

**TOWARDS A STRONGER CANADIAN FASHION INDUSTRY:
AN INVESTIGATION OF CANADA'S MEDIA LANDSCAPE AND ITS COVERAGE OF
CANADIAN FASHION**

By

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Abstract

Media has proven to be an effective medium to reach consumers and influence public opinion. With a focus on Canada's media landscape, this study explores the way Canadian media covers Canada's fashion industry. Using a quantitative research method for a case study, this study examines the frequency at which Canadian brands are present in fashion photo editorials published in Canada's top readership fashion magazines in 2016, namely, *Elle Canada*, *Flare* and *Fashion*. Findings show that in all three magazines, Canadian fashion makes up a minority stake in fashion editorials, while fashion brands from other countries constitute a majority of product placements. This essay discusses the potential impact of this lack of media exposure for Canada's fashion industry and puts forward recommendations to benefit the Canadian fashion industry for future fashion photo editorial direction.

INTRODUCTION

“Without the promotion of fashion by cultural intermediaries, such as fashion journalists, ‘fashion’ as the latest style would not be transmitted very far.”

— Joanne Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body* (1)

The 21st century media landscape has been in an ongoing state of reform due to rapid changes in technology affecting the way North-American consumers receive and consume news. In Canada, even though large mainstream media corporations such as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and Rogers Media and Postmedia have struggled to keep up with these transformations, many are taking the necessary measures to adapt to the 21st century media landscape and to remain competitive players in what some see as an oversaturated market. In March 2016, for example, the Liberal government pledged \$675-million in funding for the CBC – to be distributed annually through 2021 – to help develop the public broadcaster’s focus on its digital platforms (Bradshaw). Similarly, in 2016, Rogers Media also announced significant changes to its organizational structure and publication output to focus on its digital strategy in an effort to remain a viable media player (Craig).

Canada’s well developed media sector is comprised of various national and local consumer magazines and newspapers. At the time of this research, conducted in the winter 2016 and 2017, there were 627 English language consumer magazines in Canada and 86 daily English language newspapers, according to data from the Canadian Advertising Rates and Data publication (CARD). These magazines and newspapers are primarily backed by large for-profit corporations including telecommunication giants like Rogers and Bell, as well as communication

companies like TVA Group and St. Joseph Communications. This financial backing has allowed many Canadian media outlets to develop the necessary tools to strategize its positioning in the market.

Among Canada's media output, fashion journalism has made up an important part of Canadian reporting as a form of news and entertainment. Canadian scholar Barbara Freeman has traced Canadian fashion features of all kinds all the way back to 1890 (293). In 1893, for example, a regular fashion illustration baptized "Our Daily Fashion Plate" was being published in the *Toronto Evening News*. The same newspaper would introduce "The Woman's Page" in 1899 where fashion coverage was a primary focus (Freeman 293). Freeman would also find fashion features published in several other Canadian publications during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century such as the *Toronto Empire*, the *Toronto Globe*, the *Toronto Daily Mail*, and the *Toronto Star*, among others (Freeman 293). The interest in fashion reporting was a reflection of the growing consumerism trend flourishing in Canada in the late nineteenth-century, as well as the growth of department stores and the advertising industry, which financed newspapers (Freeman 293).

Still, despite Canada's strong media industry and its appetite for fashion journalism, Canada faces an increasing amount of media competition from the United States. Canada's cultural output such as newspapers and magazines are often overshadowed by imports from the United States. In turn, the important stories highlighting Canadian news and culture such as fashion reported through our Canadian media landscape are often eclipsed. Freeman traces this problem all the way back to the 1890's where she notes that 50 of Canada's 119 newspapers were subscribed to American wire services and also bought American features and advertising

(Freeman 295). “Canadian dailies regularly carried features accredited to *Harper’s Bazaar* and other fashion magazines and various U.S newspapers, including fashion letters describing the latest attire worn by society leaders in London, Paris, Vienna, and even Dublin” (Freeman 295). Though she also notes that “the Toronto woman journalist was clearly expected to originate some fashion material of her own by investigating what was available to local consumers,” it is unclear just how much media coverage was dedicated to the brands and designers that made up Canada’s fashion industry during the period (Freeman 295).

The problem is twofold. While Canadian media continues to rely on American coverage, Canadian fashion journalism has received little scholarly attention. What’s more, the designers and brands that make up Canada’s fashion industry are missing out on an important opportunity for brand exposure via mass media. Up until the 1990’s, a number of Canadian cities including Montreal and Toronto were recognized as a hub for the textile and clothing industries (Wyman). Canada’s apparel industry, however, has since been decimated by globalization, notably due to the rise of imports in the country following the introduction of the Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement (FTA), signed in 1988. The agreement included the elimination of tariffs and a reduction in non-tariff barriers, which ultimately lead to an increase in cross-border trade that negatively impacted Canadian fashion exports. “By 1998, imported textiles and clothing had taken over more than half of the Canadian market from Canadian-made products” (Wyman).

In less than ten years, the number of Canadian clothing manufacturing sales have significantly fallen from \$8 billion at its peak in 2002, to \$2.3 billion in 2010 (“Clothing and Textile Sales in Decline”). Still, Canada’s fashion industry continues to be recognized as an

important part of Canadian culture and the creative industries, as well as a key player in Canada's economy. Canada continues to retain large fashion brands with international production networks and cross-Canada retail presence, such as *Roots*, *Aritzia*, *Lululemon* and *Joe Fresh*. There are also numerous Canada-based independent designers who have managed to find success in their home country as well as abroad, such as *Lucian Mattis*, *Marie Saint Pierre*, *Pink Tartan*, *David Dixon*, and *Denis Gagnon*, to name but a few.

In order to compete with the global market, Canada's fashion industry is in need of various types of support from industry, from the government, as well as from the media. Media plays an important role in informing consumers on different brands and can help Canadian brands reach necessary exposure, and help legitimize their businesses. Without proper coverage from media, Canadian fashion industry players such as retailers and designers lack the proper support necessary to be able to grow in an international marketplace and keep their businesses viable. This can be especially disadvantageous to emerging brands and small businesses. Canadian media, therefore, have an increasingly important responsibility to report as often and as effectively as possible on Canadian culture, as well as the various players that define Canada's society.

Thus, with a focus on Canadian fashion, the purpose of this study is to (a) determine if Canada's fashion industry is well recognized in 21st century Canadian media through a case study on selected Canadian fashion magazines published in 2016, and (b) determine whether journalists and editors involved in Canadian media may adopt better methods to report on the Canadian fashion industry more effectively. This research project seeks to determine if Canadian fashion is present in Canadian media and if so, at what type of frequency, as well as

seeks to determine if the media industry can improve its practices to further help the Canadian fashion industry and its members thrive. I will answer these questions by using a combination of theoretical methods to illuminate the context, along with primary research involving a content analysis of three Canadian produced fashion magazines as a case study. I will conduct a quantitative content analysis of fashion editorials published in three of the top Canadian fashion magazines in 2016, in order to determine how much coverage these top Canadian publications allocated to Canadian fashion brands.

The question “what is fashion” has preoccupied a number of theorists such as Thorstein Veblen, Georg Simmel, and Jean Baudrillard, as well as more recently Elizabeth Wilson, Valerie Steele, and Joanne Entwistle. More than just referencing dress, appearance, and style, fashion is understood as both material culture and a symbolic system; it is also a commercial industry, a socio-cultural force, and “an intangible system of significance” (Rocamora and Smelik 2). One of the first theorists to differentiate the terms fashion and clothing, Malcom Barnard offers different senses of the word “fashion” and reduces it to two main senses: the noun and the verb (8). As a noun, he considers fashion as a manner and defines the term as synonymous with the word “way.” In this sense, fashion is tied to a way of being at a particular moment and in a particular place. As a verb, Barnard defines “fashion” as the activity of making and doing such as in the phrase “I am fashioning a pleat box” (8). This definition helps us to understand fashion as a changing factor, varying from time and place. This is relevant to this research as we will examine fashion in Canadian-produced publications in 2016, and it will help us place Canadian fashion as it lives in Canadian fashion publications in 2016.

By focusing her discussion on the “fashioned body,” Joanne Entwistle recognizes the larger system that makes up the fashion industry such as the bodies who produce fashion, the bodies who promote fashion, as well as the bodies that wear fashion and produce identities through it. As Entwistle explains: “When we speak of fashion we speak simultaneously of a number of overlapping and interconnecting bodies involved in the production and promotion of dress as well as the actions of individuals acting on their bodies when ‘getting dressed’” (2). More than just referencing clothes, this study takes into account fashion’s ability to construct bodies and identities; it also takes a close look at the larger industry that allows for the realization of fashion as we know it.

Another aspect of fashion is its mutability. We often read about the latest spring or summer styles or the new fall fashion, because fashion is constantly changing. We read about the latest styles as captured in Paris, Milan, New York and other fashion capitals, because fashion also varies from place to place. However, though countries like France, America and Italy have established their national design identities, Canada’s fashion design identity has been relatively unacknowledged (Palmer 4). Unfortunately, Canada’s association to successful fashion companies like Club Monaco and MAC, now owned by American corporations, are often unrecognized. As Palmer explains: “The non-Canadianness of Canadian designers and fashion, and why they are not recognized as such, raises complex issues of internationalism and the globalization of fashion and Canada’s role within the matrix” (4).

Internationally, it is the successful brands and designers of a country or city that have helped establish its design identity: “We read about the invasion of the Paris couture by the British John Galliano and the Irish Alexander McQueen, or the American Tom Ford’s

phenomenal success in Milan and Paris” (Palmer 3). Therefore, for the purpose of this study, the term “Canadian fashion” refers to the various bodies that make up the Canadian industry, in particular designers and brands. That is, Canadian fashion pertains to any fashion that is designed by an individual or brand that identifies as Canadian.

