emerging from the postwar black market and the economic reorganization that benefited the winners of the Spanish Civil War. Rafael Abellá has documented the existence of luxury shops in Spanish cities during the 1940s and 1950s, postwar years known in popular parlance as los años del hambre "the hunger years" (1939–49) (1990: 30–43).27 These high-end shops sold products such as shirts, jewelry, suits, dresses, fur coats, and hats and were at the service of the powerful who were newly enriched by the autarchic and isolationist policies of the Franco regime.28
Not everything was couture, and many ways to acquire clothes at different market levels developed over the years. For the poor and the working class, there were *tiendas de confección*—bazaars that sold cheap, mass-produced clothes that fulfilled the functional needs of workers or farmers. *Tiendas de confección* sold mostly knits, including socks, underwear, working clothes, and wool garments. For special occasions, tailors and dressmakers made what was for most of their clients a single piece of formal attire, one that often lasted a lifetime. By 1954, rationing had been curtailed but low incomes, limited availability of commodities, and a do-it-yourself tradition, driven by need, meant that well into the 1960s many clothes worn in Spain were still made mostly by women at home, or, for the more fortunate, by tailors and dressmakers.

After the economic and social disaster of the autarky years of Franco's regime, the 1959 *Plan de Estabilización* freed the fashion industry from the strict controls that the Francoist government had hitherto imposed upon every sector of the economy. To attract tourism and foreign capital that would help save the Spanish economy—and, by extension, the regime—Franco's government invested in changing its international image. One way of promoting Spain and its textile and garment manufacturing industries abroad was to send Spanish *alta costura* designers to trade shows with the intention of breaking into international markets. Pasalodos has noted the massive promotion of Spanish *alta costura* at the 1958 World's Fair in Brussels, where Asuncion Bastida, Marbel, Pertegaz, Dique Flotante, Pedro Rodriguez, Vargas Ochagabia, and Santa Eulalia presented their designs (Pasalodos 2008: 30). Simultaneously hijacked and supported by Franco's regime, the Spanish fashion industry and *alta costura* designers became reliant on government support and favorable tax deals.

*Alta costura* became a mainstay of the fascist government's broader economic plan that, by heavily promoting Spain abroad, helped to soften the dictatorship's image. At the New York World's Fair in 1964, the Spanish pavilion prominently featured its fashion sector. Audiences were treated to fashion shows by leading designers such as Pedro Rodriguez, Manuel Pertegaz, and Asunción Bastida. Although traditional Spanish trades and customs were also highlighted, the pavilion flaunted an aesthetically au courant Spain, a country where world-class architecture, art, and design were produced and actively fostered (Rosendorf 2014: 81). Finally, the pavilion projected the impression, through *alta costura*, that Spain was a glamorous gathering place for celebrities and VIPs (2014: 81). Pieces like Richard Avedon's "In the Blaze of Spain" (1965) in *Harper's Bazaar* reinforced this image of Spain on an international scale. Wealthy tourists and
Hollywood celebrities could tour Spain’s historical sites and acquire the latest bespoke fashion made by *alta costura* masters.\textsuperscript{33} The reign of *alta costura*, however, was not destined to last. During the long transition to democracy, changes in the collective sensibility, the emergence of prêt-à-porter and a new generation of fashion designers eventually rendered *alta costura* unsustainable. Even during the military dictatorship, trends signaling its demise were clear. Rebellious youth culture, a modestly affluent and growing middle class, and a desire for democracy, together with the sexual revolution and women’s liberation movements, made couture’s ethos of exclusivity suddenly seem passé, even for those who could afford it.

Margarita Rivière developed these arguments in her book *La moda: ¿comunicación o incomunicación?* (1977). Her central argument was that the production and consumption of mass fashion was, in fact, a step toward a more egalitarian society. For Rivière, prêt-à-porter paradoxically became a tool of liberation from clothes that automatically associated the wearer with a particular class.\textsuperscript{34} The emergence of prêt-à-porter fashion constituted a puzzling success for capitalism in that it made the “irrational” act of buying unnecessary garments into an act of freedom from the visual markers of the class struggle that this economic system produced (1977: 25).\textsuperscript{35} Rivière was not denying uneven social and economic relations but, rather, indicating how fashion could protect people from class bias and hierarchies driven by exclusion. In Spain, ready-to-wear had more than just stylistic significance. For the aspirational Spanish middle class, ready-to-wear design was one way of reducing the gap between social classes inherited from Franco’s regime. Integrating modern design and the production of ready-to-wear garments was another step toward the general condition of equality needed for a democratic society.

