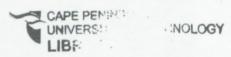
BEADWORK AND ITS IMPACT ON CONTEMPORARY FASHION IN SOUTH AFRICA

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CAPE PENINSULA
UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY

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BEADWORK AND ITS IMPACT ON CONTEMPORARY FASHION IN SOUTH AFRICA

by

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Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

Master of Technology: Design

in the Faculty of Informatics and Design

at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology

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DECLARATION

I, Beata Hamalwa, declare that the contents of this thesis represent my own unaided work, and that the thesis has not previously been submitted for academic examination towards any qualification. Furthermore, it represents my own opinions and not necessarily those of the Cape Peninsula University of Technology.

ABSTRACT

Judging from the market growth of African-style designs, including beadwork, it is clear that beadwork continues to recur in contemporary fashion, both locally and internationally. This thesis addresses the role traditional South African beadwork plays in contemporary fashion, in an attempt to determine its impact on fashion trends over time. It explores the history of beadwork in South Africa: its development from the pre-colonial era, under colonial rule, and during apartheid. The beadwork of the Ndebele, Zulu and Xhosa are looked at specifically, since beadwork forms a vibrant part of their cultures.

The research examines the history of South African beads, as far back as 75 000 years ago, when beads were first made, used and traded. This research is underpinned by the way in which beads contribute to a cultural identity in society. The research considers how South Africa's colonial and apartheid past inhibited the development of beadwork in South African fashion.

This thesis describes the process and dynamics of traditional beadwork in contemporary fashion; the way in which beadwork has been infused into fashion; and the reasons for these trends. It also investigates the way in which African designs, patterns, colours and techniques began to play a role in negotiating fashion designers' identities during the African renaissance and at present. This is a qualitative study that through in-depth interviews, analyses the relationship and balance between beadwork and fashion trends. Lastly, the research indicates whether South African fashion consciously affirms beadwork and beading techniques in contemporary fashion design.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents, Mrs Janina Karbowiak and Mr Metody Karbowiak, who made it possible and inspired me to this stage.

To my daughter, Sandra Hamalwa

Let this be a source of inspiration to you.

GLOSSARY

Terms/Acronyms/Abbreviations Definition/Explanation

Amadlozi Ancestors in the Zulu language

ANC African National Congress: the ruling party in South Africa

Africa, South African ruling party

Cubism A 20th century avant-garde art movement, pioneered by

Pablo Picasso and Georges Braque, which revolutionised

European painting and sculpture, and inspired related

movements in music and literature

Incebeta Chest covering worn by married women; Xhosa protective

ornament

Inkciyo Skirt for young girls in Xhosa language

Izitsaba Anklet-covering worn by married women, Xhosa

Negrophilia From French, it means a love of black culture

Sangoma Traditional healer (shaman) or herbalist

SAFDA South African Fashion Designers Association & Agency

Umuthi omnyama Black medicine in Zulu language

Vukani It is one of the national fashion competitions that is held in

South Africa

White Paper In the Commonwealth of Nations, "White Paper" is an

informal name for a parliamentary paper enunciating

government policy

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Africa is perceived as the cradle of humankind, and beads were the first durable ornaments that humans ever possessed (Francis, 1994:103). This research seeks to analyse the relationship between traditional beadwork and fashion. From the literature, it is clear that this relationship has a very long history. The oldest beads in the world were discovered in Africa 100 000 years ago. The oldest beads in South Africa, dating back 75 000 years, include the shell beads of the Nassarius from Blombos Cave, an archaeological site on the South African coast. They have been used both as body adornment, and for trade (Anon, 2004:1).

The people of Africa have had a distinguished relationship with beads over the centuries. Dubin (1987:47) states that African beads, "more than the beads of any other part of the world", represent the stories of many distinct life-styles communicating information not only about identity and sense of belonging, but also allowing people to personalise their bodies.

Sadly, South Africa's colonial and apartheid past inhibited the development of African fashion and beadwork. Indigenous African cultures were routinely viewed and portrayed as primitive and as obstacles to western-style and modern developments (Nettleton *et al.*, 2003:14). However, during the French avant-garde movement, there was an acknowledgment of African culture. Even though the respect for African heritage was short-lived, and possibly misleading or confusing, it imprinted a new and modern art concept (Archer-Straw, 2000a). In the last decade of the twentieth century, African designs and concepts began to compete with Western trends on fashion platforms in a more acknowledged way. In April 1997, style commentator and leading fashion journalist, Suzy Menkes, wrote in the *New York Times*: "This is an African moment ... For the first time since Nancy Cunard rattled her tribal bangles and the exotic Josephine Baker was the sensation of Paris in the 1920s, African aesthetics and adornment seems right for modern fashion" (Getaneh, 1998:187). It would appear as if the "African moment" remains a hallmark of contemporary fashion, and one which is evolving all the time. The trend described here has continued to the present day.

This research aims to investigate the conditions that determine the balance between traditional beadwork and current South African fashion.

1.2 Contextualisation of the study

1.2.1 History of beadwork

"Every visitor to Africa sooner or later comes across beads. There is little in Africa that costs so little, or costs so much" (Burch, 2000:1). The history of beadwork on the African continent attests to the creative way in which indigenous people have interacted with their environment. For a hundred thousand years, African people have made their beads using natural materials such as stones, seeds, nuts, shells, bones, tusks, and teeth, as well as metal, clay and amber (Dubin, 1987:47). The oldest bead in South Africa was discovered in Blombos Cave, and dated 75 000 years (Anon, 2004:1). The economic value of beadwork has an equally long and prosperous history.

Certain items have taken on such cultural significance that they have been adopted as part of the fibre of the historical cultural heritage of societies. "Today, ornaments made out of glass trade beads have become so characteristic of the African people that they are widely considered to be indigenous" (Blauer, 2000:1). Eicher (1995:1) maintains that dress is a coded sensory system of "non-verbal communication" that aids human interaction in space and time. On one level, beads are a fundamental part of "multilayered communication"; as an integral part of African history they "communicate cultural values in a symbolic language", and may contain coded messages. They are visible means of emphasising group identity and values as they carry messages relating to wealth and power, along with indications of age, hierarchy in society, politics and artistic attitude (Dubin, 1987:47; Otto-Reiner, 1991). On the other hand, beadwork, fashion and personal adornment developed in line with human history, and therefore represent, like all aspects of material culture, the environment in which people lived.

For the Ndebele, Xhosa, and Zulu-speaking people, beadwork is as significant as clothing (i.e. dress) is to West African aesthetics and society (Mustafa, 1998:41). Thus, beads represent trends within South African society that were echoed and carried forward in various ways (Blauer, 2000:1). Among the Zulu, beads are worn purposely to convey even more direct communication. The "love letter" is a traditional item made of beads woven into patterns that convey romantic feelings between courting youth (Francis, 1994:29).

However, from the arrival of the first European settlers in Africa, Western fashion style has been predominant on the continent. To some extent, this was imposed through direct coercion. Native fashion was frequently openly prohibited. As Blauer (2000:3) contends: "Much of the indigenous material culture of the Zulu was suppressed during the period of British colonial rule [1815-1910]." Consequently, indigenous fashion was portrayed as backward. Local traditions, rituals and art forms were undermined by colonial ideology, which posited that indigenous culture was inferior to the beliefs and culture of the occupying power. Colonialism ostensibly destroyed established African cultures. What was not destroyed was considered inferior, in line with the dominant (colonial) view that anything from outside was, by definition, superior. African designs and patterns were confined to curio shops, reflecting the view that traditional African elements were primitive and backward (Lynch, 1999:7). Moreover, the classification system for fashion outside the Euro-American fashion mainstream included categories of "others" such as "primitive", "tribal", implying an ethnocentric system with its roots in the colonial era as opposed to modern (Archer-Straw, 2000b; Nettleton et al., 2003). "While not blatantly stated, these terms carry inferences that Euro-American dress is more civilised, that progress is from the primitive other to the civilised us, and that we have the right to label the cultural products of others" (Lynch, 1999:7). Colonialists and missionaries found dress a "powerful tool of domination" (Rabine, 2002:96). Against this background, African cultures turned to subversion. For instance, the Herero in Namibia acknowledged Western clothing (in this case German military uniforms), believing that if one "wears the clothes of the enemy, the spirit of the enemy would be weakened" (Hendrickson, 1996:227). Within this context of suppression, African people continued to wear beadwork as signifiers of cultural identity (as opposed to the culture of the colonial masters), and images of how to relate to others and the world in which they lived (Boram-Hays, 2005:40).

During the apartheid era, the attitudes to traditional attire were reinforced. African fashion and beadwork, like other indigenous arts and traditions, were undermined. By sending people to homelands, the apartheid system undermined the dignity of cultural identity. This provoked the question of whether to wear or not to wear traditional attire. Thus, Mandela expressed his stand by wearing traditional attire during his trial. An early 1960s portrait of Nelson Mandela shows him wearing a traditional Thembu beaded collar. It is thought that he wore a similar collar during the Treason Trial in 1962.

A hush is said to have fallen over the crowded courtroom as Mandela entered, not dressed in the western-style clothing of the white oppressors, but in the traditional attire of a South African tribal chief. His feet were bare. The judges are said to have sat in stunned silence. No one could misunderstand the significance of Mandela's appearance. In this

one dignified and defiant act, he silently asserted his high standing in an indigenous African political system, his faith in traditional South African culture, and his rejection of the white man's abusive system. (...) As a mature Xhosa male, Mandela could have worn a few more of these collars, one of top of the other, and dozens of other pieces of beadwork as well. But in this case less were more. A single collar sufficed to make his point (Hector, 2005:94).

1.2.2 Love for black culture

"Negrophilia, from the French *negrophilie*, means a love of black culture. In 1920, the term was used positively by the Parisian avant-garde to affirm their defiant love for the Negro" (Archer-Straw, 2000b:9). Avant-garde artists in Paris were the first to co-opt black culture in order to promote their ideas about modernity. Fresh ideas about African art were integrated with cubism. African patterns, geometrical shapes and the use of rhythm and repetition were incorporated along with new African colours. Often confrontational, and difficult to interpret, these images changed the face of contemporary art at the time, by turning away from things that were obviously beautiful, towards a more thoughtful interaction (Archer-Straw, 2000b:21). For instance, in Picasso's art, the African mask can be removed from its traditional context (Elsen, 1981:363).

Using a style of contrasting colours, art deco, cubism's design based on African arts, became commercially successful. As for the African arts that had provided an initial spark to the modernist vision, with time, they became the "icing on the cake" (Archer-Straw, 2000b:16) in European arts and design. The fashion industry similarly picked up on *l'art negre* innovations in clothes, shoes and accessories. The style encouraged not only the use of contrasting black and white patterns, but also the wearing of head wraps, turbans, and ostrich feathers. Hanging earrings, chokers, pendants, beads and bangles similar to those in Africa, also became very fashionable (Archer-Straw, 2000b:77). Nevertheless, that "Negrophilia" had a short-lived appreciation did not go unnoticed. It initiated a new age in fashion and the arts that recognised African arts and designs.

1.2.3 South African renaissance

Since the end of apartheid, there has been a re-affirmation of African culture and identity in South African fashion. This re-assertion of an African identity can be viewed as part of former President Thabo Mbeki's vision of an African renaissance. To Mbeki, the renaissance was a symbol of freedom of expression and discovery of South African artistic souls based on the preservation of South African culture (Getaneh 1998:183). The spokesperson of Nokia Cape Town Fashion Week 2005, Capetonian Gerry Rantseli, explains it as follows: "The diversity and beauty of Africa

and its people have inspired designs the world over. And while Africa has benefited from global experience, the time has now come to look within and to celebrate its rebirth" (Anon, 2005:41). This new assertiveness and creative ownership of all things African holds great promise and potential. The rapid rebirth of beadwork in post-apartheid South Africa was distinctively observed (Labelle, 2005:1).

1.2.4 Beadwork in the context of contemporary fashion

1.2.4.1 Beadwork as a inspiration

Today, the diversity of local beadwork undoubtedly emerges as the inspiration relevant to the contemporary fashion climate. The embracement of culture as inspiration is visible in South African fashion, as a product of designers understanding, interacting, and absorbing cultural elements, seeking common ground, and eventually creating artefacts relevant to their targeted market (Viljoen, 2012:60). And as the consumer is a key factor, in post-colonial African countries, fashion designers strive to preserve indigenous culture. Designers such as Thando and Vanya Mangaliso of Sun Goddess or Sonwabile Ndamase derive inspiration from beadwork seen on South African streets. Beadwork, as inspiration, offers a cultural foundation, as well as a creative contribution and fresh interpretation. What is more, it provides visible evidence of uniqueness, in contrast to global fashion's desire for uniformity (Rovine, 2010:93).

1.2.4.2 Beadwork and building identity

Jones (2005:Foreword), the creative director and editor-in-chief of *i-D Magazine*, explains that the number of students entering fashion schools around the world increases yearly. Consequently, today's fashion, more than ever, depends on ideas, individuality and authenticity as "designers look to their roots—where they began, who they are, why they do what they are doing—essentially, what are their signatures and where their values are".

Since the African renaissance, restoration was united with the reconstruction of the African identity in fashion, and significantly the transformation from a culture of protest to a culture of national reconstruction was effected. Consequently, one of the greatest challenges facing post-colonial South African designers is the search for identity (Mustafa, 1998:40). However, there is no need to be despondent about its prospects, since South Africa has a rich heritage. Beadwork has continued to play a key role in South African culture, signifying a neo-African cultural identity in a rapidly globalising world (Kanneh, 1998:42). Beadwork as an element of the cultural mosaic,

contributes to the aesthetics of modern fashion, without renouncing its true identity (Getaneh, 1998:187). If maintained, the contribution of traditional arts may formulate fashion design success in the search for identity, providing the balance between the past and present, and a "projection into the future" (Traoré, 1998:8).

The emergence of events like Fashion Week, held since 1997, and the South African Fashion Designers Association and Agency (SAFDA) Vukani awards (held since 1994), suggest an emerging culture of design (Proudly South Africa, 2009). In addition, fashion magazines such as *Elle* and *Ebony* started searching for young African talent. This catalysed a new expression of cultural identity, where heritage and beadwork were used to readdress the concept of African identity (Getaneh, 1998:183), both at home and on global stage. The world is becoming familiar with South African labels such as Marianne Fassler, a founder of South African contemporary fashion (Jennings, 2011:11), Black Coffee and David Tlale, (Jennings, 2011), and Sun Goddess (Johnston, 2006:26); these all signify South African fashion identity, glamour and power.

"We have creative licence to dream big. The world is ready for an African Gucci", according to the textile company and fashion label Aziza's ("gorgeous", in Swahili) creative director, Dion Chang (Anon., 2006), because the world fashion is retaining on authentic (fashion) and that remains central (Hassen, 1998:124).

1.2.4.3 Beadwork and contemporary fashion trends

The advent of the technological age heralded sweeping changes in the world. The realities of our ever-shrinking globe are increasingly encroaching upon societies once considered sheltered and remote from the outside world. The concept of the 'global village' has seen the infusion of Western style and fashion into societies across the world (Givhan, 2005:162).

Fashion today is a cultural melting pot. It reflects the development of humanity and its stages, and the history of fashion can be viewed as developing hand in hand with art and aesthetic values. "Fashion borrows from different art forms, including fine arts, performing arts, crafts and vice versa, all of which operate in terms of illusion, displacement, the virtual, multiple layers, and inter-weavings" (Buxbaum, 2005:13). In today's world, fashion relies on trends. Every season new trends emerge and novel social values adjust and readjust to them. Africa has proved to be popular as inspiration for fashion trends (Pittards, 2006:1). *Vogue* included a New Native look for 2007 (Vogue, 2007). Jennifer Fair, owner of Africa Fair, regularly works with international buyers

and galleries, and she agrees that interest in African beadwork remains very keen across the world (Fair, 2007). In the 2012 fashion forecast in the *South African Fashion Handbook*, Li Edelkoort (2012) elucidates that fashion is progressively influenced by the African continent. It is believed that over decades, trends have adopted the visual language of African aesthetics. As expected, like all trends and movements in art, fashion, too, happens in cycles. Thus, following the 20s and 70s, this is not the first time Africa has attracted and stimulated design gurus. "If Jean Paul Gaultier had his way, every season would be African-inspired" (Ginsberg, 2005:12). Trends are ephemeral, and local or national designs transcend the boundaries of the global village in fashion (Nadine, 2008; Edelkoort, 2012:75).

1.3 Research problem

Modern fashion trends do not imply the demise of culture. Fashion is not neutral. Fashion is a human creation, and is closely interwoven with social norms and values. The research has as point of departure that traditional beadwork today is still incorporated in contemporary fashion as a catalyst for inspiration and/or as a re-affirmation of heritage.

1.4 Research questions

- 1. What is the history of traditional beadwork with respect to techniques, design and identity among South African people?
- 2. Why is beadwork infused into contemporary fashion? Is this infusion simply because global market trends have triggered the development of ethnic African elements, or is it part of a larger movement as a reaction to the African renaissance that seeks to re-affirm an African heritage?
- 3. How does beadwork contribute to contemporary fashion, and to what extent are fashion designers influenced by traditional beadwork in post-apartheid South Africa?

1.5 Aims and objectives of this study

Based on these facts, the problem can be solved by understanding the history of traditional beadwork in South Africa, as well as aspects determining the re-affirmation of beadwork in contemporary South African fashion. This research endeavours to present the reader with a description of the different manifestations of culture, both in time and in space (Gibian, 1997:15). Gibian explains that culture (design) can be placed in time and space because some of the

expressions of designs rely on the bond between the artist and his or her cultural relationship (Gibian, 1997:15). The focus of this research is to ascertain the contemporary position of heritage and how fashion design reflects the state of liberation heritage in current fashion in South Africa.

In order to meet this aim, the objectives of this study are:

- To give an account of the historical development of beadwork from the ancient to precolonial era, and during the later stage under colonialism and apartheid. Ethnic groups under investigation are the Ndebele, Zulu and Xhosa, considering that beadwork still forms a vibrant part of these ethnic groups' cultures. As such, beadwork has a great impact on contemporary South African fashion industry.
- To investigate the rebirth of beadwork in contemporary fashion as a means of affirming culture in view of the African renaissance.
- To comment on the balance between beadwork and current fashion trends.
- To note the role of the beadwork as creative inspiration for and catalyst in pursuing fashion designers' African identity.

1.6 Research design and methodology

Qualitative research methods will be used in this research project. (Thurber, 2004:489) indicates that "qualitative research methods address questions directed towards a deeper understanding of social phenomena, thereby providing rich, detailed descriptions of settings and participants in specific context". Furthermore, the exploratory approach describes human behaviours within the setting: behaviour determined by beliefs, perceptions, and attitudes of individuals existing in that context (Thurber, 2004:489).

According to Du Plooy (2002:29), "qualitative research has been assigned many different labels, such as field research, an anti-positivist approach, an alternative approach, and constructivism". However, they all share an equal meeting point, in that it sets out to interpret and construct qualitative aspects of experience. Qualitative data are suitable for studying beadwork and its relationship to fashion as "qualitative data is present in language rather than numbers, and as such the research tries to understand the significance which respondents attach to their environment" (Welman *et al.*, 2005:8). Qualitative research also offers an array of methods from which to choose in order to attain the best possible results. In this research, one-on-one interviews using semi-structured interview schedules will be employed in order to explore the data and ensure understanding.

1.6.1 Traditional beadwork in historical context

In order to address the question:

What is the history of traditional beadwork with respect to techniques, design and identity among South African people?

this research will trace the history of traditional beadwork in South Africa. Following Foucher & De Vos (2007:132-143), the rationale of explorative studies is to achieve depth of the circumstances and to gain understanding of society by analysing historical evidence and clues (Foucher & De Vos, 2007:134). Therefore for the purpose of this study, a detailed literature review will be undertaken. Books, periodicals, magazines and Internet sources will be used to provide information on and an analysis of the evolution of beadwork from the pre-colonial era to the present day. To validate the literature review, personal interviews will be conducted with beaders, in an attempt to examine the motifs, colours and techniques still used, particularly with reference to beadwork that exists among the Zulu, Ndebele and Xhosa people of South Africa. As stated under the objectives of the research, these ethnic groups have been chosen because beadwork still forms a vibrant part of their cultures and has a considerable impact on the contemporary South African fashion industry. To confirm the information, visits to museums in Cape Town and Johannesburg will be undertaken. Finally a survey and an observation of popular media such as Fashion Week will take place. In support, a literature review will be undertaken, exploring fashion books, magazines and other relevant publications. Since very little has been written with regard to fashion and traditional beadwork, to locate as many designers as possible, samples of content analysis of leading South African fashion magazines, including Pursuit, Elle, Drum, True Love and Top Billing will be used to understand how cultural heritage is being applied within the context of modern fashion through a review of market trends.

1.6.2 Position of beadwork in contemporary fashion

In answer to the following questions:

and also

Why is beadwork being infused into contemporary fashion? Is this infusion simply because global market trends have triggered the development of ethnic African elements, or is it part of a larger movement as a reaction to the African renaissance that seeks to reaffirm an African heritage?

How does beadwork contribute to contemporary fashion, and to what extent are fashion designers being influenced by traditional beadwork in post-apartheid South Africa?

a range of tools will be used. Firstly pilot interviews will be conducted in order to validate the research instruments. Since purposive sampling will occur in this study, observation methods with the assistance of video recording, and photographic records, as well as journal keeping, will be employed. To gain a better understanding of the dynamics between contemporary fashion and beadwork, the researcher will undertake visits to various fashion shows; fashion competitions such as Vukani Fashion Awards, Nokia Cape Town Fashion Week, and South African Fashion Week; and boutiques and exhibitions; and will access relevant websites.

This will be followed by one-on-one, in-depth interviews with fashion designers and fashion experts to interpret the meaning ascribed by fashion designers in incorporating beadwork into creative work. Three types of questions will be used, namely: main, probes and follow-up questions to gain a deep understanding of the phenomenon (Rubin & Rubin, 1995:145). Interviews will be conducted with professionals in the fashion field. They include members of the Cape Town Fashion Council and Cape Craft & Design Institute, fashion critics and writers, and fashion retailers, as well as practitioners of the medium at fashion schools and universities registered with the National Qualifications Authority bodies, for example, Cape Peninsula University of Technology. The second group will comprise fashion designers from Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg who use beadwork in their work. Finally data coding and reduction will be implemented in this research as a means of validation before the data analysis.

1.7 Delineation of the research

The techniques, history and social status of beadwork among the Zulu, Ndebele and Xhosa people of South Africa (as a means of exploring national as opposed to cultural variations) will be investigated. The research will also argue the notion of fashion designers in South Africa who use traditional beadwork as a catalyst for their inspiration or who employ beadwork as a trademark and signature of their fashion designs with consideration of current fashion trends.

1.8 Expected outcomes, results and contributions of the research

The contribution of this research for both fashion experts and practitioners will provide an interdisciplinary perspective on the balance between traditional beadwork and current fashion trends. The primary outcome will be a master's thesis. The research will add to the body of knowledge on the history of beadwork and fashion design in southern Africa. Conceivably, the research findings could be published in magazines and presented at fashion forums to contribute to the sustainable development of beadwork and to an understanding of the local fashion industry. The findings will also be made available to relevant government departments in South Africa and Namibia.

1.9 Ethical considerations

Anonymity and confidentiality of respondents will be maintained at all times. (Hakim, 2000:143) states that permission for using the data obtained from participants is compulsory. The study will be undertaken with authenticity and good intent. All intellectual property will be respected and used only for the purpose of this study and will not be harmful to participants' career development (Strydom, 2007a:59).

