

FREE TRADE-OFF: GLOBALIZATION'S IMPACT ON CANADIAN DRESS IDENTITY
FROM 1985-2010

by

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Author's Declaration

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Abstract

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Key words: Canada, Canadian identity, Canadian culture, dress identity, trade liberalization, globalization, fashion.

This research explores Canadian dress identity from 1985-2010 by analyzing editorial fashion images from *Flare* magazine. The study includes images produced before the implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1994 and after the lapse of all protectionist legislation in 2003. A content analysis using dichotomous attributes on a seven-point scale was used to code data. Images from *Vogue* magazine were also coded to provide a point of comparison.

Analysis shows that Canadian fashion design is more conservative, practical, and subtly sexy than designs from other countries. It also incorporates some militaristic elements and a whimsical sense of humour. Canadian brand names are less recognized than international fashion brands and they are not as widely distributed within Canada. Significantly, the number of Canadian designs featured in *Flare* declined over the study period.

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1. Introduction

The fashion design and apparel production sector used to be a thriving part of Canada's economy, producing clothing for both domestic consumption and export. As recently as the year 2000 Canadian production was \$7.9 billion, but the industry has been in decline since 2001 and is losing market share and jobs to foreign competitors (Wyman, "Trade", Bloskie). Since 1994, various international trade agreements have put pressure on the industry's ability to compete with imports from producers in countries with lower wage labour. Specifically, the substantial reduction of trade restrictions ushered in by the World Trade Organization's Agreement on Textiles and Clothing, which eliminated import quotas on countries such as Bangladesh, China, and India seems to be a factor in this recent decline (Wyman, "Trade").

Up until the 1960s, Canadians wore Canadian designed and produced apparel. Prior to trade liberalization, boutiques, retail chains, department stores, and mail order catalogues sold Canadian designed and produced apparel to consumers across the country. Most of these goods were designed by Canadian educated fashion professionals and produced by immigrant labour in the garment districts of Vancouver, Winnipeg, Toronto, and Montreal (see fig. 1). Well into the 1980s, most Canadians had articles of clothing in their closets that were manufactured domestically, but by the mid 2000s foreign imports had increased and consumption of domestically produced garments had dramatically decreased (Wyman, "Stretching"). Between 1991 and 2005 clothing imports increased from just over \$2 billion to over \$6 billion (see fig. 2) (Bloskie) and between 1992 and 2005, production for the domestic market had fallen from over \$5 billion to approximately \$3 billion (see fig. 3) (Wyman, "Stretching"). This means that

employment in the garment-manufacturing sector has rapidly decreased (see fig. 4) and a mass-market Canadian interpretation of fashion is no longer as widely available as it once was.

The challenges facing the Canadian garment industry are not simply a matter of academic pursuit for me as I have experienced some of the negative side effects of trade liberalization in my own career. Since 1997, I have been employed in the garment sector and during that time, I have witnessed manufacturers in Toronto's garment district close their doors or relocate to suburban areas with reduced workforces. I, along with many others, have had difficulty sourcing materials and supplies because small-to-medium sized local suppliers have gone out of business, leaving a gap in the marketplace that is impractically filled with large, off-shore vendors. I have seen retail locations previously held by local independent businesses become flagship stores for multinational retailers and perhaps more significantly, I have seen that Canadian consumers are becoming progressively more price resistant, more brand aware, and are choosing imported products that satisfy these needs over goods produced domestically.

With increased free trade in the 1990s and early 2000s, the clothing choices available to the average Canadian have become identical to the choices available to consumers in most developed countries due to the presence of multinational clothing retailer/manufacturers such as the Gap, H&M, and Zara, who design their products in America, Sweden, and Spain respectively. Many of these retailers offer products that are less expensive than those offered by local producers and as a result, they are taking over the Canadian retail landscape. In fact, the average price paid for a garment in

Canada has dropped 5.8% from 2001 to 2005 as a result of imported goods (Wyman, “Trade”). If we understand that individuals create their dress identity from the fashion choices available to them, it can be said that the average Canadian’s dress identity has been altered by globalized patterns of production and consumption and may no longer be distinct.

Many of these same forces have dramatically changed representations of fashion in Canadian magazines, which can arguably have an impact on clothing consumption and ultimately national dress identity. In the mid-1980s, Canadian designs were heavily featured in domestic fashion magazines; both in editorial photo shoots and advertising. By 2010, most advertisers were multinational corporations that originated outside of Canada and fewer Canadian designers were featured in editorial photo spreads. While it is true that the Canadian government has offered some protection to Canadian magazine publishers by way of subsidies (Vipond 147) and that Canadian Content regulations specify Canadians must be employed in the production of magazine images, there are no regulations that specify Canadian designs are to be represented *in* these images (Canada Magazine Fund 3-4).

It is often thought that Canadian dress identity is indiscernible from American dress identity because fashion magazines, costume historians, and the general public have not recognized the minor differences between them (Palmer 3-4). I suggest that Canadians dressed differently than their American counterparts prior to the implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994 because domestic designers were creating uniquely Canadian fashions (see fig.1). They were designing garments under their own name or for private label manufacturers

that would be consumed at shopping malls, department stores, independent boutiques, or through mail order catalogues by average Canadians from every corner of the country. These designers created a dress identity that considered the practicalities of winter weather with a shared sense of humour that is present in other areas of Canadian culture, such as fine art, film, music, literature, and television (Grace 10, Rasporich 51). While fashion journalists have often mentioned these traits, they have not identified them as being elements of a Canadian dress identity. Consequently, Canadian designers are not known for pioneering a Canadian look; rather they are known for producing high-quality, durable, and wearable clothing that does not take itself too seriously. Although this may be seen as a positive reputation for Canadian manufacturers, it shifts the focus from aesthetics to function and limits the cultural significance. Sadly, before Canadian fashion culture could gain a reputation for its unique offering (and before fashion could be acknowledged as *part of* Canadian culture), vast changes as a consequence of trade liberalization have left Canadian designers out in the cold.

As globalization homogenizes choice in many aspects of our lives, it seems that now is the time to investigate what this may mean for Canadian dress identity. The opportunity to understand this issue will become more challenging with the passage of time because fewer artifacts from this period will remain. In this research, I argue that a decline in the domestic design and production of garments and an increase in the consumption of foreign designed and produced fashions have altered the way Canadians dress. This change can be seen in how Canadian dress identity is represented in print media; specifically, editorial photo spreads in *Flare* magazine,

which had national distribution during the study period 1985-2010. For the Canadian designers and manufacturers who continue to produce clothing this study will shed light on the challenges they face and the importance of their work in differentiating Canadian fashion from other expressions of dress. Conclusions from this study may be important to those who design, produce, or market Canadian fashions.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Canadian Culture, Canadian Content

Well into the twentieth century, high culture and produced commodities such as fashion were separate phenomenon with distinct values and meanings. Cultural objects and institutions were not considered a part of the day-to-day commerce of nations, but rather they were held in trust by the privileged classes or by the government for those from more humble backgrounds. Indeed, early proponents of Canadian arts and culture, such as Vincent Massey, Arthur Surveyor, Norman A. M. MacKenzie, Georges-Henri Lévesque, and Hilda Neatby who conducted the *Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, & Sciences* of 1951, encouraged poets, painters, and actors to develop and perform work, but felt strongly that popular culture and material culture were lower, corrupting forms of expression to be avoided (Massey, *Royal* 5, 272, 295-297, 380-382 ,Edwardson 30-31). The advent of mass media, first in the form of publishing, then radio, film, and eventually television complicated this issue by making popular culture more accessible than high culture. Not only was it more accessible, but it was more profitable as mass media became the much-needed link between mass-production and mass-consumption in the form of advertising. Although the same can be said for many other industrialized countries, Canada's position was unique as much of the so-called corrupting influence came from across the border in the United States. The prospect of a new nation like Canada being able to conceive of an identity apart from commercial interests became increasingly dim with the passing decades and government intervention in cultural concerns became an inevitable side-effect.

In the 1930s, government intervention was meant to stem the tide of American periodicals across the border through tariffs and quotas (Edwardson 41-49). These magazines and pulp-fiction novels were objectionable not only for their content, which was very different from that being produced within Canada at the same time, but also because their popularity was creating competition for domestic publishers. What was once an issue of cultural taste started to become an issue of economic profitability (Vipond 35-36). Governments also came to see the important role that media would play in influencing public opinion in political matters and began to take an interest in shaping this mechanism of propaganda. The government created the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) in 1932, the National Film Board (NFB) in 1939, and eventually the Canada Council for the Arts in 1957. These agencies were tasked with funding uniquely Canadian projects, however with increasing amounts of tax dollars being used to fund arts and culture, justification moved beyond buoying a Canadian identity that could compete with the dominant American culture and turned to cultural industries that created tax revenue and employed Canadians. Figure 5 is a poster produced by the Canadian Department of Communication in 1981-82, which touts the benefits of the cultural industries, not so much for how they express Canadian identity but for how they contribute to the nation's economy. In other words, culture was a wise investment for the Canadian taxpayer. As of 2012 Canadian Heritage, the current government agency charged with the task of fostering Canadian culture, supports book publishing; magazine and newspaper publishing; radio, television, and digital media broadcasting; film and video production; and music production. They are also responsible for the performing arts and cultural spaces such as festivals, museums, and

galleries (Canadian Heritage). Fashion, while widely considered a part of culture by theorists such as Wilson (1-15), Veblen (111-124), Simmel (130-155), and Lipovetsky (3-12), is noticeably absent from this list.

2.2. The Marginalization of Fashion

Interestingly, the omission of fashion from Canadian Heritage protection and funding is not mentioned in the literature, so the reasons for it are unclear. However, an underlying gender bias may explain a lack of support for the industry both presently and historically, because as Elizabeth Wilson asserts, “fashion has been associated with all that is feminine” (48). According to Lou Taylor, the marginalization of fashion has also been widespread in academia where the subject is often ignored, or in some cases denigrated for its perceived associations with femininity (1-2). These two feminist theories are relevant to the Canadian context because as cultural policy was being framed in the twentieth century, the pursuit of the “Canadianization” of academic research was also underway. Many advocates of Canadian Studies shared a common philosophy with those who supported the cause of Canadian culture in political circles (Edwardson 183-184). It is plausible that these concomitant ideologies that canonized the list of culture industries worthy of government support excluded fashion because of its feminine associations. Canadian studies programs omitted fashion from their curriculum, and this no doubt had an influence on the future discourse that was to surround the politics of Canadian culture. Indeed, the belittling of the study of fashion persists in Canada as Alexandra Palmer indicates in *Fashion: A Canadian Perspective* when she writes, “[fashion] is an arena that is traditionally equated with frivolous feminine trifles” (Palmer 8).

Another possible reason for the exclusion of the fashion industry from Canadian Heritage protection and funding may be rooted in the Anglo-Canadian origins of the Canadian culture movement, which emphasized the superiority of cultural norms that came from Canada's British heritage (Massey, *On Being* 5, 15-27, 99-112). Contrary to this ideology, the twentieth century garment industry of Canada was dominated by immigrant entrepreneurs and labourers who created communities that preserved their native culture. In "Jewish Immigrants and the Garment Industry of Toronto, 1901-1931: A Study of Ethnic and Class Relations", Daniel Hiebert refers to this as an "ethnic enclave economy" (243) and states that the garment industry of Toronto was comprised of many Jewish-run businesses that employed recent Jewish immigrants to the city between 1910-1931 (243, 266). This created an economically interdependent community that was geographically concentrated in one area of the city (Hiebert, "Jewish Immigrants" 267). Religion, customs, and cultural norms could be preserved in this community and assimilation with the larger Anglo-Canadian culture was not necessary for economic and social success. This pattern was repeated with new waves of immigrants and Toronto's garment industry has been dominated at different times by Jewish, Italian (Steedman, *Angels* 21), Vietnamese, and Chinese entrepreneurs and workers (Hiebert, "Integrating Production" 212). This phenomenon is not unique to Toronto and has been documented in other garment producing cities such as Montreal (Hiebert, "Integrating Production" 207), New York (Green 170, Zhou 113), and Paris (Green 170). In the context of Montreal, the perceived superiority of Anglo culture may have played an even greater role in diminishing the importance of fashion to Canadian culture as the majority of garment workers were Francophone (Steedman, *Angels* 21-

22). It is likely that multiple prejudices based on gender and ethnicity have played a role in the exclusion of fashion from Canada's official list of cultural industries.

2.3. Dress Identity and the Nation State

2.3.1. British Roots

Canada's present day national identity is tied to its colonial past by necessity because Canada is still a part of the British Commonwealth. As we have already seen, Anglo-Canadian culture was central to those who desired to define Canadianness. Although this myopic perspective excluded the diverse voices that were part of Canada from its infancy, such as First Nations and Francophone points of view, a deeper exploration of the relationship between British culture and Canadian culture is needed.

In *The Englishness of English Dress*, Christopher Breward, Becky Conekin, and Caroline Cox use Nikolaus Pevsner's book *The Englishness of English Art* as a point of reference for their exploration of British identity as revealed through dress. Benedict Anderson's theory of *Imagined Communities* surfaces several times in this book and is relevant to any discussion of nationalism. Of the nation state, he says "It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson 6). To Anderson, the novel plays an important role in the "imagining" of nations as it allows the author to write a narrative that refers to "calendrical time and a familiar landscape" (32) that readers in the same place and time can relate to or "imagine" (25-32). He asserts that this similar construction of place and time is also present in newspapers and therefore, he credits mass-produced print media as being the key to the imagined community, not only for its content and structure but

because these commodities can be read by many individuals simultaneously, thus influencing multitudes with identical narratives (Anderson 32-36). In Anderson's theory, mechanisms of capitalism are integral to the distribution of these commodities and are responsible for increased notions of nationalism that began in the Enlightenment and continued into the twentieth century (38-46). If print media can have this effect, cannot other communicative objects? Carolyn Steedman poses this question in "Englishness, Clothes and Little Things" when she asks, "if the mass-produced commodity fiction that we now call the novel could play a part in bringing into being national identity and national consciousness, why do we not attribute the same effects to drinking out of a Staffordshire teacup, nor to ... accessories and items of clothing..." (30). In her essay "English-style Photography", Penny Martin echoes this sentiment in reference to print images by stating, "the ability to recognize and repeat the signs of national culture is fundamental to the process of identification and participation in an imagined community" (184).

2.3.2. Mass Culture

Certainly, the *Royal Commission's* definition of Canadian culture did not include popular culture such as novels and newspapers nor the mass-produced trappings of modern life in the way of teacups and sweaters. However, most Canadians include mass media and material objects in their characterization of Canadian identity. Perhaps in the absence of grand architecture and monuments that had universal meaning for all Canadians, furniture, automobiles, clothing, movies, and magazines eventually came to be seen as the constituent components of modern Canadian culture. In fact, some of these objects, such as hockey sticks and maple syrup, have come to symbolize

Canadianness and have been infused with meaning unrelated to their use value.

Douglas Coupland recognizes this link between material objects, culture, and national identity in his book of photo essays called *Souvenir of Canada* where collections of stereotypical Canadian goods are arranged in vignettes accompanied by text (see fig. 6). This phenomenon, as it relates to nations in general, is acknowledged by scholars in the field of cultural studies such as Stuart Hall, who says:

what the nation 'means' is an on-going project, it is under constant reconstruction. We come to know its meaning partly *through* its objects and artefacts which have been made to stand for and symbolize its essential values. Its meaning is constructed *within* not above or outside representation. It is through identifying with these representations that we come to be its 'subjects'- by 'subjecting' ourselves to its dominant meanings. (5)

This re-visioning of what constitutes culture brings together traditional media and everyday objects. Marshall McLuhan's theory that "the medium is the message" (7-21) from his influential book *Understanding Media: the Extensions of Man*, informed this perspective in the social theories that followed. Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright summarize McLuhan when they write, "a medium is any extension of ourselves through a technological form. Media are not just those technologies that convey information. They include cars, trains, lightbulbs, and even vocal and gestured or signed speech" (229). Given that clothing is widely thought to be communicative by theorists such as Barthes (25-32), Veblen (111-124), Barnard (1-39) and Davis (148-157), it surely can be included as part of the "media" that shapes our culture (McLuhan 119-122). As Wilson states:

Clothes are among the most fraught objects in the material world of things, since they are so closely involved with the human body and the human life cycle. They are objects, but they are also images. They communicate more subtly than most objects and commodities, precisely because of that intimate relationship to our bodies and our selves, so that we speak (however loosely) of both a 'language' and a 'psychology' of dress. (vii)

Understanding the cultural significance of fashion objects is difficult, however neglecting the study of fashion is ignoring the most profound relationship that exists between people and communicative mass-produced objects.