Concomitant with the new collective sensibility of democratic equality was the spirit of embracing fun and joy through lifestyles and consumption. These outlooks contrasted with the Franco regime’s philosophy of compliance, submission to authority, sobriety, and saintly stoicism in the face of adversity and pain. After being buttoned-up for so long, many were ready for styles that embraced freedom and expansion. For many, this meant a form of biopolitical rupture and an effort to openly live new lives (Labrador 2017: 309). Unable to transform themselves in the shadow of the ready-to-wear tsunami and the modern democratic sensibilities of consumers, by 1978 most *alta costura* houses had closed.\textsuperscript{36}

While Franco’s government was investing in *alta costura*, a youth market driven by subcultures and their styles of dress emerged, forcing the fashion
industry into new ways of designing, producing, distributing, and selling clothes. It soon became clear to international couture brands that the rapidly changing mores of youth fashion could be a handsomely profitable industry. In Spain, youth confronted limited incomes, strict dress codes associated with class respectability, and a paucity of fashionable retail outlets. "Ye-yés," early adopters of international fashion in the 1960s, found it hard to come by clothing that identified them as part of this group, notwithstanding social pressure and condemnation from both the political right and left. Employing tailors and dressmakers was their only way to be à la mode. By the mid- to late 1970s, youth subcultures such as Mods, Rockers, Heavies, and Punks emerged, contributing to the aesthetic renewal that was consolidated during the 1980s with la Movida's popularization of fashion design. Some purchased clothes in London or Amsterdam, others crafted their own by altering clothing found at flea markets like el Rastro in Madrid, or down market department stores such as SEPU or SIMAGO. In the midst of these aesthetic, political, and social changes, the emerging fashion designers of the 1970s prepared new designs for a decade that promised freedom and experimentation for everyone.

Designers Adolfo Dominguez and Francis Montesinos opened stores in 1972 in Orense and Valencia, respectively. Jesús del Pozo inaugurated his Madrid atelier on Almirante Street in 1974, the same year that Manuel Piña bought his knit factory in Carabanchel for producing and selling his designs. Zara opened its first store in 1975, launching the behemoth of fast fashion that today is the Inditex group. Many more designers followed, including Antonio Alvarado, Andrés Andrea, Paco Casado, Alfredo Carral, Domingo Córdoba, Gaspar Esteve, Luciano Pineda, Pepe Rubio, Juan Rufete, Nacho Ruiz, Ágatha Ruiz de la Prada, and Ignacio Sierra. Later in the 1980s, Devota y Lomba, Violeta y Lucchino, Purificación García, and Sybilla, among others, emerged. Some, as we will see, built sizable brands with international recognition and sales. Others became fashion victims, falling prey to the ruthless economics of the industry or to la Movida's lifestyle of excess.

The main challenge for these designers was to produce clothes that responded to the new zeitgeist of the Transition. To design clothes that were "democratic," it was essential that the garments did not automatically recall class hierarchy or couture. In this way, Manuel Piña summarily stated his intention "to generate affects through design" (Figueras 2007: n.p.). Avoiding class conflict or reference to the dictatorial regime, fashion became a vehicle for new affects, like a sense of cosmopolitan modernity, as well as for new ways of engaging with Spanish cultural traditions. While it cannot be denied that distinction,
in Baudrillard's terms, continued to drive the new styles emerging during the
1970s, this emerging fashion was not rooted in the prescribed mores of the old
bourgeoisie, but in a search for novel structures of taste and meaning.

In this search, designers saw the world and everything in it as inspiration,
including traditional Spanish cultural forms formerly appropriated by Franco's
regime. These designers' cutting-edge clientele dismissed anything considered
passed, boring, or bourgeois. And so, fashion designers, as with their fellow
travelers of la Movida, moved away from any connection to either the Franco
regime or its political opposition, choosing instead to craft a completely distinctive
image for the nascent democratic state. The new socialist government and the
elites adopted the sleek aesthetic proposed by these designers. Once again, the
state and the mass media relied on fashion to redraw the country's international
image. As Hamilton Stapell has commented, "the promotion of the colorful,
and at times chaotic, cultural movement proved to be an essential piece in the
development of a new regional sense of place based on inclusion and greater
cultural participation" (2007: 178). What began as a peripheral and scrappy
fashion experiment (as exemplified in some early films of Pedro Almodóvar)
had become culturally central. This image was also important to consumers. A
1989 study by the Ministry of Industry and Energy's Center for the Promotion
of Design and Fashion studied the buying habits of Spaniards from 1985 to 1989.
It found that for modern Spanish consumers, "fashion epitomizes the new face
of the country, and is bought for reasons of national pride—it is recognized as
fully able to compete with that of other European countries" (Coad 1990: 76).
Echoing Rivière's point, fashion in the 1980s was communication, the medium
to project Spain's new identity into the world. For Spanish citizens, fashion was
an international language they could now speak.