1.10 Conclusion

This introductory chapter locates the framework in which the questions and the research problem are set. It then it present the rationale for the research and finally it outlines in brief how the research will be conducted. The next chapter, with the support of literature, will explore the historical context of the development of Ndebele, Xhosa and Zulu beadwork from ancient times to the colonial and post-apartheid era. The next chapter will also investigate the dynamics between traditional beadwork and current fashion, and indicate how beadwork as heritage influences designers' choices in their creative work.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

During my working career in Namibia, I discovered the richness of the country's arts and crafts. Out of interest, I have studied the history of Namibian and African arts and crafts. I was also involved in in-service art training for teachers, and designed costumes for many national and international productions. In all instances, I noticed the growing pride in the heritage of the country. I gained valuable experience in this varied work environment and was increasingly exposed to contemporary and traditional Namibian art and fashion. Since I also held the position of curriculum developer for fashion design at the College of the Arts, I introduced the module of Namibian traditional attire as addition to world history of fashion. However, at the same time, I continually asked myself: Would Namibian fashion designers like to distinguish themselves as fashion designers in the global village? What do they have to offer? Are they willing to use the culture to represent their fashion identity and, if so, in what way would they do it? I explored this phenomenon from the particular perspective of a woman with a Polish background, understanding culture and heritage as a treasure and symbol of identity, and bearing in mind the country's history. During my studies I was based in Cape Town. Taking into consideration similarities between Namibian and South African history, I investigated South African fashion designers and their relationships with heritage and beadwork. This chapter investigates the South African beadwork history and explore and question the process of shaping identity through beadwork in contemporary fashion. Since the history is complex, the chapter first examines the historical impact of Ndebele, Xhosa and Zulu beadwork in shaping individual and group identity. The study also examines how the beadwork was adapted to signify identity from the time when the first beads were created, during the period of early bead trading, and at the time when the country was under foreign administration. Lastly, the objective of this chapter is to debate whether traditional beadwork still plays a major role in forming the cultural identity of fashion design in current trends and in the global village.

In order to discuss the research topic in a way that permits a clear formulation of the problem and the hypothesis, some background information is necessary. Following the literature review guidelines of Bless and Higson-Smith (1995:22), I conducted a detailed literature search before conducting interviews.

Background information was obtained mainly by reading whatever published material appeared to be relevant to the research topic. Books, periodicals, magazines and Internet sources were perused to provide information on and an analysis of the development of beadwork from the precolonial era to the present day. The subject matter was an analysis of the content of the foremost South African fashion magazines and was done to comprehend how cultural heritage is practised within the context of current fashion and to provide answers to the following questions:

- 1. What is the history of traditional beadwork with respect to techniques, design and identity among South African people?
- 2. Why is beadwork infused into contemporary fashion? Is this infusion simply because global market trends have triggered the development of ethnic African elements, or is it part of a larger movement that seeks to re-affirm an African identity (an example of which is the concept of an African renaissance)?
- 3. How does beadwork contribute to contemporary fashion, and to what extent are fashion designers influenced by traditional beadwork in post-apartheid South Africa?

Since the relationship between fashion and beadwork changes over time, the role of this thesis is to investigate the development of beadwork and beading techniques and how they were, and still are, linked to South African fashion. Beadwork vanished from the fashion spotlight during colonialism imposed on ethnic societies during apartheid, but has finally been accepted as an inspiration for trends and even in some instances as a catalyst in striving for a designer's identity in post-colonial South Africa.

2.2 Ancient beads

Beads have been an important part of society for centuries. The oldest known beads in the world date back some 100 000 years and were discovered in Africa and Asia. Two ancient beads were discovered in Skhul Cave, on the slopes of Mount Carmel in Israel, another from the archaeological site Oued Djebbana in Algeria (Rincon, 2006). However, the oldest known beads in South Africa are the 75 000 year-old Nassarius shell beads, shown in Figure 2.1 (Anon., 2004). Professor Chris Stringer, Merit Researcher at the Natural History Museum in London, explains that the sea shells used to create the beads were transported by people to the Skhul Cave as the sea was not close to the cave entrance (Rincon, 2006). Similarly, in Blombos Cave (South Africa), the shells were brought to the cave site from the nearest rivers, which were approximately

20 km east or west from the cave on the coast line and made into beads (Anon., 2004). It seems that beads were very important in early civilisations and that people went to great trouble to possess them. This suggests that since the beginning of time, humans have been decorating themselves.

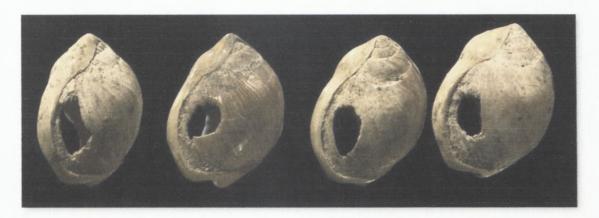


Figure 2.1: Nassarius shell beads from Blombos Cave, an archaeological site on the South African coast, are 75 000 years old (Anon., 2004:1).

The 41 Blombos beads were made from a tiny mollusc scavenger, *Nassarius kraussianus*. The shells were selected for their size and intentionally transformed into beads (Physics Forums, 2007). Most of them have a distinctive medium-size hole. The perforations appear near the lip of the shells. The research, through microscopic analysis, established that the shells were most probably strung as beads. The evidence for this statement is the fact that the shells have a distinct use-wear mark that "flattens the outer lip or creates a concave surface on the lip. None of these features are present in the natural dead or living populations" (Physics Forums, 2007). Hence, the assumption has been made that the beads were worn as a symbol of identity. According to Henshilwood, Programme Director of the Blombos Project and Professor at the Centre for Development Studies of the University of Bergen in Norway, beads are a form of symbolic language they "are a serious matter in traditional societies, providing identification by gender, age, social status class and ethnic group" (Cooltech.iafrica, 2004). The beads in addition communicated hierarchy within a group, guiding the transmission of individual and widely shared cultural values (Anon., 2004).

2.3 Other South African beads

As mentioned before, the earliest discovery of beads in South Africa was approximately 75 000 years ago. From the very beginning beads were made from shells and later from a wide variety

of organic materials, an aspect corroborated by Dubin (1987:47) who mentions that an abundance of organic material was used for beadmaking.



Figure 2.2: Made of ostrich egg shells and marine shells, this is a reconstruction of a necklace found at a late Stone Age site. The conus shell has had a hole cut with a straight tool, but the small beads have been bored through with a stone or metal awl, threaded into sinew, and then ground into a round shape on a grooved stone (Crabtree & Stallebrass, 2002:30).

As shown in Figure 2.2, a necklace made of ostrich egg shells and marine shells is an example of how African people created beads from materials such as seeds, nuts, shells, animal bones, tusks, teeth, amber and different types of wood. In South Africa, sandalwood and tamboti were often used in the making of shells, whereas other ornamentation, such as clay beads, was made of clay.

Most of the above-mentioned beads were made by women. Costello (1990:2) mentions that metal beads were made by metal smiths, but these were difficult to obtain. The metal smiths were believed to hold supernatural powers and only selected members of society were trained (Krige,1950:209). According to Miller (1996:15), South Africa has produced a few fragments of iron and copper beads at a site in Broederstroom in the former Transvaal as early as the 5th century BC. Since metal beads were regarded as hugely valuable, they were as precious "as glass beads which came from far-away countries".

2.4 Glass beads imported into South Africa

Glass beads arrived in South Africa through traders. For centuries, large quantities of glass beads were imported into South Africa. They were distributed throughout Africa by many routes. Figure 2.3 features a map indicating how beads travelled.

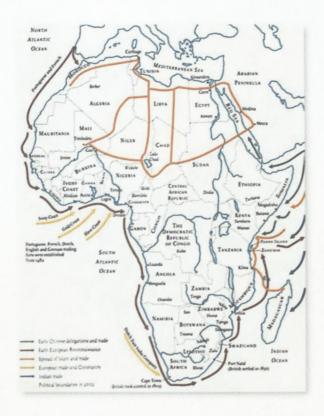


Figure 2.3: Map of African bead material and distribution patterns, prehistory to the present (Crabtree & Stallebrass, 2002:30)

According to Crabtree and Stallebrass (2002:31), the Namib and Sahara deserts and the Central African jungles are natural barriers, separated north, south, east and west from each other. Trade routes, inland and coastal, linked these areas and therefore became a route for beads to move across the African continent.

2.4.1 North Africa

In North Africa, the earliest glass beads were manufactured in Egypt around 3000 BC, and from that time, glass beads were exported south. There is also good reason to believe that shortly after the Romans conquered the north of Africa, they took control of trading routes. As expected,

Arab traders were the first to explore the connection between coastal Africa and the maritime traders. According to Crabtree & Stallebrass (2002), as early as the medieval period in Europe, Islam was globalising its faith. That was also a time when the trade took place from Spain in the west to Pakistan in the east and Mozambique in the south. (Crabtree & Stallebrass, 2002:32).

2.4.2 Indian Ocean

Evidence of Indo-Pacific Ocean beads have been found along the eastern coast of Africa. Costello (1990) explains that Arabs, who had been trading also in the Indian Ocean, brought glass beads to East Africa from the Middle East, India and South-East Asia. According to Crabtree and Stallebrass (2002:32), Arab and Indian traders have been bartering up and down the eastern coast of Africa for almost 2000 years. The success of trade between Asia and the east coast of Africa was determined by the favourable winds. From AD 1200, Kilwa in Tanzania functioned as the key distribution point for beads entering the southern Africa region (Crabtree & Stallebrass, 2002:33).

2.4.3 Europe

Vasco da Gama's journey in 1497 marked the beginning of European expansion into Africa. Da Gama stopped at East African ports, including Delagoa Bay. According to Saitowitz (1990:17), Delagoa Bay, later Maputo, "was connected with coastal and inland trading networks into the interior of Mozambique and northern Transvaal". As pointed out by many scholars (Costello,1990; Saitowitz, 1996; Crabtree & Stallebrass, 2002), since Da Gama's first expedition, trade goods entered many African ports. Merchants carried cargoes of glass beads imported from England, Germany (Hamburg), Holland, Italy or Italian-controlled factories in France and later Bohemia, Czechoslovakia. (Refer to Figure 2.4).

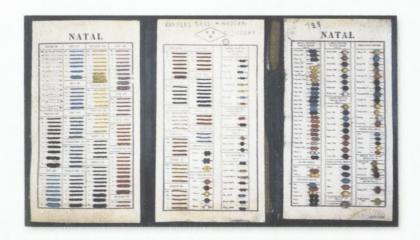


Figure 2.4: Glass beads chart used by European traders (Dubin, 1987:11)

2.5 Evolution of beadwork

It is important to understand that the colour, motifs and stitching techniques of beadwork of the Ndebele, Xhosa and Zulu people, within the pattern, though apparently abstract, in fact convey the meaning. The beadwork is naturally dynamic, its aesthetic and meaning changes continuously. It is impossible within the capacity of this study to comprehensively and fully describe all the aspects and track all the changes over the last centuries. However, the aim is to signify the magnitude of the role of the beadwork in South African traditional society and its dynamics over time.

2.5.1 Bead distribution

As trade developed with the arrival of new beads and varying market needs and political restrictions, patterns, colours and styles changed continuously within African societies and these were in turn echoed and carried forward in diverse ways (Blauer, 2000). With time, local materials for bead-making were replaced with imported glass beads. From the very beginning the preference for colour and shape of the beads was determined by the availability of the beads on the market. Crabtree and Stallebras (2002:33) explain that "before contact with Europe, beads were blue, green, yellow, Indian brick red and black". Other colours were imported by the Portuguese, Dutch and English. When Venetian beads were introduced to the South African market, the local people preferred the familiar Indian beads to the Venetian beads. As a result, Indian beads were copied by the Europeans, and the first were made in Venice 1600 – 1836 (Crabtree & Stallebras, 2002:33). The interesting fact about those beads is that, "beads found

and excavated in southern Africa are smaller than those found on the coast further north" (Crabtree & Stallebrass, 2002:33). The assumption is made that the size could be determined by the fact that either the traders of the southern routes were the last to buy the beads and had no other choice of size, or the beaders actually preferred to work with smaller beads, owing to their choice of design or stitching techniques.

During the time of the chieftainship of Dingiswayo, the demand for beads increased. It was at this time that the Portuguese and other Europeans joined forces to trade through the port of Delagoa Bay (Saitowitz, 1990:17). Dingiswayo built a royal monopoly over the supply and allocation of imported beads and also controlled the colours and shapes of the beads brought to his kingdom. He ensured that bead trade would be his privilege. This gave him and all later kings the authority to control distribution of the beads (Morris & Preston-Whyte, 1994:9). Figure 2.5A, 2.5B, 2.6A and 2.6B portrait widespread adornment of beads in the ancient Zulu kingdom.



Figure 2.5A: Mature women of rank attached to King Dingane's royal enclosure (Klopper, 2000a:24)
The Zulu king Dingane in his "ordinary and dance dress", depicted by
Gardiner in his Narrative of a journey to the Zoolu country (1836) (Klopper, 2000a:26)





Figure 2.6A: This plate is titled Two of King Panda's dancing girls, from George Angas's The Kafirs

illustrated (1847) (Klopper, 2000a:22)

Figure 2.6B: Young Zulu in dancing costume, from George Angas's The Kafirs illustrated

(1847) (Klopper, 2000a:23)

By the 1850s beads had become so popular and wide-spread that preferences for colour and sizes of beads had developed. Glass beads were subjected to shifting fashions (Gott & Loughran:2010:3). Klopper mentions that J.W. Colenso, a visitor to the Natal region in the midnineteenth century, compared "local taste for beads to the changing fashion in British women's hats, an icon of fashion's capriciousness: 'the Natives ... are so capricious in their taste for beads, as any English lady in the choice of her bonnet the same pattern will suit them for only a season or two; and they are at all times difficult to please" (Klopper 2000a:31).

2.5.2 The motifs

Motifs that are used in the beadwork of the Ndebele, Xhosa and Zulu are rooted in earlier traditional crafts. Although the motifs between the three ethnic groups differ, they all consist of a combination of simple geometrical shapes such as broken lines, stripes, circles, semi-circles, triangles, diamonds and checks, rooted in traditional crafts. Labelle (2005:90) explains that Zulu beaders made use of triangles and lozenge patterns, as in traditional basketry, as shown in the beadwork pattern in Figure 2.7.





Figure 2.7: Grass baskets Northern KwaZulu-Natal (Magubane & Klopper, 2000:131)

The beadwork motifs of the Ndebele people are closely related to the tradition of painting their houses (Labelle, 2005:100), as shown in Figure 2.8. As time passed, many elements such as elements of architecture and urban development, as well as elements of the Roman alphabet, were added to their beadwork.







Figure 2.8A: Ndebele, South Africa. The *linga kobo* commemorates the initiation of a woman's son.

Ndebele Foundation Cultural Centre for Women and Youth. Photo: M. Courtney-Clarke

Labelle (2005:144)

Figure 2.8B: Ndzundza Ndebele: bold mural designs originated in the 1940s (Magubane & Klopper,

2000:152)

Figure 2.8C: Ndebele women (Magubane & Klopper, 2000:82)

Motifs used in Zulu and Xhosa beadwork are prevalent in nature, and they represent, for example, stars, trees or rivers. The representation of nature in beadwork is symbolic, but also original. Created with geometrical and graphic shapes, they embody the essence of living people.

During the twentieth century, when beads become more accessible, the motifs used were continuously refined, and became more elaborate. However, over time, what didn't change in the beadwork was a search for balance and harmony (Labelle, 2005:91), as illustrated in Figure 2.9.



Figure 2.9: Boldly designed anklets (*isitsaba*), worn by women and men at traditional ceremonies and meetings. They were collected at the second half of the 20th century, but because they are an important item of Xhosa formal dress, their shape and design have reminded constant for over a hundred years (Crabtree & Stallebrass, 2002:45)

2.5.3 The colours

According to Pastoureau (2000), as referred to by Labelle (2005:63), red, white and black were used as the basis for beadwork in most ancient cultures, that practised beading in eastern and southern Africa. Since these three colours are accessible from the surroundings and indigenous materials, they become indispensable in ceremonial and daily life.

2.5.3.1 White

Originally white was obtained from chalk or ash mixed with water. Since sea and ostrich shell beads are accessible and are white, white remains the prevalent colour. The Xhosa used white body paint during rites of passage such as initiations. "White make-up appears to have served as a protective element during the difficult and sometimes dangerous transitions of life" Labelle (2005:63). Labelle states that, "particularly among Zulu and Xhosa, white was associated with the world of the ancestors". The colour white, for Xhosa people, was regarded as the colour of purity and meditation. "The sangomas (diviners and healers) wore white beads ... The beads enabled them to communicate with the ancestors, who dictated diagnoses of patients." They are "beneficial, pure and protect against evil" (Labelle, 2005:64). When worn by Xhosa fully-fledged diviners they "draw attention to the powerful symbolism of light, knowledge, energy and purity"

(Proctor & Klopper, 1993:59). Proctor and Klopper further explain that the candidate diviner can be recognised among the Xhosa-speaking people by his or her wearing single strings of white beads in a number of places on the body such as the head, wrist, elbow and ankles. The predominance of white beads in the multicolour beadwork signifies the fully-fledged diviner (Proctor & Klopper, 1993:59). White was also often the main colour of a large number of ornaments, such as belts worn by Zulu girls, and was equally predominant in many ornaments worn by the Xhosa and Ndebele as shown in Figure 2.10.



Figure 2.10: White once predominated in Ndebele adornment. South Africa, early 20th century. Photo Duggan-Cronin Collection, McGregor Museum, Kimberley (Labelle, 2005:99)

2.5.3.2 Red

The colour red originated from clay of different red shades, red ochre and fruit juice. The red was used in southern Africa in body paint to enhance beauty, both on a daily basis and during ceremonies. The Xhosa and Zulu also painted their bodies and clothing with red ochre. According to Klopper (2000a:29-31), Magubane and Klopper (2000:24) and Labelle (2005), in the Zulu and Xhosa kingdoms red signifies a "symbol of normality" or the "blood of the earth". Red beads among the Zulu in the context of chieftainship also played a crucial role in fertility rites (Klopper, 2000a:31).

However, among the Xhosa people, the replacement of red ochre with white clay on the body indicates the fact "that something out of the ordinary had happened in the life of the wearer" (Labelle, 2005:63). Labelle further explains that Xhosa women were painted in red for their wedding day and on the day of becoming a mother. To celebrate the crucial moment, both mother and her new-born child were smeared with red ochre (Labelle, 2005:65).

For Zulu-speaking people, red was connected with their ancestors; the red women's headdress (inhloko) symbolised respect for their husbands and their parents-in-law (Magubane & Klopper, 2000:24). Red was also associated with blood, menstruation and motherhood, which Carol Boram-Hays qualifies as "times of transformation and transition when human life can be brought from the spiritual realm of the *amadlozi* (ancestors) into [the] physical realm ... The red beads in the dress of an *isangoma* are, thereby, intended to promote the transitional state of the body used by the *amadlosi* to cross between the physical and spiritual realms" (Labelle, 2005:65).

2.5.3.3 Black

Black pigments were obtained from easy-to-source natural charcoal and were used in body painting. In the beginning iron beads replaced black make-up. Black is considered a harmful colour in southern Africa and many researchers suggest that its presence in beaded ornaments indicates a negative message. Black clothing and adornment did not have a negative connotation. It was probably mainly used to create distinction in traditional garments and designs. Examples are the black skins used in the traditional black skin skirts worn by married Zulu women; also the black shields that once distinguished young Zulu warriors were made out of an ox skin after removing the hair and making the skin soft; the skin "was [then] blackened with grass-charcoal or coal-shale and fat" (Krige,1950:210). The black colour was an element that created contrast in designs and guaranteed the harmony of the composition (Labelle, 2005:68).

In contrast to ornaments, "black medicine' (*umuthi omnyama*), is a generic name for all medicines that are administered with the intention of charming away evil ... or for removing everything that causes dislike" (Krige, 1950:328). Krige explains that the use of "black medicine" had to be followed by the use of "white medicine" to release one from or clear away the effects of "black medicine" and wash away ill feeling (Krige, 1950:329).

2.5.3.4 Other colours

The colour combinations of the three prominent colours, white, red and black, were used in the first beaded patterns. For instance, the black/white contrast is found in important Xhosa protective ornaments, such as *izitsaba* anklets, the *incebeta* chest-covering worn by married women, and the short *inkciyo* skirt for young girls (Labelle, 2005:76). Similarly, the same colour combination was used in a skirt worn by Zulu girls and the apron worn by Ndebele married women. However, throughout the twentieth century, there was a constant addition of colours,

which allowed increasingly complex colour and pattern combination in designs. This created the covering of the leather or fibre of adornments to "an even greater extent" (Labelle, 2005:80). Over the years many beading styles were in use for short time and didn't specifically express certain meaning (Klopper 2000a:31). However in many instances beadwork is representation of artistic creativity. A creative combination of many colours in Zulu beadwork is shown in Figure 2.11.



Figure 2.11: Zulu, South Africa. Second half of the 20th century. Glass beads and plant fibre. Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia, Vancouver K5 139. Photo C Canadian Museum of Civilization, Steven Darby (Labelle, 2005:95)



Figure 2.12: Riksha pullers still carry passengers on the Durban beachfront. Their costumes are made to attract customers, but the beadwork is in different regional styles (Crabtree & Stallebrass, 2002:46)

Among Ndebele-speaking people there is a visible connection between traditional architecture and beadwork. The patterns on houses were initially created with natural earth colours. Later, those colours were replaced with multi-coloured industrial paints (Labelle, 2005:100, see Figure

2.12). This development is also noticeable in beaded paintings created by Ndebele women as shown in Figure 2.8.

2.5.3.5 The language of beadwork

Among the Zulu people, the vocabulary of the beads extends to colours. Zulu beadwork is a language system in which the colours are the "evocative and poetic descriptive terms rather than immutable colour descriptors" (Burch, 2000:4). Table 2.1 lists colours and their respective positive and negative associations in Zulu culture.

 Table 2.1:
 Alternatives in the positive and negative grouping of colours (Schoeman, 1996:5)

BLUE YELLOW	Hostility Thirst, Badness
YELLOW	Thirst, Badness
YELLOW	Withering away
GREEN	Illness, Discord
PINK	Laziness, Poverty
PINK	
RED	Anger, Heartache
RED	Impatience
WHITE	Virginity
BLACK	Sorrow, Despair, Death
	GREEN PINK PINK RED RED WHITE

In Zulu culture, beads play a major role as a display of feelings in attracting the opposite sex. In the past the boy would send loose beads to the beloved girl. Since the meaning was not always understood, the boy would turn to his sister or diviner to read the beads. With new stitching techniques, more solid panels were made, coding meaning by juxtaposition of motif and colours (Crabtree & Stallebrass, 2002:48). The message created by weaving colourful beads became so powerful that many Zulu people interpreted the small beaded pieces as a "love letter". Figure 2.13A and B shows examples of the Zulu love letter.



Figure 2.13A: Zulu, South Africa "love letter" made out of glass beads (Schoeman,1996)

Figure 2.13B: Zulu, South Africa "love letter". South African young man wearing "love letters" and a "strengthener of love", the lozenge-shaped ornament lodged centrally in his hatband, late

1960s (Yarwood, 1978:532)

2.5.4 Stitching techniques

Ndebele, Xhosa and Zulu people used mainly universally known stitching and threading beads on the fabric techniques. This includes the brick stitch, the tubular polygon stitch (Zulu), the herringbone stitch and the pyramidal herringbone stitch (Ndebele), as well as netting techniques with holes (Xhosa people) (Costello, 1990; Crabtree & Stallebrass, 2002; Hector, 2005). The other techniques used by Xhosa people, is a simple technique of threading the beads onto the garment, while the Ndebele used the "lazy stitch" to sew the beads onto the leather in parallel rows, as well as the appliqué stitch, in which rows of beads are sewn onto the leather. Figure 2.14 shows the appliqué stitch and lazy stitch.