2.3.3. Defining Britishness, Defining Canadianness

The struggle for national dress identity is not unique to Canada. British designers have also been frustrated by a lack of recognition for local design and the preference of many consumers for French fashion. In his autobiography Norman Hartnell recounts, "I suffered from the unforgivable disadvantage of being English in England" (Hartnell 14). The lack of respect that fashion received as an art, a form of media, and as an industry was highlighted by Alison Settle in 1945 at a time when French fashion dominance was vulnerable and people in both Britain and the United States desired to assume supremacy. She writes:

Success cannot come to English fashions, so long as men of the country treat fashion as being essentially frivolous and even laughable...Only when fashion trends, colours and the whole philosophy of clothes is talked about- as films, pictures or music are discussed- can the textile trades of Britain regain their merited superiority in the eyes of the world. (qtd. in de la Haye 151)

However, despite these statements to the contrary, British dress *has* a recognized identity, although it seems to be more clearly defined outside of Britain than within it. Brands such as Mulberry, Aquascutum, and Burberry are popular in North America and Asia (Goodrum 18) and seem to be trading on their historic associations with the colonial power of the British Empire and the hierarchical class structure of traditional England. In other words, these companies are perpetuating an iconic notion of Britain to those distanced with the realities of being British. This version of Britishness ignores the irreverence and eccentricity of street style that has long been a hallmark of British culture and dress (Goodrum 17-18). Indeed, punk style is just as British as a Liberty print and designers such as Vivienne Westwood and Alexander McQueen have successfully incorporated British historicism with modern cynicism and non-conformism (see fig. 7). This duality was summed up by Martin when she posits, “Whereas the culture of late capitalism makes it necessary for fashion constantly to attach itself to new discourses in order to inspire identification, Englishness relies upon its apparent continuity with its past for meaning” (186).

2.3.4. A Northern Nation

Breward, Conekin, and Cox’s use of Pevsner as a starting point leads to an examination of *On the Art of Being Canadian* by Sherrill Grace, which gives insight into Canadian national identity as expressed in fine art. She identifies three subjects from which Canadian art has drawn much of its inspiration; the North, War, and Iconic Figures. The presence, or absence, of these themes in fashion may shed light on the relationship between art, fashion, and national identity. Grace states, “that people tend to understand themselves, not only in relation to the actual world around them, but also

(and perhaps more profoundly) through the artfully constructed world of an imagined national iconography” (16). It should also be considered that much of the art discussed in Grace’s book was likely made possible through government funding through the Canada Council for the Arts, Canadian Heritage, the National Film Board, and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

Cognizant of the central role that Canada’s most famous landscape painters, the Group of Seven, have played in definitions of Canadianness, Grace explains how this national fascination has led to an understanding of Canada as a “Northern” country (5-17). While many parts of Canada experience long, cold winters, the vast majority of Canadians will never know the arctic conditions and the vulnerability that isolation in any part of the Canadian wilderness would bring. Yet, artists, advertisers, and fashion designers tap into this facet of Canadian identity as though it were a shared experience or right of passage. We see this in countless beer promotions (see fig. 8) and in the multitudes of Torontonians suited up in Canada Goose parkas engineered for arctic temperatures (Canada Goose) on winter days when the thermometer reads a mere -1 degree Celsius (30.2 degrees Fahrenheit) (see fig. 9,10). Few can lay claim to an authentic Northern experience and work such as Zacharias Kunuk’s film *Atanarjuat (The Fast Runner)* highlights the vast difference between an authentic connection to the North and a fictitious one. Thus, according to Anderson’s theory, Canada’s imagined community is part of a cold and foreboding environment that the majority of the Canadian population, which huddles around the 49th parallel, will never experience in reality.

2.3.5. A Warring Nation?

Similarly, Canada's military history is a part of this same imagined community even though Canada is thought to have come of age during the First World War (Grace 11, Vipond 34). While many Canadians are aware of their country's military history and recognize the names of famous battlefronts like Vimy and Ypres, few have a genuine connection to these places and the realities of war. Grace asserts that since the 1970s, Canada's military history has been a growing subject of interest for writers, curators, and filmmakers (58-59). She cites novels such as Michael Ondaatje's *The English Patient*, Jane Urquhart's *The Stone Carvers*, and Margaret Atwood's *The Blind Assassin* as examples. She also highlights the works of official war artists that were largely unseen until the touring exhibition *Canvas of War* brought them to the public's attention between 2000-2004 (Grace 11). Also of note are films like *The Valour and the Horror* and *Passchendaele*, which depict the gritty actuality of conflict. Grace theorizes that these artists' renewed interest in war goes beyond their desire to tell the story of Canada. In fact, they are warning that "we are susceptible to the rhetoric of patriotism, to the propaganda of fear, and to the bigoted repression of dissent, but that we are also deeply suspicious of individualistic heroics, macho bravado, and unself-critical pride" (Grace 100).

Although Grace is writing in 2009, this cautionary and self-effacing understanding of national identity may be seen during the war years in the way women were expected to dress. *Chatelaine* described Canadians as "a warring people away from the war" and women were instructed to expect "simple and quiet clothes, ... for the clothes women wear are, and have been for generations, the barometer of the time" (qtd. in Turnbull

Caton 250). Uniforms for women were seen as important not only for their functionality, but for what their aesthetics did socially:

The uniform levels social barriers. This is important in a group embracing all types of racial, religious and economic backgrounds. The uniform is practical.

The uniform sets the standard of grooming. The uniform is the visible reminder of the wearer's responsibility to her God, and her King. (Gibb 177)

With the exception of the mention of "God" and "her King", this statement is in keeping with a contemporary understanding of what it means to be Canadian. The emphasis on social cohesion and acceptance of diversity from an article written in 1941 indicates that these values were already a part of the imagined community of Canada at that time.

Virtues that may still exist in Canadian dress identity, such as practicality, good grooming, and uniformity are also present in this description.

While uniformity played a role in creating cohesion at home, it may have further significance for national identity. The birth of a nation as a result of war is explored in Linda Colley's *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* where she posits that by emphasizing difference with the enemy and uniformity amongst allies, an "Other" is created (1-9, 376-377). War serves to "fashion" national identity (Steedman, "Englishness" 31) by creating similarities through uniformity in dress, conduct, and shared beliefs and at the same time vilifying those traits in other groups of people. Colley's theory lends support to Grace's speculation that Canadian artists' fascination with war is not to glorify it, but to emphasize that Canada, like every other country, is indeed "susceptible to the rhetoric of patriotism" (Grace 100).

2.3.6. A Funny Nation

Grace also explores the idea that iconic figures play a role in the creation of art and singles out the famous Canadians to whom artists have paid homage. While there are few examples of Canadian fashions inspired by historical or cultural figures, icons in the semiotic sense of the word seem to play a role. These icons serve as signs (Peirce 1: 524; Fisch xlii) of Canadianess and are often used to emphasize a stereotypical understanding of Canada. Mounties, 'hosers', hockey players, military uniforms, and the occasional politician have all made appearances in contemporary Canadian fashion. While some of these icons are used in all seriousness, such as Red Canoe's Royal Canadian Air Force Kit Bag (see fig. 11), most are approached with a tongue-in-cheek sense of humour. Grace says, "there is a mixture of romance and irony, an undercurrent of self-conscious comic nostalgia...that [she] often detect[s], to varying degrees, in many examples of Canadian art" (Grace 10). While Beverly Rasporich suggests humour is a hallmark of Canadian culture that has developed from our complex relationship with Britain and the United States, Canadians use humour to avoid conflict while asserting our sovereignty (51-63). Many of the humorous icons used in fashion are intended for a Canadian audience, such as Smoking Lily's *Trudeau* panties (see fig. 12), however design duo Dean and Dan Caten of Milan-based Dsquared² use humour to play-up their Canadian roots on an international stage (see fig. 13). The Canadian perception of a shared sense of humour seems to be of growing importance for matters of national identity. Something as intangible as a sense of humour reinforces Anderson's theory of an imagined community, but at the same time, the popularity of our comedic media suggests this is more than a figment of our collective imaginations. However, unlike

comedic expressions of Canadian identity on television and in print media, funny fashions do not benefit from government support or protection.

2.4. Globalization

It seems Canadians share more than a sense of humour in the age of trade liberalization. The mass-produced wardrobe staples of the last century, such as jeans, t-shirts, sneakers, and polo shirts, stock shopping malls (and closets) from coast to coast. It is clear that changes in the production of fashion have altered consumption patterns not just in Canada, but worldwide. People on every continent have access to mass-produced fashion whether it is purchased from H&M in Montreal or whether it is from a secondhand clothing market in Zambia (Tranberg Hansen, "Youth" 115). In both of these locales, creativity remains in how consumers create identities from the available choices, leading many scholars to maintain that this demonstrates a democratization of fashion (Tranberg Hansen 125, Maynard 40, Eicher and Sumberg 303-305). While there is no doubt that the ability to interpret fashion and create meaningful dress identities is a continuing phenomenon, the fact remains that most clothing in the global market is *designed* in Europe and the United States by a select few who create fashions for multinational corporations that have a global reach.

2.4.1. Agent or Chooser?

The designers and other decision makers who work for global fashion companies have a lot of power as their decisions about production methods, styles, fabrics and colours can change how people on other continents pay their employees, govern their people, grow their crops, and dress their bodies. Arjun Appadurai asserts that while the power of global corporations over that of local forces is undeniable, a *fetishism of*

production can obfuscate. “The locality...becomes a fetish that disguises the globally dispersed forces that actually drive the production process” (42), meaning that whether content or disillusioned with the current state of globalized production, consumers focus on labels such as ‘Made in China’ rather than ‘Made by Wal-Mart’. Since the 1970s, nation states such as America and Britain, and trade institutions such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), have been associated (and perhaps implicated) with the changes in global production patterns. However, large corporations often wield more power than governments and can be somewhat invisible forces in the production marketplace. Palatial flagship retail stores can seem divorced from the sub-contracted offshore production facilities that produce the goods sold within them (Skoggard 66-69). This separation not only exists in the minds of consumers, but also in the legalities of globalized free trade, as most global fashion brands do not own the factories that produce their goods (Bonacich et al., “Global Economy” 6-7). This is especially true in developing economies where the promise of economic development in the short-term can cause governments to enter into arrangements that jeopardize vulnerable citizens in the long-term (Bonacich et al., “Global Economy” 5).

While small decisions about the fashions we purchase are common to all people engaged in the global economy, the big decisions are still in the hands of an elite group of people in the developed world, mostly in Europe and the USA. Consumers’ small decisions are often spurred by persuasive advertising campaigns that seem to empower and bring democracy to the marketplace; however, Appadurai calls this the *fetishism of the consumer* where the illusion of agency is propagated by sophisticated marketing imagery. In reality, “These images of agency are increasingly distortions of a world of

merchandising so subtle that the consumer is consistently helped to believe that he or she is an actor, when in fact he or she is at best a chooser” (42). Marketers effectively tie capitalist consumption with equality and democracy, however Naomi Klein states that “market-driven globalization doesn’t want diversity; quite the opposite. Its enemies are national habits, local brands and distinctive regional tastes” (129).

Corporate resistance to regional taste is not limited by the terms of binary opposition between East and West or advanced and developing economies. Relationships between mythologized global dress identities and local dress identities are far more complex than these labels suggest. Countries such as Canada or those within the European Union are not immune from the corporate forces that shape the global fashion ideal. When editions of international magazines such as *Vogue* and *Marie Claire* entered the Greek market, their influence on national identity was twofold. Not only did Greek magazines that had previously thrived with their unique take on fashion crumble with the new competition, recent entrants in the marketplace had a desire to mould the former “unfashionable” citizen with mainstream European fashion. In Michael Skafidas’ article “Fabricating Greekness” he states, “In the beginning, Greek editions of international magazines as a rule avoided featuring Greek models or local brands on their covers and in editorials” (160). In his discussion with a former editor of *Marie Claire* he learned, “The French (publishers) would object to it on the grounds that the Greek market was not ripe to impose its own modern Western symbols and brands. It took a while to infuse the Greek society with the mentality of the international fashion culture” (160). Clearly, there are those in the fashion system who wish to maintain hierarchies that reinforce the power of decision makers located in traditional fashion

cities such as Paris. The attitude of this editor resembles that of a tyrannical despot rather than that of a democratic leader and emphasizes the importance of Canadian laws that protect the domestic publishing industry.

2.4.2. Global Patterns of Production and Consumption

When traditional textile and clothing production is forced to compete with that of globalized fashion the negative impact is evident (Bonacich et al. "National Development" 367). In countries such as Indonesia and Kenya, the current practice of wearing Western style garments has been related to the use of clothing as an indication of rank during colonial rule (Molnar 45, Eicher and Sumberg 303). Western dress is being adopted by more men than women and connotes modernism, progress, and development in some communities (Molnar 55). As more consumers in developing economies adopt forms of dress that are not produced locally, domestic textile makers, designers, cutters, and sewers face a shrinking demand for their skills. Although these workers may find employment in the global apparatus of fashion production for export, the opportunity to develop fashions for one's own community diminishes. This absence means that dress identity is no longer constructed from within an ethnic group or nation, but from the outside. In globalization's current form, decision makers in the developed world now have more influence on dress identity in the developing world than ever before. While adjusting second-hand Western styles to suit local purposes is possible, the positive economic impact of this activity is far less than the domestic manufacture of textiles and garments.

Fewer opportunities for creative individuals to design fashions for their own communities is not the only downside to the production of export goods. Export

Processing Zones, which are areas set up by governments in developing countries that attract foreign investment by making production more efficient may “offer tax breaks, lax regulations and the services of [militaries] willing and able to crush labor unrest” (Klein 206). “Companies just ship in the pieces of cloth ... -free of import tax- and the cheap, non-union workforce assembles it for them. Then the finished garments ... are shipped out, with no export tax” (Klein 207). Although factories in these zones offer wage labour to underemployed communities, the long-term benefits are questionable. As governments compete to attract manufacturers to their zone, they extend tax breaks and freeze wages sometimes to the point where communities lose ground in their quest for development (Klein 208).

While globalization has certainly affected traditional fashion producers in the developing world, garment industries in advanced economies such as Canada are not immune. Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, and Winnipeg, which are Canada’s major garment production centres, have experienced a dramatic decline in the number of garment manufacturers in the past three decades (Vinodrai 13). Unlike similar transformations in New York and Paris (Green 2-3), this is not only a loss of production capacity, but also a loss of fashion designers, as few have been able to compete in the global marketplace. Designers in fashion’s world cities such as New York, Paris, London, and Milan have fared better because they had developed export markets outside of their own borders before trade liberalization took place (Green 80). Canadian dress identity is no longer shaped by the designers who worked for large department stores like Eaton’s and The Hudson’s Bay Company, but rather by foreign-designed fashions available at H&M, Zara, and Forever 21. Fewer Canadian interpretations of

mass-market fashions are available, meaning that Canadians are often wearing the exact same clothes as consumers in France, Spain, Japan, Australia, and the United States, which suggests homogeneity in the global marketplace. This is a recent phenomenon not seen prior to the 1980s that is rarely mentioned in the literature. While these changes to dress identity may not be as marked as those experienced by indigenous communities adopting Western dress, they are equally significant to those who designed and produced clothing prior to globalization.

As more trade agreements are signed and global fashion corporations continue to centralize design functions while outsourcing production, fewer individuals are determining what the world wears. Although people may 'style' new forms of dress from jeans, t-shirts, and other commodified garments, this making-do should not be confused with democratization. The power dynamics between fashion's powerful multinationals and the rest of the world echo that of imperial powers and colonies. As we have seen, the taste makers who produce today's fashions such as the former editor of *Marie Claire Greece* are not interested in allowing diverse voices to construct what fashion is, but rather they are interested in marketing their version of fashion in expanding and potentially lucrative new markets.

Simmel's theory that fashion trickles down (135) has largely been abandoned for post-modernist theories that indicate a bubble-up effect from street wear and the fashions of other cultures (Entwistle 62). Although this is demonstrable in the aesthetic of the designs we see on runways and in stores, it does not mean that there is equality in the fashion production system. One side of the equation benefits financially, while the other is merely used for inspiration. Most of those who profit financially from this

arrangement reside in Europe and the United States.