In his book *The Dictionary of Mass Communication & Media Research*, David Demers defines mass media as “organizations that produce news or entertainment content and distribute that content to a large number of geographically separated people through a technologically based medium” (182). The seven traditional mass media components are books, newspapers, magazines, motion pictures, recording industry, radio, and television. Thus, the term “Canadian media” refers to mass media organizations that are headquartered in Canada.

In what follows, Chapter One examines the academic literature related to Canada’s fashion industry and Canada’s media industry. Past research on Canadian dress as well as past research on various institutions and organizations that support Canada’s fashion industry are reviewed. Next, different academic literature related to Canada’s media industry is reviewed, notably past research that used Canadian media as a primary basis for investigation. Lastly, this chapter outlines the overarching theoretical framework that supports this study: Agenda-setting theory. Chapter Two, in turn, explores the methodology utilized for the Canadian media case study. The case study involving the analysis of three Canadian-produced fashion magazines will serve as a basis for further discussion on Canadian fashion reporting. A discussion of the findings and analysis will take place in Chapter Three.

Ultimately, this study hopes to provide a better understanding of how Canadian fashion is present in Canadian media. It will be of value to various media organizations that seek to

report on fashion in a meaningful way. This research will also be of value to the various journalists who report on fashion and its accompanying industry. What's more, by suggesting better ways for journalists and news organizations to report on the Canadian fashion industry, this research will indirectly benefit the members of this industry, such as designers, models, stylists, and more, as well as consumers who wish to make informed product purchasing decisions. In the end, this study hopes to make an important contribution to our understanding and appreciation of Canadian fashion media as an important and diverse domain of Canadian culture.

CHAPTER ONE:

CANADIAN FASHION MEDIA: SURVEYING THE FIELD

In recent years, Canada's fashion industry has begun to be studied by academics with a focus on analyzing the different design sectors found across Canada and the various institutions that support the Canadian fashion industry. Among such research, several studies conducted by Deborah Leslie and Norma Rantisi focus on the Canadian city of Montreal, Quebec. Considering Montreal as a center of design, one of their studies from 2006 examines various institutions and levels of government that regulate the design industry in Montreal, and who, as the authors argue, helped Montreal's emergence as a center of design ("Governing the Design Economy" 311). In this study, initiatives such as Commerce Design Montreal and institutions like the Institute of Design Montreal are examined and their presence are argued to be a major reason for the prominence of design in Montreal's urban political discourse: "Cultural institutions govern the behavior of a range of agents, including manufacturers, designers, consumers, students, educators, and retailers. In particular, they offer incentives to engage in more competitive and rational economic behavior on one hand and more nationalist cultural behavior on the other", ("Governing the Design Economy" 332). Another study by Leslie and Rantisi, conducted in 2010, analyzes the quality of life in Montreal and the influence of material factors in retaining design talent in one of Montreal's off-beat neighborhoods, the Mile-End. Fashion and graphic designers in Montreal were used as a basis for the study ("Materiality and creative production" 2825). Similarly, authors Katrina Sark and Sara Danièle Bélanger-Michaud focus on the city of Montreal and compare and contrast the fashion collections at three of

Montreal's cultural institutions; the Musée McCord, the Musée du Costume et du Textile du Québec; and the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Montréal. The study again highlights how Montreal's fashion history and practices are inevitably tied to the city's culture, and explores various tactics the city uses to promote its design talent (Sark and Bélanger-Michaud). Together the three museums were found to "ground the locational history of fashion in Montreal, while simultaneously facilitating dialogues and networks with international fashion icons and systems," as well as "facilitate and extrapolate the material and cultural manifestations of Montreal Chic by establishing a network of relations with the public, the designers, the industry, and the media" (Sark and Bélanger-Michaud 412).

What's more, several studies conducted by Rantisi explore Montreal's fur garment industry, exploring the city's efforts to refashion the industry through the introduction of new product innovations, as well as identifying some of the obstacles to undertaking these activities. A later study by Rantisi would also focus specifically on the role played and initiatives undertaken by the trade association intermediary, the Fur Council of Canada, to promote this design-led form of development ("Exploring the Role of Industry Intermediaries" 956).

Similarly, a number of studies also explore the design sector in the province of Ontario and the city of Toronto. Again, Leslie accompanied by Shauna Brail uses fashion designers in Toronto as a case study to examine the city's "quality of place" in attracting, incubating, and retaining talent ("Fashion designers in Toronto" 2900). In another recent study conducted in 2014, Leslie, Brail and Mia Hunt investigate the response of independent fashion designers in Toronto, Canada to the growing competition posed by fast fashion. The study identifies a

number of strategies utilized by Toronto fashion designers to compete with the fast fashion market.

These studies provide an in-depth understanding of various actors, organizations and institutions that make up Canada's fashion industry. These studies also show where fashion is most prominent in Canada – in Montreal and Toronto – and begin to provide a basis of our understanding of these Canadian cities as centers of fashion and design.¹

Furthermore, recent research has been conducted on Canada's apparel industry business model. In a 2011 study, Constantine Campaniaris explores Canada's lack of competitive advantage as an apparel manufacturing nation and the country's need for a strategic response from the Canadian apparel industry ("The Applicability of Cluster Theory"). Later work by Campaniaris would put forward an alternative evidence-based collaborative strategy and business model for the Canadian fashion industry ("The Development of an Apparel Industry Business Model"). This study again provides a unique perspective of Canada's fashion industry, in particular manufacturing, and also points out the shortfalls and the challenges Canada's fashion industry faces to excel in a global market.

In terms of documenting the history of Canadian dress, academic research is also lacking. Still, in the early 1980's Jacqueline Beaudoin-Ross and Pamela Blackstock published an annotated bibliography for the *Journal of Material Culture Review of English and French Language Books*, citing articles pertaining to civilian costume worn in Canada, published prior to 1994. In this bibliography the authors state that "the documentation of Canadian costume began in Quebec at the turn of this century when historians started to focus on costume of the French Regime and rural Quebec dress in short articles derived from notarial sources"

("Costume in Canada"). And that "it was not until 1966, however, that interest, particularly in recreating costume for Centennial festivities, launched special exhibitions and publications on costume in English Canada, starting a trend that accelerated through the 1970s," ("Costume in Canada"). In 1991, they published an updated version of this bibliography to include further work published between March 1984 and March 1991. Their bibliography shows that there are several studies that take an anthropological and ethnographic approach to Canadian regional dress and Canadian costume. In 1992, Beaudoin-Ross would go on to publish other work on Canadian dress including a book examining dress in Montreal and Montreal's place as a fashion city ("Formes et modes"). Most recently, in 2016, Elaine MacKay presented a study of dress worn by women living in Canada West, now called Southern Ontario, as seen in daguerreotype photographs from the late 1840s until about 1860 (Mackay 110). The article again contributes to the small body of work available on historical Canadian dress.

Still, while we find some research on Canadian costume and dress, there is very little research on Canadian designers and the various actors that make up Canada's fashion industry. A book published by Caroline Routh titled *In Style: 100 Years of Canadian Fashion* was one of the first attempts to map out a fashion history that includes designers, manufacturers, and boutiques. Also, Alexandra Palmer's edited volume *Fashion: A Canadian Perspective*, published in 2004, includes studies by several scholars looking at fashion and identity, fashion trade as well as Canadian fashion journalism. This book includes studies on items that have been important to Canadian dress such as the blanket coat, discussed in an article by Eileen Stack, while Cynthia Cooper's chapter examines the popularity of the Canadian fancy dress. Several chapters also analyze specific associations and specific areas in Canada where fashion

production was central. A chapter by Alexandra Palmer examines the Association of Canadian Couturiers and its impact on the postwar boom of the 1950s, showcasing how Canadian institutions have attempted to foster design talent: “The real success of the association was its capacity to attract publicity for the individual couturiers and for the mills” (Palmer 105). A chapter by Christina Bates examines the millinery trade in Ontario and showcases how the trade was a viable opportunity for women in the province for decades: “The years 1871 to 1920 were the most profitable for the millinery trade in Ontario. Milliners took advantage of the increasingly diverse and elaborate millinery fashions to hone their techniques and open businesses for themselves” (Bates 132-133). The success of the millinery trade was due to the fashion of the time that saw an increasingly large number of women covering their heads with bonnets, hats and caps. A chapter by Gail Cariou analyzes the nineteenth-century tailoring trade in Montreal adding to our understanding of this masculine trade and the challenges of running such a business. What’s more, several studies also zero in on Canada’s east coast. A chapter by Peter Larocque takes a look at the garment production industry in Saint John, New Brunswick, in 1871, while a chapter by Elaine Mackay reveals that Halifax had a strong garment production industry beginning in the early 1800s, revealing the presence of a Canadian fashion industry across the nation: “The wave of industrialization in the nineteenth century had transported Halifax from the age of shipping and trade into the manufacturing age, and the clothing industry led the way” (“Three Thousand Stitches” 178).

Despite this research, there are no scholarly works that take a macro-approach to the analysis of the Canadian fashion industry and specifically the designers and brands that it consists of. This is a gap that I propose to work toward filling with this current study. Next, we’ll

look at past research that has analyzed Canadian media to provide us with a better understanding of Canada's media landscape.