Fashion Acumen, Business Models, and
International Success

The 1990s saw the consolidation (and the collapse) of designer labels and a shift in
the industry model. Emma Dent Coad's Spanish Design and Architecture (1990)
narrates how, on the cusp of the new decade, things were already beginning to
change:

The tidal wave of media attention given to the fashion designers of La Movida has
now been transferred to the more serious and established designers. The Spanish
strengths in tailoring, colour and the production of high-quality, interesting and
wearable clothes have been encouraged by the government, and fashion clothing
has become a flourishing and virile industry. (Coad 1990: 18–19)43

She mentions designers such as Pedro del Hierro, Manuel Piña, Jesús del Pozo,
and Ágatha Ruiz de la Prada. They symbolize a fresh type of successful fashion
figure that is part designer, and part entrepreneur seeking access to international
markets.

Designer Ágatha Ruiz de la Prada exemplifies this trend. During the 1980s,
she had become known for her eccentric, creative, and colorful designs for a
niche clientele. But by the 1990s, she was selling her designs for the masses at El
Corte Inglés, Spain’s largest department store. Thus, from her roots as a designer
whose main concerns were quirkiness and pushing limits, she evolved into an
entrepreneur focused on commercial potential (Plaza 2000: 153). A survivor of
the creative ebullience of early 1980s Spain, Ágatha Ruiz de la Prada exemplifies
the 1990s turn toward commerce. Taking this one step further, many fashion
design firms expanded in the mid-1990s into adjacent market sectors such
as perfumes and housewares. In this manner, Ágatha Ruiz de la Prada began
selling dinnerware and children’s clothing at El Corte Inglés, and her product
line now ranges from jewelry to notebooks to curtains to towels. With a retail
presence in 150 countries, Ruiz de la Prada personifies a fashion business model
that used couture and design as a launching pad for a much wider vision of
success. By embracing a diversified concept of fashion that includes affordable
but whimsical clothing design as well as household objects and jewelry, Ruiz de
la Prada has achieved international success.44

That the horizons for Spanish fashion were shifting from domestic to
international from the 1990s into the 2000s is reflected in other ways as well.
Since the mid-1980s, for example, promotional efforts such as the Pasarela
Cibeles and Salón Gaudi (sponsored by the Ministry of Industry) sought to put
Madrid and Barcelona on the exclusive map of fashion capitals.45 Large fashion
shows brought the cities into the circuit of fashion weeks, where local design was
displayed to international buyers and media.46 The impetus for the contemporary
international fashion show grew out of the need to create mass media hype and
spectacle to enhance brand recognition that, in turn, would sell lower-priced but
more profitable accessories.

In parallel to the advent of the international fashion show, Spanish ready-to-
wear brands were developing business models that relied not on groundbreaking
styles debuted on the catwalks but rather, on their ability to mass-produce top
designers’ concepts at better price points. These brands include Zara (Galician

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Inditex group (1975–present); Barcelona-based Mango (1984–present); Pronovias (whose claim to fame is being the first company to create ready-to-wear wedding dresses from the 1960s onward); and Cortefiel and Loewe (brands that emerged in the late twentieth century). Though it might be tempting to dismiss some of these brands as being machines for plagiarism or bargain prices, the truth is more complex. Stealing or replicating styles, after all, is a centuries-old practice in the fashion business as well as on the street. It is, furthermore, only one of many elements contributing to the success of these labels, whose sophisticated operations have, at their core: an acute sense of the market; an agile command of the supply chain; technical mastery of the production process, which includes designing, pattern-making, cutting, and sewing; and finally, robust distribution networks and a flexible but reliable system of logistics. To respond quickly to changes on the street, all of these elements are necessary. Not unlike IKEA, these companies have developed a unique product delivery system that hits the sweet spot of design and price point so valued by contemporary consumers.

Despite their success, we do not find the global presence of these brands to be automatically positive. That Spanish firms have conquered large segments of the market both locally and globally generates multiple concerns. For example, there is a legitimate debate over ethical and sustainable practices in the manufacture of massive quantities of clothing that are not designed to last. Others, meanwhile, are more concerned with the fashion industry itself. Sociologist and fashion critic Pedro Mansilla, for instance, has lamented that large chains like Zara and Mango have hindered smaller designers in Spain who cannot compete (Pareja 2012: n.p.). We would like to add two other issues that dampen the prospects of smaller ateliers: the ubiquitous presence of large retailer storefronts, and consumers’ need to wear recognizable new trends, which, as Margarita Rivière proposed, offer both a sense of differentiation and conformity. Finally, like Mansilla, we worry that the dominant business model of the day is stifling a generation of local creative agents and designers, suffocated by the incredible speed, and low cost, at which large retailers are able to reinterpret designs for a mass market.