Figure 2.14: Zulu jacket (Nettleton et al. (2003:45)

The exception to all the other stitching techniques is a new development of the single-layer scallop stitch fashioned by Xhosa people. Hector explains that it is the usual single-layer scallop stitch and that it is used to create the Xhosa collar worn by men and women. What is more, this technique is used in many countries, for example, in western India and both Americas. However, the Xhosa-speaking people developed an excellent deviation from this technique. They filled the open spaces in one row with beads from the next row. "The rows do not merely interlink, they interpenetrate, producing a luxurious, double-layer kind of beaded fabric" (Hector, 2005:95). Figure 2.15 shows the Xhosa double-layered collar scallop stitch.

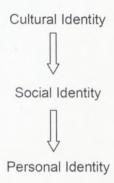


Figure 2.15: Shown is a detail of a Mfengu (Xhosa) collar worked in double-layer scallop stitch. The curve emerges as rows of interlocking loops are added to an initial line of beads .The Field Museum, Cat No. 28789. Neg. No. A114148c. Diane Alexander White (Hector, 2005:95)

2.6 Beads and cultural identity

Beadwork in South Africa represents the multiple voices that make up Zulu, Ndebele and Xhosa societies and culture (Labelle, 2005:1). Historically beadwork played an important part in providing people with a sense of belonging and cultural identity. Since in the traditional society beads are worn by women, men and children from a very early age, they convey a message about the wearer's social rank, religion, wealth, gender, and age; they also denote that he or she is part of a particular group and mark important stages in the individual's development. Given that identities of individuals and of groups are ingrained in "biological and cultural conceptions", they are "not simple, static, innate definitions; instead they, like the people they represent, are complex, multifarious, flexible, and not predetermined" for the reason that they are "fluid constructions formulated in relation to the identities of others. They are forged in response to changing economic, political and cultural conditions" (Appiah,1992:110 and Mennell, 1994:193, quoted in Boram-Hays, 2005. Among Ndebele, Xhosa and Zulu people, beads signify all the identity changes that individuals undergo within a group.

The identity of South African society can be illustrated as follows.



In traditional society, beadwork portrays not only a sense of belonging to a group but also has a social–religious function, and above all, signifies distinctive personal identities.

Cultural identity – This identity is represented in motifs and styles of beadwork worn by
Zulu, Ndebele and Xhosa-speaking people. From the social perspective, South African
beads instil a sense of belonging to the specific ethnic group, for the reason that they
signal a chain of traditions to which people relate in a social context. Dubin (1987)
explains that beadwork is informative. Both the selection of individual beads and the
combination of assembling the elements helps to define a particular group's concept

(Dubin, 1987:47). Thus the characteristic patterns and motifs convey a sense of cultural and ethnic unity within a particular ethnic group.

Social identity – Social identity indicates the dynamics among the individuals in society and consequently the division of members of that society into a hierarchy. Labelle (2005:107) contends that identities formulate relationships with one other and signify economic, political and cultural circumstances. In South African society, beadwork conveys the social class and wealth of the wearer. During early trade, when glass beads were rare, wealth was determined by the beadwork that only prosperous members of the community could possess. At that time beads were acquired at great cost and become profitable treasure, thus they signify the hierarchy of society. This criterion included traditional education, source and amount of profits (Labelle, 2005:107).

For instance, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, Xhosa women's headdresses were made of antelope skin and beads. Since the beads required for making this specific headdress at that time were atypical and quite expensive, they could cost as much as three oxen (Cosser, 2007). Therefore only wealthy members of society could afford such an ornament for their wives. During the Zulu Empire the use of beads was overseen by Dingiswayo and the great Shaka; consequently only members of the royal family were allowed to display beaded ornaments signifying their wealth (Saitowitz, 1990:17; Morris & Preston-Whyte, 1994:10). In another example, Xhosa people wear loose beaded circles that are placed around the waist as a signifier of the economic position of the wearer.

Beadwork is also the language that signifies spiritual identity. Through religion, people build a sense of belonging to the membership of a religious group. The diviner in traditional society is a regarded as the head of a religious group. Ceremonial beads identify the diviner, and thus the customs and belief system of that specific group. In traditional society, only diviners have authority, and consequently have the power to control evil, disaster, fortune and happiness. Ritual beads give the diviner wisdom and supernatural power in communicating with ancestors, and access to protection of the people within the group. They play a great role in prominent life ritual ceremonies. It seems that no momentous event in traditional society could take place without beads. This includes celebrating birth, weddings, harvests, death, reaching adulthood, and initiation – "passing of rites of passage to the community" (Crabtree & Stallebrass, 2002:50). Beads also identify the status of the diviner. As mentioned earlier, candidate

diviners can be recognised among the Xhosa-speaking people by wearing a single string of white beads around their heads, wrists, elbows and ankles, whereas the fully-fledged diviner wears much more elaborate multicolour beadwork, on their heads and bodies (Proctor & Klopper, 1993:59). In the early nineteenth century, beads began to flood the South African market, thereby losing the status symbol of wealth. However, today, they still symbolise spiritual identity (Proctor & Klopper, 1993:59-61).

Personal identity – In the traditional community, personal identities are subject to social parameters of personal status. Personal identity indicates if the member of the community went through initiation, is married or unmarried, and even if the person has children (and how many). Among South African people, the variety of beaded garments evaluates these transitions in life. Certain combination of motifs do relate to particular identities. For instance, interpretations suggest an incomplete feminine symbol (i.e. unmarried women) when the triangle is pointed towards the top; the lozenge, or two joint triangles, would evoke a complete woman, that is, one with children. On the other hand, the triangle will represent the masculine symbol when the triangle is pointed towards the bottom. It would represent the complete masculine symbol, that is, a married man, as in the love letter around his neck in Figure 2.13 (Labelle, 2005:90). When the points are joined (in the form of an hourglass), it would represent the complete masculine symbol, that is, a married man, as in the love letter around his neck. Triangle patterns appear in the beaded openwork bib collars that are worn by both women and men among Xhosaspeaking people. A Xhosa nursing woman wears a necklace to indicate her status. Also among Ndebele people garments tell the story of womanhood and, depending on the number of beaded panels on the apron, the woman was recognised as married, or with children (Figure 2.16). The symbols in ornaments represent a material cultural product, shaped and transformed according to the environment existing within and outside the community (Labelle, 2005:134).



Figure 2.16: Ndebele South African. Second half of 20th century. Goatskin, glass beads, animal hair and brass 74cm (I) 53 cm (w). On loan from Knight Gallery International, Toronto PSF5. Photo Canadian Museum of Civilization, Steven Darby (Labelle, 2005:137)

2.6.1 Identity in historical context and political relationships 2.6.1.1 Colonialism

Europeans have long raided the rest of the world's cultures, starting in the time of the ancient Greeks, but more recently since Europe's voyages of exploration and eventual colonisation of the world. Europeans admired some of these cultures for their perceived "exotic" qualities, others for their perceived "authenticity". All encounters, however, represented cultural collisions through which Western ways were enforced as superior and therefore as preferable (Nettleton *et al.*, 2003:14).

Step by step, colonialism shattered established South African cultures by stamping the authority of European cultures over local ones. Through Christianity, colonialism diluted traditional customs, rituals and art forms. Especially in the nineteenth century, "missionaries commonly attacked old identities, cultural values and traditions" (Proctor & Klopper, 1993:58). Indigenous South African cultures were routinely viewed and portrayed as primitive and as obstacles to Western-style development.

Any element of culture that was not destroyed by colonialism was considered inferior. As a result, traditional attire was destabilised and materials and designs were denigrated. Nettleton *et al.* (2003:14) indicate that Western fashion gradually took over the streets and later was introduced to people in rural areas, who converted to the "new" Christianity and were required to have a "modern look". To define the term "modern", Nettleton *et al.* cite the Oxford English Dictionary, noting the word "modern" as rooted in 1590s. However, "the term came to have a particular meaning in the 19th century as European states, considering themselves to be 'modern' and

'advanced', colonised those they considered as 'backwards' thus creating a chasm between the 'modern' coloniser and the 'traditional' colonised". Nettleton *et al.* explain that the progression of colonialism was built on the awareness of differences on both levels of "race" and "culture" and it created a "breakdown". Consequently according to the colonisers, indigenous culture was unsatisfactory to the occupying supremacy, and didn't represent the "modern". The colonial suppression of these traditional cultures, therefore, inhibited the development of African fashion and beadwork. African designs and patterns were confined to curio shops, reflecting the view that traditional African elements were primitive and backward. Moreover, the classification system for fashion outside the Euro-American fashion mainstream included categories such as "primitive", and "tribal dress", implying an ethnocentric system with its roots in the colonial era (see Section 1.2.1). South African fashion, the perception of oneself, which is close to the human body, lost its respect since arrival of Christianity undermined the traditional attire (Proctor & Klopper, 1993:58).

That influence on the change of dress-code become visible in the early twentieth century, when men went to work in the cities. They were heavily influenced by urban style, because at first they were provided with work clothes, later adapted to become stylish leisure garments. As a signifier of modernity, clothes were bought by men and send home to the rural areas. (Cameron, 2010:56). Gradually, colonialism also affected the younger generations in schools. Labelle (2005:153) explains that education took place in modern schools and stigmatised traditional life. It involved foreign education, languages and ideas. "Children were taught that traditional ways of life were a thing of the past and the only road to salvation rested in progress and modernity." The "modern" way of life had a negative impact on ethnic traditions and disapproved of the traditional way of dressing. "Traditional dress slowly lost its *raison d'etre*" (Labelle, 2005:154). "Modern" clothes were associated with "the rich, elite, and colonized" (Cameron, 2010:56).

On the other hand, the organised confrontations of colonialism and Christianity were marked by wearing beaded traditional attire. This caused division within the indigenous society, "between those who sought their identities – the 'school people' – and those who clung tenaciously to indigenous practice, the 'red people' as they are sometimes called from the red ochre they use" (Proctor & Klopper, 1993:58). Conversely, among Ndebele speaking people during the era of colonialism, and later as an outcome of apartheid, the Ndebele lost a significant portion of their ancestral lands. As a result they are certainly the only group to have developed use of beadwork in their clothes and adornments to such a noteworthy extent (Labelle, 2005:99).

2.6.1.2 Apartheid and the imposed cultures

From 1948 until 1994, colonialism developed into apartheid and was introduced as official policy. In contrast to colonialism, that dismissed ethnic values, apartheid was a system of racial segregation. It brought separation, not only as in black and white, but also segregation between ethnic groups. Apartheid divided the population into four racial groups; native, white, coloured and Asian. Consequently the residential areas were separated from each other, and people were moved to their homelands, often by means of force. The black people were not only deprived of their citizenship, but also legally became citizens of one of the ten tribally based self-governing homelands. The result of this imposed system was the promotion of traditional attire, including beadwork, in the homelands (Clark & Worger, 2004).

Even though the segregation imposed traditional clothing, traditional attire still represented the resistance of imposed sanctions and discrimination. Conversely, the political embargo and ways of resistance created yet more confusion about the status of traditional identity; the question of whether or not to wear traditional costume (beadwork) was once more debated. With the growth of resistance to apartheid, the African National Congress (ANC) and other political groups were established. One of the political groups was the neo-traditionalist. Nevertheless, in this group, decisions were questioned. This dispute is reflected in a 1962 feature in the newspaper *New Age*, titled "Should African Leaders Wear Tribal Dress?" A number of *New Age* readers posed their opinion on the matter disputing the government pattern. In the feature, a reader suggested that the wearing of "tribal garb" by African leaders played into the policies of the Government. "The Government would happily want to see us appearing in our various tribal costumes, tribal divisions, tribal differences, tribal schools of thought, tribal language ... this accentuates tribal differences even among the educated" (*New Age*, 1962:6).

Even though the tribal dress issue was never resolved by the ANC, the appearance of Nelson Mandela in traditional clothing at his trial confirmed his position on the matter. To defend his identity, Mandela wore a Xhosa beaded collar that represented his cultural identity (Figure 2.17). In this case, the beaded garments assumed the role of political statement against apartheid (Klopper, 2000a:42).



Figure 2.17: 1960 portrait of Nelson Mandela wearing a Thembu beaded collar. He probably wore a similar collar during his treason trial (Hector, 2005:94)

2.7 Love for black culture - the impact of African designs on French avant-garde

While African nations were struggling to keep their own identity during colonialism, their culture become an inspiration for arts and fashion in France. As explained early, "Negrophilia", from the French *negrophilie*, stands for a love of black culture. This term in 1920 symbolised affirming defiant love of the Negro and their culture by Parisian avant-garde movement (Archer-Straw, 2000b:9).

The Parisian avant-garde used the term in 1920 as a provocative challenge to bourgeois values. In the year after the First World War, many Africans and African Americans moved to Paris in search of a better future. They also sought to explore the security of bohemian life. African Americans escaped the racial restrictions in their own country. After all, the French capital was a paradise for émigrés for a long time. Furthermore, Archer-Straw (2000b:18) explains that in Paris, "the others" (African and African Americans) lived in "partnership" with avant-garde artists, primarily because Paris intellectuals and avant-garde artists were the first to question Europe's material and moral progress and its "civilizing mission". For Apollinaire Guillaume, the principal advocate of *l'art negre*, "European society was intellectually and artistically drained and in need of salvation" and Africa was the salvation (Archer-Straw, 2000b:64).



Figure 2.18: Josephine Baker with "Count" Pepito Abatino, 1926 (Archer-Straw, 2000b:96)

Avant-garde artists admired black personalities such as Josephine Baker and Henry Crowder (see Figure 2.18). Artists also collected African arts and adapted African designs in their arts. With Picasso as leader, Western artists started to seek inspiration in the African continent. African arts became modern, in vogue, and commercially successful art deco. African patterns, geometrical shapes and the use of rhythm and repetition were incorporated along with new African colours (Archer-Straw, 2000b), as reflected in Figure 2.19. Thus artists had different ways of looking at African arts. For Picasso, African arts were "conceptual sophistication"; Brancusi on the other hand, valued the "conceptual simplicity" of African arts that he understood through the affiliation of arts with religion and rituals (Archer-Straw, 2000b:137).



Figure 2.19: Férnand Leger: stage set of The Creation of the World, 1923 (Archer-Straw, 2000b:113)

Following the visual arts and jazz music, other disciplines adopted African aesthetics; fashion was also gaining inspiration from Africa and setting the trend. Paris is the capital of fashion; what

is worn in Paris is accepted by the world. Avant-garde fashion was all about exotic fabrics with animal skins and African motif prints (Archer-Straw, 2000b:76). The popularity of African patterns grew because the avant-garde designs inspired by Africa were used in mass production, as can be seen in Figure 2.20. Thomas Crow, art historian (cited in Archer-Straw, 2000b:76) is certain that this was particularly so in fashion commerce, which picked up on the *l'art negre* innovation for clothes, shoes and accessories. Subsequently these items were reminiscent of African beadwork, with its characteristic use of motifs.





Figure 2.20: Marcell Duchamp and Man Ray design for the packaging of Belle Haleine Eau de Voilette; 1920 advertisement for Piver's Fétiche perfume, from *Voque*, December 1927 (Archer-Straw, 2000b:95)





Figure 2.21A: Jean Dunand, neck-rings decorated with lacquered geometric motifs, 1927 (Archer-Straw,

2000b:77)
Paul Poiret, design for the Nubian "evening dress". From Art Goût Beauté,

May 1924 (Archer-Straw, 2000b:78)

Figure 2.21B:

Archer-Straw (2000b) elaborates that fabric designs registered the trends mirroring cubist paintings. However, these patterns can also emulate African beadwork patterns, as can be seen

in Figure 2.21. Fashion commerce recreated *l'art negre* designs in clothes, shoes and in costume jewellery that gained in popularity at the time (Archer-Straw, 2000b:77). Consequently, African arts become the trend for 1920s fashion.

Even though "Negrophilia" was thus about Western culture exploring its perceptions of difference in such a way that best reflects white people rather than their eroticised subject" (Archer-Straw, 2000a:2), it drew the world's attention to the beauty of African designs. The point made by many that "Negrophilia" was a short-lived fad is unfounded, because it heralded a new era of acknowledgement of African designs in the ephemeral world of fashion.

2.8 Echo of Africa in global village

Since Picasso's "African moment" (see Section 2.7), a multitude of fashion designers from Yves Saint Laurent, Junya Watanabe, Ralph Loren, Marc Jacobs, John Galliano, Alexander McQueen, Comme des Garcons, and Jean Paul Gaultier have all offered African aspects of art and fashion in their portfolios, embraced "'cherry picking' from African cultures" (Jennings, 2011:13). African arts and fashion have inspired Western fashion trends and ethnicity has become an element of ready-to-wear and haute couture fashion worldwide (Udé, 2011:7).

Borrowing from different cultures became a global phenomenon. One of the earliest, following the 1960s hippy movement and the "hippy look" was the "Zhivago" by Yves Saint Laurent (1967) and Spring/Summer African collection (Buxbaum, 2005:103). Yves Saint Laurent was certainly one of the first globally respected fashion designers of African descent. Born in Algeria, he continuously drew his inspiration from the African continent. His milestone dress (Figure 2.33C) made out of beads, shells, raffia, and based on ancient Egyptian dress, become a symbol of sophistication, modernity and style (Jennings, 2011:12).



Figure 2.22A: John Galliano united distinct African ethnic heritages and historical styles with the elegance of the House of Dior in his collection (Pirotte *et al.*, 2005:9)

Figure 2.22B: Diorific wooden hat with carved African figures (Pirotte *et al.*, 2005:16)

Another landmark design is the dress for Christian Dior by John Galliano in 1997 (Pirotte *et al.*, 2005:9) (refer to Figure 2.22A). It represents silhouettes inspired by East African ethnic groups perfectly balanced with Ndinka and the Masai male warrior corset "kitu". The dress featured sophisticated black lace-veiled silk crepe, creating an unconventional Western-style evening gown, finished with a beaded hat and multi-colour pearl choker (Pirotte *et al.*, 2005:22; Jennings, 2011:13). Galliano's infatuation with the African is visible in his campaign for the "Diorific" lipstick launch in 1997 (Pirotte *et al.*, 2005:21) as presented in Figure 2.22.B. The top hat is a depiction of an1800s Parisian street scene and most probably a nineteenth century icon of bourgeois society, thus signifying "modernity and progress". Galliano's design also represents the "Africa archetype", simply because the wooden sculptures that he incorporated in his hat design are inspired by African kings' chairs, symbols of power. Figure 2.23 portrays African inspiration in contemporary fashion.



Figure 2.23: African-inspired design by Tunisian Azzedine Alaia (Getaneh, 1998:183)

Even though the representation of Africa in fashion was at times clichéd Africa gave inspiration to fashion designers and influenced world trends because of the exceptional strength and energy of rich and complex ingrained cultures of the continent (Jennings, 2011:14) as illustrated in Figure 24A, B and C below. African influences have outgrown trends in fashion and have become part of the world's fashion kaleidoscope.



Figure 24A: J.D. 'Okhai Ojeikere, Kpsel hairstyle, Nigeria HD 920/75 Suku Moremi, 1975 Vintage print Courtesy Fifty One Fine Arts Photography (Pirotte *et al.*, 2005:90)

Figure 24B: Jean Paul Gaultier Haute Couture Summer 2005 (Pirotte et al., 2005:96)

Figure 24C: Jean Paul Gaultier Haute Couture Summer 2005 Source (Pirotte et al., 2005:94)

2.9 South African renaissance

The colonialism and apartheid era engraved negative political, socio-economical and religious influences on the indigenous South African society. The supreme authorities confused the sense

of belonging within South African societies and concomitant ethnic symbols. The release of Nelson Mandela in 1990, and the country's first democratic elections in May 1994, brought not only political but also cultural changes. "Policies were introduced which aimed to empower the marginalised and formally disenfranchised communities. This commitment to redressing past imbalances led to the publication of the White Paper [South Africa. Dept of Arts, Culture, Science, and Technology, 1996] on Arts and Culture and Heritage that encapsulated the idea of creating job opportunities in the informal sector by encouraging craft specialists, especially women from rural areas, to market their skills" (Magubane & Klopper, 2000:10). The cultural insurrection brought back to life the beauty of African beads, their timeless aesthetical designs and their meaning. Beadwork was no longer classified as a vanishing culture, but as the starting point for new-generation designers, who were conscious of "the unsuspected wealth of their cultural heritage and potential artistic status" (Labelle, 2005:1). "Traditional dress has so long symbolised backwardness ... Since the second half of the twentieth century, and coinciding with the rising importance of black liberation movements, traditional dress has reappeared as a way of reaffirming pride in African heritage" (Labelle, 2005:163). For instance, to commemorate the 10th anniversary of South African independence, fashion designers compiled collections to celebrate their cultural affiliation (see Figure 2.25).





Figure 2.25: The Xhosa and Tsonga-inspired ensemble. Fashion show at the Canadian Museum of Civilization as part of "Ten Years of Freedom" celebrations in April 2004, marking the 10th anniversary of the end of *apartheid*. Photo: Canadian Museum of Civilization, Steven Darby (Labelle, 2005:166)

With independence in 1994 came the celebration of the cultural African renaissance. The term "African renaissance" was first used by liberation leaders in the early 1960s and was revived by

Thabo Mbeki, successor to Nelson Mandela in 1998 as South Africa's president, as a rallying call for the rebirth of pride and prosperity on the continent (Magubane & Klopper, 2000:11). To Mbeki, the renaissance was a symbol of spiritual freedom, the beginning of "rebirth", "own discovery" of "African continent's soul". With the blossoming of democracy in South Africa, there was an awakening sense of pride in being African, in all its magnitude. African designers have become conscious of the affluence of their heritage which, for "all its universality, is above all their own" (Getaneh, 1998:183). Artists ultimately could "move away from a legacy of protest"; in the new South Africa arts and culture became a base for building identities signifying national culture (Mustafa, 1998:41). In a free country, a number of designers started to explore and provoke fashion by resonating it with their versatile cultures. "Ostracised during the apartheid years, South Africa is now attracting growing interest from the international fashion industry as designers try to reflect the 'African Renaissance' trumpeted by Thabo Mbeki in their catalogues and catwalks" (Plaintive, 2007). "Following the honeymoon after the first election", the interpretation of the national identities in South Africa's rainbow nation became debatable (Mustafa, 1998:40).

2.10 Shaping South African designers' identity through culture 2.10.1 Fashion identity

According to Jones and Mair (2005:13), fashion can be seen "as the phenomenon of communication, reflecting the development of humanity and its stages" and above all it is a representation of "aesthetic values" (Buxbaum, 2005: Foreword). "The use of clothes as metaphor is hardly original. Ever since Adam and Eve covered their sensitive parts, clothing has served as a rich allegorical resource. Clothing (fashion) has proved to be a vivid means with which to dramatise our complex nature" (Carter, 2003:2). Even as early as 1818, fashion was the subject of controversy, as noted by William Hazlitt, who questioned fashion in his own time (Johnson *et al.*, 2003:69). Johnson describes fashion as "living only in a giddy round of constant innovation and restless vanity".

Academics from the University of California, San Diego, discuss several intriguing theories about fashion's social and psychological significance in modern culture; these include "what makes clothes fashion, how fashions evolve, how fashion choices express social status, gender identity, sexuality, and conformity and how fashion is or is not accepted" (Baker, 1992). Fashion is "not clothing but a belief", because clothing is a tangible product, whereas fashion is a symbolic, cultural product (Kawamura, 2005:1). And above all, since fashion is a large vehicle of communication (Katharine Hamnett, quoted in Jones & Mair, 2005:208), fashion history helps to

understand social, cultural and aesthetic values of individuals, the representation of 'I', the circumstances in which humans relied on one another in shaping identity within and outside the group. Therefore, fashion signifies identity on both an individual and collective level. According to Professor Fred Davis, to search for individuality in the "global village", a designer has to undergo a long and complex process involving systematic development and implementation of creative ideas that communicate designers' background. "What do our clothes say about us, who we are or who we think we are? Is the desire to be in fashion universal, or is it unique to Western culture?" (Baker, 1992).