Canadian media

The study of Canadian media has provided a rich framework for the investigation of a broad range of issues. A number of Canadian publications have been analyzed to study the discourse used by Canadian media to discuss health topics, environmental issues and more. Scholars McWhirther, Hoffman-Goetz and Clarke, for example, used Canadian women and fashion magazines – *Canadian Living*, *Chatelaine*, *Homemakers*, *Fashion*, *Flare*, and *Elle Canada* – to analyze “messages” in images and text of breast cancer articles (“Can You See what they are Saying?” 384). Similarly, Catherine Corrigan-Brown examined Canadian Newspapers *The Globe and Mail* and *The National Post* between 2000 et 2010, to determine how these publications cover Canada's environmental movement (Corrigan-Brown 73). Amanda Boyd, Cynthia Jardine, and Michelle Driedger conducted a content analysis of Canadian newspaper articles to understand the portrayal of bovine spongiform encephalopathy (BSE) or “mad cow disease” in the Canadian media, following a reported outbreak in May 2003. What's more, Scholar Jasmine Thomas used stories published between December 12 2011 and December 31 2011 from *the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC)*, *Toronto Star*, *National Post*, *Vancouver Sun*, *Gazette*, *Globe and Mail*, *Ottawa Citizen*, and more, to examine how the veiling debate in Canadian media was represented following the Canadian ban of the niqab during citizenship ceremonies (Thomas 188). Most recently, a 2016 study by Sarah Anne Fraser and others, focused on *The*

Globe and Mail, to examine discourses on age-related health conditions and assistive technology devices (ATDs).

In terms of fashion, the analysis of Canadian media has been used to examine the role of advertising in commoditizing masculinity. A study by Nicholas Hrynyk, published in 2015, analyzes articles published in *The Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star* during the so-called “Peacock Revolution,” which saw the reshaping of heteronormative masculinity through dress in Toronto between 1966 and 1972 (Hrynyk 78). Despite this research, no similar research has been conducted to offer a macro analysis of our understanding of Canadian reportage of Canada’s fashion industry.

Still, in Palmer’s book *Fashion: A Canadian Perspective*, several authors share various perspectives on the profession of fashion journalism in Canada and provide an understanding of the history of fashion journalism in Canada. Barbara Freeman examines fashion features in the *Toronto Daily Press* between 1890 and 1900, as well as the women who wrote them. Freeman describes the fashion features that appeared in Canadian newspapers during this period as ranging “from lavishly illustrated fashion spreads from the American syndicates to brief paragraphs on the latest in spring hats” (291). She also examines the women’s pages of some newspapers explaining that “they consisted of an eclectic mix of articles on many issues of interest to women, both social and political, which testified to the energy, interests, and imaginations of the journalists who wrote them” (291). Doborah Fulsang takes a more recent approach examining the effects of Fashion Television on the Canadian Fashion Press during 1985 to 2000, in her chapter.

These studies help contribute to our understanding of Canadian fashion journalism historically, but there is still a gap in the literature on the current state of media reporting on Canadian fashion. This study will contribute to help fill that gap by taking a macro approach to the representation of Canadian fashion in Canada's media.

Theorizing the Power of Media on Public Opinion

Several studies and theories have attempted to prove that media influences the public in several ways. The possibility that media can influence public knowledge and opinion has its origins in research put forth by early media theorist Walter Lippmann in his book *Public Opinion*, published in 1922. A few decades following the publication of his book, McCombs and Shaw would create the original agenda-setting theory. The theory suggests that media coverage has the ability to raise the importance of certain issues to audiences and the public's agenda, indicating a correlation between news frequency and audience awareness (McCombs and Shaw 177). In their study of the mass media's coverage of the 1968 presidential campaign, the authors found that, "The media are the major primary sources of national political information; for most, mass media provide the best – and only – easily available approximation of ever-changing political realities" (McCombs and Shaw 185). Their theory indicates a correlation between the rate at which the media cover a topic and the amount of importance people attach to that topic. A second-level agenda-setting theory was set forth by McCombs and Evatt in 1995. Later in 1997, together McCombs, Shaw and Weaver nuanced their study by identifying different levels of agenda setting theory to analyze how agenda setting influences public opinion.

The agenda-setting theory has since been used in a number of studies concerning media coverage of various events. For example, Behr and Iyengar rely on data spanning seven years to investigate the public's concern for inflation, unemployment, and energy; they found that news coverage affects the public agenda, but that it was “unidirectional” (51). In other words, media influences the public, but public concern does not, for the most part, alter the level of news coverage (Behr and Iyengar 51). Though concerned with television coverage as opposed to print publications, Behr’s research proves that public concern does vary based on the amount of news coverage, but not vice-versa. Also using an agenda-setting theory approach, further research by Christine R. Ader showed that increased attention to pollution in *The New York Times* garnered increased concern about pollution from the general public (Ader 309). A study by James Hern equally uses an agenda-setting theory approach to examine the representation of major and independent record labels in music industry trade media (113). These studies help illustrate how agenda-setting theory can help us understand the way media may influence what people think about.

Among the study of fashion media and fashion reporting, scholar Agnes Rocamora has used a theoretical framework set forth by cultural theorist Pierre Bourdieu to showcase how fashion journalists and fashion writing play a role in shaping public opinion. In an analysis of London Fashion Week, a key event in the fashion calendar where designers showcase upcoming collections, Rocamora and Entwistle use Bourdieu’s theoretical framework to demonstrate the type of fashion capital fashion journalists hold. The notion of field is defined by Bourdieu as a “structured space of positions and forces” (Bourdieu qtd. in Jenkins 234). A person’s position in a field, such as the field of fashion is determined by one’s capital. At events

like London Fashion Week, Rocamora and Entwistle's study show that journalists have a fashion capital, which like all field-related capitals is made up of economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital ("The Field of Fashion" 740). Bourdieu's theoretical framework and specifically his notion of field is useful to help understand the discourse of fashion media within the fashion industry. Rocamora and Entwistle's study shows how Bourdieu's concepts help make sense of the roles of fashion journalists within the fashion landscape, and shows that fashion journalists through their work are able to influence public opinion.

My study will build on these recent insights to show how fashion as presented in Canadian media can give value to Canadian fashion designs and designers, and create value for larger audiences due to the fashion capital journalists hold. However, as my research does not only pertain to the role of fashion journalists, but instead Canadian fashion publications, the agenda-setting theory will be used as the overarching theoretical framework for this study. The agenda setting literature suggests different states of agenda setting. This research will specifically use second-level agenda-setting theory, which looks at the effects of media coverage on how the public thinks and what the public thinks about. This second-level agenda-setting theory will be used to examine the attributes of Canadian fashion in Canadian media, in order to determine what the public is thinking about.

CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY

In order to determine how much coverage is allocated to the Canadian fashion industry in the Canadian media, I performed a case study using a quantitative content analysis research method. The analysis dealt with the coverage given to Canadian brands and designers in three Canadian-produced fashion magazines.

A number of scholars have favoured a qualitative approach to the analysis of fashion media. Laird O'Shea Borrelli, for example, used a qualitative approach to analyze fashion writing in *Vogue* from 1968 to 1993 in order to compare the voices of the three different reigning editors of the time (Borelli 248). Following in Borelli's steps, Anna König also favoured a qualitative research approach for an analysis of fashion writing in British *Vogue* between 1980 and 2001. König conducted a close analysis of content, tone, lexicon, and cultural references in order to identify patterns of continuity and change in fashion writing recorded during the period (König 206). The strengths of these studies lies precisely in showcasing how fashion can be communicated through various ways in magazines and how content can vary over time and due to differing editorial directions. What remains unexamined in such studies, however, is a broader focus on the subject matter undertaken by these magazines and how it relates to the fashion industry of the time.

Since the research questions in this MRP are interested in how much Canadian media coverage is allocated to the Canadian fashion industry, the guidance of quantitative tools and theories are required in order to attempt to predict content effects on consumers.

Scholars Daniel Riffe, Stephen Lacy and Frederick Fico describe quantitative content analysis as “the systematic and replicable examination of symbols of communication” (Riffe, Lacy and Fico 19). The authors explain further that “systematic” refers to the possible relationship among concepts and possible testable hypotheses; “replicable” requires the methodology that is reliable, objective and clear so that other studies replicating the current study will find the same results; while “symbols of communication” refers to any measurable variable (Riffe, Lacy and Fico 21-22).

Studies using quantitative content analysis research methods vary greatly in purpose, focus, technique and scientific rigor. Specific goals, types of communication examined and type of content qualities explored can vary greatly (Riffe, Lacy and Fico 3). Therefore, it is important to describe the research design and showcase the links between conceptualization and data analysis. A protocol was developed to do this content analysis. Below I describe the protocol developed to examine monthly consumer magazines, the basis of this content analysis.

Protocol Sample

Since the magnitude of this MRP format and time constraints preclude a study of all possible fashion media, I had to make a representative selection. I decided to analyze mainstream media as these channels are proven to be a driving force in setting the agenda. Past studies, such as those of Behr and Iyengar, as well as Ader have focused on the examination of mainstream media like television news and newspapers like the *New York Times* and have proven the effectiveness of these mediums in setting the agenda. Meanwhile, studies on blogs and other non-mainstream media sources are still in its infancy. Studies, such as a study by Deva Woodly

showcases that blogs can help set the agenda for other sources such as journalists, but have not proven to be able to set the agenda among citizens: “Contrary to initial predictions, neither the Internet nor Internet-mediated forms of communication such as non-interactive websites, chat-rooms, bulletin boards and blogs, have become mediums of mass communication. Traditional media still reach far more people than even the most popular websites” (Woodly 109).