*Más Tela Que Cortar* (More Cloth to Cut)

If Dalí’s sense of modernity was mass-produced sport clothing and risqué films in a movie theater, ours is fast fashion and on-demand television series that may be streamed on multiple platforms through portable devices while broadcasting
Fashion and mass media have experienced momentous changes since the 1990s, some of which we have briefly explored in this introduction. However, there remains much research to be done on fashion in Spain. For this reason, in the following section, we offer some preliminary ideas on possible areas of investigation for future scholars. Consider these next paragraphs as invitations to study fashion as a privileged site for understanding contemporary culture.

Fashion-focused television, for one, is increasingly popular in the early twenty-first century. Television programs such as *Maestros de la costura* demonstrate that stories about producing fashion attract sizable audiences. With judges like designers Alejandro Gómez Palomo, creative director of Palomo Spain, María Escoté, and Lorenzo Caprile, the show connects accomplished designers with aspiring ones, affirming the dream that anyone can become a famous designer if given the chance. The virtual interaction between mass media and fashion has reached a point in which spectators are encouraged to judge fashion made for their visual consumption without experiencing its physical characteristics. On the one hand, these shows reveal and celebrate the labor that was once largely invisible. Made-for-TV clothing becomes Pecorari’s epistemological fashion object, teaching us about artisanal processes and practices. On the other hand, the program encourages spectators to imagine themselves as part of the team—whether judging the clothing or showing appreciation for the creativity, craftsmanship, and execution of the designer’s work. The program also encourages audiences to participate through social media outlets like Twitter by commenting, voting, and even sharing their own designs with their community of users. Echoing Labanyi’s idea that cultural texts are “things that do things”: that is, things that have the capacity to affect us (2010: 233), these media products show how clothing shapes identity, both by wearing it and by participating virtually as it is made, discussed, and judged.

To further illustrate Labanyi’s point, mass media has reported on the popularity of do-it-yourself initiatives such as the increase in sewing machine purchases. Perhaps due to the 2008 financial crisis, rediscovered practices were echoed by highly stylized television adaptations of novels like *The Time in Between (El tiempo entre costuras)* by María Dueñas (2009); (Antena 3, 2013–14) that inspired viewers to innovate and still be fashionable in times of tighter budgets. The repercussions of such series on many internet platforms shows once again that “fashion [television] programming is increasingly reliant on fashion to attract viewers and as such, magazine articles, internet blogs and websites contribute to promoting onscreen fashion outside of the text.”
(Warner 2014: 13–14). The same is true of television series such as *Velvet/Velvet Colección* (Antena 3, 2014–19), which has also become successful on Netflix. Sanz and Alekseeva have noted that both series evoke nostalgia for a bygone era while simultaneously providing space for audiences to “safely articulate their urban identity among the city’s masses, which have grown more indistinct in the context of fashion’s relative democratization through the model of prêt-à-porter,” noting that the fictitious Velvet galleries are located at Gran Vía, 34, the address of a Zara store today (2006: 178).

We would be remiss if we did not emphasize the relevance of social media to the fashion industry. The advent of social media has not only furthered the internationalization of fashion by providing global access to personal or local looks. It has also forced fashion designers to market styles on multiple platforms and appeal to “influencers” who wield significant branding power and who are able to direct young consumers’ purchasing power. New research is emerging on this topic. For instance, Mañas-Viniegra, Veloso, and Cuesta (2019) track and analyze the interactions of users in Spain and Portugal with fashion brands on the social network Instagram, looking particularly at body positivity and self-esteem. Their work reveals the power of social media to shape identities and to foster discussion of important social issues. Other forms of serialized digital spoken-word programs, such as podcasts, are increasingly popular. For instance, *Un podcast de moda* (housed at S Moda in the newspaper El País since 2018) addresses fashion in Spain and worldwide. This podcast has 4,071 followers on Instagram (June 2020), thereby creating a community of people who learn about and discuss fashion online.

Thinking about fashion in recent years vis-à-vis community and culture, we wonder about the impact of the 2008 financial crisis on fashion. More specifically, what did the anti-austerity 15-M *Indignados* movement in 2011 teach us about street fashion in Spain? Seen from the early 2020s, the fact that leaders of Podemos, the party that emerged from those protests, are part of a coalition government is nothing short of astonishing. One of its leaders, Vice President Pablo Iglesias, is notorious for his ponytail, his disheveled look, and his refusal to wear a suit and tie. Is Iglesias’ sartorial choice a populist move rejecting the uniform of sleek professional politicians and bureaucrats, or rather the hopeless style of the political science university professor that he is?