The pressures created from an influx of mass-produced clothing from certain multinational fashion producer/retailers have caused the loss of traditional textile and clothing industries in countries as diverse as Canada and Kenya. While there are many clothes for consumers to choose from, their design, production and distribution have been decided by a small number of people in certain advanced economies.

Homogenization as a descriptor of global fashion choices is too simplistic. Creative individuals will always find a way to construct unique identities from the resources available to them, be it the redundant fashions from the global retailers at the local mall or the ubiquitous jeans and t-shirts at the third world bazaar. However, democratization is too generous a descriptor when so few people actually have the power to make decisions that will shape the way clothes are designed, produced, and ultimately consumed.

3. Methodology

A mixed methods approach was used to conduct this study. It should be noted here that my role in this research is one of participant-observer as my current position as a designer and entrepreneur within the Toronto fashion industry may affect my objectivity in ways that I might not be aware.

Quantitative research of secondary sources from 1985-2010 was used to better understand the domestic garment industry. These sources indicated changes in the number of firms, changes in revenues generated by the industry sector, and changes in the number of employees. The *Canadian Apparel Directory* and the *Canadian Apparel Market Report* was consulted in order to identify the companies who were producing garments in Canada throughout this timeframe. These were sourced from libraries and from the Canadian Apparel Federation.

A quantitative content analysis has been conducted on images of women's fashions from Canadian and American magazines from 1985-2010 (George 144). The March and September issues of *Flare* and *Vogue* magazines were studied for every other year in the period. These print resources have been sourced from various libraries and private collections. One editorial image with a single model was selected at random from each magazine. The featured clothing was then coded for the presence of seven characteristics (George 145). These characteristics are dichotomous adjectives (Osgood 436) and they have been measured on a seven-point scale. Given that multiple garments may be present in an image, certain codes (Recognized Brand Name/Unknown Brand and Widely Available/Limited Availability) were applied to each garment separately. The outfit as a whole was coded for each of the other five sets of

adjectives (Humourous/Serious, Conservative/Avant Garde, Sexy/Plain, Practical/Impractical, and Militaristic/Peaceful).

In order for the study to consider the effects of how the image was constructed by fashion editors, stylists, and photographers, they were coded for the presence of Canadian Stereotypes/No Canadian Stereotypes, American Stereotypes/No American Stereotypes, and Humourous Styling/Serious Styling. Environment was considered as well by coding for a Warm Environment/Frigid Environment, Studio Shoot/Location Shoot, and a Natural Location/Urban Location. A coding guide was created that provided photographic examples and definitions of the coding terms (see appendix B, C). To ensure consistency, coding was validated by another individual who has been trained to analyze these characteristics. The coders achieved 90% agreement as a minimum to consider the results reliable (Krippendorff 354).

A quantitative study was conducted on these same images to see how the number of Canadian designed and produced garments that are featured have changed over time. This required coding that measured whether the clothing was Designed in Canada/Designed Elsewhere and Manufactured in Canada/Manufactured Elsewhere. Once again, each garment was coded separately for these characteristics. Brand or designer names have been cross-referenced with the *Canadian Apparel Directory* to determine if garments were designed and produced in Canada. Again, to ensure consistency two individuals conducted the coding.

This mixed methods approach revealed the multiple potential causes that have collectively contributed to changes in Canadian dress identity. The fact that this study is a comparison between fashion magazine images in Canada and the United States, to

the exclusion of other countries that may influence Canadian dress, is a limitation of this research. It is acknowledged that images in fashion magazines may not accurately represent what people wear, but rather what is being proposed as fashionable dress at a given time. Both magazines used in this study are national publications to avoid regional differences.

4. Results, Analysis, and Discussion

4.1. Canadian Dress Identity Takes Shape

From the 26 *Flare* magazine images coded, 13 of them featured Canadian designed garments and 13 did not. There were no Canadian designed garments in the 26 images from *Vogue* magazine. The non-Canadian fashions in *Flare* and *Vogue* are from American, French, British, Italian, German, and Australian designers. A comparison of Canadian designs with non-Canadian designs reveals that certain characteristics coded higher for the Canadian fashions. Specifically, 84.60% of the Canadian designs in *Flare* contained humorous elements while only 46.20% of the non-Canadian designs in *Flare* and 49.90% of the non-Canadian designs in *Vogue* coded as 'Humorous' (see fig. 14). This seems to verify that a sense of humour, which exists in other areas of Canadian culture, is also apparent in Canadian fashion. It is important to note that although a large percentage of Canadian designs contained humorous elements, the coders considered these whimsical or light-hearted rather than obvious forms of humour such as visual puns or satire. This means that while other components of Canadian culture, such as television and movies are outright comedic, fashion's humour is subtle and akin to that used in literature or fine art.

Results also indicate that Canadian fashion is more conservative than design from other countries. For this study, the definition of 'Conservative' is, "[d]esigns that utilize traditional silhouettes, fabrics, textures, and subdued colours. These fashions reference the past and do little to reinterpret it in new ways. They may be described as 'classic' and do not challenge social norms." Of the Canadian designs studied, 46.20% coded as 'Conservative' as compared to 23.10% for non-Canadian fashions in *Flare*

and 23.00% for non-Canadian fashions in *Vogue* (see fig. 15). This characteristic may be tied to 'Practicality', which was coded in 92.20% of Canadian designs (see fig. 16) and is defined as, "[d]esigns that can function in many different environments and garments that are comfortable to wear". While Canadian fashion seems to be less avant garde and more practical than other expressions of dress featured in both *Flare* and *Vogue*, it was not regarded as utilitarian by the coders. Only one image was coded as being extremely 'Conservative' and no images were coded as being extremely 'Practical' meaning that innovation and creativity were present in nearly all of the designs examined.

In one category Canadian fashions coded much lower than their international counterparts did. Canadian designs were considered overtly 'Sexy' only 7.70% of the time as compared with 46.20% of the non-Canadian designs in *Flare* and 46.10% of the designs in *Vogue*. However, 61.50% of Canadian fashions were coded as 'Subtly Sexy', but appropriate for the workplace. This subtle sexiness may be a distinctive characteristic of Canadian fashion as only 15.40% of the other designs in *Flare* and 34.60% of the designs in *Vogue* were coded as such (see fig. 17). This is consistent with findings in other categories, which reveal a Canadian dress identity that is somewhat cautious, but not entirely staid and traditional.

This observed trend toward more 'Conservative' and 'Practical' design seems to be in keeping with the Canadian dress identity that was established in the first half of the twentieth century as the nation went twice to war. In fact, *Chatelaine's* descriptor of the 1940s Canadian woman in "simple and quiet clothes" (qtd. in Turnbull Caton 250) may not be out of place today. The wartime influence on Canadian design is a factor

throughout the study period as 'Militarism' was present in 30.80% of Canadian fashions coded in *Flare*, while it was only present in 7.70% of non-Canadian fashions. Of the Canadian garments studied, 30.80% coded as 'Neutral' and 38.50% were 'Peaceful'. Perhaps the most interesting finding for this category is from *Vogue* magazine where 19.20% of the fashions were coded as 'Militaristic', 19.20% as 'Neutral', and 61.60% as 'Peaceful' (see fig. 18). Significantly, garments from 10 of the 26 *Vogue* images were coded as extremely 'Peaceful'. Although Canadian designers draw on military influence for less than one-third of their work, a clear contrast can be seen between their relative comfort with uniforms, badges, and military inspired garb (see fig. 19) and *Vogue* magazine's preference for fashions with soft, fluid lines. It is noteworthy that the trend toward 'Peaceful' design in *Vogue* is most evident later in the period, specifically after the American invasion of Iraq in 2003. This reinforces Grace's theory that art, which has war as its subject matter, serves as a cautionary tale (100).

The presence of the previously mentioned characteristics; humour, conservatism, practicality, subtle sexiness, and militarism, that coded as being significant to Canadian dress identity appeared consistently throughout the period, and did not diminish as time progressed. In other words, the identified Canadian design aesthetic is stable. Yet, it is important to note here that designers from Canada's fashion cities are not represented equally in the randomly selected images from *Flare*. Of the 14 designers profiled, 12 are based in Toronto, one is based in Montreal, and one is based in Vancouver (see fig. 20). This means that regionalisms that may exist in Canadian dress identity may not be identifiable in the images used for coding in this study.

4.2. Lost to Liberalization

Understanding changes in Canada's trade policy can help contextualize patterns in the collected data. To clarify how certain findings correspond with larger economic forces, the study period has been further divided into three sub-periods. During the first period, which is 1985-1994, a quota system was in place, restricting the amount of goods imported from other countries. It is also before the enactment of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), though it is noted that the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) between Canada and the United States took effect in 1989. The second period is 1995-2002 after NAFTA took effect, but before the full elimination of the quota system with other international trading partners. At this time, China had not entered the market on a large scale. Finally, the third period is 2003-2010 when the quota system was largely gone and China entered the market without impediment.

Although the previously identified Canadian design aesthetic was stable from 1985-2010, the number of Canadian designs featured in *Flare* magazine decreased over that time-period. This has a significant impact on Canadian dress identity because fewer domestic designs are influencing consumer's perceptions of what is fashionable. From 1985-1994, 62.50% of the designs coded were Canadian, from 1995-2002 41.00% were Canadian, and from 2003-2010, only 20.00% were Canadian (see fig. 21). Rather than suggesting a change in *Flare's* editorial direction as being causal for this decline, the reason is more likely related to larger forces of trade liberalization, as this same phenomenon was present in the data from *Vogue* magazine in that fewer American designers were featured later in the period (see fig. 22). A suggested reason for this decline is the increased competition for market-share created by globalization

and the consumer's greater demand for internationally recognized luxury brands. As well, these brands are more likely to have the resources to purchase advertising space in fashion magazines and this may influence the selection of garments for editorial fashion shoots. While Canadian content regulations stipulate that the majority of people who create editorial images are Canadian, they do not specify a percentage of Canadian-designed fashions be included in these images.

Modern fashion is often associated with iconic labels, therefore brand name recognition was coded. Fashion editorials are not the only influence on brand name recognition, as advertising also has a heavy affect. Brands that were coded as very recognized were 'household names' and advertised in magazines such as *Vogue*, *Harpers Bazaar*, and *Elle*. Brand name recognition relates to dress identity in that if a brand is very recognized it is likely that it has some influence on consumer's perceptions about what is fashionable (Corneo 344-345, Hamilton 165-167). Likewise, if a brand is virtually unknown, it is probably not altering patterns of consumption. Only 44.00% of Canadian brands were coded as 'Recognized' while 81.40% of other designs in *Flare* were coded as such (see fig. 23). Of the 14 Canadian designers represented in the images coded from *Flare* magazine only two of them, Alfred Sung and Club Monaco were considered 'household names'. Interestingly, neither of these names can be associated with contemporary Canadian fashion as Alfred Sung's ready-to-wear women's collection is no longer in production and Ralph Lauren purchased Club Monaco in 1999 and moved the company's design functions to New York.

Not only are there fewer Canadian fashions in *Flare* and less brand recognition for Canadian labels, but also the designs featured are not as widely available as they

were earlier in the period. Of the seven garments featured from 1995-2002, six were available through national retailers. In the last seven years of the period from 2003-2010, two of the three Canadian designs profiled had limited availability and were only for sale in a small number of boutiques located in Montreal and Toronto. This time-period corresponds with an influx of fast fashion retailers in the Canadian market and a decrease of Canadian owned retail chains. When the period is looked at as a whole, 60.00% of Canadian designs were 'Widely Available' as compared with 81.50% of the other designs in *Flare* (see fig. 24) (60.00% of the designs in *Vogue* were 'Widely Available', but haute couture items that are only available via custom order skew these results). This means that regionalisms in Canadian fashion may occur because fewer domestically designed fashions are available through national retailers. Perhaps more importantly, these numbers reveal that fashions designed outside of Canada are more widely available than those designed domestically. This suggests that international forces are changing what Canadians purchase and wear, therefore changing Canadian dress identity.

4.3. More than Mounties and Maple Syrup

Garments are not the only elements to consider when coding editorial fashion images. The styling used to contextualize fashions can influence the viewer's perception. In this study, garments and styling were coded separately to ensure that characteristics of dress identity were not confused with styling elements. The coding results indicate there is no significant presence of 'Canadian Stereotypes' such as hockey sticks, maple syrup, and canoes, or 'American Stereotypes' such as the American West, suburbia, and the Statue of Liberty (see figs. 25,26). 'Humorous'

styling was consistent at 61.50% for Canadian designs in *Flare* and designs in *Vogue*, while 46.20% of other designs in *Flare* coded as 'Humourous' and 30.80% coded as 'Serious'. No Canadian designs were styled in a serious manner and this trend toward humour is consistent with the garment coding (see fig. 27) although it is clear that *Vogue* has a heavy preference for light-hearted or humourous styling as well.

The environment of the photo shoot was also considered while coding and Canadian designs in *Flare* were shot in a 'Warm Environment' far less than other designs in *Flare* and designs in *Vogue* (see fig. 28). However, the preference was for a neutral environment with even lighting and a balance of warm and cool colours, rather than a frigid one.

Flare's use of location shoots for Canadian and non-Canadian designs were consistent (see fig. 29), but showed a strong preference for shooting Canadian designs in urban or man-made locations over natural environments. All location shoots that featured Canadian designs were in urban locales while 71.43% of the location shoots for other designs in *Flare* were shot in natural areas (see fig. 30). This seems counter to notions of Canadian identity that emphasize the North, nature, and the wilderness. Considering this factor and the lack of Canadian stereotypes used in *Flare's* styling, it may be that their editorial decision makers wish to move Canadian fashion beyond the imagined community that seems to prevail in public perception. Interestingly, many of Canada's most commercially successful brands, such as Roots and Canada Goose, embrace icons of the imagined Canadian community. This strategy seems to work for both domestic and export markets.

5. Conclusion

The global fashion industry is a highly competitive place inhabited by multinational corporations that have extensive reach into the Canadian marketplace. When international trade restrictions disappeared in the 1990s and early 2000s, the domestic fashion industry was ill equipped to compete and lost significant market share. Consequently, Canadian fashion became less visible and not as widely available in the age of 'democratized' fashion than it was during the protectionist era. Although this seems to be an inevitable result of trade liberalization, it is important to note that Canada's other culture industries were not affected the same way; some, such as publishing, music, film, and television, received protection and financial support from the federal government and remain competitive. While it is unclear why there is no protective legislation for Canadian fashion, the associations with femininity, immigrants, (and in the Quebec context the Francophone population), could be reasons for this inequity. The economic impact of a shrinking Canadian fashion sector can be measured in job losses and decreasing revenue, however the cultural repercussions are more difficult to analyze. This study has shown that the uniqueness of the Canadian fashion industry is quantifiable and that foreign competitors are overwhelming the distinctive voice of Canadian designers.

Although Canadian identity has always struggled under the weight of its inherited legacy of being a loyal British colony and the largest consumer of American culture outside of the United States, some recognizable traits resonate across different cultural genres. Canada's status as a Northern nation, its coming of age during two world wars, its embrace of icons, and its funny bone can be seen in media as diverse as painting,

film, and literature. The basis for these Canadian characteristics are not necessarily the day-to-day realities of Canadian life, but rather they are part of the imagined community of what it means to be Canadian. This study has shown that while fashion seems to be moving beyond the use of Northern stereotypes and Canadian icons, other shared cultural markers that reside in the collective imagination, such as humour and militarism are present. While Canadian fashion's conservative and practical side may be rooted in a military tradition, these characteristics have become part of Canadian dress identity in their own right. At the same time, a subtle sexiness and sense of humour prevents it from being too serious, stoic, or static. When analyzed, Canadian fashion design is largely in tune with the narrative of Canada's other culture industries.

While individual Canadians still have the ability to create unique identities from the choices available to them in the marketplace, as a whole Canada has become less of an agent in the global fashion industry and more of a chooser as domestic products become less accessible to consumers. This means that Canada enjoys fewer economic and cultural benefits of having a thriving fashion industry. Essentially, this loss of cultural identity has occurred because fashion is associated with mass culture, rather than high culture, and has not received the same government protection and support that other cultural industries have.

Verification of the aforementioned results will occur in a future study that increases the number of images analyzed, employs an additional coder, and utilizes statistical analysis. The data collection method used in this study has proven effective and can be employed in future research (Krippendorff 354, Osgood 436). Given that the majority of Canadian designers analyzed in this study were Toronto based, continued

research on this subject will compare images from *Flare* magazine with a magazine based in Quebec and newspaper features from Vancouver, over the same study period of 1985-2010. This should indicate whether Canadian dress identity and the effects of globalization were consistent across multiple regions. Concurrently, an analysis of the number of print media advertisers whose fashions are used in Canadian fashion editorials will be conducted, as it may reveal causation for the declining number of Canadian fashions featured.