In order to get an accurate representation of the amount of Canadian fashion content present in Canadian media, it was important to first identify publications that are distributed nationally and that would report on Canadian brands and designers from across the country. This choice entailed a second one, namely, to limit this analysis to English language publications, as French language publications would not be distributed nationally, and do not reach as many consumers as English language publications do across Canada.² Then using data from Vividata, Canada’s authoritative source of audience data, print and digital, for magazines and newspapers, I compiled a list of the 15 most prominent Canadian-produced English language publications who report on fashion based on readership rates from 2015 (Appendix A). The table in Appendix A includes all the top print publications in Canada based on readership where fashion may be reported on as a topic of lifestyle, business, health and more. For example, *The Globe and Mail* was included in this table as articles on Canada’s fashion industry may be found in the business section or the life section of the newspaper. Similarly, *Reader’s Digest* magazine, which is described as “Canada’s trusted source for entertaining and informative features on travel, food, home and cars,” is in this list as features on Canadian shopping and retail can be found in this publications. A total of 15 publications including daily newspapers and consumer magazines were put in order of highest cross-platform total

readership data (print and digital), as provided by a Vividata study. Readership rates are from Vividata's 2015 Q4 Readership and product Database report, which was a one-year long study of 38,000 consumers across Canada, measured between January and December 2015. It was important for me to order this table based on readership rates, as I wanted to analyze publications that reach the most Canadian consumers, and whose respective analysis and discussions can therefore have the most beneficial effects for the Canadian fashion industry. What's more, past researchers such as McWhirther, Hoffman-Goetz and Clarke, have also favoured this type of approach, analyzing top women's magazines in their own research based on highest circulation rates. As noted, Canada's media industry is in the middle of a shift and focus on digital strategies is becoming increasingly a priority. Therefore, taking into account the net print and digital readership rates as a basis for analysis is also beneficial.

Based on these numbers provided by the Vividata 2015 Q4 Readership and Product Database, Canada's consumer magazine *Reader's Digest* has the highest net print and digital readership with 4 492 000 readers, followed by women's magazine *Canadian Living* and *Chatelaine* who has a readership rate of 3 834 000 and 3 200 000 respectively. Meanwhile, the publication with the lowest readership is *LouLou magazine* with 617 000 readers, which as of January 2017 no longer exists.³

For this MRP, the final data sample chosen for a case study included the top three Canadian fashion magazines (a genre of women's magazines) based on readership (table 1), namely: *Elle Canada*, *Fashion Magazine* and *Flare*. Though both newspapers and magazines have been analyzed by fashion scholars for the investigation of fashion reporting, the final focus of this quantitative analysis was on fashion magazines, which have a lower readership rate than

Canada's top newspaper, but whose content is primarily dedicated to fashion. This genre selection is supported by the scholarly literature of König and Borelli who have documented that magazines are an effective medium to research fashion reporting. König traces the investigation of magazines as an academic pursuit all the way back to the establishment of cultural studies in 1964: "For the first time, women's magazines became the focus of critical examination, prompting evaluations and interpretations, not merely of their manifest content, but of their mediating roles in the cultural lives of women" (206). The author notes that this investigation of magazines contributes to our current understanding of fashion reporting: "While fashion is only one of many topics covered by women's magazines, the literature on this subject provides some clues as to how fashion writing came to be so undervalued, in both consumer and academic circles" (König 206). In other words, I will contribute to the study of and our understanding of the fashion media genre in Canada. Still, that means that my study excludes the media with the highest readership namely Readers Digest, with 4 492 000 readers, whose quantitative analysis will be the focus of future studies, but cannot be included herein. Despite this exclusion, the analysis of these three magazines will also allow us to compare and contrast different Canadian fashion media and ultimately provide differing views of Canadian fashion reporting in 2016.

Table 1. Canadian fashion magazines Topline Readership (2015)

MEDIA SOURCE	MEDIA TYPE	NET PRINT/DIGITAL	PRINT	DIGITAL
Elle Canada	Monthly Consumer Magazine	1 574 000	1 330 000	644 000

Fashion magazine	Monthly Consumer Magazine	1 269 000	1 043 000	650 000
Flare	Monthly Consumer Magazine	881 000	767 000	336 000

In order to examine the respective coverage allocated to the Canadian fashion industry in Canadian fashion magazines, I chose to analyze the content from the most recently completed year at the time of this study, which was January to December 2016. This would allow for the most current look at Canadian fashion reporting. Though most fashion scholars have favoured the analysis of fashion reporting throughout history, I favoured a current approach to the analysis of fashion reporting in order to inform and situate Canada's present media industry. The analysis of all three magazines followed the same methodology as each magazine has the same general format. The main editorial fashion spread in each magazine was analyzed and coded for Canadian brand mentions. Product publicity has a very visual nature in these editorial photo spreads realized by fashion photographers. Products used in the photo shoots are then identified in brief text boxes that accompany the photo spread and "can be internalized by consumers in their ongoing search for information about products (Rinallo et al. 430). The photo shoots are usually styled with clothing and accessories from several different brands or designers.

All magazines contained two to three fashion editorial spreads consisting of approximately seven to ten pages. In each magazine, one fashion editorial consists of images taken with the magazine's cover star and accompanies an interview feature with the cover star

usually referred to as the “cover shoot,” while one or two other fashion spreads are featured with one or more models, and follows a particular trend theme. For example, the September issue of *Fashion* magazine features a fashion spread with cover star Karlie Kloss, and two other fashion spreads. The first is called “Easy Street,” which presents relaxed looks for fall with “supersized sweats, skewed hems and unexpected layers,” while a third fashion spread titled “Wild Life” presents “lace fringe and beading.” For consistency, only one fashion editorial in each magazine was analyzed in order to compare and contrast the three magazines selected for analysis. The selected fashion spread chosen was the trends fashion spread that was not taken with the cover star as the focus in these spreads are to set the agenda for what’s currently in fashion. When two trend spreads were featured in a magazine, only the first was selected for analysis. The analysis of one fashion editorial per magazine issue is enough to determine and infer one-year worth of data.

For monthly consumer magazines, the best approach to study the year’s content is to examine all issues (Riffe, Lacy and Fico 88). Past magazine sampling studies show that this is the most efficient sampling method to infer one year of data (Riffe, Lacy and Fico 88). Therefore, all of the regular magazine issues published in 2016 by *Elle Canada*, *Fashion* and *Flare* were included in this study. Though *Fashion* had special issue inserts created in partnership with the Hudson’s Bay in 2016, these inserts were not analyzed. Riffe, Lacy and Fico caution against content that differs greatly from regular issues as their inclusion can drastically alter results (Riffe, Lacy and Fico 88). As for news magazines, this can even include end-of-year roundup editions that are very different from regular issues (Riffe, Lacy and Fico 88).

The data sample was limited to fashion photo editorial spreads, because they can be found in all fashion magazines and in every issue and so present a consistent sample of analysis. The analysis of fashion images—both advertising and editorial—have made up the primary basis of a number of studies by art and fashion historians, sociologists, analysts of the media, and feminists, acknowledging the potency of the fashion image (Borelli 248). “What is understood is that the layout, illustrations, and photographs of a magazine like *Vogue* successfully communicate (fashion) information colorfully, strikingly, quickly, to millions of women” (Borelli 248). The fashion editorial consists of photographic fashion spreads displaying the latest styles and trends. Like words, the images in the magazine are important as they “function to articulate fashion and to create its narratives” (Borelli 248).

Since this study is concerned with the role of fashion media, the analysis was limited to editorial content and not advertorial content, which is another reason why the study of editorial photographs were chosen and advertisement photographs were excluded. Past studies have made a clear distinction between the analysis of advertorial and editorial content. Some scholars have favoured the study of both, such as Brian Moeran who studied both textual and advertising matter to explore the ways in which fashion magazines in general portray feminine beauty, while studies such as Borelli’s favoured editorial content to get a sense of fashion as it is produced by the editor-in-chief (Borelli 249). At the same time, Borelli notes that “the creation of a magazine is a collaborative effort, involving editorial, art, and advertising departments, among others.” Borelli proposes that editorial content is not influenced by advertising (249). Ultimately, this data set will allow us to understand the type of coverage the Canadian fashion industry is able to receive via its own media industry.

Protocol Variables

Canadian fashion representation in these three Canadian-produced publications was measured by counting the volume of media coverage given to the Canadian fashion industry by a given magazine. As mentioned earlier in this paper, Canada's design identity can be recognized by the names of Canadian brands such as *Joe Fresh*, *Pink Tartan*, *Arizia*, and *Canada Goose*, as well as designers like *Lucian Matis*, *Denis Gagnon*, and *Marie Saint Pierre*, to name a few. Therefore, to measure the volume of media coverage the Canadian fashion industry receives, the selected fashion spreads were coded for mentions of Canadian fashion brands and Canadian fashion designers. A list of the Canadian fashion brands and designers found in all Canadian centric photo editorial shoots in the magazines analyzed can be found in Appendix C. The list is in alphabetical order and comprises 34 fashion brands and designers and 16 accessory brands and designers.⁴ This research employed two measures of media coverage commonly used in the fashion industry and as seen in a study by Diego Rinallo and Suman Basuroy to explore advertising effects on media coverage within fashion media. The measures employed were (1) the number of product placements (NPLACE) in fashion magazines and (2) the number of equivalent number of pages (NEQPAG) in fashion magazines. NPLACE allows us to count every product placement in the spread as 1, while NEQPAG is a weighted measure that takes into account other products on a page for a weighted measure of visibility (Rinallo and Suman Basuroy 36). For example, if a fashion spread has a top and pant from a designer outside the realm of Canadian fashion and a jacket from the realm of Canadian fashion, other fashion will be attributed 2 placements but only 2/3 equivalent pages, while Canadian fashion will be

attributed 1 placement, but only 1/3 equivalent pages. The measure of equivalent number of pages (NEQPAG) has been deemed a more “appropriate indicator to measure the overall level of visibility a brand receives in magazines” (Rinallo and Suman Basuroy 36).

A monthly coding sheet for all print publications was developed to count the amount of brand mentions and other brand mentions (see Appendix B). Brand mentions were then put into one of two categories: “Canadian NPLACE” or “Other NPLACE.” A Canadian product placement was counted a 1 under the “Canadian NPLACE” category, while a product placement from any other brand or designer that was not Canadian was counted a 1 under the “Other NPLACE” category. The same was counted for “Canadian NEQPAG” or “Other NEQPAG”, which as mentioned is a weighted measure that has been deemed more beneficial to use to measure brand visibility in magazines. For the purpose of this study, it was important to note how much coverage the fashion industries receive outside of Canada in order to compare and contrast the level of exposure Canadian brands receive versus other fashion brands. This will allow us to further understand the type of room these magazines dedicate to fashion coverage in general.