Finally, we cannot avoid wondering what changes the 2020 coronavirus pandemic will bring to markets and fashion. Are face masks destined to become just another profitable accessory? Will remote work spell the end of business attire or encourage people to dress up more when they have the chance? Will
we spend more on a few key pieces now that some of us don't have to go to the office every day or will we make do with what we have? Will home confinement encourage nesting and the concomitant comfy clothes or will it push us to retake the streets with panache? Will lockdowns and limits in stores and factories mean the end of the fashion industry as we know it? Are digital fashion weeks here to stay? How will Computer-Generated Imagery affect the modeling profession? In a time of upheaval as 2020 seems to be, what will the new fashions say about our aspirations, values, identities, or sense of belonging? These are all questions that scholars will have to answer in the future. For the moment, fashion and its designers are quickly adapting, as they have always done. In the Spanish context, Basque designer Eder Aurre, for instance, has pivoted to designing face masks and also wedding outfits with matching face coverings, and just as with the nature of fashion, time will tell what styles remain and what other adaptations and alterations might be made in the Spanish fashion context.

Book Organization

This volume is not organized in chronological order, but instead, its framework mirrors the cyclical nature of fashion. Fashion's ideas and material objects go in and out of style with each new season, and are revived, appropriated, adapted, and redeployed at different moments. Our approach highlights themes that allow us to see these recurrent threads. We write with the knowledge that to detail the recent history of fashion in Spain is a momentous task, as many aspects of this contemporary period have yet to be studied and understood.

The first section, Identity: Politics and Futures, deals with material objects as diverse as the mantilla and comic books. In “Accessorizing the Nation: Mantillas, Cultural Identity, and Modern Spain,” Inés Corujo-Martín analyzes how the mantilla, the garment most closely associated in the collective imaginary with traditional Spanish femininity, has become a contradictory signifier of both Catholic womanhood and seduction. Corujo-Martín’s cultural history demonstrates how the mantilla has been employed for political purposes. Alberto Villamandos' chapter contribution, “Bodies of the Future: Comics, Fashion, and 1980s Movida,” shows how at the end of Franco’s regime, comics, music (punk, rock, pop), and, of course, the latest fashions intersect to create a narrative of social change. Villamandos argues that comics chronicle the fashion choices and social changes during this transitional period by presenting the cacophony of styles competing to make the scene.
The second section is titled *Picturing Femininity: Film and Photography*. In “Women, Fashion, and the Spanish Civil War: From the Fashion Parade to the Victory Parade,” Kathleen M. Vernon explains the importance of fashion on the front lines of different political affiliations. In particular, she details the ambiguous relationship that the Falangist women’s organization known as *Sección Femenina* had with fashion. While one role assigned to this organization was recovering and preserving local cultures, including traditional dress, its focus on fashion paradoxically mirrored the advances in consumer culture that the Franco regime desperately needed to survive. Olga Sendra Ferrer’s chapter, “From Market to Feminism: Fashion Photography during the Franco Dictatorship,” explores how a group of avant-garde photographers inserted their artistic and political views into their commercial fashion photoshoots by calling attention to the contradictions of class, high fashion, and the authoritarian regime. She highlights women photographers who represented the female body differently from their male counterparts.

The third section, *Designing Fashion Stars: Film and Music*, begins with “Fashioning Spanish Film Stars: Balenciaga and Conchita Montenegro,” which unveils the personal and professional relations between Cristóbal Balenciaga and 1940s film star Conchita Montenegro. Jorge Pérez argues that Montenegro occupies a special place in Balenciaga’s professional career, because Montenegro allowed Balenciaga to experiment with the Spanish touches that would make his designs famous. In “Rosalía and the Rise of Poligonera Chic,” Mary Kate Donovan presents an early reflection of the musical phenomenon of Rosalia by critically examining the role of urban fashion, class, and cultural appropriation in this artist’s ascent to global stardom. In this contribution, Donovan evaluates how trends take on varying meanings depending on context.

The fourth section, *Museums: From Closets to the Cloud*, brings this collection to a close to reflect on the process of collecting and curating fashion. “The Museo del Traje’s Research on Spanish Prêt-à-Porter” explains the methodological evolution of what is now a museum devoted exclusively to fashion, but grew out of ethnographic collecting. Juan Gutiérrez, a museum curator at the Museo del Traje, details what it means to collect, conserve, and research fashion when we see it both as a social and cultural phenomenon. Nicholas Wolters discusses a different type of museum in “Curating Catalan Cultural Identity through Dress in the Virtual Fashion Museum of Catalonia,” which explores the digital environment for preserving and protecting cultural and material heritage. Wolters reveals the ways in which one museum uses twenty-first-century digital tools to fulfill its mission of both preservation and dissemination to the widest possible audience.
To conclude this introduction, we return to Margarita Rivière, who offered an explanation for the growing interest in fashion reflected in mass media, scholarship, and in institutions such as museums. She stated in 1971 that the key to truly grasping fashion is "to think of fashion as a language still in need of translation" (1971: 18). Her words still ring true today, as the chapters in this volume continue to decode the ever-evolving language of fashion in the context of multifaceted communities and identities in Spain.