Fashion signifies the identity of the designer. The signature style of the designer involves mixing aspects of an individual's life cycle that influenced personal choice, individual beliefs, and approaches to life through designs. Given that fashion is an expansion of the human mind and spirit, it is "an extension of oneself", states designer Rossella Jardini (in Jones & Mair, 2005:323). Through his or her own work, a designer expresses him or herself and presents an individual manifestation shaped through a life-learning process. Because making clothes isn't exciting — what is exciting is being able to give them a soul, Veronique Leroy is quoted as saying in Jones & Mair (2005:294).

Cultural identity doesn't focus on personal but rather on the social construct and progress of a group of people holding common attitudes. Building the group identity is a social process that places "I" in the context of collective identity values. Smelser and Bady explain that group identity "provides an organizing basis for cognitive and effective experience"; as a result, within the group "people experience purpose, confidence, and dignity" (Smelser & Bady, 1994:113). They (1994:114) note that the collective identity might be shaped by common history, culture, religion, community and context. Fashion contributes in constructing collective identity because it marks a person as a member of a specific society, culture or sub-culture. The author of *The Study of Dress History* explains that "coded forms of dress are used to mark a sense of 'belonging' to a family, community and eventually a nation" (Taylor, 2002: 221).

Fred Eboka, a South African designer originally from Nigeria, explains that "identity relates to physical structure and culture". To him, every group and nation can be represented in fashion, identifying people's sense of belonging irrespective of where they are in the world (Motsoene, 2006). Nigerians base their fashion on Yoruba attire and Greeks have gone back to their lovely, locally woven, finely-striped fabrics. Designers worldwide claim their cultural identity through creative work. For instance, Michael Kra, a Paris-based leading fashion designer from the Ivory

Coast, uses his timeless heritage in his collections to emphasise his "sense of belonging" (Figure 2.26A). Figure 2.26B illustrates the Japanese influence on Komsai Yomamoto designs, while Figure 2.27 represents the American influence on DSquared² twin designers, emphasising their culture. Figure 2.28 depicts a range by Slava Zaitsev, exploring Russian traditional fashion with a modern look.





Figure 2.26A: Jewellery designed by Michael Kra Photos: Service de Presse, 1998

(Van der Plas & Willemsen, 1998:203)

Figure 2.26B: Japanese-inspired design by Komsai Yomamoto (Duits, 2008)







Figure 2.27: DSquared² Autumn Winter '11 '12 (Johns, 2011)







Figure 2.28: Russian fashion designer Slava Zaitse (Smentanina, 2009)

2.10.2 South African fashion and beadwork

The existing understanding of cultural and ethnic dynamics and their capacity to grapple with changing influences may manipulate the process of shaping identity in fashion. In a country like South Africa with a "rainbow nation", the ethnic group identity might be more complex: a cultural blend that results in a "process of trying to manipulate identities" (AfriForum CEO Kallie Kriel, quoted in Blendy, 2007) and giving social form to the creative impulse. In pronouncing South African identity in fashion and reclaiming cultural memory, traditional beadwork might play a role of catalyst, depending on the designer's choice. Thus it reflects designers' manifestations of culture and history, in both in time and in space (Gibian, 1997:15). Following Gibian's philosophy, one can conclude that fashion design can be placed in time since it portrays evolution throughout every era from the beginning of civilisation. Fashion design can also be placed in space because it represents design manifestations, depending on the bond between the artist and his or her cultural relationship.

Beads predominantly represent South African fashion developed into adornment. Worn from the beginning of the human race, by each member of society, today beads represent both the old and the modern fashion; they forged identities, by blending cultural heritage with fashionable innovations. As in the Western world textiles changed, with time the bead materials went through many transitions. Starting from indigenous materials, glass beads became a major fashion statement during the Great Shaka Zulu Empire (Section 2.5.1). With modern technologies in the twentieth century, in some instances glass beads were replaced with plastic ones (Blauer, 2000:5). Even though the popularity of beads was at times undermined, today beads once again show new potential in the contemporary fashion melting pot. In comparing the impact of culture in

fashion, beadwork may play a major role in keeping the group identity alive, like the check kilts of Scottish clans (Figure 2.29), resonating a modern fashion trend and sense of "belonging" (Taylor, 2002:221).



Figure 2.29: Scotsman in national dress on a visit to Holland 1999 (Taylor, 2002:221)

African fashion is not novel; however designers are "deservedly operating with a creative autonomy that has not been seen before" (Udé, 2011:7). Striving for an African fashion future, designers balance contemporary fashion ideas with the attractiveness of African adornment ingrained in African culture and social consciousness, even though shaping fashion designer identity through ethnic culture may be not everyone's "cup of tea". Keeping in mind that "tradition should not be understood as the opposite of modernity, because traditions are continuously created, not only in the past but in the present and in the future" (Shigwedha, 2004:267), a number of South African designers celebrate heritage in fashion by blending the old and the modern. After all, the time has come for them to value and re-invent their identities. According to Aminata Dramani Traoré, Minister of Culture and Tourism in Mali (Traoré, 1998:8), building fashion identities became an "intellectual development", based on "synthesis of designers' roots". This is mostly because world fashion designers in search of success look to their roots, considering that fashion today relies not only on inventiveness, but "individuality and authenticity" (Jones, 2005: Foreword, see Section 1.2.4.2). However the reclamation of African identity has two points of departure. Some designers preserve and perpetuate heritage such as Bongani; others use heritage as an inspiration to create more edgy ranges, resistant to dominant fashion norms for example Strange Love.

In reaction to the South African renaissance, brands started to mushroom that cherish beadwork. The designers negotiate emancipation for modern identities through enriching high-street style,

couture and popular fashion (Traoré, 1998:8). In an article written by Badenhorst (2003) in *De Kat*, Geoff Hobbs noted that people in South Africa fashion their own style "by mixing the old with the new". Kanneh (1998:42) explains that especially at present, South African fashion can be reconsidered as it is relevant to a receptive society. In 2009 it was pointed out at the Mercedes-Benz South Africa Award for Fashion Design (Niefer, 2009) that almost all the post-apartheid generation began to break into fashion via universities, signalling their new approaches with experimental, daring designs: "Almost all designers endeavour to blend often meticulously researched indigenous South African traditions with global codes and standards" (Niefer, 2009:19). After all, the time has come for South African designers to present to the world what African fashion trends, rich in tradition, are today. In addition, the consumer is ready for the individual South African look bridging the gap between mass market and global brands (Maragelis, 2006:67). These fashion developments make the world aware of the country's fashion "to the beat of our own drum" (Viljoen, 2012:58).

The process of re-affirmation of South African cultural identity in fashion and to cope with social disdain of the heritage was formulated by Sonwabile Ndamase, the founder of the Vukani African Pride Awards, which have been in operation since 1994, and Executive President of SAFDA. As a man "passionate about improving indigenous fashion in the South and African diaspora" (Proudly South African, 2009), Ndamase explained that since South African culture was not documented and it was not part of the tertiary education syllabus, or it was misrepresented, in some instances. Consequently the transition from the pre-colonial to modern fashion was done without much respect for the heritage, and therefore promoted a derisory attitude to contemporary "African" fashion (Shigwedha, 2004:245). Therefore Ndamase took the initiative to create the Vukani Fashion Awards competition that will consider an exceptional affiliation between the deepest traditional skills and fresh pulse of contemporary designs, and to advocate an individual African-look fashion and South African beadwork and put it on the fashion map. This was done to avoid the situation where pride and interest in heritage are lost, and heritage might well become "vulnerable to decay and stand to lose the respect and esteem of the younger generations" (Shigwedha, 2004:214). Vukani Fashion Awards were founded two decades years ago. Even though Vukani Fashion Awards were created "out of a need to develop local industry", the other even more important aim was to focus on indigenous fashion in creating fashion designers' identity" (Vukani-Ubuntu, 2007). The role of SAFDA is to support and give the young and up-coming designers better opportunities in order to help them to establish them on the market and in parallel "stimulates" the distinctive "creation of innovation" which reflect the South Africa identity based on heritage (Vukani-Ubuntu, 2007). Similar goals for the South African

fashion industry were raised by the Durban Fashion Council (DFC). Lucilla Booyzen, the founder of Durban Fashion Week in 2008, was also fusing contemporary and ethnic aspects in the development of the fashion industry. Skrypek (2006) mentions that Booyzen aims for "community upliftment, including the beaders' skills, on the fashion market". In her opinion, the sustaining of Durban talent can be done through underpinning *zeitgeist* flavours of South African heritage and promoting "locally" made. Through Booyzen's vision and determination, Palmi (2008:21) posits that South African fashion based on cultural identity may become "visible in the local and global apparel value-chain".

As mentioned earlier, contemporary South African fashion designers blend their identities in two ways:

- Some designers take originality and progress in design from abstract or concept point of view in their work where fashion is "an ideal medium for exploring changing identities at the intersection of cultures" (Rovine quoted in Gott & Loughran, 2010:6) such as Bongani or Sun Goddess
- Others adapt it in a more distinctive way, putting the indigenous element more figuratively, representing designers' ideas about the self, their national identity in negotiating a positive postcolonial identity and emancipation (Gott & Loughran, 2010:7), in order to achieve the visible African-ness (Rovine, 2010:89-103), for example Gideon or Strange Love

As mentioned in the Mercedes-Benz South Africa Award for Fashion Design publication (Niefer, 2009), one can present an endless list of South African designers for whom their African heritage is a starting point.

2.10.2.1 Beadwork as an inspiration

For Black Coffee creator, Jacques van der Watt, Himba culture and Xhosa dress, a safari wardrobe and local hairstyles are often muses for conceptualising his collection (Jennings, 2011:73). Strangelove, run by Gibson and Pater, conceptualises its collection through social statements on South African history. In one instance, designers honoured Sarah Baartman through a fashion statement. Her body was unashamedly presented to the public by the colonisers as a "curio" object. In another case, Gibson and Pater reinstated the clothes of the "kitchen boy" employee of the white upper and middle classes, as the national uniform of the South African Olympians (Farber, 2010:157-158). Marianne Fassler is one of the pioneer

contemporary fashion designers whose designs reflect a cosmopolitan look that advocates African style. She also avidly incorporates leopard print fabric and beadwork symbolising precolonial Zulu regalia. She uses the leopard print as her trademark. Her designs are not only a symbol of prestige and beauty, but also represent the modernity of the re-invention of ethnic South Africa (Mustafa, 1998:41). David Tlale's fashion theme at New York Fashion Week was "cultural intimacy" in which he blended traditional materials and signature tailoring to create highend, ready-to-wear pieces (Jennings 2011:116). Gideon, a leading Durban designer, occasionally seeks inspiration in ethnic arts. He explains: "I have been fortunate enough to have been able to go down to the Durban beachfront and commission crocheting, [and] have traditional Zulu necklaces reinterpreted in my own way" (Gideon, 2006:34). The critique of his exhibition in London reads, "designers that truly shine are the ones that commit themselves to their own inspiration and knowledge". Nkhensani Nkosi, the creative force behind the Stoned Cherrie label, explains that the time has come to roll up sleeves and claim fashion territory that has been mostly the domain of European and American designers until now. Her dream is to build a global superbrand that is South African (Penderis, 2005:3). Magazines facilitated fashion competitions. Bridal Africa held a Young Designer Fashion Award themed "Multicultural fantasy bride", see Figure 2.30. The winner Eric Malaka created a magnificent beaded headdress harmonising with the dress. Pursuit magazine award-winning young designer Gert-Johan Coetzee avers: "My inspiration comes mostly from Africa—mostly Ndebele. I love mixing my culture with other African cultures. I am 100% proudly South African. I am so in love with our country and its culture" (Oosthuizen, 2006:60). According to Ginsberg (2005:12), "in the past we have often left this [Afrocentric] look to our northern hemisphere neighbours, but due to the success of our local design talent ... offering us an array of ethnic styles with a twist, I feel quite positive that the consumer is ready for the Afro-centric invasion". Today, the media have regular discussions on the development of the growing South African fashion industry (Viljoen, 2012:60).



Figure 2.30: Young Designer Award 2005 (Reuvers, 2005)

2.10.2.2 Beadwork as fashion identity

One the other hand, Sun Goddess's luxurious yet authentically South African line used traditional identity to establish fashion as a philosophy. The search for identity is powerfully represented by husband and wife team, Thando and Vanya Mangaliso, in most their recent collection. "The unique fashion label operated by Thando and Vanya Mangaliso, is known for putting a capital R in South African Royalty. With every design, they focus on rebreeding an identity that is uniquely South African" (Hautefashionafrica.com, 2008). Through the 2008 Winter Collection they explored a mesmerising juxtaposition of just right African body lines and Xhosa signature beadwork. All the garments were made of leather, perhaps a reminder of pioneer traditional attire. They challenged the status quo through "fashion as an ideology to entrench traditional identities" as a representation of "an authentic way" (Hautefashionafrica.com, 2008). In an interview with Sarah Cangley for *Pursuit* (Cangley, 2006:42), they explain that the "meaning" of their collections, is the focal point. (See Figure 2.31)









Figure 2.31: Sun Goddess (Sun Goddess, 2008)

Bongani Creations (Figure 2.32) is yet another South African brand which combines modern fashion and South African beadwork. Its garments reach all parts of the world and keep the public amazed. The fashion which came out of this project was "in your face", a representation of unique South African identity, a fusion of "deepest traditional skills" that underpin the brand's signature style and pulse of contemporary fashion (Hautefashionafrica.com, 2008). For designers taking part in Vukani Fashion Awards, inspiration comes from mystery and a pride in South African culture interpreted in a modern way. Sonwabil Ndamase remarks that he, as a designer, challenges the international market with "cross-cultural" creations including his African heritage (Vukani-Ubuntu, 2006). His company takes South African heritage and re-interprets the traditional elements into fresh, sophisticated designs.





Figure 2.32: Bongani: Summer Collection, 2006 (Bongani, 2006)

Scholars may argue about which way is the right way to use heritage as an instrument to project designers' identities to the world. However, this decision, on how to shape their fashion identities, is left to designers themselves as Klopper (2000b:229) notes. In redefining fashion designers' relationship to Africa and their own past rather than to the West, "the importance of this challenge lies above all in the development of a new sense of self: a sense of self-achievement not through the painful experience of marginalisation but through the conviction that they are in control of their own destiny".

2.11 South African fashion and global fashion trends

Fashion, whether African, Asian or Western, and dress are two different spheres, and many studies are careful to distinguish between the term dress, or clothing, and fashion. Fashion implies constant changes: it is volatile, hybrid, and it crosses many boundaries. Dress or clothing, on the other hand, is considerably stable, distinctive, and related to social practice of individuals. Dress also symbolizes the more private aspect of personhood throughout an individual's life cycle (Gott & Loughran, 2010:2).

Fashion is a succession of ever changing crazes, ideas, concepts and zeitgeist. Fashion is controlled by trends, "a seasonal fashion theme that can be interpreted across yarns, fabrics and product" (Jackson & Shaw, 2001:194).

2.11.1 Fashion trends

By the twentieth century, the global village had taken over the world's fashion scene. Mass media in the form of newspapers, magazines, television, and most recently satellite TV and Internet, offered sources for globalisation. The mass media influence human behaviour. "Trends occur as a reaction to behaviour within a context, and carefully monitoring and studding this behaviour is what trend research is" explain Jody Roberts and Steward Brown, who are associated with the International Trends Institute in KwaZulu-Natal (Roberts & Brown, 2012:52).

One of the world's most famous trend analysts and predictors is Li Edelkoort. She analyses moods, fashions and feelings and translates them into trends. As an industry consultant, she has a huge impact on what the products of tomorrow will be (Always-inspiring-more, 2008). In the world of fashion and design, she is considered an icon of style with a foolproof sense of what the future will bring. Nadine (2008) interviewed Edelkoort who explained that trend scouting is looking at things that are already there. "We can only predict. Prediction forecasting is not a creative job; we are more like an electrical cord — we take the messages and bring it [sic] together". Thus, it

should be kept in mind that trend researchers cannot describe anything that does not already exist (Lumier, 1995). Because "as fashion is a continual cycle so is history" (Proudly South African, 2009).

2.11.1.1 World trends

The concept of forever changing fashion and cross-cultural trends in creating innovating fashion is not new. As mentioned in Section 2.10.1, since the very beginning material and styles were borrowed, adapted and re-adapted. For instance in the Western world, as in all other cultures, animal skin was replaced with fabric. According to Udale (2008), some fabrics were made of original European materials such as woven wool; others were imported from other continents rich in new materials, techniques and motifs. Already during the early medieval period, silk and also probably cotton cloth was brought from the Byzantine, and later the Muslim world. In 1600 East Indian hand-printed cotton known as chintz became popular; in 1700s "bizzari silks" of Eastern cultures, and the cashmere shawls brought by Napolean from Egypt, originated in India. In mid-1800 Japanese styles with oriental motifs and shiny laméd fabric was fashionable. In some cases the material was imposed on the populace by the emperor. "When Napoleon become Emperor in 1804 he instructed that silk and no cotton would be worn as the ceremonial dress" (Udale, 2008:15). In similar vein, the Great Shaka had complete power over the distribution of glass beads (Section 2.5.1). Moreover, the shape of dress went through many trends throughout history. Nevertheless the oldest record of dress comes from Egypt (2551 - 2528) BCE. Dynasty 4, region of Khufu (Hector, 2005:71). This specific dress was made of beads, yet its shape resembles one from the Ancient Greek and Roman times and later it appears throughout fashion trend cycles up until today. Figure 2.33A, B, C, D.









Figure 2.33A: Egyptian A. Ancient Egyptian mummies were given beaded shrouds during the Third Intermediate Period (1070 - 712 BCE) and the Late Period (712 - 332 BCE)Shown here is a reconstructed shroud from the tomb of Tjanenhebu at Saggara, Twenty-six Dynasty (664-525 BCE), made of gold, lapis lazuli, green feldspar, obsidian, and Egyptian faience. 8.25"wide x 57" high, Courtesy Egyptian Museum, Cairo, No 53668 (Hector, 2005:12)

Figure 2.33B: Beaded-net dresses were fashionable in Old Kingdom Egypt. This reconstructed example, recovered from a Dynasty IV burial, is overlaid with a beaded board collar and consists of about seven thousand Egyptian faience beads, now faded from their original blue (Hector, 2005:71)

Figure 2.33C: Yves Saint Laurent Summer 1967. Mini dress decorated with beads and raffia

(Pirotte et al., 2005:79)

Figure 2.33D: Dolce & Gabbana, Summer 2005 (Pirotte et al., 2005:78)

The beaded corset represents a warrior in the Dinka culture (Figure 2.34A). It is recognisable by its projection supported by a metal wire, "which flings itself skyward at the back of the body called horn (tung)" (Labelle, 2005:127). On another continent, the corset inerasably boned, has been a symbol of feminism and beauty since the seventieth century (Figure 2.34B) and more perceptibly during the Victorian period (from 1860 to 1880), for European women (Fisher, 2009:138). As time passed, the shapes of garments were endlessly modified and re-modified by influences of world culture, fashion and trends (Hector, 2005:90). Recently, African vogue became a captivating factor for fashion gurus and made a regular appearance on the world's ramps (see Section 2.8.)





Figure 34A: A fierce-looking Dinka warrior wearing a beaded corset that has been sown around his

torso, ca. 1975. The high spine indicates the family wealth; the beaded collar identifies the wearer's current age-range. Courtesy, Robert Estall Photo Agency, Angela Fisher (Hector,

2005:90)

Figure 2.34B: Iron pair of stays from the early seventeenth century (Fisher, 2009:136)

2.11.1.2 Trends and South African heritage

Heritage was and still is the source of inspiration for fashion trends and cycles. Fashion cycles are built on the repetition of fashion elements throughout history. "Looking forward in fashion is looking back in time. This is exactly how we feel and it is what happens in fashion. We are looking for a new balance in a confused world. History is our new toy for inspiration" (AsahiKASEI Group, 2006).

In an interview with Adam Levin (Levin, 2008:1), Edelkoort explains that: "The world is so vast; there are so many things happening at once — especially now." However she also believes that "local products" will undergo a renaissance. "We are tired of seeing the same brands all over the world, no matter whether you are in New York, Tokyo or São Paulo. This does not mean that global brands will end, but they will have to adapt to the needs of consumers on site. Future brands will experience a breath of fresh air if they combine their globally-oriented basis products with local features". In Edelkoort's opinion, shared with World Fashion Week and WGSN, in every country, including South Africa, the future for fashion will be not be just the trends, but will also be built out of cultures (WGSN, 2007; Nadine, 2008; World Fashion Week, 2008).

In the 2012 fashion forecast in the *South African Fashion Handbook*, Li Edelkoort (2012) predicts that possibly as a reaction to the "global village", trends will draw inspiration from "spiritual" aspects of the earth. The South African heritage elements might be more appreciated in fashion,

since in the near future, "Africanism will become a major influence" once more in the global village. Because, "fashion is becoming increasingly influenced by Africa" and in 2012 South African designers are free to reflect on their customs, history and consequently perceptions of life in their designs. With time, traditional materials and techniques involving intensive labour are constantly being phased out by new inventions of materials, technologies and seasonal changing trends (Rabine, 2002). In the end it's up to designers to choose these elements with understanding, absorb them, and fuse them into an eventual fashionable new product relevant to their receptive market (Issey Miyake quoted in Jones & Mair, 2005:338).

What is certain is that the country's cultural changes have inspired South African designers to "draw from their own experiences to express their own ideas ... South African consumers are turning away from mass-market production. Instead they are looking for fashion that 'speaks' to them and expresses who they are and where they are from" (Viljoen, 2012:60). Designers are free to set the trends as to how they want their cultural identity to be integrated (Shigwedha, 2004:250). Today, traditional as well as more contemporary styles may provide visible evidence for a wide range of new fashion individuality as opposed to global uniformity.

2.11.1.3 Personal choice and trends

Clothes describe the identity of the wearer. Fashion reveals clothing of one's choice, thus a sense of identity. "The use of clothes as metaphor is hardly original. Ever since Adam and Eve covered their sensitive parts, clothing has served as a rich allegorical resource. Clothing (fashion) had proven to be a vivid means with which to dramatize our complex nature" (Carter, 2003:2). Besides, garments are one of the most noticeable ways of communicating with each other (Ribeiro & Cumming, 1989: Introduction). In day to day life, fashion is an ingredient of our existence, Katherine Hamnett, the top British designer, explains it in a simple way: "Even people who say that they don't care about making a fashion statement do it by making their choice of clothing every morning." According to Professor Fred Davis, to search for individuality in the global village, is a long process (Baker, 1992).

As for the consumer, according to Rabine, the desire for unique, high quality and upscale clothes are becoming popular among consumers living in the era of uniformity in the global village. Fashion developed by mass production, off-the-peg clothes, is highly controlled by fashion seasonal trends (Rabine, 2010:216). In all corners in the world, a growing number of consumers are observed for whom cross-cultural fashion is more appealing, no matter what trends dictate for

the up-coming season. To satisfy their individualism designers juxtapose traditional and modern fashion elements perhaps in both haute couture and ready-to-wear. The distinction between the terms "haute couture" and "ready-to-wear" was defined in the mid-nineteenth century. Haute couture is exclusive and expensive clothing made for an individual customer by a fashion designer, or by the industry that produces such clothing (Buxbaum, 2005:60), whereas ready-to-wear, are mass-made factory garments that are not made for a specific client (Jackson & Shaw 2001:194).