In terms of coding for Canadian brand mentions, the researcher fortunately has an extensive knowledge of Canada’s fashion industry, having worked as a freelance fashion journalist for five years. Specifically, working as the Canadian correspondent for Fashionnetwork.com, a B2B website for the fashion industry has given me extensive knowledge of Canadian brands from coast to coast. When there were brand mentions in the photo spreads that I did not recognize, I did a research to discover the brand origins. Brand origins can easily be discovered on brand websites or by locating where their head offices are located. Though it is beneficial to have both Canadian brands and Canadian multi-brand retailers featured in

magazines, this research was concerned with the garments represented in photo spreads.

Therefore, photo editorials were coded for Canadian clothing and accessory brand or designer names. For example, if an item from American brand The Row was listed in a photo editorial and was said to be available at Canadian retailer Holt Renfrew, Luxury retailer Holt Renfrew was not counted as a brand mention. Instead, the product in question by The Row was instead counted as 1 and placed in the “Other NPLACE” category.

The results from this analysis can be found in Appendix B and will be examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The results portion of this study will now address findings that emerged from the quantitative content analysis of three Canadian fashion magazines. As noted, all issues of *Flare*, *Elle Canada* and *Fashion* published in 2016 were analyzed for a total of 32 issues, allowing us to infer one-year worth of data.

Results

Table 1. 2016 Print Magazine Editorial Photo Coverage results

Magazine	Can. fashion NPLACE	Other fashion NPLACE	Can. fashion NEQPAG	Other fashion NEQPAG
Flare	11%	89%	10%	90%
Elle Canada	31%	69%	27%	73%
Fashion	17%	83%	21%	79%

The results of the quantitative content analysis performed shows that on average in 2016 Canadian fashion took a minority stake in fashion editorials in Canadian fashion magazines. Canadian fashion received the least amount of representation in *Flare*, followed by *Fashion* and finally, *Elle Canada* where Canadian fashion received the most representation. Using the number of equivalent number of pages (NEQPAG) in fashion magazines as a weighted measure for analysis, I found that Canadian fashion made up 10 percent of fashion editorials in *Flare*, 21 percent in *Fashion* and 27 percent in *Elle Canada* in 2016. Compared to Other fashion, which made up 90 percent of fashion editorials in *Flare*, 79 percent in *Fashion* and 73 percent in *Elle Canada* in 2016. Among the number of product placements (NPLACE), I found that Canadian

product placements made up 31 percent of photo editorials in *Elle Canada*, 17 percent of photo editorials in *Fashion* and 11 percent in *Flare* in 2016.

Among the 32 issues, on three occasions in three separate editorials Canadian fashion took a majority stake over Other fashion labels in 2016. Both *Fashion* and *Elle Canada* dedicated the editorials in their August issues to Canadian fashion. In *Fashion's* August 2016 issue titled "Best in Show," Canadian fashion took a majority stake in their monthly editorial when Toronto Fashion Week trends and designers were honored. Canadian fashion made up 87 percent of the seven-page spread, compared to Other fashion which received 13 percent based on the NEQPAG weighted measure. This included 21 Canadian fashion product placements and only three Other fashion product placements. Canadian product placements included fashion by *Michael Kale*, *Malorie Urbanovitch*, *Lucian Matis*, *Greta Constantine* and more, as well as accessories by Toronto-based jewelry brand Jenny Bird. Still besides the August editorial, all other 2016 editorials in *Fashion* featured less than 12 Canadian product placements, compared to Other product placements which were featured on average 31 times per issue. Following the August 2016 issue, Canadian fashion received the most representation in *Fashion's* November 2016 editorial. Based on the NEQPAG weighted measure, Canadian fashion received 33 percent of representation, which is still a minority stake, and included 11 Canadian fashion product placements. Canadian fashion products included tasseled earrings by the Canadian duo behind DSQUARED2. On two occasions, in *Fashion's* April and October issue, Canadian fashion made up zero percent of editorials.

Similarly, the August issue of *Elle Canada* turned its focus on to Canadian fashion in their 2016 editorial titled "We The North" where Canadian designs for Fall dressing are revealed. In

this editorial, Canadian fashion represents 94 percent of products featured based on the NEQPAG weighted measure. This 11-page spread also features the highest number of product placements (NPLACE) for both the Canadian and Other NPLACE categories among all 32 magazine issues analyzed. In total, 188 Canadian product placements out of 200 consisted of Canadian product placements in this editorial. The high number of product placements was made possible as the spread featured several different models posing on each page as opposed to just one model as usually seen in other editorials. Both Canadian fashion brands and accessory brands benefited from exposure in this editorial, which featured various pieces from tops from *Beaufille* and *Wanze Song*, and dresses from *Marie Saint Pierre* and *Jennifer Torosian*, to shoes from *Aldo* and *John Fluevog*. The range of Canadian brands in this editorial was extremely diverse and abundant. Similarly, *Elle Canada* dedicated its February 2016 editorial to Canadian fashion in an editorial titled “Glorious and Free” where Canadian fashion made up 78 percent based on the NEQPAG weighted measure, while Other fashion made up 22 percent of the editorial. Again, Toronto Fashion Week was a factor as several photos in the editorial were taken backstage at Toronto Fashion Week. Featured Canadian designers included *Malorie Urbanovitch*, *Beaufille*, *Mikhael Kale*, *Marie Saint Pierre*, *Hayley Elsaesser*, *Helder Diego*, *Sid Neigum*, *Matthew Gallagher*, *Lucian Matis*, and more. Unlike its August issue, however, the use of accessories were not as abundant or diverse and an opportunity to showcase Canadian accessory designers was missing. Despite these two editorials, similarly to *Fashion*, when Canadian fashion is not the focus, we see the number of Canadian fashion product placements take a serious drop. On average, editorials in *Elle Canada* consisted of 27 Canadian product placements, compared to 60 Other product placements on average, more than double.

Following *Elle Canada's* February and August issues, Canadian fashion received the most representation based on the NEQPAG weighted measure in its March issue where Canadian fashion represented 37 percent and consisted of 12 Canadian product placements. On two occasions, in *Elle Canada's* September and November issue, Canadian fashion represented zero percent of editorials.

Though my quantitative analysis did not reveal a fashion editorial where Canadian fashion took a majority stake in editorials in *Flare*, it is important to note that the August 2016 issue of *Flare* did feature an editorial dedicated to Canadian fashion; however, it was conducted with August 2016 Canadian model cover star Herieth Paul, which as noted omitted its presence from this quantitative study. Despite this, it is still evident that Canadian fashion is not well represented among editorials in *Flare* during 2016. According to the NEQPAG weighted measure, Canadian fashion received the most visibility in *Flare's* Winter 2016 issue where Canadian fashion represented 23 percent of editorials, followed by *Flare's* April issue where Canadian fashion represented 21 percent of editorials. Still, on average in 2016, *Flare* editorials featured 3.5 Canadian product placements, compared to 28 Other fashion product placements. On three occasions, in *Flare's* May, Summer and September issue, Canadian fashion was zero percent present in editorials.

What's more, on average *Elle Canada* was able to feature a significantly larger number of product placements per editorial when compared to *Fashion* and *Flare*. On average, *Elle Canada's* fashion editorial spreads feature a total of 87 items, while *Fashion's* photo editorials on average include 37 products and *Flare* 32. That's more than double the number of product placements seen in *Fashion* and *Flare*. The numbers reflect the number of pages on average

each fashion magazines editorials make up, but it also speaks to the different editorial styles of each magazine. Based on the fashion editorials analyzed, on average *Elle Canada's* editorials are 10.5 pages, while *Fashion's* are nine pages and *Flare's* are eight. In terms of the items featured, Elle Canada included the use of many more accessories such as necklaces, rings, bracelets and more, which allowed for more Canadian accessory brands to receive visibility.

Discussion

This research unfolds some of the complexities surrounding the relationship between Canadian media and Canada's fashion industry. After analyzing the content of three major Canadian fashion magazines, several points of interest surface regarding this research. First, the representation of Canadian fashion in photo editorials in Canadian-produced fashion magazines is limited, especially when compared to the representation Other fashion brands receive. This is important on several levels. If, as has been demonstrated in this study, there is a correlation between the rate at which the media cover a topic and the degree of importance readers attach to that topic, Canadian-produced fashion magazines are failing their local fashion industry by not providing the brands and designers that make up this country the substantial coverage they may need to grow their brands into long-term viable businesses. Furthermore, if media consumers are affected by what they consume, on average Canadian brands and designers may be missing an important opportunity via media exposure to reach Canadian consumers by not being omnipresent in some of Canada's top fashion media. Consequently, Canadian consumers are less likely to be aware of the various Canadian brands and designers that exist, as well as the details of their product line-up, and where they are available for

purchase. While we do find Canadian fashion product placements present in the majority of editorials — 25 editorials out of 32 to be exact — Canadian fashion product placements are still limited and overshadowed by Other fashion product placements. Only in three out of the 32 fashion photo editorials examined does Canadian fashion rule when compared to Other fashion brands. Relating this finding to the second-level agenda setting theory, which considers how the media not only tells readers and viewers what to think about but how to think about it, consumers who read these magazines over the time period examined, may consider Canadian fashion not in fashion by virtue of not being in the magazine. This viewpoint may be skewed compared to what is actually in fashion if these magazines changed its style of reporting and included more Canadian fashion brands in their editorials.