Notes

1 For the sake of clarity, we use the term "couture" to refer to any fashion that is original, hand finished, and bespoke. "Haute couture" will be reserved for work by members of the Chambre Syndicale de la Couture Parisienne. Similarly, "alta costura" will be used for designs by those who joined the Cooperativa de alta costura. As one may do with Champagne, Cava, Crémant, or Prosecco we do not imply any form of value judgment by the use of these terms.

2 Alvarado would also design the clothes for Alaska in La bola de cristal, as well as for many movies by Almodóvar. For a visual history of his work, see www.antonioalvarado.es/.

3 The use of "Spain" in this collection implies the political and cultural diversity of this state.

4 For a great overview see Amalia Descalzo (2017).

5 See also Bass and Wunder (2017).

6 For work from one of the first antiquarian historians of dress, see, for instance, Puiggari (1886).

7 The maja and the petimbre are opposing figures. The maja is the eighteenth-century popular, urban, and plebeian female figure that progressively became the emblem of "authentic" feminine Spanishness (Zanardi 2016: 121; Haidt 2011: 45). The petimbre is an aspiring woman fascinated with novelties and luxuries from France. The origin of the term (and its male counterpart, the petimbre) derives from the French word petit-maitre, meaning "little men" (Haidt 2011: 254).

8 This is not to say that there are no publications or research on fashion in the Spanish state. For example, Datanxtil has been published consistently since 1998, by the Circuit de Museus Textils i de Moda a Catalunya. España de moda (2003) is an example of interdisciplinary work that sums up biographies, interviews, and history to provide a general sense of the industry. The Museo del Traje has reinitiated the publication Indumenta. Published from 2004 to 2006, Indumenta was re-launched in 2020 to commemorate the Museum’s fifteenth anniversary. In addition, the first Col-loqui d’Investigadores en Textil i Moda (Colloquium
for Textile and Fashion Researchers) took place in 2017, and the conference proceedings include work by close to seventy attendees on a variety of fashion "moments" in Spain. The work of Eduardo Villena Alarcón provides a quantified indicator of the increasing interest in studying fashion in Spain in recent years, with a study titled "Production of Knowledge in Doctoral Theses on Fashion in Spain" (2019), which examines eighty-two dissertations from 1994 to 2018 produced at twenty-nine Spanish universities. The study also details which Spanish universities offer studies in all aspects of the fashion industry, and demonstrates an increase in fashion studies from 2014–19 (219–20). This bodes well for the field.

9 Since then, other fashion-focused methodologies have emerged, such as The Dress Detective by Ingrid Mida and Alexandra Kim (2015).

10 For more on this, see Baudrillard (1993) or Bourdieu (1995).

11 For further discussion see Finkelstein (1996).

12 “La mujer se hace esclava del figurín y de la modista, cifrando su bienestar en la elegancia y en la riqueza del traje, y en que la casa esté lujosamente amueblada.”

13 “Durante mucho tiempo no ha tenido la mujer más campo que la moda para emplear su fantasía.”

14 In The Political Unconscious (1981), Jameson recommends that we always “historicate,” that is, that we concern ourselves both with the object of analysis (in his case, literary texts) and the cultural framework that provides its meaning.

15 *Triunfo* was a cultural and political magazine published in Spain between 1946 and 1982. It published pieces by leading public intellectuals on both national and international topics, achieving a wide readership by the mid-1960s. *Triunfo* became one of the most influential sources for democratic ideals in opposition to Franco’s regime.

16 Miguel Trillo (b. 1953) systematically recorded images from Madrid’s urban tribes during the late 1970s and early 1980s in his fanzine Rockocó, a play on words which evokes the extravagance of the Baroque style “Rococo” and subverts the word by applying it to the rock and roll bands of *la Movida*, known for its excess as well. Even though the readership of this fanzine was naturally reduced and self-selective, Trillo’s pictures have become important archival material frequently reproduced in print media and exhibited in museums to illustrate the period.

17 Whether this is a form of “greenwashing” or not is a discussion for another time.

18 Before Madrid, Paquin had opened stores in London (1896), Buenos Aires (1912), and New York (1912).

19 The Almacenes Madrid-Paris was funded by French capital in 1923. By 1930 this upscale store folded due to lack of demand. Four years later, SEPU (Sociedad Española de Precios Unidos) opened in the same building. Today, this building is the flagship Primark storefront in Madrid.