As designers' commercial success depends on consumer behaviour, they rely on fashion trends considering that many consumers subconsciously follow those imposing looks. Hence, how designers present their creativity blended with the trends to the world is relative. Even though, as Rabine (2010) notes, fashion can blend forms drawn from diverse sources of inspiration, amongst others heritage. Yet the choice of style might also be dictated by the consumer responses – their willingness to preserve (or not) the old traditions as instrument to project their identities and cultural authenticity to the world. One can divide the consumer into two categories:

- The wearer that follows fashion religiously, Jackson and Shaw (2001) call the fashion follower. The fashion follower will adapt the African elements for a short period of time if they appear as fashion trends and dismiss them immediately as the new trend emerges, influenced by mass market dictators. The fashion followers consider trends that change every season and sculpt social behaviour. Therefore predicting what this group of people will wear "becomes a risky gamble when the link between private self and public persona can be so unstable" (Baker, 1992)
- The wearer that looks up to cultural identity and follows the trends, juxtaposes the trends in his or her own individual way to express their identity. Many designers add the African flavour to global trends since they are aware of the fact that consumers value the "Africanness" in their designs worldwide (Rovine, 2010:93). Since the designers and the wearer desire not to be uniform, today people wish "to wear or create something special, something unique that does not look like a mass product" (AsahiKASEI Group, 2006). And because the (fashion) world is overflowing with "look-alikes, which give more and more power to only a few players ... it is time for a moment of resignation, a fashion pause instead of real innovation, to go deeper instead of going one step further, to see a more contemplative vision than quick trends, cults and hypes" (AsahiKASEI Group, 2006).

Bearing in mind the second group of consumers, a number of fashion designers purposively learn to develop new norms mixing fresh ideas with "the legacies of 'traditional form' to suit forever changing physical and social identities and market" (Rovine, 2010:217).

2.13 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the literature review relevant to this study, placing it in an intellectual context. It has described the different stages of evolution of beadwork in South African fashion. First, it investigated the prehistoric stage of beadwork, as far back as 75 000 years ago. The chapter then presented the history of the importation of beads into South Africa. The chapter also examined the beginnings of bead work techniques and changes through time, as well as the impact of beadwork on shaping identity among the Ndebele, Xhosa and Zulu people. Further, the chapter described the decline of beadwork during the colonial and apartheid eras, as well as the change from Western thinking to African thinking and how Africa influenced fashion in the twentieth century. To complete the literature review, the impact of the African renaissance on the development of fashion was considered. Lastly, the chapter explained the position of beadwork in the world's current fashion trends and in South African modern fashion. Chapter 3 will focus on research methodology.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a description of how the research was conducted. It also deals with various measures taken to ensure the scientific and empirical values of the study. The chapter discusses the qualitative research designs and its measuring instruments. Next, it explores the research population and samples, highlighting the importance of considering ethical issues in measurements. Finally, the chapter describes data-collecting methods and the data-gathering process.

3.2 Research design

Babbie and Mouton (2001:147) define a research design as a set of guidelines and instruments to be followed in addressing a research problem. They describe a research design as a process that focuses on the end product; for instance, what kind of study is being planned and what kind of results are aimed at? Therefore, research design enables the researcher to anticipate what appropriate steps should be taken in order to maximise the validity of the eventual results.

3.2.1 Qualitative methods

Qualitative research, theoretically speaking, can be described as an approach, rather than a particular design or set of techniques. According to Van Maanen (1979:520), "it is an 'umbrella' phrase covering an array of interpretive techniques which seek to describe, decode, translate and otherwise come to terms with the meaning of naturally accruing phenomena in the social world. Therefore, the qualitative approach is fundamentally a descriptive form of research".

This research focused on fashion designers in South Africa who use traditional beadwork as a catalyst for their inspiration or who employ beadwork as a trademark or signature of their fashion. The rationale for the use of qualitative research methods was based on the outlook that it enabled the researcher to check the accuracy of the impressions gained. "Qualitative research has been assigned many different labels, such as field research, an anti-positivist approach, an alternative approach, and constructivism. However, they all share a common focus: to interpret and construct qualitative aspects of experience" (Du Plooy, 2002:29).

Thurber (2004:489) implies that "qualitative research methods address questions directed towards a deeper understanding of social phenomena, thereby providing rich, detailed descriptions of settings and participants in a specific context. "Qualitative methods were selected to collect data for this research about the background of the interviewees, and their motivation behind design decisions taken, and also to examine the opinions of fashion experts on the position of beadwork in contemporary fashion. It further enabled the researcher to broaden the body of knowledge. The findings of the in-depth interviews conducted with fashion designers and experts revealed a particular cultural background.

From the cultural background that emerged, a broader understanding of design seen against this background led to the identification of two further methods of qualitative research, namely: cultural studies, and the nature of explorative studies. Rubin and Rubin (1995:19) explain that qualitative interviews differ in the degree of emphasis on culture. Culture in qualitative interviews is about how people interpret the world around them by developing shared understandings. People learn collectively how to interpret what is important and unimportant and how to behave in specific circumstances. Secondly, Bless and Higson-Smith (1995:42) argue that the purpose of explorative studies is to gain insight into the situation, phenomenon, community, and person.

A further dimension emerged — that the field of beadwork and its relationship to fashion is relatively undocumented. Only a few non-academic publications that fall into the category of newspapers and magazines, namely the *Sunday Times* and *Pursuit* magazine, featured relevant articles. *Engaging modernities*, a glossy Standard Bank publication, focuses on beadwork collections from their galleries and, although beadwork fashion items are featured, they are not contextualised, but are catalogued as art pieces. Academic works such as those by Costello, 1990; Magubane and Klopper, 2000; Crabtree and Stallebrass, 2002; and Labelle, 2005, deal purely with beadwork used in traditional costumes and from a historical point of view. This once again underscores the use of qualitative research, which, according to Rubin and Babbie (2001:124) and De Vos *et al.* (2007:134), is often used when a researcher is investigating a topic in a field of research that is regarded as new and where not many studies in this area have been undertaken.

The objective of this study was to address the evident gap discovered, by using qualitative research methods, in order to add to knowledge to the field.

Qualitative research enabled the researcher to plan the appropriate approach to maximise the validity of the eventual results. To achieve the goals of the research, five components were employed. These were: pilot interviews, observation, voice recording, journal-keeping, and indepth interviews.

3.3 Data collecting methods

This section will describe the various methods of collecting the data for this study. The data were obtained only by means of appropriate qualitative research methods. These included interviews (in-depth, one-on-one interviews using a semi-structured schedule), voice recording, and journal-keeping.

3.3.1 One-on-one interview using semi-structured schedule

Collecting data involves fieldwork. After developing the project, the questions and the methods, the researcher "went into the field to collect data directly through questioning" (Greeff, 2007:292). Primary data sources in this study included one-on-one, semi-structured interviews in person and telephonic conversations in the quest for understanding and adding depth to the investigation. Voice recordings were made of all the interviews. Subsequently all the interviews were transcribed.

All interviews were held to elucidate the research problem as stated in Chapter One:

How does beadwork contribute to contemporary fashion, and to what extent are fashion designers being influenced by traditional beadwork in contemporary South Africa?

Since one-on-one interview methods often result in the best quality data, this type of interview was selected for collecting the data. Background, education and culture of the participants were taken into consideration while compiling the interview (Fontana & Frey, in Greeff, 2007:292). The purpose of the one-on-one interview was to determine the extent to which the respondent understood the questions and thereby to ensure that the views expressed were based on personal experience. Given that "one-on-one interviews are focused and discursive and allow the researcher and participant to explore the issue" (Greeff, 2007:293), the personal interviews conducted by the researcher allowed clarification of any questions. Furthermore, one-on-one interviews "are social interactions in which meaning is necessarily negotiated between a number

of selves" Collins (1999), cited in (Greeff, 2007:293). Therefore, one-on-one interviews did not allow the respondents to prepare the answers but to talk spontaneously, which ensured participants' honest answers.

Three one-on-one interviews were conducted telephonically. Telephonic interviews took place only when it became clear that the telephone was the only practicable form of communication. These included designers based outside Cape Town; the aim was to obtain a broader sample. Kidder and Judd (1986) point out that: "usually the quality of the obtained (telephonic) responses compare favourably with that of personal interviews" so no harm was done to the validity of this data.

In support of one-on-one interviews, according to (Greeff, 2007:297), semi-structured interviews are usually employed in explorative research for the specific purpose of identifying important variables in particular areas. They are also were very useful when the researcher launched this explorative investigation and during the pilot studies. Semi-structured interviews were used in this study in order to obtain a wealth of information.

"In general, researchers use semi-structured interviews in order to gain a detailed picture of a participant's beliefs about, or perceptions or accounts of, a particular topic" (Greeff, 2007:296). Greeff further explain that semi-structured interviews have major benefits, as this type of interview leaves room for two-way communication between the interviewer and interviewee. As the interviewer is allowed to probe the subject in a semi-structured way, even though questions are not answered, the interview creates the possibility of obtaining richer data. Although all respondents were asked the same questions, the interviewer could adapt the formulation, including the terminology, to fit to the background and educational level of the respondents. "Semi-structured interviews are advisable when the respondents come from divergent backgrounds" (Welman et al., 2005:167). This was the case in this study. The aim of the semi-structured interviews was to provide a framework for the subject to speak freely and in his or her own terms and answer the set of questions. The research interview guide comprised a list of the main questions. It provided a framework for the interview and helped to make decisions about which information to pursue in order to give the research greater depth. Although this way may vary from one interview to the next, free narration by the subject was encouraged.

Greeff (2007:297) argue that "aspects mentioned under unstructured interviews should be applied to semi-structured interviews". Following their theory, the researcher came to the

realisation that the semi-structured interview is made up of three kinds of questions prior to talking to the participant (Rubin & Rubin, 1995:145):

- Main question: The researcher prepares a handful of main questions with which to begin
 to guide the conversation.
- Probes: When a respondent lacks sufficient details, depth or clarity, the interviewer probes to complete or clarify the answer or to request further examples or evidence.
- Follow-up questions: These questions pursue the initial answers to the main questions.

Following the suggestion of Welman *et al.* (2005), this research made use of semi-structured interviews because the researcher was given freedom to use "probes with the view to clearing up vague responses, or to ask for elaboration of incomplete answers". This approach helps the researcher to gain the interviewee's point of view. Two designers were contacted for follow-up questions. These questions were asked over the phone.

To collect the data the researcher used the questionnaire in Appendix A to ensure objectivity and to ensure that she did not influence the interviewee's point of view. The findings of the personal interviews were documented and analysed.

3.3.2 Pilot interview

"The purpose of [a] pilot study is to improve the success and effectiveness of the investigation" Strydom (2007c:210). Seidman (1998:32) urges researchers to build into their proposal a pilot venture in which they try out interviews.

Pilot studies were conducted among fashion designers in order to find out whether the research instrument was understood or not. A pilot interview was conducted "by means of personal interview" (Bailey, 1994:144). This helped the researcher to determine whether the questions asked were appropriate and relevant, and to "orientate the researcher to the project he has in mind" (Strydom, 2007c:205) and his research field. The pilot interviews assisted in obtaining data, which could be meaningfully analysed in relation to the research questions. Additionally, the pilot interviews helped the researcher to assume a researcher role.

The researcher conducted the first pilot interview in Johannesburg. A specific company was chosen because their designs are based entirely on traditional beadwork. This interview helped to

"identify variables for this research" (Welman *et al.*, 2005:197). What is more, the aim of this pilot study was to refine the questions, which was crucial for final formatting. After this interview, one question was added to intensify the research. During the interview, more answers than expected were obtained. However, answers were outside of the scope of the pilot questions. The interviewee's responses were rich in data, which led to consulting further sources for the literature review. After this interview, some of the questions were moderated. Changes were made, because some of the initial questions didn't lead to expected outcomes. This interview was not recorded at the request of the respondent; however, notes were taken immediately after the interview.

The second pilot interview was conducted among fashion experts. The findings from this pilot study indicated that the instruments were valid for the study and all the items in the questionnaire elicited the responses that were expected by the researcher. No moderation was needed.

Both pilot interviews help to "provide all the alternative responses to the questions and thus to code data accordingly" (Moser & Kalton, 1971:50 quoted in Strydom, 2007c:211).

3.3.3 Structure of the interviews

Fifteen, 20-to-30-minute-long interviews were conducted. Following the suggestions given by Seidman (1998:63-77), the interviews were approached and accomplished as follows:

The interview was limited to a few questions. The questions were clear, short and easy to understand and followed a logical sequence. As Bailey (1982:196) states: They "were arranged from simple to complex, and from broad to more specific, in order to allow the participants to gradually adjust to the pattern of the interview schedule". The interviews were concluded with general questions such as, "Is there anything that you would like to add to the discussed topic?"

To obtain rich data, the interviewee was allowed to do most of the talking. To ensure an effective interview, the interviewer limited her remarks, listened more and talked less. The questions were asked one at a time. Furthermore, the researcher avoided leading questions. To create validated data, some key questions were repeated. To allow the interviewees to respond on their own terms, the researcher asked open-ended questions that did not predetermine the answer. In general, the flow of conversation was not interrupted. To obtain meaningful data, the interviewee was given a chance to think about what he/she wanted to add to an answer he/she had provided.

When the researcher realised that more information could be added to the answer, the researcher returned to incomplete points in order to obtain more information. This resulted in additional questions. At times, the researcher reflected on an important point that the interviewee had brought up in order to get him/her to expand on the idea. Sometimes the researcher used probing questions that were linked to particular comments of the interviewee in order to find the information that the researcher wanted to know. Patton (2002:238) defines probing as an interview tool that is used to "go deeper into the interviewee's responses".

By showing consideration, the researcher allowed the interviewee to elaborate. "The rapport was established by attentive listening, showing interest, understanding and respect for what the participant states" (Greeff, 2007:295).

3.3.4 Voice recording

According to Smit, if possible, and if permission is obtained from the participants, the researcher should record interviews on tape or video (Smit, 1995:17). There are advantages in the use of tape recordings for accurate data gathering. From the very beginning, throughout all the research, all the interviews were recorded.

3.3.5 Journal-keeping

The journal-keeping method helped to orientate the feasibility of this study. Cilliers (1973:136) advocates that, "the researcher should undertake an actual, thorough study, on a small scale, of the real total community where the main investigation will take place". Strydom (2007c:209) supports Cilliers by stating this may mean that the researcher will have to spend a fair amount of time in the relevant community in order to orientate herself to the real practical situation which is unique to each specific community.

In an effort to map the research progress and to develop a reflective standpoint of research work, a journal was kept as a research tool. It has become a written record of progress and pitfalls. It was also used as a tool for "supplementing field notes" (Welman *et al.*, 2005:198). In the journal the researcher made mention of all successes and constraints. The journal helped to reflect on the year's work. According to Welman *et al.* (2005:199), field notes can be described as detailed notes and observations that are made by the researcher. After all the visits to different exhibitions and institutions, and informal meetings with involved parties, namely authors and museum

curators, and interviewing, the researcher took notes condensing the information. These notes included all observations during the fashion shows, the names of the designers, the names of the fashion experts that the researcher had met during different occasions, as well as obstacles encountered during setting up interviews and sourcing the data on traditional beadwork. This allowed the researcher to reflect on the research after the passing of time and decide on the importance of data.

To "gain practical knowledge of and insight" into this research area (Greeff, 2007:298), the following methods were part of journal-keeping: a photographical record and videotaping of the data collection.

3.3.5.1 Photographic record

Part of the journal comprised photographs taken by the researcher. Taking photographs helped to classify the beadwork. Most of the photographs were taken during visits to Johannesburg. From these photographs, the researcher was able to classify the beadwork kept at Museum Africa and the National Art Gallery in Johannesburg. The photographs were helpful in recognising the differences between Ndebele, Xhosa and Zulu beadwork, as well as separating them from the beadwork of the other ethnic groups of South Africa. Since none of these institutions have visual records of their traditional beadwork collections, it was crucial to take photographs.

3.3.5.2 Videotaping the data collection

There are advantages in the use of videotape recordings for accurate data gathering. A video camera was used for recording fashion shows. The recordings helped when it came to following up the information later. This was crucial in identifying those fashion designers who are currently using beadwork in their work and to use the recordings as reference. Some exhibitions that were recorded by the media, such as the Fashion Week in Cape Town, were not recorded by the researcher because the footage was accessible to the public on the Internet under "Fashion Weeks" or the designers' websites, and the researcher could refer to them.

3.4 Research population

Seaberg (1988), defines a population as a total set from which the individuals of the study are chosen. Further, Bless and Higson-Smith (2000:85) supported by Strydom (2007b:194), see population as the set of elements that the researcher focuses on and to which the obtained results should be generalised.

This observation helped the researcher to broaden her knowledge about fashion designers in South Africa. Initially, before the researcher's arrival in South Africa, the assumption was that a great number of South African designers at some point used elements of traditional beadwork in their designs. During writing the research proposal and even later, it was discovered that this opinion was superficial. Therefore, the researcher had to use observation in order to explore the topic. Gray (2004:86) suggests that observation can help to obtain a descriptive context.

To determine the population, the observation study was pre-categorised by choosing relevant fashion shows, attending workshops, reading daily publications, and following mass media programmes, such as "Top Billing", "Studio 53" and the news. To gain an accurate selection of designers, the researcher attended Nokia Cape Town Fashion Week, Design Indaba EXPO showcases, and a workshop in Johannesburg, organised by the Kellogg Foundation. Boutiques and fashion exhibitions were visited. In order to investigate if there were more designers who incorporated traditional beadwork in their designs, the researcher followed South Africa Fashion Week, Durban Fashion Week and the Vukani-Ubuntu fashion competition on the relevant Internet websites.

The primary sources of data in this research were South African fashion designers using traditional beadwork in contemporary fashion. To support the research, other experts in the fashion field were interviewed. This helped to establish additional views on the position of traditional beadwork in the fashion market. To identify fashion experts, the researcher attended workshops organised by the Cape Town Fashion Council.

3.5 Research sample

The purposive sampling method was used in this research. "Purposive sampling is a type of sampling based entirely on the judgment of the researcher, in that a sample is composed of

elements that contain the most characteristics, representative or typical attributes of the population" (Singleton *et al.*, 1988:153).

The purposive sampling method was used, based on designers selected by the researcher. "In purposive sampling, a particular case is chosen because it illustrates some futures or process that is of interest for a particular study" (Silverman, 2000:104). In purposive sampling, the researcher must think critically about the parameters of the population and then choose the sample case accordingly. Clear identification and formulation of criteria for the selection of respondents are therefore of cardinal importance. "The purposeful selection of participants represents a key decision point in qualitative study. Researchers designing qualitative studies need clear criteria and need to provide rationale for their decisions" (Creswell, 1998:118).

The researcher carefully selected designers who use beadwork in their portfolios, or who have used the pattern, technique or skill of beaders they have employed at some point. The age, education, culture and social status of the designers differed. This selection allowed the researcher to gain rich data.

Rubin and Babbie (2001:219) mention sampling as the process of selecting observations. The designers were identified after attending many fashion shows, exhibitions and visiting their websites, shops and workshops. Erlandson *et al.* (1993:33) explain that "the search for data must be guided by a process that will provide rich data to maximise the range of the specific information that can be obtain from and about that context".

This research sample consists of 15 interviewees:

Nine fashion designers who use beadwork in their portfolios; and

Six fashion experts, namely, fashion retailers, members of CTFC (the Cape Town Fashion Council), and fashion critics.

To gain richer data, the interviews were conducted with interviewees from different parts of South Africa between April and December 2007.

3.6 The data

All interviews were recorded and transcribed. The transcriptions were reduced, coded and analysed. The analysis has been a developmental process (De Vos et al., 2007:334). He

supports Creswell's (1998:142-165) theory that examination of the data is an integrated analytic spiral process (Marshall & Rossman,1999:152-159), and this integration is presented in a linear form, which is best known to researchers, bearing in mind, however, that these steps also move in circles. Also bear in mind that steps such as these can never be followed rigidly like a recipe. They are meant as guidelines. Often some of these steps overlap or some steps are carried out before some others.

The following steps were taken in this research during the data analysing process:

- · Managing or organising data
- Data reduction
- Coding data
- Generating themes and sub-themes
- Testing the emergent understanding
- Searching for alternative explanations
- Writing the report

3.6.1 Managing data

This is the first step in data analysis. This data were organised into index cards which consisted of words or sentences taken from the hard copy of the transcribed interviews (Creswell, 1998:143).

3.6.2 Data reduction

Miles and Huberman (1984) in Coffey and Atkinson (1996:7) describe data reduction in terms of data selection and condensation. Data reduction is necessary for the description and interpretation of studies. In line with the above concept, the researcher summarised the coded data and broke the data down into the themes and sub-themes.

Following Creswell's suggestion (1998:1140), data in this research were separated, and categories, themes or clusters of information were established. As a popular form of analysis, classification involves identifying themes. These themes were organised into three main themes. This implies transcribing the interviews, followed by reading and re-reading the interviews. They were re-read frequently during the transcription process, and later while coding the raw data as a means of validation.

According to Marshall and Rossman (1999:155-157), "coding data is the formal representation of analytical thinking. The tough intellectual work of analysis is generating categories and themes". With critical engagement, the researcher structured and restructured the themes and sub-themes of this research. What followed next was the more formal approach of sifting through the data as a detailed "grounding of theory" was applied for the analysis (De Vos *et al.*, 2007:338). The researcher developed a descriptive explanation for the empirical data. According to Babbie and Mouton (2001:283), explanation building involves the generating of themes or motives with regard to the case.

3.6.3 Data coding

As a sequel to data reduction, this study pursued an approach of developing a case study and analysis. As stated by Coffey and Atkinson (1996:27), "the analytical procedures that underpin coding procedures establish links of various sorts. First, coding links different segments or instances in the data. We bring those fragments of data together to create categories of data that we define as having some common property or element". Miles and Huberman (1984) define them as being about, and related to, some particular topic or theme. The coding thus links all those data fragments to a particular idea or concept. De Vos *et al.* (2007:341) explain that "this is done by comparing incidents with incidents, as we go along so that similar phenomena can be given the same names. Otherwise we would wind up with too many names that could result in confusion".

To identify coding for the research, the pilot interviews were coded first. The coding was done with the use of abbreviations of the key concepts/words and by using different colours.

De Vos et al. (2007:340) describe the approach to "grounded theory" as the analysis of the transcripts of interviews. They identify three phases of data collection and analysis:

- Open coding: The preliminary phase of data analysis. The transcripts were reviewed to
 identify the provisional concept. The concept was then modified and added to, leading to
 redirection of the sampling strategy and improvements in interview techniques. The
 categories devised from this initial analysis were then applied to another round of data to
 see if they fitted. The process involves breaking down, examining, comparing,
 conceptualising and categorising data (De Vos et al., 2007:340).
- Axial coding: To seek connections between identified categories, being "A set of procedures whereby data is put back together in new ways after open coding by making

- connections between categories, utilising a coding paradigm involving conditions, context, action, or interaction strategies and consequences" (De Vos et al., 2007:340).
- Theoretical or selective coding: The evolution of paradigm (concept) and conditional
 matrix. "The process of selecting the core category, systematically relating it to other
 categories, validating those relationships, and filling in categories that need further
 refinement and development" (De Vos et al.,2007:340).

3.7 Ethical consideration

"The concept of ethics, values, morality, community standards, laws and professionalism differ from one another without necessarily being mutually exclusive" Strydom (2007a:57). According to (Babbie, 2001:470), "values indicate what is good and desirable, whilst both ethics and morality both deal with matters of right or wrong". To summarise, Strydom (2007a:57) states that "ethics is a set of moral principles which is suggested by individuals or groups, is subsequently widely accepted, and which offers rules and behavioral expectations about the most correct conduct towards experimental subjects and respondents". Since the researcher is obliged to obtain permission in respect of participants' willingness to participate in the study, all interviewees were asked verbally to participate voluntarily and were informed of the topic. All interviewees expressed interest in the interviews and were informed by the researcher of the ethical principles guiding this research.