Appendix A- Figures

Designer	Category	Location of Design Premises	Currently Designing and Producing in Canada
Alfred Sung	Mens and Womens	Toronto	No
Club Monaco	Mens and Womens	Toronto	No- in USA
Debora Kuchmé	Womens	Toronto	No
Hilary Radley	Womens coats and suits	Montreal	No- in USA
Leighton Barrett	Womens	Montreal	Unknown
Mr. Jax	Womens	Vancouver	No
Ports International	Womens	Toronto	Yes- Designing
Selina	Womens	Toronto	No
Tenzer	Womens	Montreal	No
Tu Ly	Womens	Toronto	No
Wesley and Winsa	Womens	Toronto	No
Clotheslines	Womens	Toronto	No- in Italy
Dean/Dan	Womens	Toronto	No
Dominic Bellissimo	Womens fur and leather	Toronto	Yes
Jean Claude Poitras	Womens	Montreal	Yes
Judith Ann Bates	Womens	Toronto	No
Pat McDonagh	Womens	Toronto	Yes
Robert Krief	Womens leather	Montreal	No
Roger Edwards	Womens	Toronto	Unknown
Wayne Clark	Womens eveningwear	Toronto	Yes
Winston Kong	Womens eveningwear	Toronto	No
Linda Lundstrom	Womens coats	Toronto	Yes
Abby Kanak	Womens	Vancouver	No
Anne Seally	Womens	Toronto	No
Babel	Womens	Toronto	No
Bent Boys	Womens	Toronto	No
Comrags	Womens	Toronto	Yes
Emily Zarb	Womens	Toronto	No
Gloria Superstein	Womens	Montreal	No
Loucas	Women	Toronto	No
Parachute	Mens and Womens	Montreal	No
Price Roman	Women	Toronto	Yes
Roots	Mens and Womens	Toronto	Yes
XL	Mens and Womens	Toronto	No
Yes and No	Mens and Womens	Vancouver	No
Zapata	Womens	Toronto	No

Fig. 1. This table shows the Canadian designers featured in the *Canadian Fashion Annual 1989*. It indicates that only nine of the 36 designers are currently designing in Canada. Robertson, Donald, comp. *Canadian Fashion Annual 1989*. Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1988. Print.

Canada's trade in clothing
Commerce international de vêtements du Canada

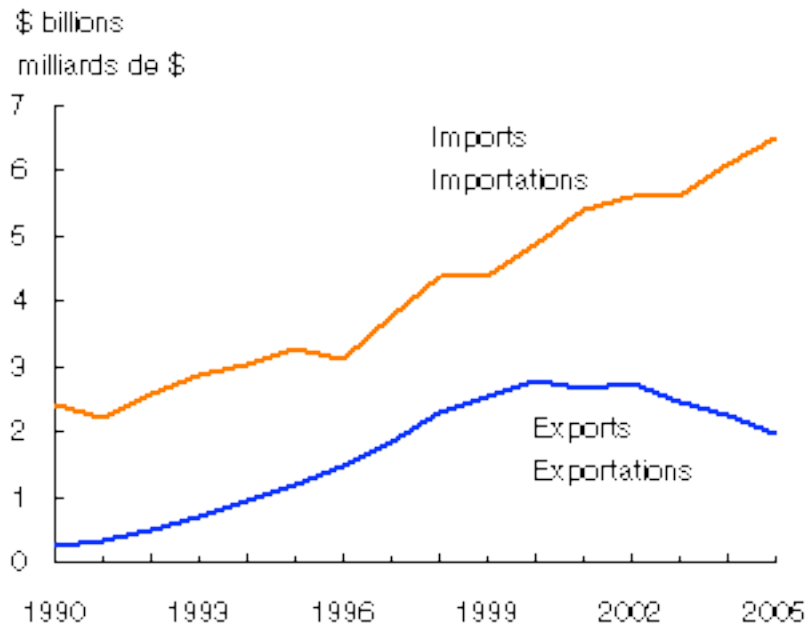


Fig. 2. This graph shows that clothing imports increased from just over \$2 billion to over \$6 billion between 1991 and 2005. Wyman, Diana. "Trade Liberalization and the Canadian Clothing Market." *Canadian Economic Observer*. Ottawa, ON: *Statistics Canada*, Dec. 2006. n.pag. Web. 7 Nov. 2011.

Composition of clothing production in Canada Composition de la production de vêtements au Canada

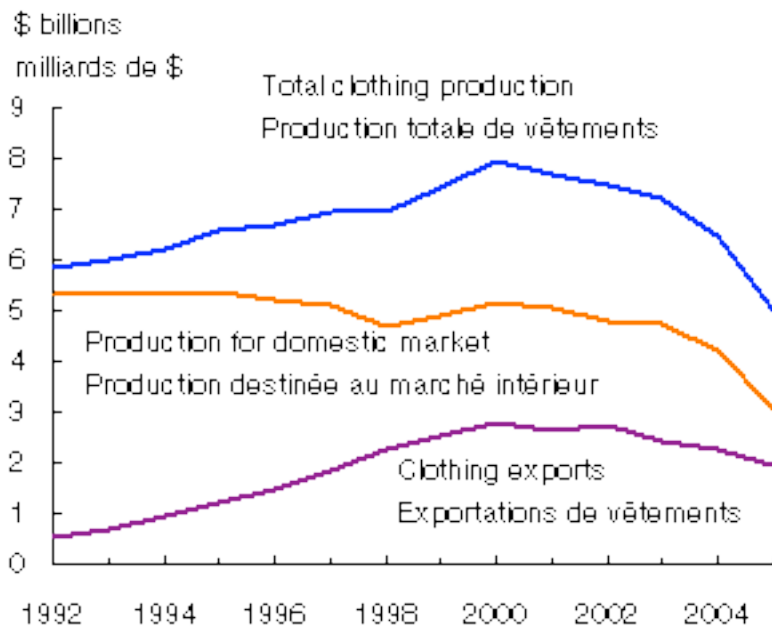


Fig. 3. This graph shows production for the domestic market falling from over \$5 billion to approximately \$3 billion between 1992 and 2005. Wyman, Diana. "Trade Liberalization and the Canadian Clothing Market." *Canadian Economic Observer*. Ottawa, ON: *Statistics Canada*, Dec. 2006. n.pag. Web. 7 Nov. 2011.

Employment in the clothing industry Emploi dans l'industrie du vêtement

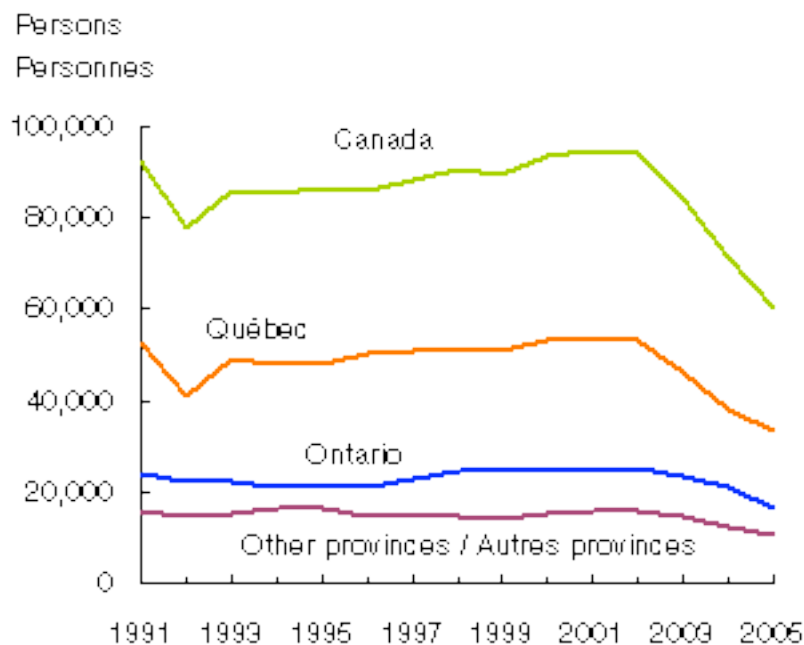


Fig. 4. This graph shows the loss of approximately 34,000 jobs in the Canadian garment manufacturing industry between 2002-2005. Wyman, Diana. "Trade Liberalization and the Canadian Clothing Market." *Canadian Economic Observer*. Ottawa, ON: *Statistics Canada*, Dec. 2006. n.pag. Web. 7 Nov. 2011.



Fig. 5. A poster produced by the Canadian Department of Communication in 1981-82 titled "Canada's Cultural Industries Are Big Business". Image from Canadian Department of Communication. *Canada's Cultural Industries Are Big Business*. 1981-82. Poster. Library and Archives Canada, Department of Canadian Heritage Collection, Ottawa, ON.



Fig. 6. *Canada Picture No. 07, 2001*. Douglas Coupland image from the book titled *Souvenir of Canada, 2002*. 84-85. Print.



Fig. 7. Alexander McQueen dress made of ivory silk tulle with a bolero jacket of red silk velvet embroidered in gold bullion. From *The Girl Who Lived in the Tree* collection, Autumn/Winter 2008-2009. Image from the Metropolitan Museum of Art exhibition and book *Alexander McQueen: Savage Beauty*. 2011. 116. Print.



Fig. 8. Labatt's Blue Light promotional T-shirt featuring a polar bear in sunglasses. The polar bear has been used to advertise this brand of beer since the 1980s. Image from "Super Logo!! Vintage Labatt Blue Beer Polar Bear Tshirt large." *Tshirt Time Machine*. N.p.:n.d. Web. 23 Mar. 2011.



Fig. 9. Canada Goose *Expedition Parka* for women. The company's official website describes this product thusly, "Canada Goose takes pride in creating authentic gear to help real people living in extreme conditions battle the elements. Originally developed for scientists working in research facilities at McMurdo station in Antarctica, the Canada Goose Expedition Parka allows its wearers to withstand the most frigid temperatures" (Canada Goose). Image from Canada Goose. "Arctic Program." *Products*. Canada Goose, n.d. Web. 21 Mar. 2012.



Fig. 10. Canada Goose parkas on the streets of Toronto in -1 degree Celsius (30.2 degrees Fahrenheit) weather on March 6, 2012. Image from Forrest, Jenifer. *Canada Goose Parkas in Toronto*. Toronto, ON: N.p., 2012. Photograph.



Fig. 11. Royal Canadian Air Force Kit Bag by Red Canoe. Other icons used by Red Canoe include RCMP, Canadian Army, CBC/Radio Canada, and De Havilland Aviation. Image from Red Canoe. "RCAF Kit Bag." *Canadian Aviation*. Red Canoe, n.d. Web. 21 Mar. 2012.



Fig. 12. The silkscreened image of former Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau on a pair of ladies underwear is significant in a country with a long history of political humour. It is interesting that this design appeared 35 years after December 12, 1967 when he stated "There's no place for the state in the bedrooms of the nation" (Trudeau Interview). Smoking Lily by Trish Tacoma, 2002. Forrest, Jenifer. *Smoking Lily Trudeau Panties*. Toronto, ON: N.p., 2011. Photograph.



Fig. 13. Dsquared² is based in Milan, however their Fall/Winter 2004 collection made obvious use of iconography and poked fun at Canadian stereotypes. This is seen in the mix of fur, plaid, and work wear. Image from Style.com. "Dsquared² Fall 2004 RTW." *Dsquared²*. Condé Nast, 2012. Web. 21 Mar. 2012.

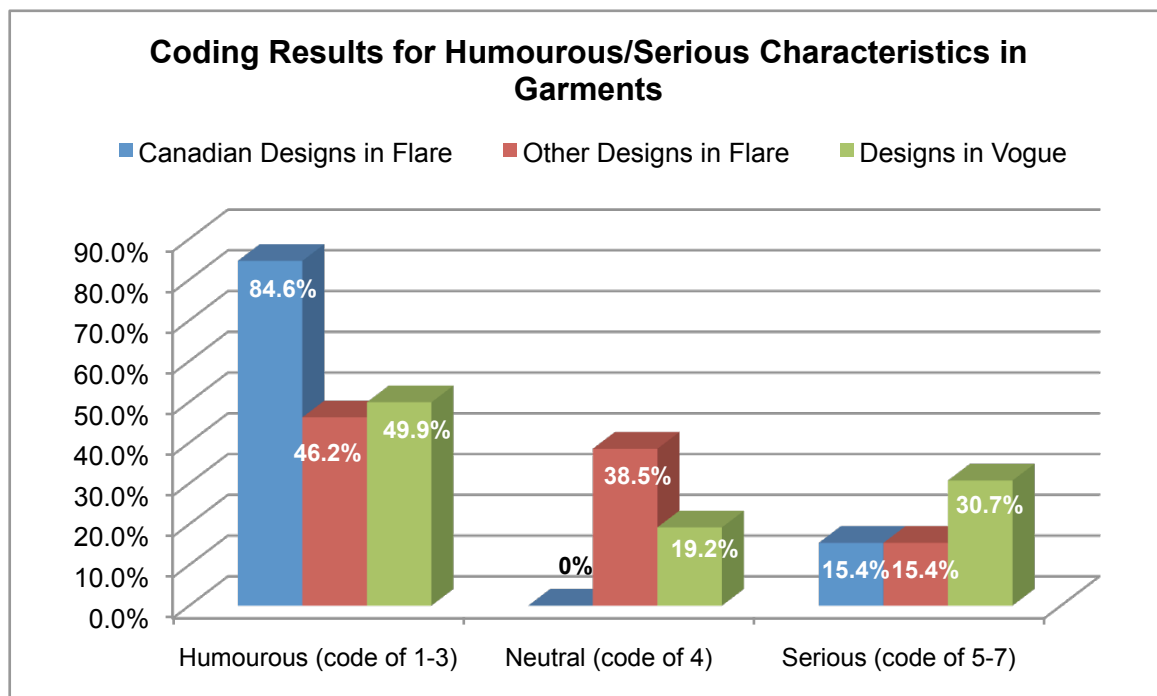


Fig. 14. This chart illustrates that Canadian designed garments featured in *Flare* have been coded as Humorous 84.6% of the time. Forrest, Jenifer. *Coding Results for Humorous/Serious Characteristics in Garments*. Chart. Toronto, ON: N.p., 2012. Print.

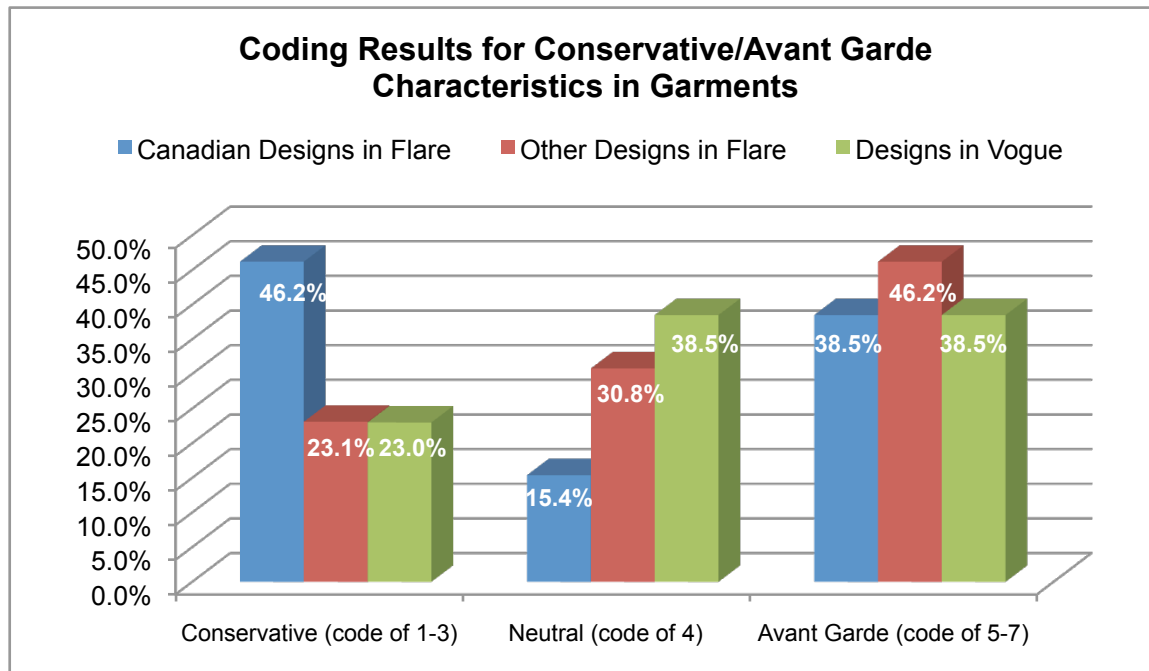


Fig. 15. This chart illustrates that 46.2% of Canadian designed garments featured in *Flare* have been coded as being Conservative as compared to 23.1% of other designs featured in *Flare* and 23.0% of designs featured in *Vogue*. It should be noted that the occurrence of Avant Garde designs was more consistent across the three categories. Forrest, Jenifer. *Coding Results for Conservative/Avant Garde Characteristics in Garments*. Chart. Toronto, ON: N.p., 2012. Print.