Second, I found that among Canada's top fashion magazines, *Elle Canada* was able to provide the most representation to Canadian fashion among their photo editorials in 2016. Canadian fashion made up 27 percent of fashion editorials published in *Elle Canada* in 2016 based on the NEQPAG weighted measure, while a total of 322 Canadian product placements were included. In fact, in total, *Elle Canada* featured just over 1000 products in fashion editorials in 2016, while both *Fashion* and *Flare* featured less than 400 products in photo editorials in 2016. As mentioned, this correlates to the average page length of fashion editorial's in *Elle Canada*, which includes 1.5 and 2.5 more average pages than *Fashion* and *Flare* respectively. We must also take into account that *Elle Canada* produces 12 issues a year, while both *Flare* and *Fashion* produce 10. Still, I argue that the difference between magazines also relates to *Elle Canada*'s editorial style, which differs from that of *Flare* and *Fashion*. The fashion photo editorials examined from *Elle Canada* featured many more product details than

those found in *Fashion* and *Flare*, especially when it came to the use of accessories. For example, *Elle Canada's* January 2016 issue includes a total of 145 products, which is more products than any editorial analyzed in 2016 in *Fashion* or *Flare*. This was possible through the use of multiple accessories like on page 48 where the model wears six different bracelets, six different necklaces and multiple rings. This includes items from Canadian accessory brands *Jenny Bird*, *Dolorous* and *Biko* ("Dream Weaver"). I believe that this type of styling allowed for much more Canadian brands to be featured in *Elle Canada's* photo editorials. Even when we exclude the two editorials dedicated to Canadian fashion in *Elle Canada* in 2016, we can still find 105 Canadian product placements, while *Fashion* only has 65 and *Flare* only has 35 in total for 2016. Though fashion magazines have been found to be systematic, closely following the fashion industry's seasonal calendar with March and September issues devoted to the latest spring/summer style and autumn/winter collections, and other pre-established patterns, fashion magazines are also understood to be a complex commodity that vary based on readership, editorial staff and advertisers (Moeran 728). In turn, the distinct editorial style of *Elle Canada* and their editorial photo shoots allows for a better representation of fashion brands, to the benefit of the Canadian fashion industry.

The third major finding in this study concerns the way Canadian fashion is represented in Canadian fashion magazine photo editorials. Among the three out of 32 fashion photo editorials where Canadian fashion takes a majority stake over Other fashion brands, all three editorials have a direct focus on Canadian designers and their promotion. For example, in *Elle Canada's* "We the North" editorial, the focus is clearly on Canadian designers and their product offering for fall 2016. The editorial provides the description "Canadian designers reveal a high-

impact approach to fall dressing” (69). Similarly, the focus on Canadian design in *Elle Canada’s* “Glorious & Free” editorial and in *Fashion’s* “Best in Show” editorial is evident. This type of coverage has proven to be an effective way for media to support and promote a distinct fashion sense. An examination of early industry and trade publications in the United States shows that by the second decade of the twentieth century, the adoption and promotion of a “American Styles for American Women” by the popular press ultimately laid the groundwork for the emergence of the U.S. ready-to-wear apparel industry that took off in the 1940s. “*Women’s Wear* and other publications, including *The New York Times*, provided continuous coverage of the American design movement from 1910 through World War I” (Marketti and Parsons 83). Consequently, America’s fashion industry blames the press for America’s lack of a design identity prior to the early twentieth century because of its focus on French fashion rather than American style:

One reason American designers struggled to achieve recognition in the early part of the twentieth century was lack of attention from the press. Parisian designers were celebrated as superior creators of exquisite design, whereas American designers were routinely commended for their technical abilities for copying Parisian design. Advertising and editorial content in the fashion press highlighted French designers Poiret, Doucet, Paquin, and Cheruit, while American designers were rarely mentioned by name in advertising spreads. (Marketti and Parsons 91)

Still, the authors note that efforts from the press along with other initiatives such as design schools and design contests are what “set the stage to develop the American design component of this rapidly expanding industry” (Marketti and Parsons 93).

Indeed, the association between brand names and the mention of “Canadian designer” is surely necessary to help consumers associate names of brands and designers with a specific Canadian fashion industry. Thus, the way Canadian fashion is represented in Canadian fashion magazine photo editorials in 2016 can be deemed a beneficial option to Canadian brands and designers in order to receive proper consumer recognition. Furthermore, the way designers are clustered together as “Canadian designers” through an entire editorial shoot also helps strengthen the Canadian fashion industry as a whole, as seen in the United States: “In this early period of the twentieth century, the acknowledgment and promotion of American-made garments and attempts to educate and nurture those who designed them can be heralded as a necessary step in the creation of an independent American design presence” (Marketti and Parsons 94). Given these benefits to presenting Canadian fashion in fashion editorials, the minimal representation of Canadian fashion is still alarming. Among Canada’s top fashion magazines in 2016, Canadian fashion only made up 39 percent of fashion editorials, while Other fashion reigned, representing 61 percent of fashion editorials in 2016.

Towards a Stronger Canadian Fashion Industry

This research has unveiled some interesting insights into how fashion editorials are presented in Canadian fashion magazines in 2016. Though the numbers show that Canadian fashion is not well represented in fashion photo editorials during the period examined, three noteworthy points are worth examining and may be of use to editors, journalists and stylists who play a role in building fashion photo editorials in Canadian-produced magazines in order to build future fashion photo editorials to the benefit of Canadian fashion.

First, as demonstrated by *Elle Canada*, it is possible for both *Flare* and *Fashion* to include significantly more products into their fashion photo editorial spreads. Since, *Elle Canada* includes significantly more product placements into their fashion photo editorials allowing for the opportunity for more Canadian brands to be featured. This is done mainly through the excessive use of accessories such as rings, necklaces, and bracelets, from Canadian brands like *Jenny Bird*, *Dolorous* and *Rita Toselin* to name a few, which are less present in fashion photo editorials in *Flare* and *Fashion*. Still, despite the inclusion of more products into fashion photo editorials, Canadian fashion must still outweigh Other fashion to have beneficial effects on the Canadian fashion industry and to remain top of mind with consumers. Though *Elle Canada's* fashion photo spreads included more than double the amount of product placements seen in *Fashion* in 2016, Canadian fashion still only received seven percent more visibility in 2016 than in *Fashion*, based on the NEQPAG weighted measure. This style of editorial direction which consists of more detailed product placements may however, still be of benefit to the Canadian fashion industry if such product placements are majority Canadian brands.

Second, as noted successful fashion spreads where Canadian fashion is more prominent than Other fashion is possible as demonstrated by the August fashion photo editorials seen in *Fashion* and the August and February issues of *Elle Canada*. These three editorials had a direct focus on Canadian designers and their promotion, which has been deemed a beneficial way to promote Canadian design to consumers. Again, based on the second-level agenda setting theory, for Canadian fashion to persist in consumer minds, these types of editorials must be more frequent and widespread however. All three magazines must adopt this type of format for the fashion photo editorials and strategically place them in their most prominent issues.

Mainly, March and September when Summer and Fall trends are top of mind. If possible, for Canadian fashion to take up a majority stake in Canadian fashion magazines, these types of editorials should be prominent in most issues. Meaning in six out of 12 issues of *Elle Canada* and 5 out of 10 issues for Fashion and Flare.

The third recommendation that I propose following this study, is simply for the need for more Canadian fashion product placements and for such products to be featured in every issue of each magazine. Though I found Canadian fashion take a majority stake in three of the 32 issues examined, Canadian fashion was completely absent in seven of the 32 issues. I argue that Canadian fashion must be present on at least some level in all fashion editorials. When the direct focus of the editorial shoot is not on Canadian designers, there needs to be a better mix of Canadian fashion and Other fashion. By virtue of simply being listed in the fashion magazine, this will help Canadian brands remain top of mind with consumers and will allow consumers to associate Canadian brands with what's in fashion throughout the year.

CONCLUSION

This paper sought to increase our understanding of how Canadian fashion is represented in Canadian fashion media. By analyzing Canadian-produced publications from the most recently completed year at the time of this study, we can better understand the way Canadian fashion is currently represented and help us to adopt new ways to report on Canadian fashion that may be more beneficial to the industry. Media has proven to be an effective way to reach consumers. What's more, past studies show that the press played a role in helping the United States promote and develop its own unique design identity. Hence, with adequate coverage from Canadian media, Canada's fashion industry can grow stronger. This area of Canadian journalism has remained largely unexplored. Due to the nature of this exploratory research, a summary of key findings, implications, recommendations, limitations and future developments are presented below.

Implications and Recommendations

This study has shown that there is a need for Canadian-produced fashion magazine editors, journalists and stylists to reevaluate the way they present Canadian fashion in their fashion photo editorials. Though from a policy standpoint, Canada has measures in place to foster Canadian expression and to provide place for Canadian cultural products, editors, journalists and stylists must also be aware of their responsibility to report on the Canadian fashion industry and their role in helping set the fashion agenda. The Canada Periodical fund (CPF) for example, provides financial assistance to Canadian print magazines "to enable them to

overcome market disadvantages and continue to provide Canadian readers with the content they choose to read" ("Overview – Canada Periodical Fund"). If magazine professionals however, don't recognize the importance of promoting Canadian culture in their publications and favour stories from other cultures from a business standpoint, Canada's fashion industry will continue to receive little recognition in Canadian media. Instead, I argue, that a body to monitor Canadian culture in Canadian media is necessary to hold the industry accountable for the representation of Canadian culture. Though radio and TV stations are required to devote a specific amount of airtime to Canadian content, which is monitored by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, Canada's magazine and newspaper industry does not have a similar body (Harvey and James H. Marsh). Still, as Rogers Media decided to pull the plug on Flare's print issues as of the beginning of 2017 to focus on its digital future, we may be able to relate funding issues in Flare's last year of life to its lack of Canadian fashion visibility. Funding issues may have made it necessary for the magazine to focus its efforts on other parts of business and not the inclusion of Canadian fashion content.