"Informed consent becomes a necessary condition, rather than a luxury or an impediment (Hakim, 2000:143). Emphasis must be placed on accurate and complete information so that the subject will fully comprehend the investigation, and consequently be able to make a voluntary, thoroughly reasoned decision about their possible participations" (Strydom, 2007a:59). In keeping with the guidelines of Welman *et al.* (2005:200), the researcher obtained the necessary verbal permission from respondents after they had been thoroughly and truthfully informed about the purpose of the research and interview. Their permission was tape-recorded.

The researcher also assured interviewees that the questions were not harmful to their career development. The respondents were assured of their right of privacy. They were informed that their identity would remain anonymous. This was deemed appropriate, as not maintaining the anonymity of the interviewees would have compromised the validity and reliability of the study. Fashion designers and fashion experts could have created conditions to please the researcher, while the intent of the research was to ascertain their honest opinions.

Interviewees were assured that the information obtained from them would be used only for research purposes and that it would be treated with the utmost confidentiality. The data will be kept safe by the researcher for a period of two years.

Finally, the researcher worked on gaining the necessary trust in the interviewer, which is crucial in semi-structured interviews. The other goal, which was achieved during the interviews, was that interviewees were not subjected to questioning, but rather were given the impression that the interviewer was interested in them as individuals and that she respected their uniqueness. They were also allowed to feel completely free to express their true opinions without fear of disapproval. Only when there is a relationship of mutual confidence and respect between the two parties are the chances good that the interviewee will feel free to reveal his or her innermost feelings to the interviewer.

3.8 Constraints on the research

The first obstacle the researcher had to deal with was the task of gathering information about traditional beadwork at an academic level. As the research progressed, the researcher obtained some information; however, none of this information is academically or scientifically validated.

The biggest challenge was to successfully set up appointments with selected fashion designers and critics, buyers, and supporting organisations in the fashion world. Since fashion design is a market-orientated business, the researcher had to fit in with the busy schedules of the designers. Many appointments were postponed while designers battled with issues such as meeting regular customers, preparing ranges for shipping, and attending workshops, exhibitions and fashion shows worldwide.

Further, in a qualitative study such as this, it is not appropriate to generalise the results to all designers and fashion experts on the use of beadwork in contemporary fashion. The use of a small purposeful sample indicates that the findings are contextual, and are not representative of all designers using beadwork in South Africa.

3.9 Validity and reliability

The selection and design of the research tools were guided by the in-depth literature review on the topic to ensure the validity of the study.

Lincoln and Guba (1985:290), propose four alternative constructs that accurately reflect the assumption of the qualitative paradigm:

- Credibility. "This is the alternative to internal validity, in which the goal is to demonstrate
 that the inquiry was conducted in such a manner as to ensure that the subject was
 accurately identified and described." A purposive sampling method was used in this
 research that contains the most characteristic, representative or typical attributes of the
 design population.
- Transferability. Lincoln and Guba (1985) propose this as alternative to external validity or generalisability, in which the burden of demonstrating of the applicability of one set of findings to another context rests more with the investigator who would make the transfer. One additional strategy choice can enhance the study's generalisability: triangulating multiple sources of data. Data from different sources can be used to corroborate, elaborate, or illuminate the research in question. Designing the study in which multiply cases, multiply informants, or more than one data-gathering method are used, greatly strengthens the study's usefulness for other settings.

In order to validate the research findings, data triangulation was used in this study. According to Welman *et al.* (2005:194), if "the number of cases is limited the very purpose of a case study is to intensively examine those cases that are indeed available. In view of the consideration that the researcher himself or herself is the research instrument, an attempt is usually made to corroborate the findings according to at least three different approaches".

In this study, the researcher has used pre-categorised observation to collect information about designers, by choosing relevant fashion shows, attending workshops and reading daily publications. Next, recordings and photographic records were made of work observed in museums and workshops, and fashion shows were videotaped. Finally, the interviews were conducted and voice recorded. In this research, fashion designers,

buyers, critics and fashion magazine editors were interviewed in accordance with guidelines by De Vos *et al.* (2007:362), who state that data triangulation denotes the use of more than one data source.

Consequently, according to Jick (1983:145-147), triangulation allows researchers to "be more confident of their results. This is the overall strength of the multi-methods design ... moreover, divergent results from multi-methods can lead to enriched explanation of the research problem ... Triangulation may also serve as a critical test, by virtue of its comprehensiveness of competing theories".

• Dependability. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), "this is the alternative to reliability, in which the researcher attempts to account for changing conditions in the phenomena chosen for study as well as changes in the design created by increasingly refined understanding of the setting". The pilot interviews were done to refine the questionnaire and prevent problems during the actual interviews. During the interviews the same main questions, in exactly the same order, were asked of each of the fashion designers to ensure the reliability of the data. Whilst following up on answers, occasionally additional questions were asked to clarify information given, or to follow up the opinions expressed by the interviewee. The researcher also had telephonic discussions with respondents to clarify all problems raised by them.

The questions for fashion experts were different; however targeted the same context. For instance some questions, such as, "what inspired you to become a fashion designer?" were dismissed. Other questions were rephrased. A good example of this would be the question: "Would you call your company South African?" directed at designers, rephrased as: "In your opinion – have South African fashion designers achieved a South African identity or signature style?" when posed to fashion experts.

This study depended on the interviewee's deep-rooted personal opinions. They answered the questions spontaneously; therefore it is believed that the answers were a representation of what the researcher was investigating, and therefore credible. The measures mentioned earlier positively contributed to the reliability of these studies.

• Conformability. Lincoln and Guba (1985) state that the "final construct, conformability, captures the traditional concept of objectivity". They further stress the need to ask whether

the findings of the study could be confirmed by another. The data of this research were tested against the theoretical context of the literature review.

Descriptive validity was used in this research. Wolcott (1990:27) states that "description is the foundation upon which qualitative research is to build". It is further elaborated that whenever fieldwork is engaged in, the record should be kept as accurately as possible and in precisely the words of the responder (Wolcott, 1990:128).

To validate the data, all the interviews were transcribed.

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the research methodology used in this study. It has described the process of how the research was conducted. First, it discussed qualitative research methods that were used in this research. Next, it explained the type of interviews used and how they were conducted, discussing why semi-structured and one-on-one interviews provide a wealth of information. The pilot studies that enabled the researcher to orientate herself towards her research field and allowed the researcher to assess research questions, were subsequently described.

The chapter also investigated how the researcher could employ other measuring tools, such as observation, videotaping, data collection, photographical records, and journal-keeping, to elucidate the research problem. The population and samples of this research were defined and distinguished. The elements of data triangulation, which test the validity of this research, were described. This chapter also discussed the process of managing data; the data reduction and coding data.

To complete the research process, constraints of the research process were analysed. Lastly, the chapter explained the ethical considerations of the research, and the measures taken to protect the interviewee. Chapter Four will focus on research analysis and interpretation of the data.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter, Chapter Three, discussed research methodology. The purpose of Chapter Four is to present and analyse the generated data that investigates beadwork and its impact on contemporary fashion trends in South Africa.

With the presentation of the generated data in this chapter, it should be kept in mind that the aim of this study is to look into the evolution of identity in fashion, particularly in terms of an analysis of beadwork and its impact on contemporary fashion trends in South Africa.

4.2 The results

4.2.1 Generating themes

Seven main themes were identified:

- Theme 1: Beadwork as heritage this theme explores the extent to which beadwork is still regarded as a respected heritage in modern fashion in South Africa.
- Theme 2: Indigenous beadwork aesthetics in current fashion the correlation between
 the inherited medium of beadwork and the modern medium of fashion is investigated in
 respect of how designers and fashion experts understand the implementation of beadwork
 in current fashion. This theme is divided into four sub-themes:
 - ❖ Sub-Theme 2.1: Beadwork as an inspiration this elaborates the role of heritage in modern fashion and questions whether heritage is indeed the inspiration for modern fashion and how beadwork as heritage inspires designers in their work.
 - Sub-Theme 2.2: Beadwork and fashion identity this elaborates on if, and how, a designer's identity is shaped through the use of beadwork in current fashion. Two identities emerged from this study; they are presented in two sub-themes.
 - 2.2.1: Designers' identity as described by designers' signature style representing designers' uniqueness in global market.
 - 2.2.2: National identity is the reaction to the African renaissance whereby designers express a state of comfort with their own heritage.

- ❖ Sub-Theme 2.3: Haute couture versus ready-to-wear discusses the different methods and aspects of using beadwork in haute couture and ready-to-wear.
- Sub-Theme 2.4: Beading skills explores appreciation of the wealth of beading skills and demonstrates implementation of these skills by designers across South Africa.
- ❖ Sub-Theme 2.5: Development of techniques and materials demonstrates fashion designers and expert opinions regarding how beadwork is implemented in current fashion including innovative techniques and materials.
- Sub-Theme 2.6: Beadwork and current fashion trends this theme describes the current influence of beadwork in modern fashion trends. This theme also examines the position of beadwork in fashion when fashion trends impose the inspiration. Trends predictors source universal qualities for inspiration every season. Sometimes they marry African elements with new trends. This sub-theme analyses how consumers behave under the influence of trends.
- ❖ Sub-Theme 2.7: Market requirements this looks at the position of beadwork in fashion when market requirements block creative flow and influence consumer behaviour.
- Theme 3: Stigmatisation of beadwork this elaborates on the consequences of the stigmas attached to traditional beadwork – the reasons why indigenous knowledge is endangered.
- Theme 4: Vanishing knowledge —this theme explains the interviewees' views regarding
 the reasons why indigenous knowledge is endangered and the process of the
 disappearance of heritage in fashion today.

The interviewees concur that beadwork is a vanishing inheritance. They voice various theories as to what is causing this phenomenon.

The respondents were divided into:

- fashion designers, who use beadwork in their designs;
 and
- fashion experts; professionals who work as fashion retailers, fashion critics, and magazine editors who have constant contact with publications or observe fashion market changes.

4.2.2 Testing the emergent

De Vos et al. (2007:338) cite Marshall and Rossman (1999:157) as indicating that "as categories and themes are developed and coding is well under way ... the researcher begins the process of

evaluating the plausibility of his developing understandings and exploring them through the data". This research entailed a search through the data during which the researcher challenged the understanding, searched for negative instances of the patterns and incorporated these into larger constructs where it was necessary, for example, beadwork, and fashion beading skills were placed under one sub-theme heading, beading skills.

Next, the research followed the suggestion of De Vos et al. (2007) and evaluated the data for its usefulness and centrality in illuminating the questions and how central they are to the social phenomena being studied.

4.3 The findings

First, the researcher managed the data. Next, data reduction, coding the interviews and a literature survey took place. After themes were generated and sub-themes were developed, the researcher tested the emergent understanding of findings and searched for alternative explanations. The grounded theory was built upon during the cyclical perception of this research process. The data collecting and data analysis took place in close juxtaposition. During each stage of the research, it is crucial that, after the discovery of themes, sub-themes and patterns in the data, "the researcher should engage in critically challenging the very patterns that seem so apparent" (De Vos et al., 2007:339). The researcher undertook a search for possible, credible clarifications for these data and the relationship among them. De Vos et al. (2007:339) explain that, "in the final phase of the spiral, the researcher presents the data, a packaging of what was found in text, tabular or figure form".

4.3.1 Presentation of Theme 1: Beadwork as heritage

FASHION DESIGNERS	The interviewees share the opinion that beadwork is still
	regarded as a heritage of South Africa. As discussed in the
	literature review, glass beads have a long history in SA. They
	were imported into the north of the present day South Africa
	from all over the world (see Section 2.3).
	Interviewee 1 explained: "For centuries, beadwork [has
	advocated] SA fashion and indigenous style." Interviewee 8

stated strongly that she is "proud" of her heritage. Interviewee 3 explained: beadwork is rooted so deeply in her culture that "it just comes subconsciously" to her creative mind. This perception was echoed by Interviewee 8. To others, beadwork is their "country's history" (Interviewee 6, 2007). "I use traditional beadwork more than anything else" (Interviewee 8, 2007). Since beadwork, like any other art form, is not static, beadwork represents the shift in cultural and economic development. Interviewee 1 (2007) emphasised that among Zulu-speaking people, beadwork forms a system of communication which is devoted to express their feelings, called a love letter (see Section 2.5.3.5).

The point was made that since the fall of apartheid, an African renaissance was announced by the country's President, Thabo Mbeki (Plaintive, see Section 2.9). Interviewees pointed out that beadwork became a powerful tool in South African fashion during the social and economic shift during the era of the African renaissance. Consequently, an awakening sense of pride in being South African and in heritage became noticeable in catalogues and on catwalks. The idea of the African renaissance was to preserve South African culture and put it in a modern context (Interviewee 1). He reiterates the point: "In the 1980s, there was absolutely nothing happening in South African fashion to celebrate indigenous heritage. "He claims that the African renaissance allowed him to develop a new project, which, in his opinion, is a kind of an inheritance for South African fashion of today, fashion that fuses international trends into indigenous. Since the African renaissance, "the heritage becomes more specific on the ramps across the country because it represents the proof of freedom of expression, own roots and the comfort of the designers with their culture" (Interviewee 1, 2007). The beadwork used by this group of interviewees is an important component of heritage in modern

fashion, representing cultural and social elements, especially now (Interviewees 1, 3, 6, 8, 2007). Within contemporary fashion, for Interviewees 4 and 8, traditional beadwork is "an interpretation of clothing", which was rooted in South African history for centuries. Nevertheless, in the interviewees' opinions, beads will forever be present in South African fashion and they are "the future fashion elements" (Interviewee 4, 2007).

Because of the access to beads, many beading techniques were developed. The woven techniques using glass beads became so popular that even though beads are imported from all over the world, they are regarded today as indigenous elements of culture (Interviewees 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 2007). Interviewee 8 concludes: "Beadwork will survive in fashion because culture is never old". For her and other designers quoted in this section, their "design philosophy is based on the preservation of African culture". Interviewee 1 admitted his worry about the topic, and claimed that more documentation on traditional beadwork should be done in order to preserve the heritage.

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As for fashion experts, Interviewee 11 agrees on the growth of heritage in fashion brought by the African renaissance. He also clearly indicates that while beadwork is still alive in South African fashion, changes and developments in beading techniques would frequently occur. Beads were brought to South Africa from all over the world and their "look and form" constantly changes. He also elaborates that, due to the influence of trends in the global village, beadwork as part of the heritage in a developing country such as South Africa is in danger of losing its identity. Therefore it should be kept in mind that this important element of the ancestors should be cultivated, especially now when "heritage is starting to mature" (Interviewee 1, 2007).

4.3.1.1 Discussion of Theme 1: Beadwork as heritage

Immersion in beadwork as a heritage is undoubtedly a key in current fashion. It is apparent from the literature review that traditional beadwork has a prolonged history in South Africa and is "an interpretation for South African clothing" (Labelle, 2005:1). Designers signified beadworks' history and its impact on fashion over the centuries and at the present day traditional beadwork is still part of attire.

Since the announcements of the African renaissance by South Africa's former President, Thabo Mbeki, there has been an intellectual attempt by designers to return to their heritage (Mustafa, 1998:40, see Section 2.9). Keeping in mind that fashion is a large vehicle of communication (Katharine Hamnett, quoted in Jones & Mair, 2005:208, see Section 2.10.1), current fashion mirrors heritage, whereby designers express pride in their "African heritage" (Labelle, 2005:163). Interviewees 1 and 11 (2007) explicitly indicate that the African renaissance had an impact on the current the fashion scene in South Africa and that beadwork became more robust. In consensus with the literature review, it was verified in the data that companies started to flourish, celebrating beadwork as a heritage within their creative world and conceptualising it within a modern framework as a symbol of cultural rebirth within their work (Anon., 2005:41, see Section 1.2.3).

One other guiding factor became clear; the interviewees postulated that "beadwork has advocated" South African fashion and it "will survive in fashion because culture is never old" (Interviewee 8, 2007). Therefore to them cultural convergence of heritage and current trends provide ample opportunity in the current fashion climate. Today they "constantly research and explore what is available", as a result they "frequently explore beadwork" as a process of rediscovering their heritage (Mustafa, 1998:40). Traditional beadwork is not only an omnipresent "interpretation of clothing" but also "the future fashion element" (Interviewees 4, 8, 2007). The interviewees perceived that the engagement of beadwork as a heritage had taken place and would continue to take place in South Africa given that "heritage is starting to mature" (Interviewee 1, 11, 6, 2007).

To conclude, ultimately these findings shed light on the interviewees' viewpoint that beadwork rooted in South Africa for generations is a heritage and the "country's history" representing not only clothes but also cultural values. And even over the centuries, as beadwork went through many changes, including bead materials and beading techniques, it never lost its traditional value

in society as a token of social status, political importance or adornment. Since the South African renaissance, a celebration of heritage has taken place, allowing designers the element of "comfort" with their own culture. As a result today, beadwork frequently appears on the fashion ramps in various designs.

4.3.2. Presentation of Theme 2: Indigenous beadwork aesthetics in current fashion

As is evident from the data, beadwork is a heritage, and up until today has played many roles. According to the interviewees, it stimulates inspiration in fashion designers and influences trends; it creates an individual identity; and appears in traditional or modern forms in ready-to-wear and haute couture, to satisfy not only designers but also clients.

4.3.2.1 Presentation of Sub-Theme 2.1: Beadwork as an inspiration

FASHION DESIGNERS

For designers, heritage is a current and ongoing inspiration. Interviewees 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7 and 8 were of the opinion that heritage is a source of endless inspiration. As stated in the literature review, "fashion today depends not only on ideas, but on individuality and authenticity"; "more than ever designers look to their roots" (Jones, 2005: Foreword, see Section 1.2.4.2). Designers emphasised that they "from time to time turn to traditional beadwork for creativity" (Interviewee 6, 2007). They hold the opinion that "anything has got a future in fashion" (Interviewee 3, 2007), and that designers are always "borrowing from each other, borrowing from different areas" (Interviewee 3, 2007). Consequently, there is "always place for beadwork in fashion" (Interviewee 3, 2007). "We know we have nowhere to go, nowhere to look for inspiration but our own culture" (Interviewee 4, 2007). Beadwork helps to "explore many unknown avenues in design" (Interviewee 2, 2007) and to encourage creative "mood" (Interviewee 8, 2007).

In the world of fashion today, "everything exists" (Interviewee 4, 2007). "Designers constantly research, explore what is available" (Interviewee 2, 2007). Beadwork is one of these

fashion elements. "We need something practical, something old to come up with, something which is not available, to make the unknown out of the known. There is so much more we can learn from beadwork and bring it out" (Interviewee 4, 2008). In a time of controlled global education by mass media, "it is important, specifically for the young designers' generation, to know their heritage while developing a creative mind" (Interviewee 3, 2007). As confirmed by Niefer (2009:19) in Section 2.10.2, designers more and more pursue their dream in fashion, relying on heritage as an inspiration. Interviewee 6 (2007) elaborates that he does not restrict his creativity to just one influence. He does combinations of styles with ethnic South African crafts. He plays around with arts and ideas. To him, his own heritage is still a vibrant source of inspiration. "We come up with what we come up and if is fabulous then we use it. It is all creative freedom," he explains.

FASHION EXPERTS

From the findings and also supported by the literature (Viljoen, 2012), it was established that South Africa is a developing country which has been "benchmarking itself on American and European designers" (Interviewee 1, 2007). However, now and in years to come, he certainly believes that the South African renaissance has brought changes. He explains "we will have a certain format and formula for each designer to bring their own interpretation, through first of all, our own inspiration from a South African perspective, with the potential to be exposed to the global village" (Interviewee 11, 2007). According to fashion experts, since heritage influences and contributions are visible in modern fashion from an inspiration perspective, heritage certainly plays a massive part (Interviewee 11, 2007). Interviewees have positive feelings about designers basing their creativity on heritage. To them, "beadwork has had, and still has, an impact on inspiration for fashion in South Africa" (Interviewee 15, 2007). Consequently, looking at the current fashion progress in South Africa, it is clear that a number of South African designers stick with what is their own inspiration

— the inspiration of local and ethnic influences (Interviewee 15, 2007; Interviewee 13, 2007).

4.3.2.1.1 Discussion of Sub-Theme 2.1: Beadwork as an inspiration

The results revealed that designers implement beadwork in its original form as a representation of heritage; in other instances they draw energy, and derive inspiration from it. Given beadwork's history, it plays a big role in inspiration in fashion, as suggested by Traoré, the Minister of Culture and Tourism in Mali (Traoré, 1998:8, see Section 1.2.4.2), and Getaneh (1998:183, see Section 2.9). In current fashion, designers are responsive to the wealth of their heritage, mostly because above all, it is their own. Preserving vibrant, traditional cultures in fashion may contribute to success, because "fashion today depends not only on ideas, but individuality and authenticity"; consequently "more than ever designers look to their roots" (Jones, 2005: Foreword, see Section 1.2.4.2). In most cases, the diversity of local culture undoubtedly emerged as an inspiration for many designers. They also report that they frequently research South African heritage, since they have "nowhere to look for inspiration" (Interviewee 4, 2007). Of relevance to them are the "old" essentials of beadwork that they rework into new and as yet unknown elements of fashion (Niefer, 2009:19). Therefore beadwork helps to "explore many unknown avenues in design" (Interviewee 2, 2007) and create creative mood (Interviewee 8, 2007). Occasionally, as stated by Interviewees 1, 6 and 8, designers confirm that they combine a wide range of different traditional patterns and styles of beadwork directly interwoven throughout their work. Evidently the era of "benchmarking" on American and European designers is over and designers certainly believe that we have an African renaissance in the country's fashion scene. Fashion designers and experts believe that gaining inspiration from South Africa's heritage makes the world more aware of the country's fashion.

To conclude, in modern fashion more than ever, designers are looking to their roots. Beadwork stimulates inspiration, not only through the African renaissance but also because of the global belief that authenticity is a forceful tool in current fashion trends. As the time of benchmarking against Western fashion is over, beadwork has become a worthy South African treasure, and because of the "culture that is never old" (Interviewee 8, 2007) beadwork may be a catalyst for profound reinventions in fashion.

4.3.2.2 Presentation of Sub-Theme 2.2: Beadwork and fashion identity

FASHION DESIGNERS

Achieving a personal signature style is a long process. It was pointed out by interviewees that, once a designer is given freedom of creativity, his or her identity will emerge. "I took everything to the extreme, like I could sense myself" (Interviewee 1, 2007).

Since the African renaissance, with the concomitant sense of comfort in their own culture and the freedom to express their own roots in their fashion careers, designers have pursued their own identity through heritage (interviewee 1, 6, 8, 2007). Inspired by an intense dedication to their identity, designers value as important, achieving "an individual look in the global village" (Interviewee 1, 2007). Interviewee 1 elaborates that when going out into the fashion world, it is crucial to have your own roots as a base. "You are playing with giants; you must have a foundation", he states. A few designers follow their beadwork heritage without any reservations. However, to be recognised in the global village and in the world, "we add to designs South African elements, which make them unique" (Interviewee 6, 2007).

"I started to identify my signature. I started to think: what is it exactly that I want to say? I defined myself as a designer and then I started searching ... for my own African identity, for my own interpretation. I am answering the questions in me: the things I believe in, the things that I should address in my business, within myself, the directions I am going to take" (Interviewee 4, 2007). For Interviewee 1, identity is the need to be recognised in the fashion world. "People should be able to identify you" as a designer (Interviewee 1, 2007). Interviewee 3 reinforces her statement: "I would say that it [beadwork] is part of our identity." The findings clearly indicate that the emerging

designers have to do a "lot of research" and what they need is "comfort with a culture base for career development" (Interviewee 3, 2007). Interviewees 2, 7 and 6 explained that identity can be only achieved in the "comfort of the surrounding world" (Interviewee 7, 2007). They stated the emergence of democracy in South Africa created an awakening sense of pride in being themselves and who they are as designers, absorbing belief in themselves from their own cultures, that signify their identity and truly African way of life (Viljoen, 2012:58, see Section 2.10.2).