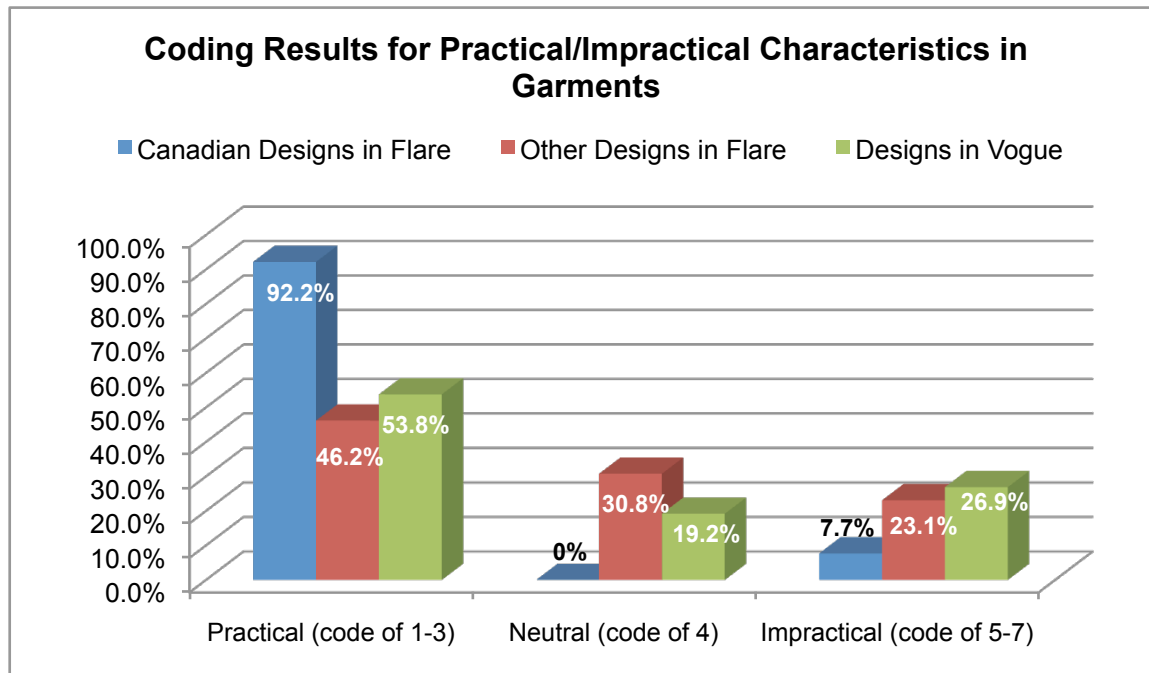


Fig. 16. Practicality was coded in 92.2% of Canadian designed garments and Impracticality was coded in only 7.7% of Canadian designed garments. By comparison, 53.8% of the garments in *Vogue* were coded as Practical and 26.9% were coded as Impractical. Forrest, Jenifer. *Coding Results for Practical/Impractical Characteristics in Garments*. Chart. Toronto, ON: N.p., 2012. Print.

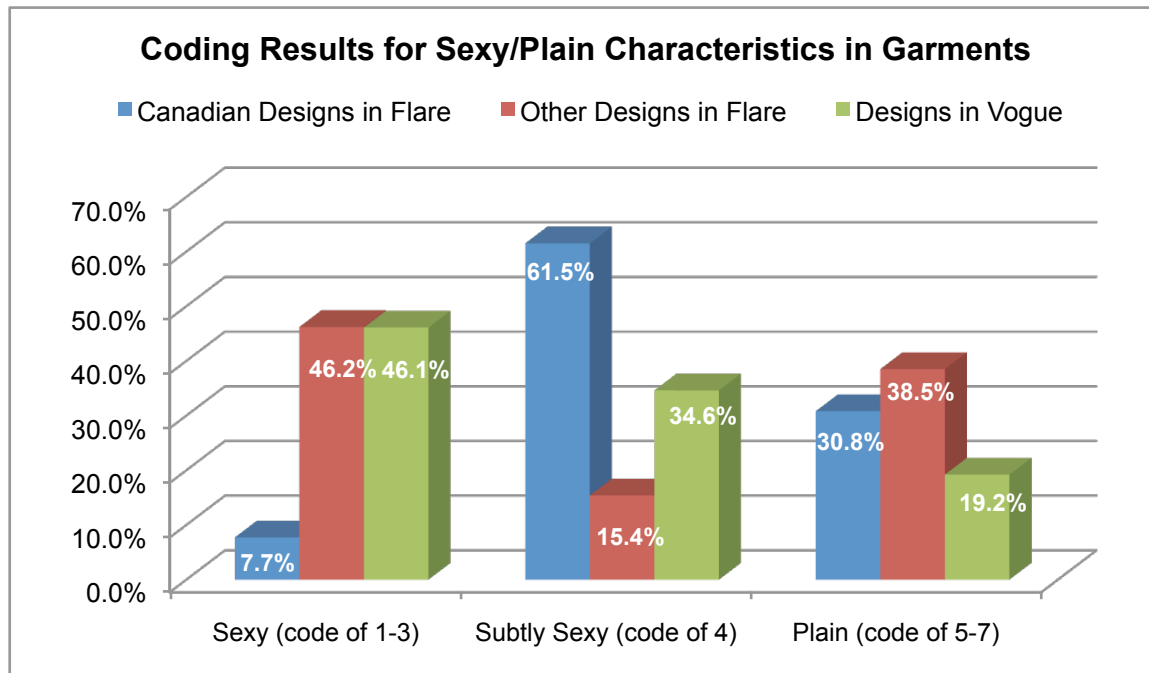


Fig. 17. Only 7.7% of Canadian designed garments were coded as overtly Sexy compared with 46.2% of other designs in *Flare* and 46.1% of the designs in *Vogue*. However, 61.5% of Canadian designed garments were coded as Subtly Sexy which was substantially higher than the other designs in *Flare* and *Vogue*. Forrest, Jenifer. *Coding Results for Sexy/Plain Characteristics in Garments*. Chart. Toronto, ON: N.p., 2012. Print.

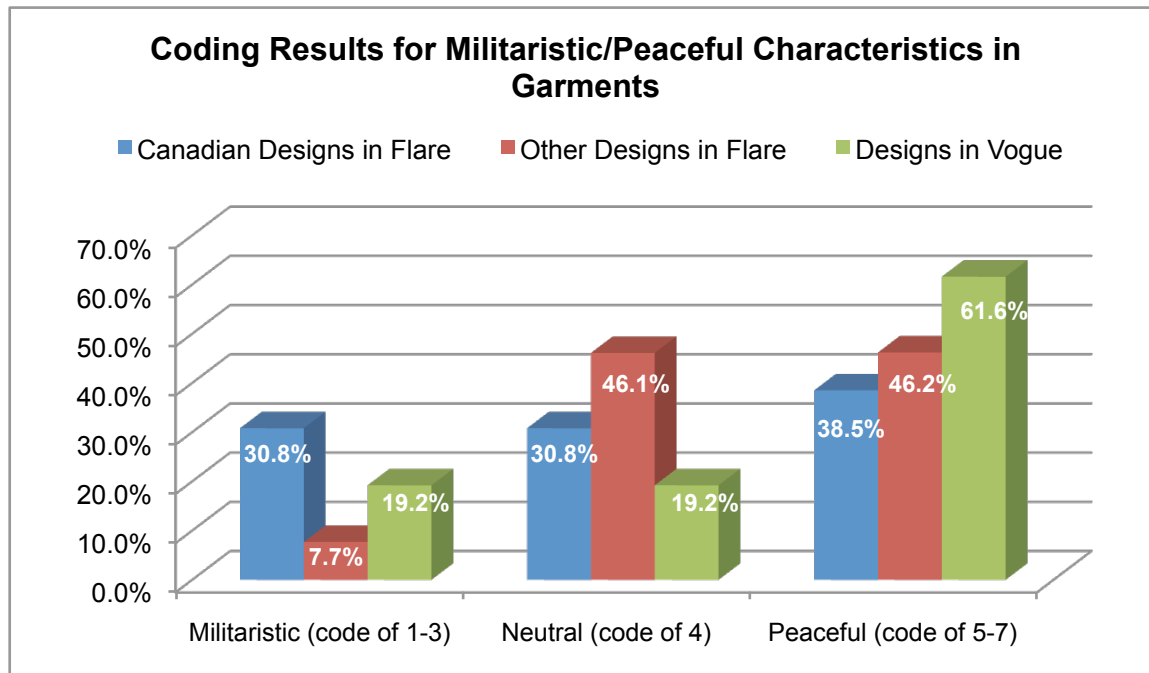


Fig. 18. Although the majority of Canadian designs do not possess Militaristic characteristics, they are more Militaristic than other designs in *Flare* and *Vogue*. The most significant finding is that 61.6% of the designs featured in *Vogue* were coded as Peaceful. Forrest, Jenifer. *Coding Results for Militaristic/Peaceful Characteristics in Garments*. Chart. Toronto, ON: N.p., 2012. Print.



Fig. 19. These camouflage pants by Izzy Camilleri incorporate the seemingly disparate characteristics of militarism and humour in one garment. Image from "At Ease." *Flare* Mar. 2001: 126. Print.

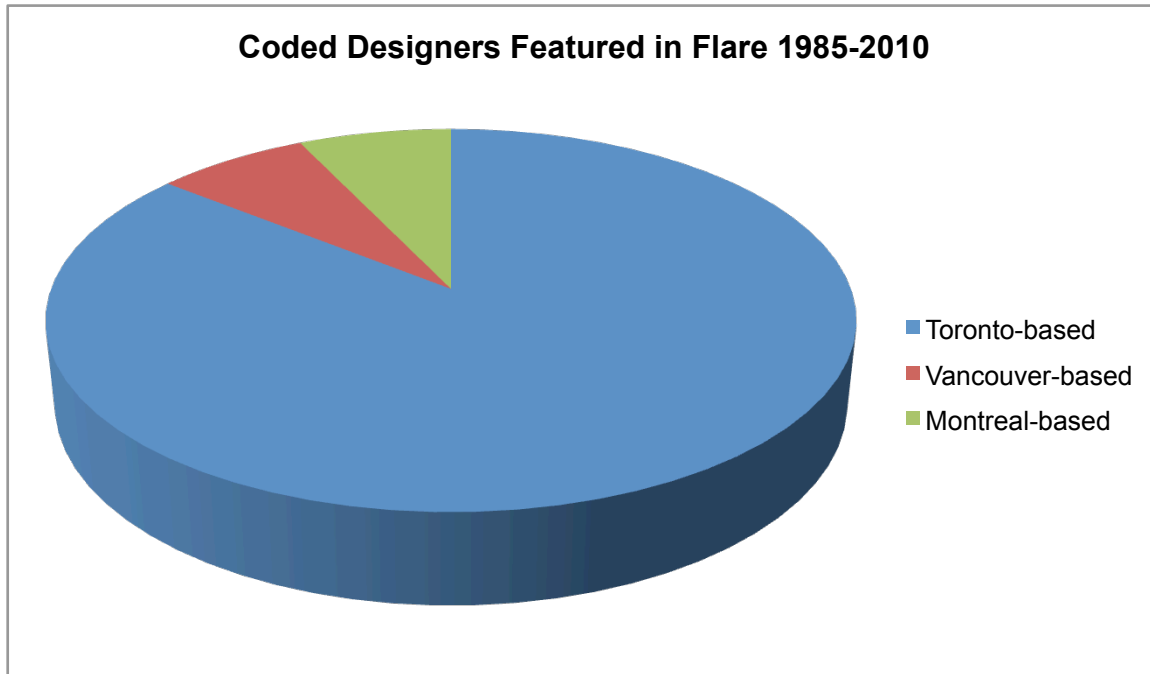


Fig. 20. This illustrates the disproportionate number of Toronto designers featured in the images coded from *Flare* magazine. Forrest, Jenifer. *Coded Designers Featured in Flare 1985-2010*. Chart. Toronto, ON: N.p., 2012. Print.

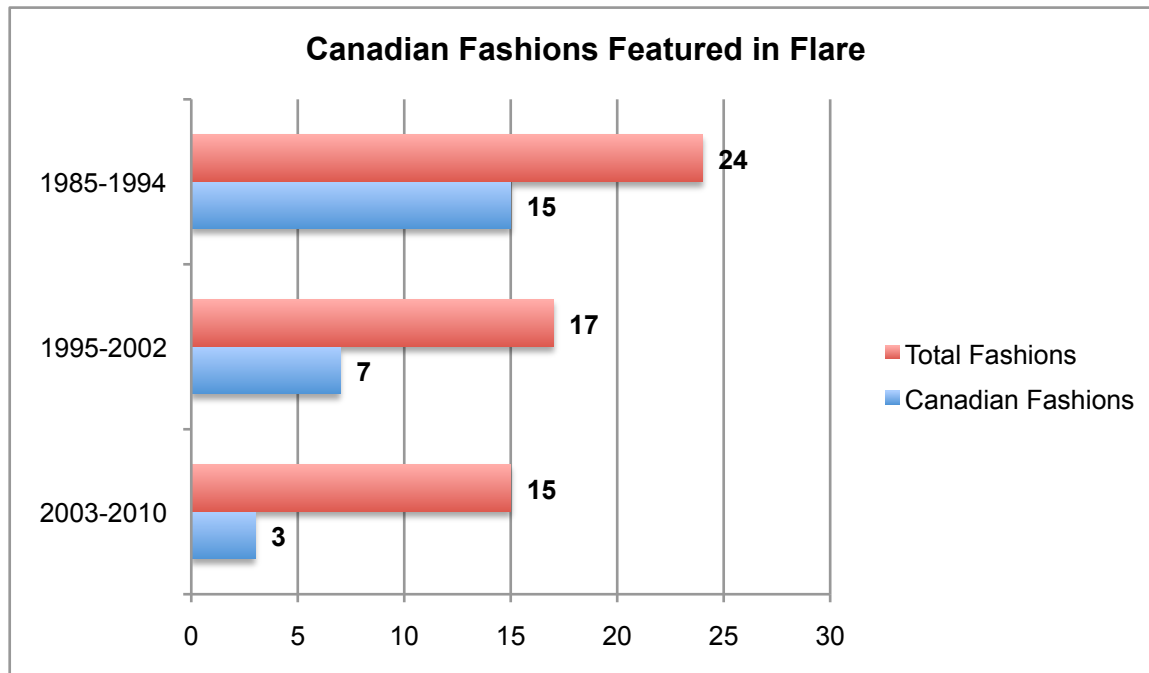


Fig. 21. This chart illustrates a decline in the number of Canadian fashions featured in the coded *Flare* magazine editorials. Note that NAFTA legislation took effect in 1994 and all trade restrictions on clothing were eliminated for World Trade Organization member countries by 2003. Forrest, Jenifer. *Canadian Fashions Featured in Flare*. Chart. Toronto, ON: N.p., 2012. Print.