In order to improve the way Canadian brands are presented in Canadian fashion photo editorials and the frequency at which they are present, a few recommendations have been identified through this case study. First, fashion photo editorials should be as detailed and diverse as possible in order to include a more diverse range of Canadian fashion brands including clothing and accessories designers. Fashion photo editorials in *Elle Canada* have proven to be a good example of the varying amount of detail and diverse range of products that may be included in fashion photo editorials. Next, fashion photo editorial dedicated to the Canadian design movement have been deemed a beneficial option to the promotion of

Canadian fashion. These types of fashion photo editorials should be adopted by all Canadian-produced fashion magazines and should be presented frequently and strategically. In other words, it would be beneficial to have these types of photo editorials featured in prominent monthly issues such as the September issue and the March Issue. Also, it is necessary to have these types of photo editorials featured more frequently. Finally, the inclusion of Canadian fashion products in absolutely all monthly issues of Canadian-produced fashion magazine photo editorials should be a must.

Furthermore, besides the roles of various staff members at Canadian publications, Canadian brands and designers must also be aware of the benefit media exposure can have on their businesses and they must be willing to work in partnership with editorial staff. The products that make up fashion editorials are normally provided for free from fashion companies (Rinallo and al. 430). Therefore, Canadian brands must be willing and able to provide items to magazines in a timely fashion that works with the editorial schedule of magazine staff.

Limitations and Future Developments

This study focused on three Canadian-produced publications, taking into account a small section of fashion magazines and their fashion photo editorials. Future research might incorporate a qualitative approach to the analysis of these fashion magazines by observing the specific brands mentioned and their frequency in fashion photo editorials for a better understanding of which Canadian fashion brands are benefiting from media exposure and which are not. What's more, future research might incorporate interviews with magazine staff for a better understanding of their wants and needs to provide better exposure to Canadian

fashion brands in their fashion photo editorials. Although this research paper has made some preliminary assumptions on the frequency at which Canadian fashion products are present in Canadian-produced fashion publications, a more thorough study of these magazines in their entirety can provide us with a deeper understanding of how Canadian fashion is present throughout Canadian fashion magazines. Furthermore, to expand our understanding of how Canadian fashion is present in Canadian media, future researchers may want to explore other top Canadian publications, especially since newspapers have also been proven to be an effective medium for the study of fashion reporting. Therefore, a study of the *Globe & Mail* or the *National Post* may also be beneficial. Finally, as there continues to be a shift towards online media, an analysis of the online counterparts of these magazines would also be beneficial. In 2017, Flare exit print completely and now only lives as an online medium, further reinforcing online media as a powerful medium for Canadian content. Ultimately, this study sought to determine if Canada's fashion industry is well recognized in 21st century Canadian media and if so, at what type of frequency. In doing so, I was able to provide a look into how Canadian fashion is present in Canada's top fashion magazines and deliver recommendations for journalists and other media industry members to utilize to further help the Canadian fashion industry and its members thrive.

APPENDIX A

A list of Canada's top 15 English publications (daily newspapers and consumer magazines) that report on fashion across the country, organized by top net print/digital readership numbers.

Media Source	Media Type	Net Print/Digital Readership	Print Readership	Digital Readership
Reader's Digest	Consumer magazine	4 492 000	4 218 000	949 000
Canadian Living	Consumer magazine	3 834 000	3 295 000	1 373 000
Chatelaine	Consumer magazine	3 200 000	2 902 000	947 000
The Globe and Mail	Daily newspaper	3 082 000 (weekday)	1 218 000 (weekday)	2 370 000 (weekday)
Maclean's	Consumer magazine	2 193 000	1 602 000	876 000
National Post	Daily newspaper	2 026 000 (weekday)	678 000 (weekday)	1 656 000 (weekday)
Air Canada enRoute	Consumer magazine	1 692 000	1 530 000	389 000
Elle Canada	Consumer magazine	1 574 000	1 330 000	644 000
Zoomer Magazine	Consumer magazine	1 396 000	1 255 000	406 000
Fashion Magazine	Consumer magazine	1 269 000	1 043 000	650 000
Hello! Canada	Consumer magazine	1 113 000	919 000	384 000
Canadian Business	Consumer magazine	972 000	732 000	502 000
Flare	Consumer magazine	881 000	767 000	336 000
Best Health	Consumer magazine	870 000	660 000	157 000
LouLou	Consumer magazine	617 000	531 000	266 000

Source: Vividata 2015 Q4 Readership and Product Database

APPENDIX B

TABLE 3 Fashion Magazine Editorial Photo Coverage 2016 Print

Month 2016	Fashion Spread Title	Can. fashion NPLACE	Other fashion NPLACE	Can. fashion NEQPAG	Other fashion NEQPAG
Winter	Here Comes the fuzz	1	36	0.25	9.75
Feb.	Low Pro	6	29	1.27	6.73
March	Air Waves	12	34	1.64	7.16
April	Girl Power	0	40	0	10
May	The Long Game	3	34	0.65	9.35
Summer	Alta Moda	7	40	2	10
Aug.	Best in Show	21	3	6.08	0.92
Sep.	Easy Street	4	39	0.725	7.275
Oct.	Strong Suit	0	31	0	10
Nov.	Fowl Play	11	23	2.33	4.67

Graph A

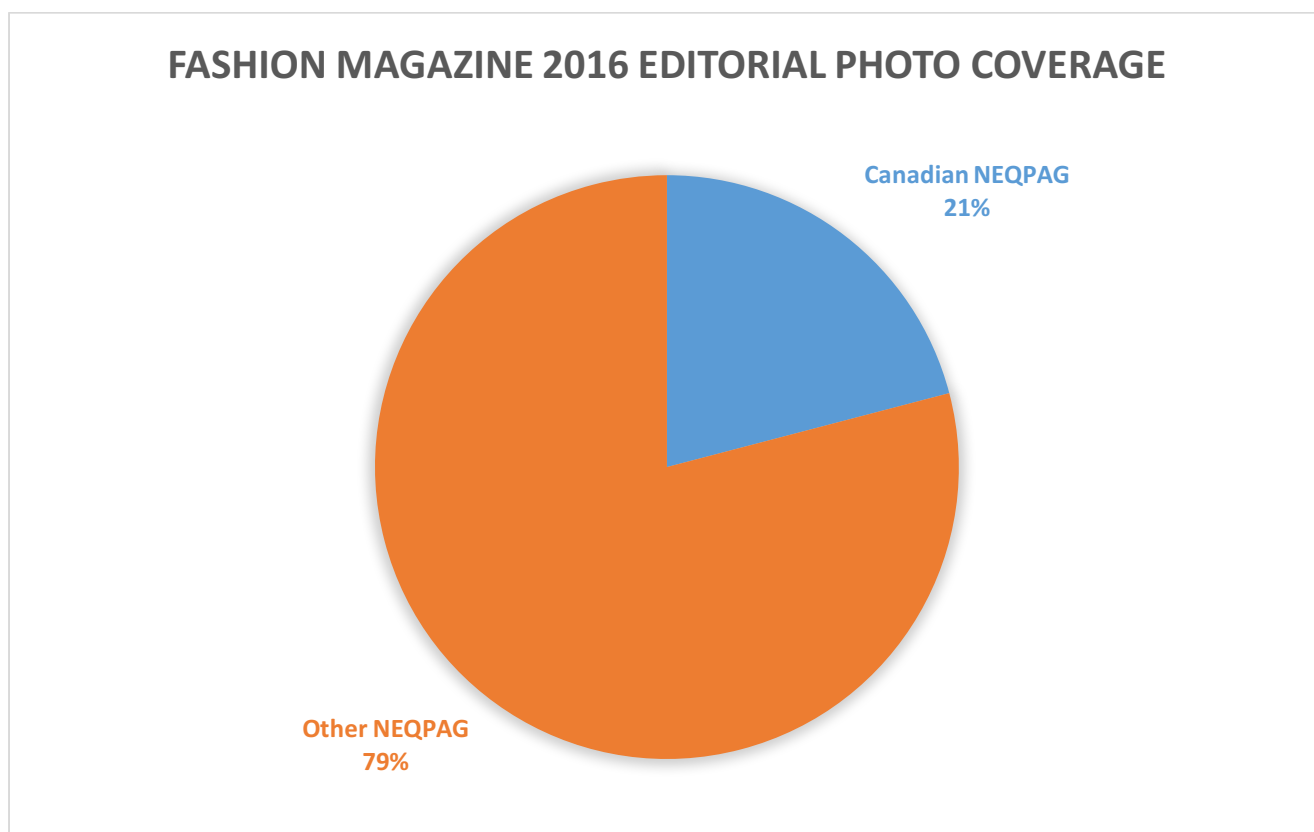


TABLE 4 Elle Canada Magazine Editorial Photo Coverage 2016 Print

Month	Fashion Spread Title	Can. fashion NPLACE	Other fashion NPLACE	Can. fashion NEQPAG	Other fashion NEQPAG
Jan.	Dream Weaver	35	110	2.45	8.55
Feb.	Glorious & Free	29	9	10.9	3.1
March	H2O	12	27	3.66	6.34
April	Roar	18	61	2.42	8.58
May	It's Our Party	18	109	1.45	9.55
June	Heat Wave	16	89	1.44	8.56
July	Deep Dive	1	42	0.2	9.8
Aug.	We the North	188	12	10.33	0.67
Sep.	Ride or Die	0	89	0	9
Oct.	Candy Land	2	102	0.17	9.83
Nov.	Comfort Zone	0	31	0	9
Dec.	Rosé All Day	3	40	0.53	9.47