FASHION EXPERTS

Fashion designers' opinions were not isolated; fashion experts, who consider the world market, support the idea. Interviewee 11 explains that until South Africa finds its own lasting modern identity, it will always look up to the Western world. "South African designers must achieve their own identity at first, with the intention to go global. South Africa is developing, into what we don't know yet, and until we do, we will copy from the European continent. We have to have our individual identity in place before considering even going outside this country" (Interviewee 11, 2007). He further anticipates a positive future for emerging identity. Unique style may definitely help in negotiating one's status in the Western empire of fashion. "There is a little bit of hope on the horizon for sustainable uniqueness," he states. In his belief, once South African designers overcome their "identity insecurities" and establish "what their identity is", South Africa will then "be ready to influence the international market".

FASHION DESIGNERS

On the other hand, just for two designers, beadwork is a symbol of national identity. As Africans, "any individual revival has to be coupled with reconstruction of the African identity as well as transformation from a culture of protest to a culture of national reconstruction" (Mustafa, 1998:40, see Section 1.2.4.2). To them it represents their national identity. "I use beadwork more than anything else because it represents South African identity.

It represents my culture. I feel I owe it to my country" (Interviewee 8, 2007). Interviewee 10 supports this belief: "Beadwork is definitely the identity that sells South Africa." As perceived by Taylor (2002), "coded forms of dress are also used to mark a sense of 'belonging' to a family, community and eventually a nation" (see Section 2.10.2). Like the kilt stimulating interest in the Scottish culture, Ndebele, Xhosa or Zulu beaded motifs promote South African fashion and inform the world about the richness of this country's cultural heritage.

FASHION EXPERTS

As discussed, the designers and experts agree that, for them, national identity is a treasure and the base for their creativity. However, a few fashion experts raised concerns that in a country with so many cultures, it is difficult to engage with a specific culture. To Interviewees 10, 12, 13 and 15, modern designs are more connected to the Western world.

"It is very difficult to have a South African feel because there are so many cultures. So who are we to say that one culture is the culture for the entire South Africa?" (Interviewee 10, 2007). It seems that a few fashion experts don't see the purpose of using culture as national identity in modern fashion. "I don't know if is possible to have necessarily an African identity. Some designers use an African element. Maybe it is a clichéd identity" (Interviewee 13, 2007). Others argue that there is no need for identity in fashion. "I think if you look at the global market, South African designers don't yet have [a] South African signature style" (Interviewee 12, 2007). Moreover, Interviewee 15 states that, in the context of the current global village, the individual signature style doesn't exist. "I think if you look at individual designer Giorgio Armani, or Thomas Red for that matter, how many differences are you going to find there? They are pretty much the same" (Interviewee 15, 2007).

As one can see from the interviewees' responses, they are still

hesitant about whether there is a need for an individual
signature style in the global village, culminating in uniformity.
The next group furthered the argument that if there is no need
for a global individual identity, there should be no need for a
South African national identity in fashion. One of them stated:
"There is nothing like South African identity because South
African cultures are too diverse. We have a country with 11
languages and every culture has got its own identity. It is
impossible to create South African identity. No, South Africa
doesn't have identity and will never have" (Interviewee 14,
2007). "I don't know if is possible to have necessarily an African
identity. I think the designers reflect the country as being hugely
diverse ethnically, geographically and economically. So I don't
know if there is a true South African identity" (Interviewee 13,
2007).
Interviewee 3 went further, perhaps, in stating: "I happen to be born in South Africa. I guess under normal circumstances, you would call me a South African designer, but at the end of the day I am an individual. I don't categorise myself as a South African designer" (Interviewee 3, 2007). "We want to be Europeans", Interviewee 2 stated.
Interviewee 11 sees the problem lying in the fact that South Africa is still an emerging country. To him, developed countries have already been through the process of constructing their identities in fashion. "Europeans are able to experiment a lot more with themselves. I think they are more secure within themselves as consumers. Africa is certainly an emerging continent. Our psychology is made up of massive insecurities

FASHION	DESIGNERS	Interviewees 1, 2, 3 and 9 agree that when they exhibit outside
		South Africa, they will use traditional beadwork to display their
		South African identity in the global village. "People want to know
		what South Africa is all about. We don't do eight ethnic dresses
		because it will become boring, but I always put a South African
		touch to my collection" (Interviewee 2, 2007). "I definitely will",
		Interviewee 3 states.

4.3.2.2.1 Discussion of Sub-Theme 2.2: Beadwork and fashion identity

For centuries beadwork in South Africa represented identities on many levels (Dubin, 1987:47; Proctor & Klopper, 1993: 59-61; Crabtree & Stallebrass, 2002:50, see Section 2.6). From the very beginning of humankind, beads have signified the identity of the group and the changes that individuals and the group have undergone over time. Even if in South African history the power of beads as an identity signifier was lost for some time during colonialism (Proctor & Klopper, 1993:58, see Section 2.6.1), and apartheid (New Age, 1962, see Section 2.6.1.2), since the African renaissance, the heritage has become not only an inspiration but also the catalyst for creating designers' identities (Kanneh, 1998:42; Traoré, 1998:8; see Section 2.10.2). Designers and fashion experts see beadwork not only as an inspiration but also as a catalyst for the creation of identify. As stated in the literature review: "Identities of individuals and groups are not simple, static innate definitions; instead they, like the people they represent, are complex, multifarious, flexible, and not predetermined. Rooted in biological and cultural conceptions, all human identities are fluid constructions formulated in relation to the identities of others" (Mennell, 1994:193; Appiah, 1995:110; see section 2.6). South African history and its national identity development is a multifaceted process. Since beadwork in today's contemporary South African society still represents identity on both an individual and collective level, through designers' individual understanding of the concept of identity, two identities emerged: that of fashion designers and national identity. Undoubtedly, as verified in the literature review, fashion design is one of the oldest forms of art that communicates the development of humanity's aesthetic values (Jones & Mair, 2005:13, see Section 2.10.1). Fashion, according to Kawamura, "is not clothing but a belief", a tangible product, and is a symbolic, cultural product (Kawamura (2005, see Section 2.10.1). A number of designers wish to build, through their interpretation of beadwork, their individual identities and communicate their values as individuals in a designer signature style; others see the beadwork as signifying national identity (Baker, 1992, see Section 2.10.1).

Interviewee 11 explained that since the African renaissance there has been visible growth in fashion because a format and formula for each for their own interpretation of fashion is being developed. Designers discovered, amongst others, the role of beadwork in searching for identity — identity that stands against the stereotypes of mass culture of the "global village". Many designers intellectually attempt to return to their culture in order to retain rich traditions and to conceptualise these within a modern framework (Interviewees 1, 3, 4, 6, 2007). "Making clothes isn't exciting — what is exciting is being able to give them a soul", according to fashion designer Veronique Leroy quoted in Jones & Mair 2005:294, see Section 2.10.1). Since fashion is "an extension of oneself" (designer Rossella Jardini in Jones & Mair, 2005:74, see Section 2.10.1), brands and designers have emerged that have challenged the status quo (Interviewees 5, 6, 7, 8, 2007). Even though concern has arisen regarding which cultural aspects should be re-evaluated, to enhance identity in South African fashion today by fashion experts (Interviewees 10, 12, 13 and 15, 2007), the understanding was shared by all designers that in the time of the "global village", it is important to develop a signature style, and consequently recognition in the world (Interviewees 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 2007). For Interviewee 4, in search of his identity, it was a long process. The process of finding his individuality involved choosing the directions that he would take in his business. For starters: things he wants to address, his interpretation of the world, and consequently what he believes in. He explains that, through his designs, he defines himself. To him, it is important what his designs say to people and where they put him on the map of world global fashion. Interviewee 10 confirms that "fashion identity is individual. What makes it individual are the people" (Interviewee 10, 2007).

If fashion experts have a single concern, it is that the lack of a proper basis could hamper the format and formula for building success, even before they progress to competing in the global market (Interviewee 1). Designers suggested that beadwork, when incorporated in the garment, may add to a designer's "individual look", and make the designs "unique" (Interviewee 6, 2007) in global world fashion. Because "it is up to designers to develop their own signature style" they may choose beadwork as a catalyst (Interviewee 12, 2007). Interviewee 9 supports the idea: he shapes his individuality by fusing "traditional beading in a modern way" in creating his label. For him, building an identity in fashion requires a solid foundation, secured by a "sense of belonging" (see Section 2.6, 2.9). The findings substantiated the belief that copying Western fashions would not lead to success for designers. Interviewees 1 and 11 elaborate on the point that South African designers should first establish their own identity and sense of belonging before trying to compete globally. According to Interviewee 11, after years of benchmarking against Euro-American

standards, now is the time for South Africans to create their own identity based on this country's heritage. To justify his claim, he explains that developed countries have already been through the process of constructing their identities in fashion. South African designers should firstly define their own identity, with the intention to go global and to conquer world fashion. Until then, in an emerging country like South Africa, designers will always look up to the Western world. Logically, the next phase would be for South African designers to "overcome their national identity insecurities" and determine "what their identity is". Interviewee 7 also mentioned that even if beadwork does not necessarily create designers' identity, it may certainly influence the direction in which that identity could develop (Interviewee 11. 2007) "to the beat of our own drum" (Viljoen, 2012:58).

Some designers understand identity as a broader term. Interviewee 8 believes that using beadwork is the representation of her national identity. "I use beadwork because it represents South African identity. It represents my culture," she says. And because "beadwork is definitely the identity that seals South Africa" (Interviewee 10, 2007), by relating to their own roots, designers use their national heritage as a symbol of their patriotism, "I feel I owe it to my country" (Interviewee 8, 2007), and being "proudly South African" (Interviewee 1, 2007). On the other hand, caution was noted with regard to the interpretation of national identity. It is apparent from the data that some respondents felt that with so many indigenous cultures in South Africa, it is impossible to achieve a unified national identity.

Within the contemporary fashion climate, a number of fashion experts argued that there is no need for identity in a global village. In the light of current global trends, the differences among the world's designers cannot be seen. Therefore, the question was raised: why then bother to build identity among South African designers? The opinion was expressed that the impact of fashion cycles distributed by mass media is overpowering the individual designer look. Based on these findings, the question begging to be answered is: is it possible that identity in fashion is not important?

In conclusion, heritage becomes not only inspiration but also catalyst for creating a designer's identity. For designers and fashion experts, beadwork in contemporary South African fashion may embody identity on both an individual and collective level. For a number of designers, interrelating the set of beliefs with one's own culture creates a designer's individuality, achieving a look that would stand against the world's stereotype of mass culture. However, to another group of designers, beadwork is a catalyst in the creation of a national identity. On the international

fashion scene, beadwork is indicative of South African pride. For the minority, however, a clearcut identity is not crucial, considering universally accepted fashion trends.

If the opinions appeared controversial, that is, whether beadwork can be a catalyst to create an individual designer's identity or an identity portraying national pride, or if both identities were different from each other or in fact needed, it was fascinating to note that the overwhelming majority of fashion designers explored their being proudly South African identity through beadwork when exhibiting outside of the country. On international ramps they took the opportunity to try to manipulate identities (Blendy, 2007, see Section 2.10.2), because "people want to know what South Africa is all about" (Interviewee 3, 2007).

4.3.2.3 Presentation of Sub-Theme 2.3: Haute couture versus ready-to-wear

FASHION DESIGNERS

Since the African renaissance and the growth of interest in indigenous cultures, beading techniques have became quite popular across the country. Designers are influenced by the integration of the old and new cultures and turn to traditional beading to enrich their designs, in both haute couture and ready-to-wear.

The distinction between the terms "haute couture" and "ready-to-wear" was formulated in the mid-nineteenth century (see Section 2.11.1.3). Haute couture is exclusive and expensive clothing made for an individual customer by a fashion designer, or by the industry that produces such clothing (Buxbaum, 2005:60). An analysis of the data indicates that the use of beadwork is more extensive in haute couture than in ready-to-wear mass-made factory garments (Jackson & Shaw, 2001:194, see Section 2.11.1.3). It is clear why beadwork belongs in haute couture for a number of reasons (Interviewees 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9). It makes garments original, elegant, and widely recognised as an art form. It "adds texture to the garment" (Interviewees 4, 5 and 7, 2007), enabling it to achieve the high standard demanded of haute couture.

All interviewees believe that high fashion should be represented by garments that support the individual look of the designer, and to achieve this individual look, they use beadwork. For Interviewee 3, originality in haute couture operates on many design levels. According to her: "Beads always bring out my designs, sort of like the cherry on top." Her response was supported by Interviewee 7: "I think that beading is that touch that takes the garment to another level. I don't keep it always traditional; it represents the mood."

The choice of beadwork in this medium was enormously influenced by the fact that it was specifically selected to please exclusive clients. For many designers, the client is seen as a very important influence. Interviewees 1 and 4 explained that the client dictates the look of haute couture; since some clients are "more traditional", this will be the reason for using traditional beadwork in their creations. Interviewees agree that eveningwear is part of high fashion, and indeed they do use a lot of beadwork. Interviewee 6 elaborates: "I specialise in eveningwear and I do lots of traditional beading. There are only a few garments that go out of my studio that don't have beading."

The interviewees added that they were stimulated by the fact that beadwork adds to the value of the garment and that value is also an element of high fashion. It became clear that in these cases, financial factors were not an obstacle to most of them. Designers in this group understand the cost and labour intensiveness involved in the production process. For instance, Interviewee 5 states: "Beading is done by hand, which [requires a] particular skill and [has a] history behind it and is very specific. Then you pay for it like anything else you do in your life. You know, to me it doesn't really matter. If you can't afford it

and if you can't do it on their garment, then it is one of those things. Not everybody can drive a Porsche." Likewise, Interviewee 6 expresses a similar opinion: "Time is money, so the longer they bead the more expensive the garment is. I do have clients who are willing to pay." However, three designers (Interviewees 1, 4, and 7), admit it is sometimes too expensive to use beadwork in eveningwear since they do not have clients willing to cover the high costs involved.

Ready-to-wear is clothing "that is ready-made in standard sizes and designs, rather than being specially designed or tailored for an individual" client (Jackson & Shaw, 2001:194 see Section 2.11.1.3). Since ready-to-wear fashion is geared more towards the masses, its role contrasts with that of haute couture. Readyto-wear is intended to satisfy the consumer's budget. It was said that beadwork is labour intensive and it raises costs. Interviewees also believe that as there are no machines for beadwork production, it is impossible to fulfil larger orders. To them, beadwork is a luxury and therefore belongs to haute couture. Should they still desire to use beadwork in their designs, they look for alternative solutions. Interviewee 7 explains: "I would not use beadwork for ready-to-wear unless it is in pre-beaded trims inserted into the panel." Interviewee 5 points out that he rarely uses beadwork in ready-to-wear: it seldom happens that the clients require beaded garments for ready-to-wear. Yet there are instances when clients do ask for these garments, and "for them then, we usually go wild".

FASHION EXPERTS

In contrast, Interviewee 11 offers a different opinion. He points out that he is developing a new designer label. For that specific project, crafters from all over the country are employed. It was discovered that this was "commercially sustainable enough to sell out the range in the commercial market" contrary to popular belief that beadwork is not a ready-to-wear element. Furthermore, he emphasises the products are still "designer

pieces commercially acceptable in boutiques". He also adds that despite the fact that from a commercial point of view, it is very difficult to incorporate beadwork in fashion, it is important to keep in mind that this has already been done in South Africa. A perfect example of this is the production carried out by chain stores such as Woolworths (Interviewee 11, 2007). In support of this, Interviewee 10 states: "Beadwork can be used for mass production." He supports his statement by explaining that in South Africa, there is a lot of manpower and expertise in this medium. Interviewees looked at beadwork from the point of view of international market requirements.

4.3.2.3.1 Discussion of Sub-Theme 2.3: Haute couture versus ready-to-wear

The results showed good correlation of beadwork with both ready-to-wear and haute couture. The main aim of haute couture is to provide the finest and most lavish clothing created for an individual customer by a fashion designer. The respondents (Interviewees 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9, 2007) believe that garments representing high fashion also support the unique look of the designer. They elaborate that there is an inseparable correlation between beadwork and haute couture for a number of reasons. Beadwork makes garments novel and graceful, and elevates them to an art.

Respondent 3 further emphasises that beads always "bring out" her designs, and beads appear in her designs as 'sort of like the cherry on top". Designer 7 reiterates the enormous impact of beading in fashion. He claims that it "takes the garment to another level". Interviewee 4 pointed out another aspect: beadwork "adds to the texture of the garment", enabling it to achieve a superior standard. For example, Interviewee 6, who specialises in eveningwear, explains that most of his designs involve beading. Finally, he explains, that beadwork is used as a medium by designers to satisfy the tastes of elite clients (Jackson & Shaw 2001, see Section, 2.11.1.3). More specifically, Interviewees 6 and 9 explain that these clients do not mind how costly the garments are since they are willing to pay a high price for exclusive clothes. As it was centuries ago, beads still distinguish the wealth and position in society of the wearer (Dubin, 1987:47, see Section 2.6).

The philosophy of manufactured ready-to-wear is to satisfy the mass consumer's budget, implying that the garments should be manufactured by mass production. Most interviewees concur that it is not an easy task for fashion designers to make clothing for ready-to-wear using beadwork. Interviewee 7 explains: "I would not use beadwork for ready-to-wear unless it is pre-beaded trims inserted into the panel".

However, one remarkable point was made by the fashion expert who explained, that at least there are attempts to use beadwork in the national chain stores framework. Interviewee 11 places major emphasis on the fact that even though there might be constraints on using beadwork in ready-to-wear, the possibility of using beads exists and is being explored. He explains that he himself is involved with a project where designed beaded pieces are commercially acceptable and are used in mass production, perhaps because South Africa has the manpower. Today, many grass root projects support development of beading skills that can be used in haute couture and ready-to-wear fashion (Skrypek, 2006, see Section 2.10.2; Interviewee 7, 1007).

To conclude, it became clear that the diversity of local culture can be "like a cherry on the top" in both haute couture and ready-to-wear. As for haute couture, beadwork adds to a design's value, which is a crucial parameter in high fashion. And in such cases, given the labour intensiveness involved in the production process, the financial factors are not an obstacle. Even though it is believed that ready-to-wear fashion is geared more towards the general consumer, and is intended to satisfy the consumer's budget, this was challenged by the statement that beadwork might be sustainable in large production. Beadwork might not necessarily be a luxury element if designers consider two solutions. Firstly, it can be created with optional techniques such as print or embroidery. Alternatively, it can also be used in its original form considering the fact that beading skills in South Africa are excellent.

4.3.2.4 Presentation of Sub-Theme 2.4: Beading skills

FASHION EXPERTS	The wealth of beading skills was reinforced by interviewees in
	the fashion experts group. Considering the global village fashion
	trends and the existing identity confusion, Interviewee 11
	comments: "I think the intention is to revive the skill so that we
	are able to say that the unique remains and nobody can knock it
	off." He hopes that the "techniques will be revived" in South

Africa. It is clear to interviewees that "beading skills are fantastic" (Interviewee 15, 2007), and they could become the country's specific talent. Literature has shown that people in South Africa use many woven techniques that involve many different stitches (Costello, 1990; Crabtree & Stallebrass, 2002; Hector, 2005, see Section 2.5.4). Interviewees also believe that since "culture is never static" (Interviewee 11, 2007), traditional beading skills undergo modernisation, like any art form.

It was mentioned by interviewees that South African beading techniques have become well known and respected world-wide since "the international market realised the talent" of this country. Interviewee 11 indicates that "international retail looks to South Africa for fair trade opportunities in beading", thereby ensuring a future for beading techniques and talent.

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Skills in pattern and techniques are crucial to enhancing aesthetics. All interviewees stated that traditional beadwork has a place in the global uniformity of the modern world.

Designers believe that there is "so much we can learn from traditional beadwork and bring it into our work as modern-day designers" (Interviewee 3, 2007). Fashion is also related to the immediate experience of the designers and reconstructed as modern and authentic. Interviewee 3 explains that in her Western designs, "the ethnic elements of beadwork always appear subconsciously"; they "sort of come back" to her. However, the interviewees brought it the attention of the interviewer to be careful of "overdosing" on traditional aesthetics. According to Interviewee 4, "if designers overuse traditional patterns they will be out of fashion in no time".

Interviewee 7 explains: "I always take the crafters and tell them: look, this is how it should be done. So when people look at my collection, they can't say: this is Xhosa." Plus, "beading

techniques will continue to develop, because one keeps continuing to develop new designs, new ideas and skills" (Interviewee 6, 2007). "There is no point as a crafter just to bead. They don't learn anything, so the only way to create a sustainable business is to constantly adapt and change the trend and what the rest of the world is wanting" (Interviewee 5, 2007).

The following quotations illustrate some of the interviewees' opinions. Interviewee 7 explains that he occasionally uses the traditional beading technique. "I use crafters from Bloemfontein to produce my summer range. I used crafters from Witbank in the past." Most designers emphasise that beadwork is the "skill that is preserved". Interviewee 5 concludes that "for me, most important are the beading techniques".

4.3.2.4.1 Discussion of Sub-Theme 2.4: Beading skills

Since beading skills are omnipresent in South African culture (Costello, 1990; Crabtree & Stallebrass, 2002; Hector, 2005), the interviewees in both groups; fashion designers and fashion experts, believe that beading will always have a future in fashion. It was stressed that beadwork techniques and skills are still widely used and respected by many designers. The results have shown that the designers and fashion experts unanimously agree that the beadwork techniques and skills in South Africa "are fantastic". They share the opinion that beading skills are the natural pool of talent of South Africa. The fashion experts believe that this talent in South Africa should be preserved since it can be an advantage among fashion-conscious heritage-orientated consumers. Also, the beading skills can attract consumers worldwide. In the same vein, designers agree to treasure beading skills and utilise them in their creativity. This group of designers believes that through beadwork, designers certainly practise art. However, on the other hand, beadwork in modern fashion can be replaced with other techniques. Projects using beaders' skills in the fashion industry country-wide are mushrooming because South Africa has sufficient manpower (Interviewee 7, 1007). Since contemporary fashion is a cultural melting pot, a hopeful future is envisaged for fashion, utilising beading skills as an element of South African culture (Skrypek, 2006, see Section 2.10.2).

To conclude: in traditional society beadwork possesses immense value and is highly respected and therefore still cultivated. Keeping in mind that beadwork in South Africa is not only part of a heritage passed down through generations, but also a unique treasure cultivated by developing community projects, the natural pool of talent of beading skills in the country is extraordinary. Modern society's attitude and the direction of general trends should not be considered as a disadvantage. No matter what the motivating factors are, beading skills in fashion today are kept alive, not only because of respect for the culture, but also because there is a constant demand for them on the local and international market. It was also indicated that employment of beaders might boost communities' economies and promote entrepreneurship.

4.3.2.5 Presentation of Sub-Theme 2.5: Development of techniques and materials

FASHION DESIGNERS

As for replacement of traditional techniques with modern ones, three elements were discussed: colour, pattern (motif) and techniques. "Fashion is constant revolution. It's an industry whose basis is aesthetic upheaval every six months, a restless search for the new, the improved", states, Mair, editor of *i-D Magazine* (Jones & Mair, 2005:13). Nothing in fashion is static. The old aesthetics become new and fresh once modernised. A number of interviewees explain that, to them, old aesthetics are the catalysts for the new, reinvented tautological form.