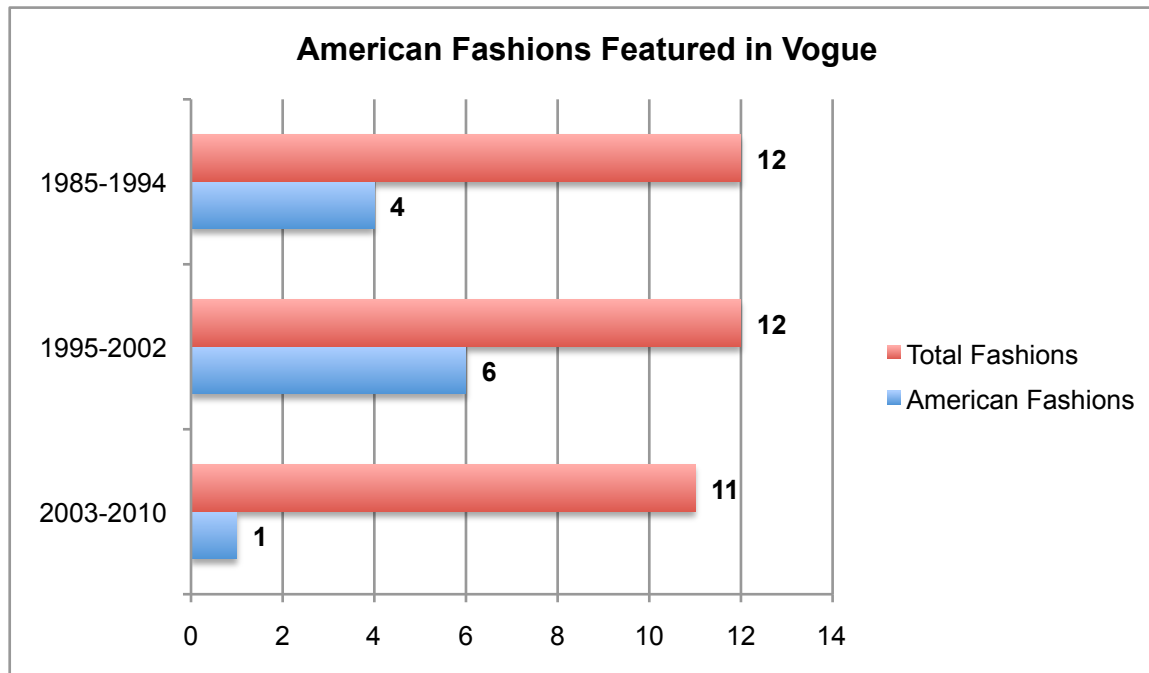


Fig. 22. This chart illustrates a decline in the number of American fashions featured in the coded *Vogue* magazine editorials. Note that NAFTA legislation took effect in 1994 and all trade restrictions on clothing were eliminated for World Trade Organization member countries by 2003. Forrest, Jenifer. *American Fashions Featured in Vogue*. Chart. Toronto, ON: N.p., 2012. Print.

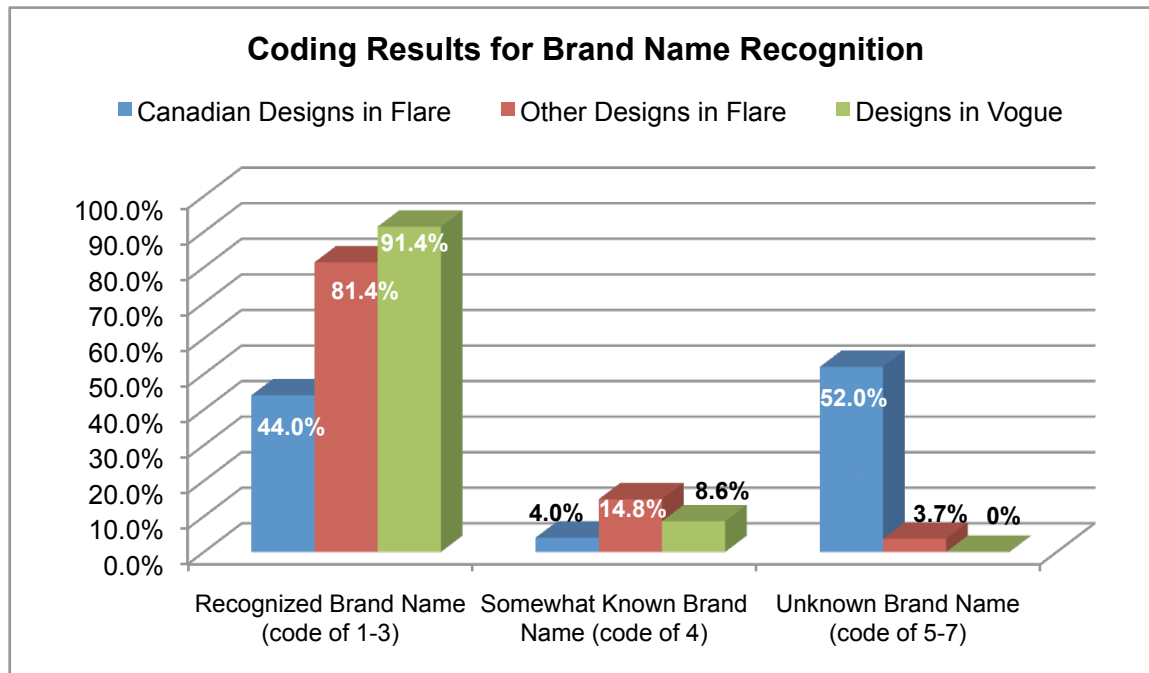


Fig. 23. This chart illustrates that international brand names are more recognized than those of Canadian fashion brands. Forrest, Jenifer. *Coding Results for Brand Name Recognition*. Chart. Toronto, ON: N.p., 2012. Print.

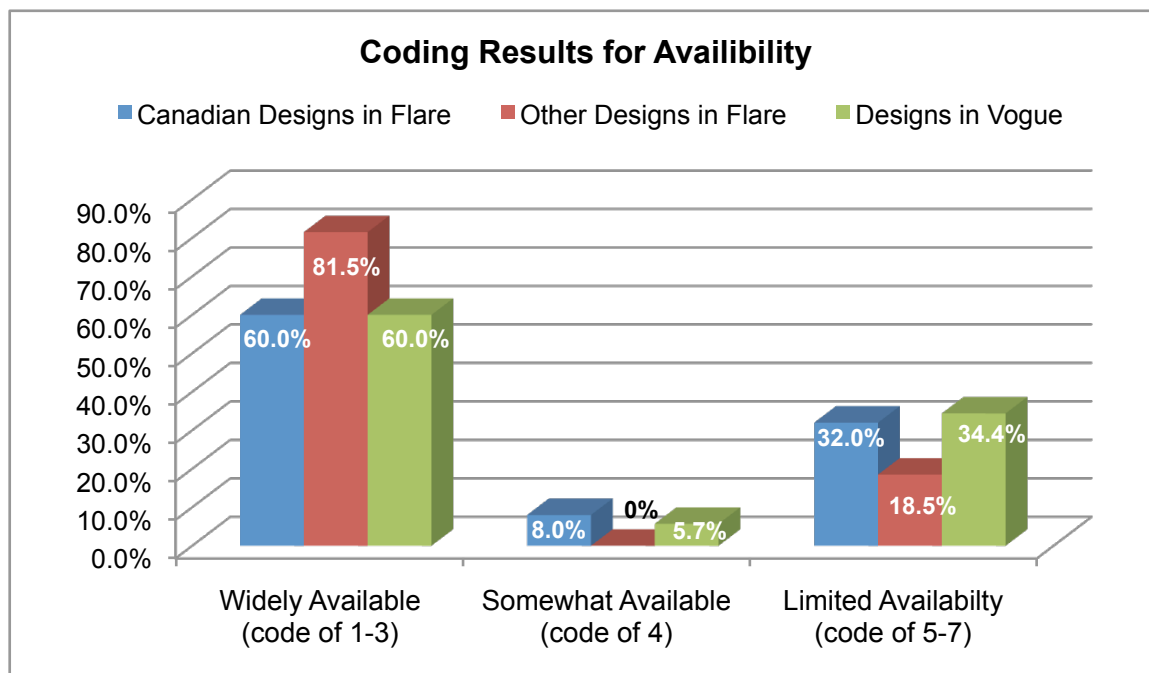


Fig. 24. Significantly, other designers featured in *Flare* are more widely available than Canadian designers are. Canadian fashions are less widely available at the end of the period than at the beginning. Forrest, Jenifer. *Coding Results for Availability*. Chart. Toronto, ON: N.p., 2012. Print.

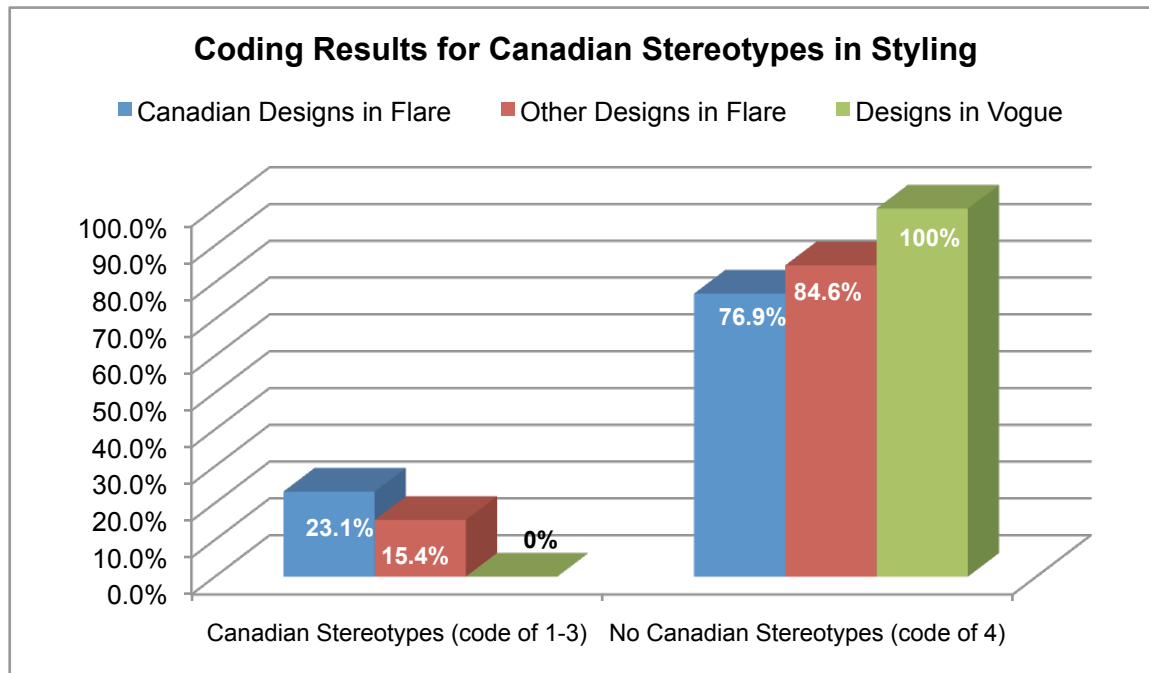


Fig. 25. This illustrates the use of Canadian stereotypes was not significant. Forrest, Jenifer. *Coding Results for Canadian Stereotypes in Styling*. Chart. Toronto, ON: N.p., 2012. Print.

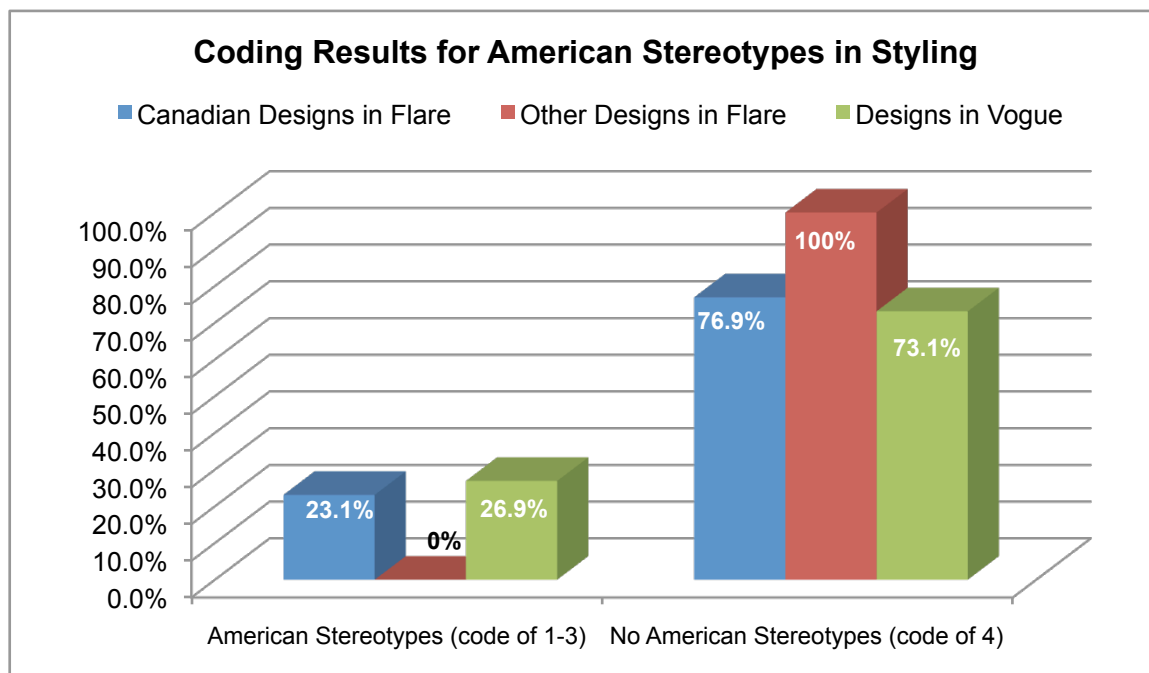


Fig. 26. This illustrates the use of American stereotypes was not significant. Forrest, Jenifer. *Coding Results for American Stereotypes in Styling*. Chart. Toronto, ON: N.p., 2012. Print.

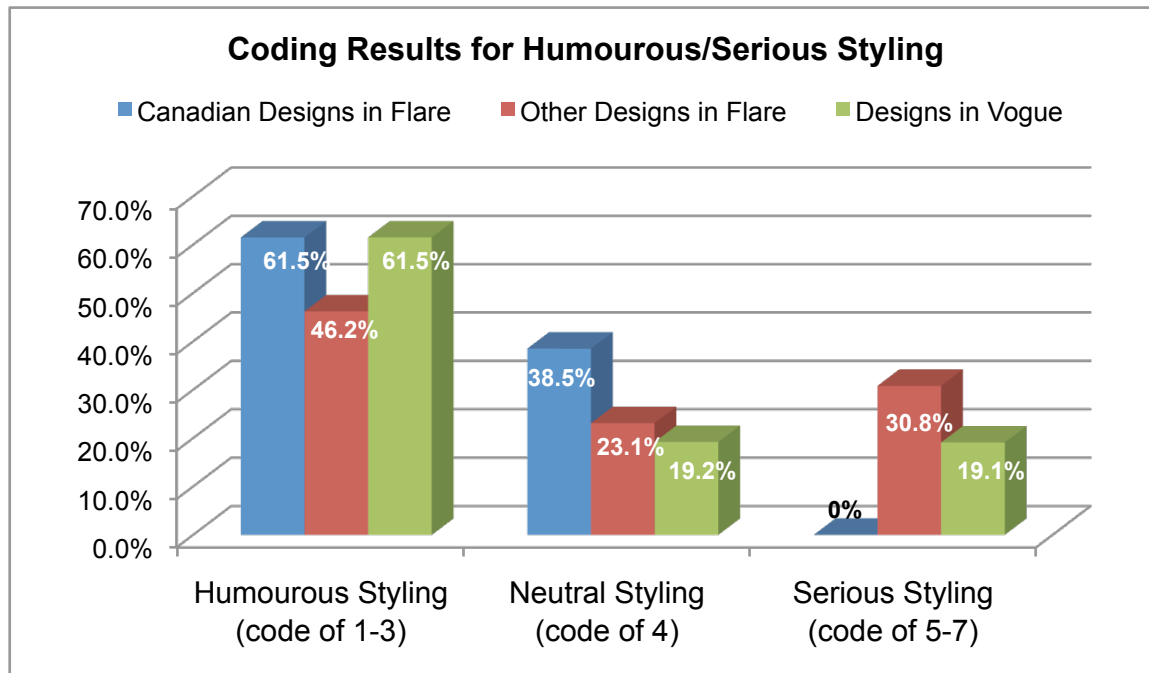


Fig. 27. Humourous styling was significant in both *Flare* and *Vogue*. Neutral styling was also used for Canadian designs in *Flare*, but serious styling was not. Forrest, Jenifer. *Coding Results for Humourous/Serious Styling*. Chart. Toronto, ON: N.p., 2012. Print.