20 Iconoclast Elsa Schiaparelli collaborated with Dalí to come up with now legendary pieces such as the ribbed skeleton dress, the lobster dress, the trompe
Fashioning Spain

...loebi tear dress, and a hat resembling an upside-down shoe. Visible zippers on dresses, fur boots, a necklace encrusted with insects, and the wrap dress are some of her iconic designs. Schiaparelli and Dalí were collaborating in the context of Parisian couture.

21 “Modernitat no vol pas dir teles pintades de Sónia Delaunay, no vol pas dir Metropolis de Fritz Lang. Vol dir: jersey de hockey d’anònima manufactura anglesa, vol dir pel·lícula de riure, també anònima, de reputades poca solta.”

22 “El traje elegante anuncia siempre un poderio social latente, el cual se expresa en la forma más sobria. Toda elegancia es modulación más simple de una moda dada, y la moda, a su vez, pretende expresar el bienestar de los círculos sociales superiores.” Ortega’s simplistic formulation of elegance and fashion is puzzling since in 1923 he had translated and published one of the earliest translations of Simmel’s work on fashion in la Revista de Occidente.

23 See Emilas (2017) and Balda (2020) for new evidence that suggests that Balenciaga was actually involved with Esparza in a ready-to-wear venture after he retired.

24 The House of Balenciaga still exists, and exhibits such as Balenciaga: Spanish Master from 2010–2011 at the Queen Sofia Spanish Institute in New York pay homage to his skill and versatility. Since 2011, the stunning Cristobal Balenciaga Museoa in his birthplace of Guetaria, a small coastal village not far from San Sebastián, is a testament to his life’s work, and was the first museum dedicated exclusively to a couturier.

25 The history of the Cooperativa de alta costura is yet to be written.

26 Noticiarios y Documentales (No-Do) were newsreels used by Franco’s regime as a propaganda tool. Their exhibition was mandatory before movie screenings until 1975. No-Do was produced between 1943 and 1981.

27 Author Carmen Martín Gaite provides a rich description of early practices of consumption and fashion in Usos amorosos de la posguerra española (1987).

28 For example, it was during the “hunger years” that the cultivation of flax in Galicia, which was used to weave linen for the whole of Spain, was halted when farmers had to turn their land over to food production due to Franco’s isolationist policies, which meant that an autochthonous clothing tradition and local industry dating back hundreds of years came to an end (Coad 1990: 74).

29 This liberalization would last only until 1965, when textile and garment production were subjected to new norms that basically protected the status quo of the industry by making it almost impossible to expand or open new factories given exaggerated government-mandated minimums on machinery, production, and reinvestment of profits. Five years of liberalization gave way to the stagnation of the sector. For more on this, see Buesa and Pires.

30 Until the 1970s, industries in Spain contributed a negotiated amount to finance the state. In order to join the European Economic Community and later the European Union, Spain had to reform its system to tax purchases and sales. See Comín (2012)
for a description of the tax system and Boletín Oficial del Estado (1962) for a sample of the agreements between Franco's government and the fashion industry.

The pavilion cost seven million dollars and hosted a mini-museum with masterpieces by Velázquez, El Greco, Picasso, and Miró, among other artists. It also boasted three restaurants and an auditorium. Extensive archival content, including images, of the Spanish Pavilion at the New York World's Fair collected by Bill Young may be found at http://nywf64.com/spain01.shtml.

Pertegaz and Herrera y Ollero would eventually sell their lines in US department stores such as Lord & Taylor (Pasalodos 2008: 30).

See the work of Neal Rosendorf for the many ways in which US media represented Spain in uncritical ways that furthered the Franco government's objective of whitewashing its history. Seventeen (1963); Cosmopolitan (1964), Ladies' Home Journal (1965), and National Geographic (1965) are but a few examples of the depiction of this "new" Spain in US media (96–98).

See Arnold for a discussion of the mix of high and mass fashion through the prêt-à-porter revolution (2001: 83). Customers' freedom to mix vintage, designer and street-market finds results in the collapse of categories. See Lipovetsky for an explanation of how the middle-class market, and the desire to be fashionable, brought fashion to the streets at an affordable price (1994: 90).

Rivière explains how the struggle against the exclusivity of elites has been waged since the Middle Ages around access to clothing that would not reinforce social class (1977: 16, 44). During the 1970s and 1980s, some fashions such as punk and grunge erased adapters' class distinctions.

Asunción Bastida closed in 1970, the same year in which Dique Flotante moved to producing only prêt-à-porter; Pertegaz closed his Madrid atelier in 1975 and his Barcelona one in 1978, the same year that Pedro Rodríguez, Pedro Rovira and Santa Eulalia also closed.

The term ye-ye, also used in France, Portugal, and Italy to refer to 1960s pop music and fashion, comes from the Beatles chorus "She loves you, yeah, yeah. yeah." In Spain, it often refers to the song "La chica Ye Ye" by Concha Velasco, 1965. For more on early ye-ye fashion adopters see Dueñas (1965).