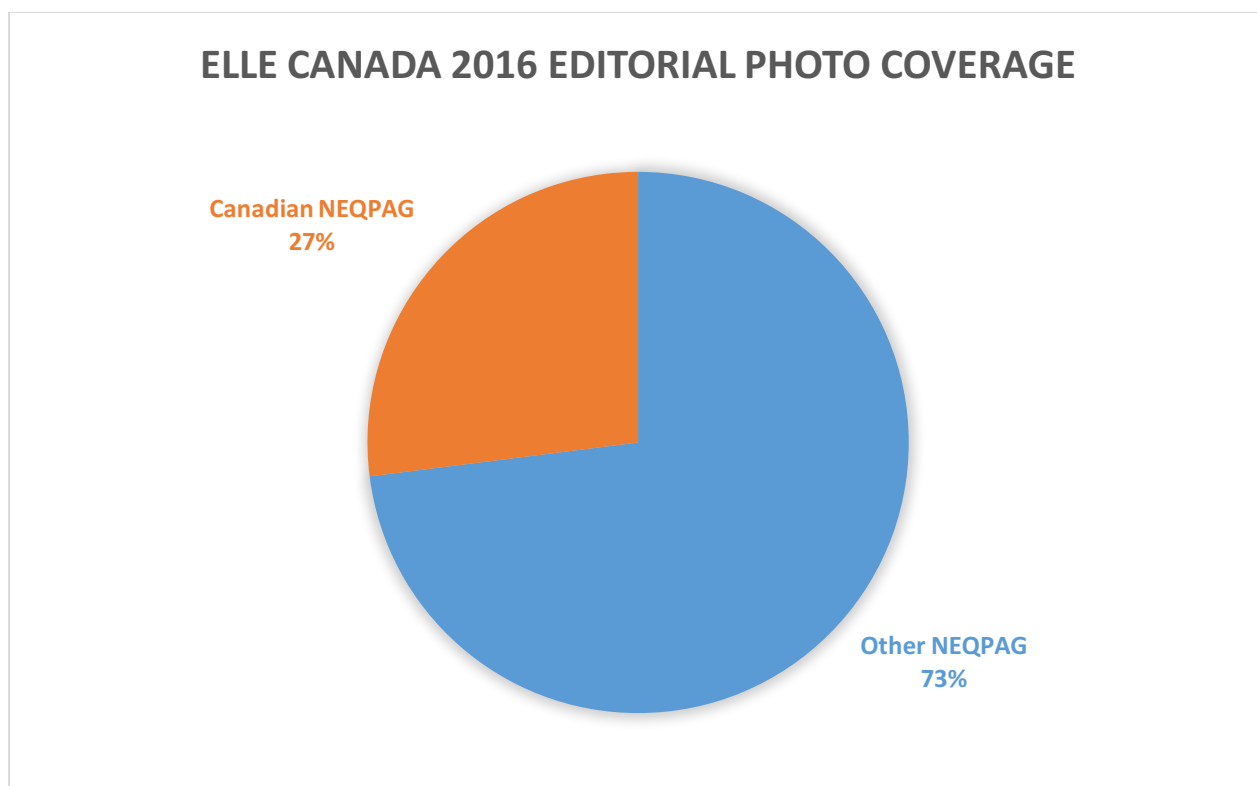
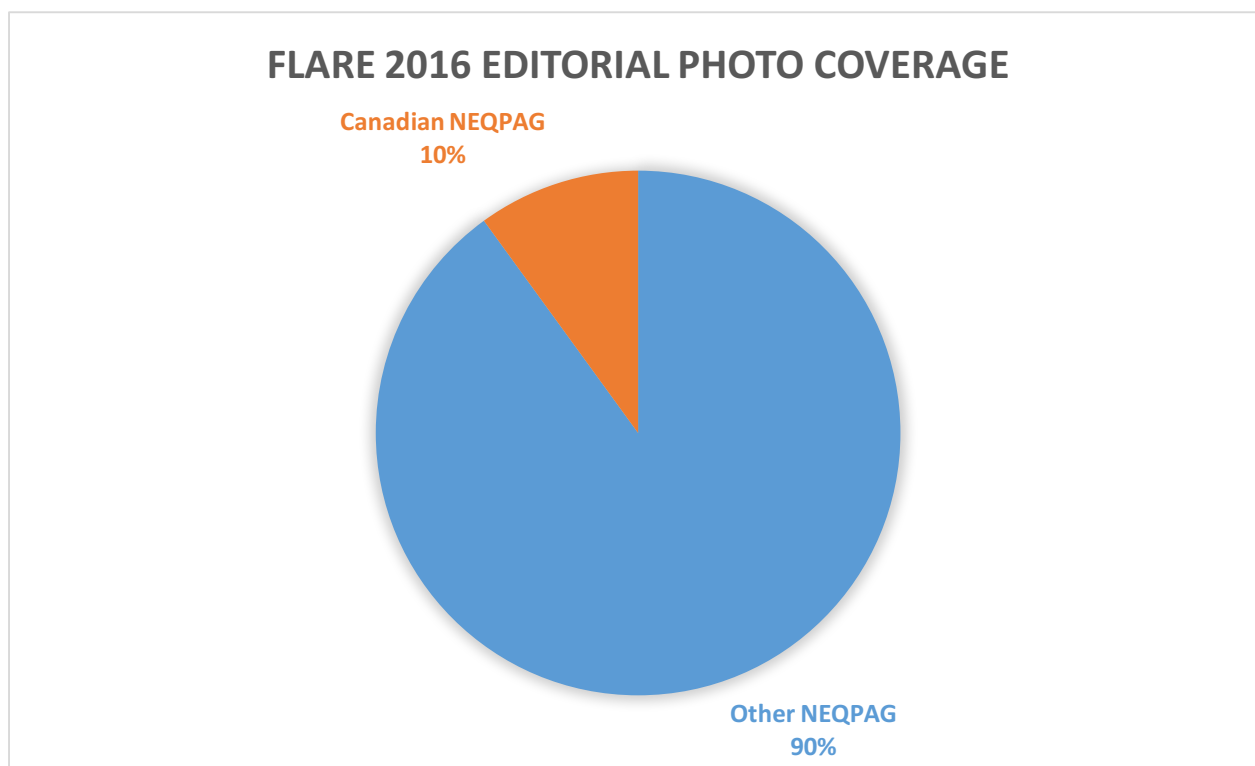
Graph B

TABLE 5 Flare Magazine Editorial Photo Coverage 2016 Print

Month	Fashion Spread Title	Can. fashion NPLACE	Other fashion NPLACE	Can. fashion NEQPAG	Other fashion NEQPAG
Feb	Bedroom Rise	6	27	1.5	7.5
March	Electric Zoo	2	30	0.4	8.6
April	It's a Long Story	6	25	1.48	5.52
May	Withering Heights	0	36	0	8
Summer	Free Stylin'	0	31	0	8
August	The Clash	5	24	1.66	7.33
Sep.	Back to Cool	0	20	0	9
Oct.	The Mystery of the New Models	5	34	0.63	5.37
Nov.	Stranger Things	3	28	0.65	6.35
Winter	The Shining	8	27	1.87	6.13

Graph C

APPENDIX C

A list of Canadian fashion brands and designers found in Canadian focused editorials
 An alphabetical list of Canadian brands and designers found in *Elle Canada's* and *Fashion's*
 three Canadian focused editorial shoots.

Canadian Fashion Brands and Designers	
1	Beaufille
2	Denis Gagnon
3	Elie Mae
4	Erdem
5	Greta Constantine
6	Hayley Elsaesser
7	Helder Diego
8	Hilary MacMillan
9	Jason Wu
10	Jennifer Torosian
11	Kaelen
12	Lamarque
13	Lucian Matis
14	Mackage
15	Malorie Urbanovitch
16	Maram
17	Marie Saint Pierre
18	Matthew Gallagher
19	Mikhael Kale
20	Narces
21	Oak + Fort
22	Pink Tartan
23	Rudsak
24	Sid Neigum
25	Smythe
26	Sosken
27	Stephan Caras
28	Tanya Taylor
29	Thomas Tait
30	Triarchy
31	UNTLLD
32	Want les Essentiels
33	Wanze Song
34	Zoran Dobric

Canadian Accessory Brands and Designers	
1	Aldo
2	Alan Anderson
3	Arc Jewellery
4	Biko
5	Call it Spring
6	Cuchara
7	Dean Davidson
8	Dolouros
9	Hillberg and Berk
10	Jenny Bird
11	John Fluevog
12	Lauren Klassen
13	Patricia Wong
14	Rita Tesolin
15	Sully Wong
16	Uncuffed

Notes

¹ Though the city of Vancouver is also home to several Canadian fashion brands such as *Lululemon*, *John Fluevog* and *Aritzia* to name a few, garment manufacturing was never as popular as it was in Toronto and Montreal.

² Based on the Vividata 2015 Q4 Readership and Product Database, the French magazine with the highest net print and digital readership rate that could have been considered for this study is *Bel Âge Magazine* with a 745 000 readership rate. This is a lower readership rate than the top 14 media found in Appendix A.

³ Rogers media announced in fall 2016 that it would divest its French language publications to focus on its English publications. After failing to find a buyer for women's magazine *Loulou*, Rogers chose to close the English and French language versions of the publication at the end of 2016.

⁴ Though Appendix C features a list of over 40 Canadian brands and designers, there are numerous other Canadian fashion brands that were not featured in any of the 2016 photo editorials examined. These include the wide array of available Canadian brands such *Lululemon*, *Kit & Ace*, *Aritzia*, *Bodybag by Jude*, *Roots*, *Nisse*, *DUY*, *Yoga Jeans*, *Arc'teryx Veilance* and others (Danforth). These brands may have been featured in other editorials that I did not analyze or in previous years.

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