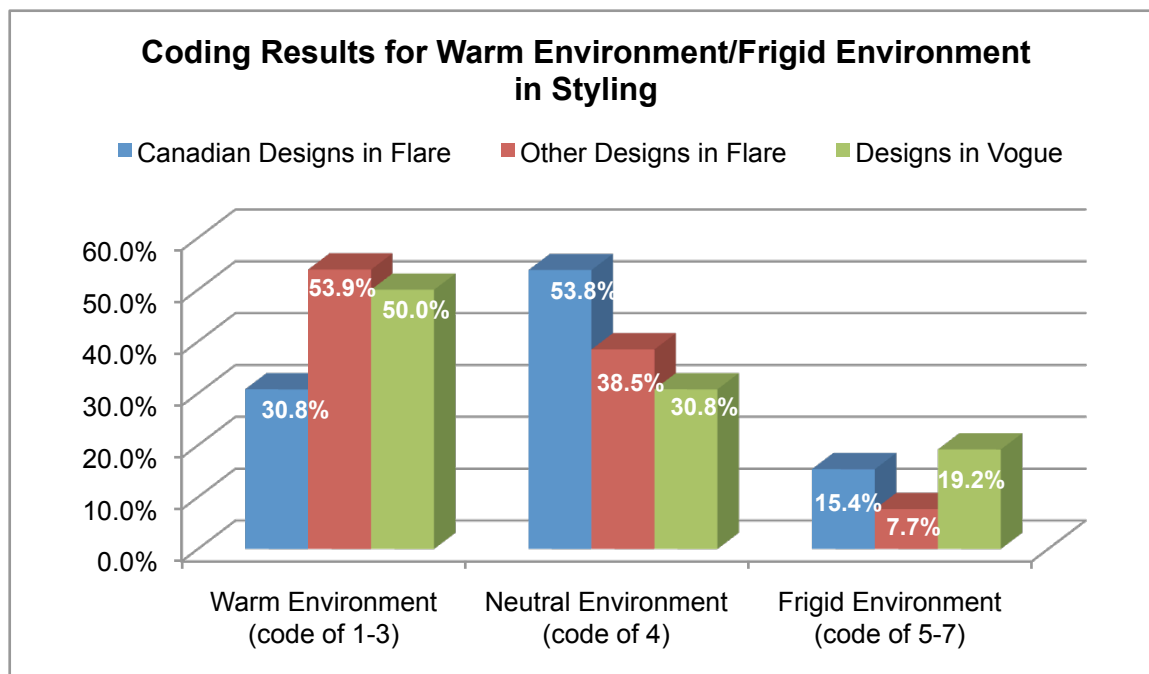


Fig. 28. Neutral environments were used more frequently for Canadian designs in *Flare* than warm or frigid environments. Forrest, Jenifer. *Coding Results for Warm Environment/Frigid Environment in Styling*. Chart. Toronto, ON: N.p., 2012. Print.

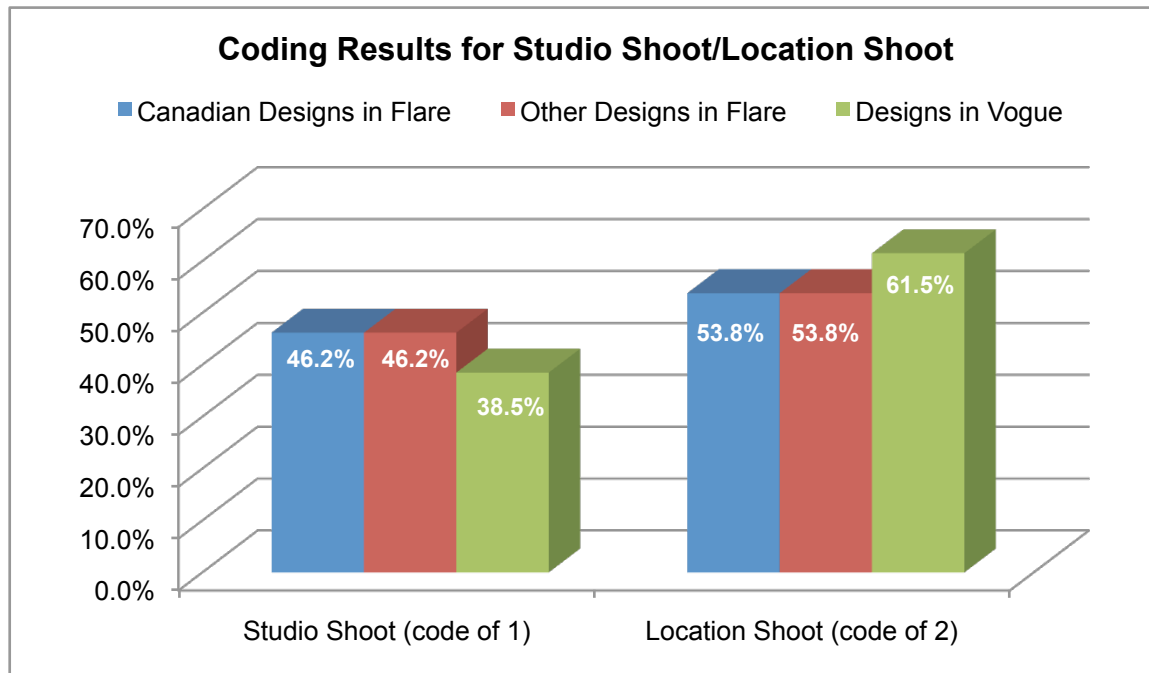


Fig. 29. This chart indicates that *Flare* uses studio shoots more often than *Vogue*, though not to a significant degree. Forrest, Jenifer. *Coding Results for Studio Shoot/Location Shoot*. Chart. Toronto, ON: N.p., 2012. Print.

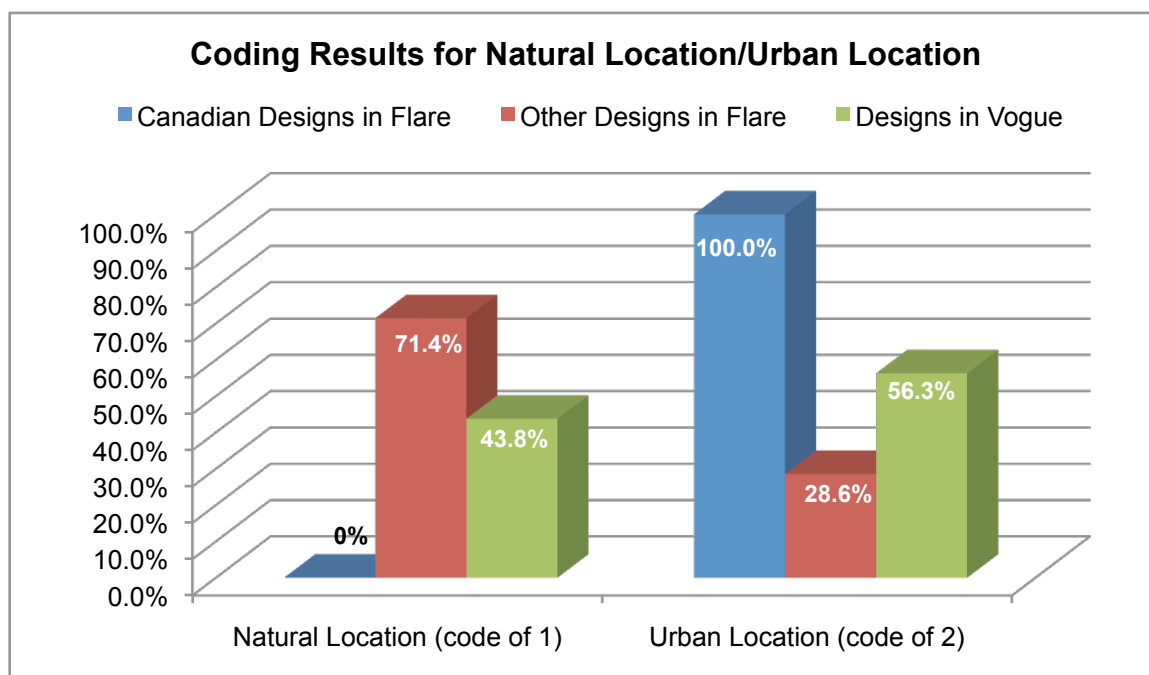


Fig. 30. Canadian designs in *Flare* are not photographed in natural environments, but in urban locations. While non-Canadian designs in *Flare* are frequently photographed in natural locations. Forrest, Jenifer. *Coding Results for Natural Location/Urban Location*. Chart. Toronto, ON: N.p., 2012. Print.

Appendix B- Coding Sheet

Free Trade-Off: Globalization's Impact on Canadian Dress Identity From 1985-2010

Content Analysis Coding Sheet

Magazine Year Month Source Editorial Name Page # Coder Name

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Garments

Humourous	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Serious
Conservative	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Avant-Garde
Sexy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Plain
Recognized Brandname								Unknown Brand
Garment 1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Garment 2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Garment 3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Garment 4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Widely Available								Limited Availability
Garment 1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Garment 2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Garment 3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Garment 4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Practical	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Impractical
Militaristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Peaceful
Designed in Canada				Designed Elsewhere				
Garment 1	1	2	U					
Garment 2	1	2	U					
Garment 3	1	2	U					

Garment 4	1	2	U	
Manufactured in Canada				Manufactured Elsewhere
Garment 1	1	2	U	
Garment 2	1	2	U	
Garment 3	1	2	U	
Garment 4	1	2	U	

Styling

Canadian Stereotypes	1	2	3	4	No Canadian Stereotypes			
American Stereotypes	1	2	3	4	No American Stereotypes			
Humourous Styling	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Serious Styling
Warm Environment	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Frigid Environment
Studio Shoot	1	2	Location Shoot					
Natural Location	1	2	N/A	Urban Location				

Appendix C- Coding Guide

Garments

Code: Humorous

Definition: Fashions that incorporate forms of humour such as puns, satire and whimsy in their design. These designs make the coder smile or laugh. They may utilize elements of popular culture in their design. They also tend to be lighter or brighter in colour and may reveal more of the body.

When to use: Use a rating of 1 when a design elicits a smile or laugh from the coder. Use a rating of 2-3 when a design is not overtly humorous, but the coder could describe it as light-hearted or whimsical. Use a rating of 4 when the coder feels the design is neither humorous nor serious.

Examples:



Rating of 1

"Twisted Classics." *Vogue* Sept. 2002: 642. Print.



Rating of 2-3

"Paris." *Flare* Feb. 1985: 60. Print.



Rating of 4

"Twisted Classics." *Vogue* Sept. 2002: 648. Print

Code: Serious

Definition: Fashions that may be appropriate for a serious occasion, such as a formal business event or funeral. These items tend to be dark in colour, cover most of the body, and do not make the coder smile or laugh.

When to use: Use a rating of 7 when the coder feels a design is appropriate for a funeral. Use a rating of 5-6 when the coder feels a design is appropriate for a business event. Use a rating of 4 when the code feels a design is neither humorous nor serious.

Examples:



Rating of 4

"Twisted Classics." *Vogue* Sept. 2002: 648. Print



Rating of 5-6

"Wanderlust." *Vogue* Sept. 2008: 671. Print.



Rating of 7

"Wanderlust." *Vogue* Sept. 2008: 683. Print.

Code: Conservative

Definition: Designs that utilize traditional silhouettes, fabrics, textures, and subdued colours. These fashions reference the past and do little to reinterpret it in new ways. They may be described as 'classic' and do not challenge social norms.

When to use: Use a rating of 1 when the coder feels a design is not innovative and directly references designs that are accepted as norms. Use a rating of 2-3 when a design does not challenge norms in general, but there are elements of the design that are innovative, such as an unusual use of fabric or trim. Use a rating of 4 when a design is equally referencing past designs and incorporating innovative elements.

Examples:



Rating of 1

"The Right Angles." *Flare* Oct. 1995: 113. Print.



Rating of 2-3

"Best in Show." *Flare* Sept. 2004: 288. Print.



Rating of 4

"Something Gold, Something Blue."
Vogue Feb. 2005: 164. Print.

Code: Avant Garde

Definition: These fashions may reference the past, but reinterpret silhouettes, fabrics, and textures and combine these elements in new ways. These designs may be seen as unwearable because they challenge social norms.

When to use: Use a rating of 7 when a design utilizes an unusual silhouette, modern/unusual fabric, and any other innovative design technique. Use a rating of 5-6 when a design uses the above innovative techniques, but directly references accepted norms of dressing in its design. Use a Rating of 4 when a design is equally referencing past designs and incorporating innovative elements.

Examples:



Rating of 4

"Something Gold, Something Blue."
Vogue Feb. 2005: 164. Print.



Rating of 5-6

"Magic in the Makeup."
Vogue Sept. 2004: 786. Print.



Rating of 7

"Alice in Wonderland." Vogue Dec. 2003: 241. Print.

Code: Sexy

Definition: These fashions will have a close fitting silhouette and reveal a lot of the body. They may incorporate elements of lingerie and sexually charged imagery from films, music videos, etc. These garments are likely to draw attention that is sexual in nature. This definition is not limited to eveningwear garments.

When to use: Use a rating of 1 when a design is closely fitted to the body, reveals a lot of the body, and references lingerie and sexually charged imagery. Use a rating of 2-3 when some, but not all of these elements are present. Use a rating of 4 when a design has some of these elements, but could still be worn in a business setting.

Examples:



Rating of 1

"Lace Incorporated." *Flare* Jan. 1985: 68. Print.



Rating of 2-3

"Sweater Girl."
Vogue Sept. 2010: 614. Print.



Rating of 4

"New York New York." *Flare* Aug. 1987: 81. Print.

Code: Plain

Definition: These designs do not have a close fitting silhouette and do not reveal the body. They do not reference sexually charged imagery and do not draw attention that is sexual in nature.

When to use: Use a rating of 7 when a garment has been designed to conceal the body. Use a rating of 5-6 when a design mostly conceals, but reveals certain areas of the body. Use a rating of 4 when a design reveals the body, references lingerie or sexual imagery, but could still be worn in a business setting.

Examples:



Rating of 4

"New York New York." *Flare* Aug. 1987: 81. Print.



Rating of 5-6

"24 Sussex Drive." *Flare* Mar. 2002: 125. Print.



Rating of 7

"Cool Britannia." *Flare* Nov. 1987: 153. Print.

Code: Recognized Brandname

Definition: A garment created by a designer or brand that has international recognition. These brands advertise in magazines such as *Vogue*, *Harpers Bazaar*, *Elle*, etc.

When to use: Use a rating of 1 when the brandname is known outside of the international fashion industry and could be considered a 'household name'. Use a rating of 2-3 when the brandname is very well known in the international fashion industry and is known by many outside of the industry. Use a rating of 4 when the name is known within the international fashion industry, but not by the general public.

Examples: 1=Calvin Klein, 2=Alexander McQueen, 3=Stella McCartney, 4=Martin Margiela

Code: Unknown Brandname

Definition: A garment that is appreciated for its aesthetic, but is not associated with a brand or designer name that has international recognition. The designer may be well-known in a small or local market.

When to use: Use a rating of 7 when the brandname is completely unknown to the coder. Use a rating of 5-6 when the brandname is only known within the Canadian fashion industry. Use a rating of 4 when the name is known within the international fashion industry, but not by the general public.

Examples: 7=Nathalie X Clothing, 6=Label, 5=Comrags, 4=Martin Margiela

Code: Widely Available

Definition: Design may or may not be expensive. In cities with a population over 500,000 people, it is not difficult for consumers to purchase from retail chains and/or department stores.

When to use: Use a rating of 1 when the design can be purchased from national department store chains and retail chains, use a rating of 2-3 when the design is only available at national department store chains or national retail chains, use a rating of 4 when the design is available nationally through independent retailers.

Examples: 1=Levi's, 2=Jones New York, 3=Le Chateau, 4=Comrags

Code: Limited Availability

Definition: Design may or may not be expensive. It can only be purchased in independent boutiques regardless of the size of the city.

When to use: Use a rating of 7 when the design can only be purchased from independent boutiques in cities with populations over 2 million. Use a rating of 5-6 when the design can only be purchased from independent boutiques with populations over 1 million. Use a rating of 4 when the design is available nationally through independent retailers.

Examples: 7=Martin Margiela, 6=Rue du Mail, 5=Christian Dior, 4=Comrags

Code: Practical

Definition: Design can function in many different environments and garment is comfortable to wear.

When to use: Use a rating of 1 when the design can be worn in most environments and allows for freedom of movement. Use a rating of 2-3 when the design can be worn in many environments and allows for freedom of movement. Use a rating of 4 when the design can be worn in more than 2 environments, but minimally restricts movement.

Examples:



Rating of 1

"About a Boy." *Vogue* Sept. 2004: 702. Print.



Rating of 2-3

"All in Stride." *Flare* Mar. 2009: 128. Print.