La Movida was an avant-garde, experimental, and underground cultural movement that, originally known as la nueva ala [new wave] came to dominate the late 1970s and 1980s and ushered Madrid into modernity.

La Sociedad Española de Precios Únicos (SEPU) was a popular department store in Spain founded by Swiss immigrants in 1934. SIMAGO was a chain of popular bazaars founded in 1960 by a group of Spanish and Cuban impresarios fleeing the Cuban revolution. For more on the history of department stores in Spain see Arribas and Toboso Sánchez.

Founded by Galician entrepreneur Amancio Ortega, Inditex is the world's largest fashion group, consisting of eight brands: Zara, Zara Home, Massimo Dutti,
Bershka, Oysho, Pull and Bear, Stradivarius and Uterqüe. Operating 75,000 stores worldwide, the success of the Inditex brands has made Ortega one of the richest people in the world (Forbes).

These designers (in addition to already established Toni Miró, Francis Montesinos, Manuel Piña and Jesús del Pozo) presented lineups in "Vogue," a contemporary Spanish fashion show that took place at the Museo Español de Arte Contemporáneo in spring 1981. Today’s Museo del Traje is at the site of the former MEAC, which became the Reina Sofía Museum.

"Crear emociones por medio del diseño."

Dent Coad’s survey was the most comprehensive of available in 1990.

While there remain a few ateliers sustained by a small, faithful clientele, a strategy embracing growth and diversification seems now to be the most likely path to success. For more on Ruiz de la Prada’s international success and her use of e-commerce see González Litman (2018).

This fashion show is now known as the Mercedes Benz Fashion Week Madrid. The name change is an interesting twist. Switching the name from a local monument (Cibeles) recognizable to national audiences to an international upmarket car brand (Mercedes Benz) signals both a change of audience and the acceptance of the hierarchy of fashion shows. Madrid’s fashion week is a franchise in an international series of fashion weeks sponsored by the German car brand (Miami, Istanbul, Mexico, Russia, Australia, Berlin). The name change also calls attention to the fact that haute couture is often run at a financial loss by labels that only make profit on their affordable and down-market products such as perfumes or purses. In order to maintain their brand status, fashion labels have accepted sponsorship by larger transnational companies.

For more on Madrid and Barcelona catwalks see “Pasarelas” in España de moda (2003): 384–393. For a historical overview of state policies to improve the competitiveness of the Spanish fashion industry see Sojo Calvo (2012).

This sector represents 2.8 percent of the Spanish GDP and 9 percent of its exports ("Informe" 2020). Locwe has been owned since 1996 by the global luxury conglomerate LMVH, though it continues to manufacture in Spain.

See Televising Restoration Spain. History and Fiction in Twenty-First Century Costume Dramas by David R. George, Jr. and Wan Sonya Tang (2018) for an in-depth reading of recent television programs that look into and re-present the past through fashion.

The show has run 2018–present (2020) and has a season planned for 2021 produced by Televisión Española in collaboration with Shine Iberia. It is a spinoff of The Great British Sewing Bee, distributed by BBCW, and is similar to the US-based fashion design show Project Runway. The audience share for Maestros de la costura is consistently high: 11.5 percent in 2018, 11.5 percent in 2019, and 13.9 percent in 2020 (Formula TV 2018, 2019, 2020).
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50 Within the airing of the first four episodes of the series, the website Amazon.es saw a 135 percent overall increase in the purchase of sewing machines; notably, the machines were sold during the hours in which people watched the series (Monday nights between 10:00 p.m. and midnight) proving that the show had a demonstrable effect on sewing machine sales: ("El tiempo [. . . ]" El Mundo). For more on this series and the novel, by María Dueñas, which inspired it, see “Reading Between the Seams in El tiempo entre costuras,” Garecs (2020).

51 For an early evaluation of the impact of the coronavirus pandemic on the fashion industry see the “Informe sector moda en España,” a report by the auditing and consulting firm Ernst and Young (2020).

52 Since Margarita Rivière, many journalists and scholars have continued to write about fashion. For instance, María Isabel Menéndez has researched the failure of Marie Claire and Cosmopolitan in their 1970s debut in Spain. Pilar Toboso Sánchez’s work on the history of department store El Corte Inglés is fundamental to understanding the evolution of department stores in Spain. Journalist Lola Gavarrón continues to explore fashion in her books, from its symbolic functions to women’s lingerie and unheralded characters such as María Rosa Salvador. Pedro Mansilla’s extensive work thinking about and promoting fashion should also be recognized. Pablo Pena’s blog offers remarkable pieces of research by a professor of design history.

53 “Considerar la moda como un lenguaje todavía por descodificar.”

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