Rating of 4

"2-for-1 Special." *Vogue* Sept. 2008: 766. Print.

Code: Impractical

Definition: Design is only functional in specific environments and garment is uncomfortable to wear.

When to use: Use a rating of 7 when the design is specific to 1-2 environments and greatly restricts movement (ie-wedding gown). Use a rating of 5-6 when the design is specific to 1-2 environments and moderately restricts movement. Use a rating of 4 when the design can be worn in more than 2 environments, but minimally restricts movement.

Examples:



Rating of 4

"2-for-1 Special." *Vogue* Sept. 2008: 766. Print.



Rating of 5-6

"Tender is the Night."

Vogue Sept. 2010: 698. Print.



Rating of 7

"Haute Canadiana." *Flare*: Mar. 2010: 136. Print.

Code: Militaristic

Definition: Garment design references military/police uniforms in fabric colour, fit, and notions (buttons, badges, etc). Lines are rectilinear rather than curvilinear.

When to use: Use a rating of 1 when garment directly references military/police uniforms in its fabric, fit, and silhouette. Use a rating of 2-3 when military/police references are obvious, but are not the only design details present. Use a rating of 4 when garment contains no references to the military/police nor is it made of light colours, curvilinear silhouettes, and soft fabrics.

Examples:



Rating of 1

"Noble Endeavor." *Vogue* Sept. 2008: 722. Print.



Rating of 2-3

"The Greatest Show on Earth."
Vogue Sept. 2002: 623. Print.



Rating of 4

"The Untouchables." *Flare* Oct. 1987: 171. Print.

Code: Peaceful

Definition: Garment design uses light colours, curvilinear lines, and softer fabrics.

When to use: Use a rating of 7 when garment is light in colour, has a curvilinear silhouette, and is made of soft fabric. Use a rating of 5-6 when garment is light in colour or has a curvilinear silhouette, or is made of softer fabrics. Use a rating of 4 when the garment contains no references to the military/police nor is it made of light colours, curvilinear silhouettes, and soft fabrics.

Examples:



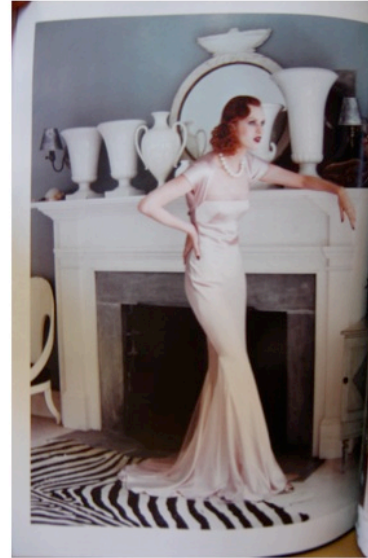
Rating of 4

"The Untouchables." *Flare* Oct. 1987: 171. Print.



Rating of 5-6

"American Splendor."
Vogue Nov. 2003: 429. Print.



Rating of 7

"American Splendor." *Vogue* Nov. 2003: 440. Print.

Code: Designed in Canada

Definition: Brand name listed in image description can be identified as one that was/is designed in Canada at the time of image publication.

When to use: Use a rating of 1 if the brand name identified was/is designed in Canada at the time of image publication. Use a rating of U if the brand's place of design is unknown.

Example: 1=Lida Baday

Code: Designed Elsewhere

Definition: Brand name listed in image description can be identified as one that was not/is not designed in Canada at the time of image publication.

When to use: Use a rating of 2 if the brand name identified was not/is not designed in Canada at the time of image publication. Use a rating of U if the brand's place of design is unknown.

Example: 2=Donna Karan

Code: Manufactured in Canada

Definition: Brand name listed in image description can be identified as one that was/is manufactured in Canada at the time of image publication.

When to use: Use a rating of 1 if the brand name identified was/is manufactured in Canada at the time of image publication. Use a rating of U if the brand's place of manufacture is unknown.

Example: 1=Alfred Sung

Code: Manufactured Elsewhere

Definition: Brand name listed in image description can be identified as one that was not/is not manufactured in Canada at the time of image publication.

When to use: Use a rating of 2 if the brand name identified was not/is not manufactured in Canada at the time of image publication. Use a rating of U if the brand's place of manufacture is unknown.

Example: 2=Gucci

Styling

Code: Canadian Stereotypes

Definition: Image includes stereotypical Canadian environments (forests, snow, etc) and/or props (hockey sticks, maple syrup, canoes, etc).

When to use: Use a rating of 1 when the image was photographed in a stereotypical Canadian environment and contains stereotypical Canadian props. Use a rating of 2-3 when an image is either in a stereotypical Canadian environment or contains stereotypical Canadian props. Use a rating of 4 when the image does not contain stereotypical Canadian imagery.

Examples:



Rating of 1

"Private Lives." *Fashion* Feb. 2011: 97. Print.



Rating of 2-3

"24 Sussex Drive." *Flare* Mar. 2002: 130. Print.



Rating of 4

"Canadian Club." *Flare* Apr. 1985: 85. Print.

Code: No Canadian Stereotypes

Definition: Image does not include stereotypical Canadian environments (forests, snow, etc) and/or props (hockey sticks, maple syrup, canoes, etc).

When to use: Use a rating of 4 when the image does not contain stereotypical Canadian imagery.

Example:



Rating of 4

"Canadian Club." *Flare* Apr. 1985: 85. Print.

Code: American Stereotypes

Definition: Image includes stereotypical American environments (Manhattan, American West, suburbia, Grand Canyon, etc) and/or props (Statue of Liberty, stars, 'red, white, and blue', flags, baseball, football, etc).

When to use: Use a rating of 1 when the image was photographed in a stereotypical American environment and contains stereotypical American props. Use a rating of 2-3 when an image is either in a stereotypical American environment or contains stereotypical American props. Use a rating of 4 when the image does not contain stereotypical American imagery.

Examples:



Rating of 1

"2-for-1 Special." *Vogue* Sept. 2008: 769. Print.



Rating of 2-3

"Lean Machine." *Vogue* July 2006: 167. Print.



Rating of 4

"Day Dreams." *Vogue* Sept. 2004: 684. Print.

Code: No American Stereotypes

Definition: Image does not include stereotypical American environments (Manhattan, American West, suburbia, Grand Canyon etc.) and/or props (Statue of Liberty, stars, 'red, white and blue', flags, baseball, football, etc).

When to use: Use a rating of 4 when the image does not contain stereotypical American imagery.

Example:



Rating of 4

"Day Dreams." *Vogue* Sept. 2004: 684. Print.

Code: Humorous Styling

Definition: Styling that incorporates forms of humour such as puns, satire and whimsy through settings, props, or poses. These images may utilize elements of popular culture in their staging and may make the coder smile or laugh.

When to use: Use a rating of 1 when styling elicits a smile or laugh from the coder. Use a rating of 2-3 when styling is not overtly humorous, but the coder could describe it as light-hearted or whimsical. Use a rating of 4 when the coder feels the styling is neither humorous nor serious.

Examples:



Rating of 1

"Monsters Inc." *Vogue* Sept. 2010: 682. Print.



Rating 2-3

"The Greatest Show on Earth." *Vogue* Sept. 2002: 628. Print.



Rating of 4

"On a Whim." *Vogue* Sept. 2008: 715. Print.

Code: Serious Styling

Definition: Styling that references a serious occasion and/or images that tend to be somber and do not make the coder laugh or smile.

When to use: Use a rating of 7 when the coder feels styling is somber, stoic, and/or angry in tone. Use a rating of 5-6 when the coder feels styling is somber and stoic, but not angry. Use a rating of 4 when the code feels styling is neither humorous nor serious.

Examples:



Rating of 4

"On a Whim." *Vogue* Sept. 2008: 715. Print.



Rating of 5-6

"Pretty Tough." *Vogue* Sept. 2010: 639. Print.



Rating of 7

"The Right Mix." *Flare* Mar. 2004: 164. Print.

Code: Warm Environment

Definition: The image has been shot either on location or in a studio and it appears to be warm in terms of colour (yellow, gold, red, pink), lighting, and if outdoors, physical environment (beach, sunny day, etc).

When to use: Use a rating of 1 when the image has warm light and uses warm colours exclusively. Use a rating of 2-3 when the image has some warm light and uses some warm colours. Use a rating of 4 when the light is neither warm nor cool and there is a balanced use of warm and cool colours.

Examples:



Rating of 1

"Sweater Girl." *Vogue* Sept. 2010: 612. Print.



Rating of 2-3

"Say it With Diamonds."

Vogue Sept. 2004: 799. Print.



Rating of 4

"The Empress and her New Clothes."

Flare Mar. 2004: 155. Print.

Code: Frigid Environment

Definition: The image has been shot either on location or in a studio and it appears to be frigid in terms of colour (blue, green, white), lighting, and if outdoors, physical environment (rain, clouds, etc).

When to use: Use a rating of 7 when the image has cool light and uses cool colours exclusively. Use a rating of 5-6 when the image has some cool light and uses some cool colours. Use a rating of 4 when the light is neither warm nor cool and there is a balanced use of warm and cool colours.

Examples:



Rating of 4

"The Empress and her New Clothes."
Flare Mar. 2004: 155. Print.



Rating of 5-6

"Rain or Shine." *Flare* Sept. 2002: 186. Print.



Rating of 7

"Cold Comfort." *Flare* Sept. 2007: 230. Print.

Code: Studio Shoot

Definition: The image was photographed in a studio.

When to use: Use a rating of 1 when the image was photographed in a studio.

Example:



Rating of 1

"Adding it All Up." *Vogue* Feb. 2005: 182. Print.

Code: Location Shoot

Definition: The image was photographed on location.

When to use: Use a rating of 2 when the image was photographed on location.

Example:



Rating of 2

"Couture Club." *Vogue* Sept. 2004: 791. Print.

Code: Natural Location

Definition: The image was photographed on location in a natural environment such as a field, forest, beach, etc.

When to use: Use a rating of 1 when the image was photographed on location in a natural environment. Use a rating of N/A when the image was photographed in a studio.

Example:



Rating of 1

"Scotch on the Rocks." *Flare* Sept. 2004: 250. Print.

Code: Urban Location

Definition: The image was photographed on location in an urban or man-made environment such as a street, inside of a building, outside of a building, etc.

When to use: Use a rating of 2 when the image was photographed on location in an urban or man-made environment. Use a rating of N/A when the image was photographed in a studio.

Example:



Rating of 2

"Checks and the City." *Vogue* Sept. 2010: 626. Print.

Appendix D- Coded Images

Flare Mar. 1985

Jean Paul Gaultier rust top, vintage skirt



Vogue Mar. 1985

Jean Muir paisley jacket



Flare Sept. 1985

Mr. Jax suede shirt, Anne Klein turtleneck and skirt



Vogue Sept. 1985

Geoffrey Beene green wool jersey dress



Flare Mar. 1987
Jean Paul Gaultier undershirt and pouf skirt



Vogue Mar. 1987
Carmelo Pomodoro navy cotton ballet dress



Flare Sept. 1987
Hoax Couture three colour dress



Vogue Sept. 1987
Bill Blass multicoloured paisley panne velvet jacket



Flare Mar. 1989
Price Roman orange linen suit



Vogue Mar. 1989
Azzedine Alaïa stretch lace knit evening dress



Flare Sept. 1989
Babel vest and blouse, Alfred Sung skirt



Vogue Sept. 1989
Marc Jacobs for Perry Ellis cashmere sweater



Flare Mar. 1991

Yves Saint Laurent lime coat, long sleeved
pumpkin t-shirt, melon-toned pants



Vogue Mar. 1991

Chanel jacket and catsuit



Flare Sept. 1991

Brian Bailey wool bouclé jacket and
leggings



Vogue Sept. 1991

Christian Lacroix Haute Couture western
jacket and tiered pouf skirt



Comrags long pink shirt and navy pants



Paris International's sporty fashion played with urban style. From work to weekend style, I have an endless range of choices. I have a belted wrap jacket, \$225 and long wrap skirt, \$225. Paris International's elegant and white cotton skirt, \$125 and wrap jacket, \$125. Paris International's elegant and white cotton skirt, \$125 and wrap jacket, \$125.

city to country style

Bonnie's capsule collection: Ralph Lauren, Brooks Brothers, J. Crew, J. Peterman, J. Peterman, J. Peterman.

Chloé sheer patchwork dress



In hardware picks her
 inspiration in one of her's
 great aunts, in her mother
 based on Russian clothing,
 she took a closer interest in
 those girls were doing a fashion
 show there, with a head for
 history, cuffs and collars it with
 elegant Russian. Designer
 Alexander, his (Liam),
 Photographer (Liam, Sarah),
 (Liam Chinese 1980)

Flare Mar. 1995
Sisley viscose/linen jacket and pant



Vogue Mar. 1995
Chanel jumpsuit



Flare Sept. 1995
Lida Baday wool/polyamide bouclé flirt
jacket and skirt



Vogue Sept. 1995
Richard Tyler red satin dress



Flare Mar. 1997
Jax silk cowl-neck top and skirt



Vogue Mar. 1997
Calvin Klein sheath dress



Flare Sept. 1997
Ross Mayer wool/polyamide wrap dress,
Club Monaco rayon camisole



Vogue Sept. 1997
Ralph Lauren camel-hair overcoat and
tuxedo



Flare Mar. 1999
BCBG Max Azria poly/spandex shell,
Allen Schwartz nylon/pvc techno skirt



Vogue Mar. 1999
John Galliano for Christian Dior Haute
Couture crepe dress



Flare Sept. 1999
GFF Gianfranco Ferre jacket, Vivienne
Westwood shirt, BCBG Max Azria pant



Vogue Sept. 1999
Marni coat and skirt



Flare Mar. 2001

Linda Allard for Ellen Tracy silk/spandex top, Izzy Camilleri cotton pant



Vogue Mar. 2001

Louis Vuitton blue silk vest and black straight skirt



Flare Sept. 2001

Céline wool/cashmere peacoat, CK Jeans cotton/acrylic turtleneck



Vogue Sept. 2001

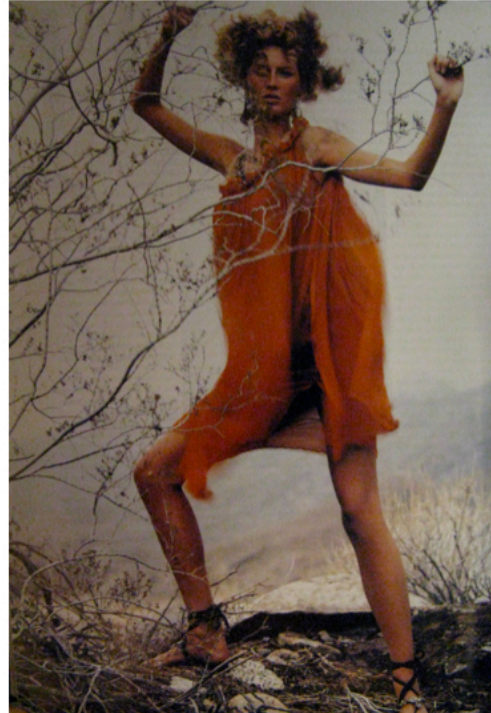
Donna Karen New York leather trench



Flare Mar. 2003
Burberry trench, Louben poly/cotton top
and linen skirt



Vogue Mar. 2003
Lanvin silk minidress



Flare Sept. 2003
Louis Vuitton silk/poly jacket, Sea Folly
bikini bottom



Vogue Sept. 2003
Tom Ford for Yves Saint Laurent Rive
Gauche chocolate silk dress



Flare Mar. 2005
Boss Hugo Boss silk chiffon dress



Vogue Mar. 2005
Lanvin indigo washed-silk tiered dress



Flare Sept. 2005
Missoni silk charmeuse dress



Vogue Sept. 2005
Michael Kors black zipper dress, Jean Paul Gaultier tank



Flare Mar. 2007
Marni leather coat, Alberta Feretti silk
dress, Costume National pant



Vogue Mar. 2007
Alberta Feretti metallic-paillette dress



Flare Sept. 2007
Jeremy Laing silk/wool taffeta dress



Vogue Sept. 2007
Miu Miu dove-grey dress



Flare Mar. 2009
Jay Godfrey silk crepe de chine
jumpsuit



Vogue Mar. 2009
Giorgio Armani silk dress



Flare Sept. 2009
French Connection wool coat, Prada wool
cardigan and wool short



Vogue Sept. 2009
Louis Vuitton wool coat, sweater, and
layered skirt



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