"We might borrow a beaded pattern from one of the South African ethnic groups. We have enough in our country to borrow from and work around them" (Interviewee 2, 2007). "I will subvert or change traditional pattern" (Interviewee 7, 2007). "I would like to think about myself as a fashion designer — and that all people from all over the world, including my people, would be able to wear my things" (Interviewee 6, 2007).

Most of the interviewees pursue their designs through a constant search. According to Klopper (Proctor & Klopper, 1993), beads go through evolution like any other elements of fashion. As fashion develops, the designs in the beadwork and

materials that beads are made of are ought to change. Even though the beading patterns and techniques were characteristic to each ethnic group, with the arrival of new beads and with varying market needs, patterns, colours and styles changed continuously (See Section 2.5). Subsequently, the appearance of beadwork in designers' work will change. They are "reinventing the old patterns and recreating them from a different perspective" (Interviewees 5, 6, 2007).

The point here is to balance the interaction of old and new cultures in South Africa (Interviewee 4, 2007). To Interviewee 5, designing is "adding your own perception to the outside world's norms of design". The perfect example is using ethnic, traditional and culturally-based elements, and taking them to another level in the fashion world (Interviewee 5, 2007). This is confirmed by the literature review. "Sometimes the techniques stay the same, but the beaders can't escape the pressure of trends" (Blauer, 2000:5, see Section 2.10.2).

Most interviewees agreed that the traditional colour in their designs doesn't appear to be as meaningful as in the past. Interviewee 3, like most of the others, explains that the choice of colour is in most cases influenced by the fabric used in the designs. Interviewee 4, on the other hand, points out that he likes to use bright colours. The vibrant colours in his designs represent the African people. Designers confirm that they "use the same traditional pattern once or twice". However, the next step will be to "keep on reinventing" (Interviewees 2 &7, 2007). They can only profit if their customers are happy. Again, their clients want exclusive things. Consequently, they have to come up "with new design ideas all the time" (Interviewee 6, 2007). The interesting point was noted that sometimes designers replaced beaded patterns with different mediums to create the illusion of beadwork (Interviewee 4, 2007). Interviewee 5

elaborates: "A designer can't be static in anything he/she does. Beadwork can be replaced by other media, for example, embroidery or hand painting or print." Interviewees quite often manipulate the use of a combination of embroidering and beading. They mix and remix techniques (Interviewees 3 & 7, 2007). Often, it is "beading on top of embroidering, or beading on top of hand painting, and we work with different things" (Interviewees 4 & 5, 2007).

As emerged from previous discussions, while some of the designers didn't agree about using traditional patterns or colours, later all of them explained that they use the techniques of traditional beading and the skills of South African beaders, which "are widely accessible across the country" (Interviewees 6 & 7, 2007).

FASHION EXPERTS

Interviewee 15 opined that "if designers want to use beadwork in the traditional African way, and traditional African beadwork designs", they should keep in mind that "innovation has to be added. And innovation has to be there; how to place it on the garment itself" (Interviewee 15, 2007). His opinion was confirmed by Interviewee 11 who had recently experimented with beading patterns and a number of different fabrics. Recently he helped to achieve more explicit effects of beading patterns printed on the fabrics and which were imposed by the latest fashion trends.

4.3.2.5.1 Discussion of Sub-Theme 2.5: Development of techniques and materials

Fashion is never static. As fashion changes, designs in beadwork evolve. Furthermore, sometimes the techniques stay the same but the designers can't escape the pressure of world design trends (Blauer, 2000:5, see Section 2.10.2; Rabine, 2002, see Section 2.11.1.3).

The findings demonstrate that the traditional meaning of the colours used in beadwork is discarded in modern fashion. Most designers did not elaborate much on the topic, but simply

explained that colour inspiration comes from the fabric that they are working with at the time. One could presume, based on discussions arising earlier in the interviews, that colour is imposed by world fashion trends.

Secondly, Interviewees agreed that they always express their roots in their work by mixing and experimenting with beadwork (Interviewee 6, 2007). The traditional aesthetic is often changed, since artists add their own interpretation to the original. This study discovered that, to meet the pressure of mass production in ready-to-wear, beadwork could be replaced by print or embroidery (Interviewees 3, 4, 5 & 7, 2007). Besides, this replacement is sometimes also visible in haute couture. It also emerged that some of the designers prefer to keep traditional beadwork minimal. All designers insist that beadwork presented in fashion today should be reworked and conceptualised into an original look as suggested by market requirements (Jackson & Shaw, 2001, see Section 2.11.1.3). The idea of replacing beadwork with other mediums was also endorsed by fashion experts. Interviewee 11 points out that printed beadwork on fabric has been manufactured for South African chain stores and has turned out to be successful and financially viable.

In conclusion, since life style and exposure to new technologies, and consequently fashion history and current fashion trends, are inextricably connected, traditional beadwork is being reevaluated. As trends dictate consumer mind-shift, with every new trend, designers have to compete with new realities, and adapt and mix and match new materials and technologies available on the market. Sometimes to achieve garments with beadwork that are more practical and wearable, designers conceptualise the beadwork within a completely trendy, new medium.

4.3.2.6 Presentation of Sub-Theme 2.6: Market requirements

FASHION	DESIGNERS

As the interviews progressed, it became clear that designers understand that in order to run their business successfully they ought to consider the target market needs (Jackson & Shaw, 2001, see Section 2.11.1.3. "Even people who say that they don't care about a fashion statement make it by making their choice of clothing every morning," Katherine Hamnett, the top British fashion designer states (see Section 2.11.1.3). The public identify themselves with a specific designer or specific

look. "If I identify myself (as a wearer) with the garment I'll jump and buy it" (Interviewee 1, 2007). Moreover clients are dependent not on international trends but rather on creativity. Hence they relate to designers' talent presented with confidence in local fashion and its related expressions.

FASHION EXPERTS

From the buyers' point of view, "the future of any designer in the country is relevant to what tools we are given for us to compete in the global market, how we rear our designers and how we are developing our designers. Give them the opportunity to be envied and in demand overseas. There will be massive opportunities for South African designers to go forward to be poised in the global market" (Interviewee 11, 2007). He reasons: "However, if we are not yet ready to go to the global market, we shouldn't allow ourselves to be exposed on the wrong levels."

In reality, on the other hand, the world market is crucial to determine the country's success. If South Africa wants to expand its fashion industry, it has to break through to the international market. "I don't believe we should try to keep the talent in South Africa only. We are not a big enough country to be successful" (Interviewee 11, 2007).

One could assume from the responses that both the fashion experts were of the opinion that "there is a very good opportunity for beadwork to survive in fashion, as long as people understand market requirements" (Interviewee 12, 2007). The point is, that if South Africans want to grow the industry, the designers have to offer not only South African but also international consumer products that are attractive and marketable, she elaborates. The other point that was made was that some designers felt that for beadwork to be tenable, it should be kept to the minimum in the designs. Interviewee 10's feelings about the London Fashion Week were centred on

whether	the	designs	were	sellable o	or not	— in	other	word	ds,
whether	they	appeal	to the	e consum	er and	the	buyer	who	is
going to	buy a	and sell t	he pro	duct.					

4.3.2.6.1 Discussion of Sub-Theme 2.6: Market requirements

Keeping in mind that fashion is consumer orientated, interviewees share the opinion that not only local but also the "world market is crucial to determine the country's success" (Interviewee 11, 2007). Even African designers are making their fashion accessible to the world by incorporating Western styles and standards, but at the same time are "offering entirely new colours, materials and blends" (Mbow, 1998:135), they still have to adapt to global markets and consumer needs. Every consumer daily decides what to wear, as Katherine Hamnett, the top British fashion designer states (see Section 2.11.1.3). One must not forget that many of them follow what is "in" (Jackson & Shaw, 2001, see Section 2.11.1.3).

As for international markets, if designers achieve international standards it will give them the opportunity to be envied and in demand overseas. Interviewees agreed that "beadwork will survive in fashion, as long as designers obey local and international market requirements" and present the beadwork in their garments in sellable form. Designers have to conceptualise fashion as a succession of ever-changing trends, fads and concepts that speak to the broader public. Interviewee 6 explained: "I have to make sure that I design for everybody." Others suggested that to make fashion products sellable, beadwork should be used minimally, at least in ready-to-wear.

From the buyers' point of view, "the future of any designer in the country is relevant to what tools we are given for us to compete in the global market, how we rear our designers and how we are developing our designers.

In conclusion, it was said that global consciousness and mass media impose on consumers new, unavoidable occurrences of new trends every season. Today a designer's work is definitely to be responsive to fashion trends, and consumer reactions to these shifts. Designers intuitively combine new materials and up-dated technologies relevant to the forecasts and market requirements with traditional beadwork, in order not to be categorised as outdated. Depending on designers and clients' personal choice, they blend beadwork in its original form or employ it as a concept in achieving an enriched look. The local culture is thereby translated into viable fashion aimed at individualism, and uniqueness.

4.3.2.7 Presentation of Sub-Theme 2.7: Traditional beadwork and fashion trends

FASHION DESIGNERS	Every culture can be a foundation for creativity for fashion trends, and these trends change continuously. Two aspects were prominent during the discussions. Firstly, as pointed out in previous discussions, beadwork can be an inspiration for fashion trends. Conversely, world trends come and go, and last only a season. The danger is that beadwork may be forgotten since the creative world would rather follow global trends. For some designers and a few fashion experts, there is no room for individual or national identity in the global village.
	This belief is confirmed by the world's top trend predictors. "We are tired of seeing the same brands all over the world no matter where you are" (see Section 2.11.1.2). Edelkoort, a trend predictor, believes that local products will undergo a renaissance, as will regional cuisines. She concludes that trend scouting is, "looking at things that are already there".
	Considering the outside pressure of global trends, we observe similar reasoning among designers in South Africa. "We are designing according to international trends and fashion cycles" (Interviewee 6, 2007).
FASHION EXPERTS	As for fashion experts, Interviewee13 noted that the Western world was pursuing African fashion elements in the 70s. Interviewee 14 (2007) explained his understanding of fashion trends as: "What they [fashion predictors] do is [to] take an element from an ethnic influence and rework it into a fashion statement. It happens all the time." As the world started to run out of ideas, it became clear to fashion experts that "Africa is certainly an emerging continent for inspiration, definitely so South Africa". According to Interviewee 14, his point of view

was confirmed when he read in *Elle* magazine recently that Calvin Klein had added an African-inspired range. "There is magnitude for African inspiration to take place. So from an inspiration point of view, South Africa has a big role and will go forward in fashion trends" (Interviewee 11, 2007). Interviewee 12 summarises the discussion: "South Africa, with so many cultures, is an inspiration for fashion trends — it doesn't stop."

The 1970s brought another wave of fashion trends stimulated by African culture (see Section 2.10). Since then, trends have changed at the speed of a kaleidoscope's turn. Currently, we live with so much information every day. "Looking forward in fashion is looking back in time. This is how fashion works. This is why the term 'fashion cycles' was invented. Africa is a frequent element of inspiration for fashion trends" (AsahiKASEI, 2006). The respondents reason that: "In the fashion world and fashion industry, fashion always goes in cycles. People always refer to what happened in the past" (Interviewee 10, 2007). This interviewee also suggests that trend forecasters will look to Africa for inspiration.

Most of the interviewees claim that South African beadwork demonstrates the potential to become an inspiration for fashion trends. However, a few believed otherwise. They argue that South African beadwork is not powerful enough to be represented as a tool for trends. Interviewee 14 and 15 believe that "Africa as a whole continent will be the inspiration, rather than South Africa" (Interviewee 15, 2007), or the African elements in fashion will never get as big as they were in the 1970s to influence the fashion world (Interviewee 14, 2007).

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On the other hand, the power of world trends and fashion cycles is crucial for many in a consumer-centred reality (Jackson & Shaw 2001, see Section 2.11.1.3). Capitalistic developments push new trends every season that the consumer follows

(Baker, 1992; Rabine, 2002, see Section 2.11.1.3). "We will look after the industry, what is happening on the catwalk. What is available in our chain stores? What is available in boutiques? What is mass-produced?" (Interviewee 2, 2007). Designers also express concern that it is difficult to impose your own heritage in the world of fashion, where "each season, one's culture becomes everybody's inspiration for a period of time" (Interviewee 4, 2007). "We have to be ahead of the times", he adds. "With the global media these days, there are no secrets anymore. We all want to fit in" (Interviewee 2, 2007). The influential trend of fashion may be deadly for the attempt to traditional heritage. The consumer's fashion requirement at a particular time may not be the one that agrees with the composition of indigenous beadwork. As found in the literature review, one of the greatest questions designers have to ask themselves is what is the next garment the consumers will search for? They have to be aware of what is happening all over the world including the economic climate, politics and global social changes (Cangley, 2006:42). "Ready-to-wear is dictated by international trends and is also dictated by the feedback from all our marketing agents in different countries" (Interviewee 5, 2007). He also elaborates that he has to consider marketing prognoses to run his business successfully.

FASHION EXPERTS

The findings in the experts group did not differ significantly from the responses of fashion designers. Interviewee 15 claims that is difficult to be original in an era of imposed mainstream trends "because the international trend predictors ludicrously predict the colour, the cut. And once you have your colour and cut predicted, generally you going to have a pretty generic palette for the season" (Interviewee 15, 2007). According to the fashion experts, the South African consumer is mostly looking for mass-produced clothing, which is once again influenced by world fashion trends. Interviewee 11 describes consumer behaviour in South Africa as follows: "I don't think the South African

consumer will ever be non-commercial. Our retail is our biggest emporium. [The demand for] unique garments, for the top echelons of the consumer pyramid who want to be different, is so small; the rest of them are like sheep." They are blind followers of the retail chain shops. Thus there will be always room for the consumer who seeks originality and/or higher standing (Baker, 1992; Rovine, 2010; Jackson & Shaw, 2001, see Section 2.11.1.3). "Africa is certainly an emerging continent for inspiration and for South Africa specifically" (Interviewee 11, 2007).

4.3.2.7.1. Discussion of Sub-Theme 2.7: Traditional beadwork and fashion trends

Throughout the 20th century, fashion went through many phases. Nevertheless, Africa remained a rewarding source of inspiration for Western fashion that had been controlling fashion across the world (Buxbaum, 2005:162, see Section 1.2.4.3). As Gerry Rantseli stated in *Pursuit*, in the past "the diversity and beauty of Africa and its people have inspired designs the world over" (Anon, 2005:41, see Section 1.2.3). As mentioned in the literature review, every culture can be an inspiration for fashion trends. World-famous designers experiment with Africa. African patterns and bold colours once more inspire fashion creators. John Galliano united distinct African ethnic heritages and "historical styles with the elegance of the House of Dior in his collection". He explains his changing moods for creation: "My work is about pushing the boundaries of creation" (Galliano in Jones & Mair, 2005:128).

A number of fashion experts in this research explained that beadwork aesthetics were subjected to Western criticism. However, in history, Western culture's having a high regard for African fashion was noticeable, among other times, during the1970s. The "unknown" was put on a pedestal, which turned into respect for the arts of "the other" (Interviewee 13, 2007; see Section 2.7, 2.8). Designers and fashion experts confirmed that Africa added inspiration for fashion trends. For instance, Interviewee 11 stated that, "South Africa, from an inspiration point of view, has a big role and will go forward in fashion trends." However, he explained that South African designers' gaining maturity may play a big role in creating a South African impact on world fashion trends. Once that is achieved, South Africa will continue to be a fascinating element of inspiration and African-inspired fashion might return regularly to the world's ramps.

Conversely, Interviewee 14 states that African inspiration for trends "will not be as big as it got in the 70s". Interviewee 15 further qualifies this statement, saying that South Africa is not strong enough on its own to be an inspiration for fashion trends: "Africa as a whole is a possibility [for inspiration] ... not just South African beadwork.

Since trends are based on fashion cycles, it is worth pointing out that the majority of designers and fashion experts addressed the fact of borrowing from the past as a natural cause of the fashion cycle theory. "Looking forward in fashion is looking back in time" (AsahiKASEI, 2006, see Section 2.11.1.2). Therefore, global trends pass on fashion history, and trend predictors, "always refer to what happened in the past" (Interviewee 10, 2007). For this reason, beadwork as an inspiration for fashion trends will come and go, as fickle of fashion cycles as a mainstream pressure (Interviewee 11) (Baker, 1992; Rabine, 2002, see Section 2.11.1.3). According to Interviewee 15, "trends change continuously" (Interviewee 15, 2007). Beadwork may be forgotten since the creative world follows trends for one season only. The concern was raised that there might be no room for identity in the global village. Interviewee 2 comprehends that the power of world trends and fashion cycles is crucial for many designers in a consumer-centred reality. As stated in the literature review, "predicting what people will wear becomes a risky gamble when the link between private self and public persona can be so unstable" (Baker, 1992, see Section 2.11.1.3).

It was said that fashioning a successful career in Africa today is not an easy task. African culture is still not classified as modern and at times African designers turn rather to Western trends. "We all want to fit in" (Interviewee 2, 2007). This was underpinned in a statement made by Interviewee 15: "The international trend predictors ludicrously predict" trends. The data have confirmed that it is tricky to impose your own heritage in the world of fashion when, each season, one's culture becomes everybody's inspiration for only a period of time. Therefore, the influential trend of fashion may, in fact, be fatal for the attempt to cultivate traditional heritage. It is apparent from this data that trends control consumer behaviour. Interviewee 11 argues that the South African consumer will not ever be non-commercial. He sees South Africa's commercial retail as the biggest market emporium. To him, the number of people who wear unique garments, in other words "the top echelons of the consumer pyramid who want to be different" (Rovine, 2010:93), is very small. Interviewee 7 claims that ready-to-wear is dictated by international trends, as well as the feedback from marketing agents from different countries. Marketing prognoses have to be considered to run a business successfully.

However, if fashion trends follow the new theory on fashion, one of the most famous trend predictors, Li Edelkoort, argues: "We are tired of seeing the same brands all over the world." She explains that local products may possibly undergo a renaissance. What ought to happen is that global brands will have to adapt to the needs of consumers on site, with a national or cultural flair. Further she sums up: "The mainstream is over; the middle of the road is a dead end alley" (see Section 2.11.1.2). Therefore not only in local but also globally oriented products there will be a chance for traditional beadwork to survive in ranges accommodating world fashion trends, as well as the *zeitgeist* of designers' interpretation of own heritage.

In conclusion, three major factors come to light from this discussion. It was suggested that heritage as beadwork might make an impact on international trends as it has done in the past. Since trend forecasters are basing their research on world cultures, Africa and possibly South Africa might be the next inspiration.

However, considering that South African fashion is in the process of gaining maturity, South African consumers are religiously following global trends, with the exception of a small fraction of the consumer pyramid who want to be different. Therefore trends that change every season, imposing a new culture if implemented thoroughly, might be fatal in preserving beadwork in fashion. On a positive note, if global world fashion trends would consider local trends flexibly, as suggested by Li Edelkoort, designers may achieve prestige and be recognised internationally on their own terms.

4.3.3 Presentation of Theme 3: Stigmatisation of beadwork

FA	SH	NOIL	DES	IGN	ERS

In Western society, the concept of 'modern' has existed since 1590, as Europeans "considered themselves as 'modern' and 'advanced', [and] colonised those they considered as 'backwards' thus creating a chasm between the 'modern' coloniser and the 'traditional' colonised. The process of colonisation was built on perception of difference in both 'race' and 'culture'" (Nettleton *et al.*, 2003:14, see Section 1.2.1).

In answering the question about whether designers use traditional patterns of beadwork, the terms "ethnicity" and "touristy" were frequently used. It became clear that designs

that looked "touristy" lost respect in the eyes of most of the designers. Being labelled an 'ethnic designer' appeared to be a threat for most of them. Designers were of the opinion that traditional beadwork is too repetitive and is reproduced too often. It is simply craft. They substantiated their answers with the strong belief that "ethnic beadwork" doesn't involve a designer's role to be unique and different from others, and consequently not to "repeat everybody's design" (Interviewee 4, 2007). They pointed out that their use of "ethnic" patterns will not add value to their designs, therefore they don't wish to exhibit them on the catwalk.

Additionally, Interviewee 5 responds: "For me as a designer, I want to constantly reinvent things and look from a different perspective. Everything is just beads, beads, beads ... so when people look at my collection, they can't say: this is Xhosa; this is Zulu. It is one thing to do all these amazing things, Zulu beading, Xhosa beading, whatever, but you have to have a market other than the touristy market."

Interviewee 3's comment summarises the discussion. "There is beauty in the beadwork but we always like to give it the cold shoulder because we automatically think that if you are into beadwork, you will be classified as an ethnic designer."

When the data were critically scrutinised, it emerged that there is considerable misconception about beadwork, which has damaged its reputation among designers. The fact that the beadwork is sold in curio shops gives beadwork the label "touristy" and "curio". "Beading is specifically marketed towards the tourism market" (Interviewee 6, 2007). Since the growth of the tourism market in South Africa, designers have considered beadwork patterns to have lost their value. Beadwork "looks like what tourists have been told that SA is about". Interviewee 5

	elaborates: "I am not interested in using something which 5 000 people have got and is plastered around every flea market or put on every cheap curio T-shirt at the airport. I have to have a market other than touristy."
	Further, Interviewee 4 expresses his worry: "Everybody does traditional pattern; how am I going to be distinguished differently if I am going to do the same things?" He also explains: "I define myself as a designer and then I started searching for my own identity – for my own interpretation of African."
FASHION EXPERTS	Two of the fashion experts suggest that "pretty, strange, ethnic clothing doesn't belong to Western fashion since it is not everybody's culture in South Africa. Beadwork belongs to the ethnic group" (Interviewee 14, 2007). Interviewee 15 is of a similar opinion. He explains that although beadwork does appear in haute couture, it should not be done in a "traditional sense".
	Another interviewee underpins the previous statement by declaring: "In haute couture, some designers can decide to do traditional beadwork. But I don't think it will become such a fashion again. It is too touristy" (Interviewee 14, 2007).

4.3.3.1 Discussion of Theme 3: Stigmatisation of beadwork

As many designers and fashion experts agreed that beadwork in the current fashion climate may be used as inspiration or to create the fashion designer's identity, at the same time, concerns were raised that traditional beading is labelled as traditional, ethnic or everybody's design. Correlating this statement with the literature review, historically the classification system for dress outside of the Euro-American fashion mainstream, including such categories as primitive, tribal dress, tribal marketing, and folk dress, implies an ethnocentric system with roots in the colonial era. "While not blatantly stated, these terms carry inferences that Euro-American dress is more civilised, that progress is from the primitive other to the civilised us, and that we have the right to label the cultural products of others" (Lynch, 1999:7, see Section 1.2.1). The conception that

ethnic elements belong in curio shops, was underpinned by some interviewees. It was pointed out that classification outside that Euro-American fashion mainstream includes beadwork, which is called "tribal" and "touristy" (Interviewees 4 and 5, 2007).

The old perception of art for art's sake, is a very Western idea. In addition, worldwide beadwork is automatically classified as craft, putting its design on the lower intellectual level (Interviewee 3, 2007). Designers raise concerns that if they use cultural elements in their original form in their designs, they will be classified as less original (Interviewees 2 and 4, 2007). It became clear that they avoid "everybody's design" (Interviewee 4, 2007) to escape the unwanted label of "ethnic designer" (Interviewee 3, 2007). The data established that respondents are uncertain about the use of traditional beadwork since this can cause them to label themselves as less inventive and innovative designers.

In conclusion, unfortunately beadwork in some instances is still on some levels perceived as a backward cultural expression. For centuries the Eurocentric view has led to judging the cultures of the "others" by Western standards. Consequently, beadwork today is still more often than not, perceived as a folklore fashion and the opposite of modern. In some instances it is categorised as everybody's design, excluding the designer's creative thinking, and hence as substandard to art and the artist's individual concept. If this perception is generalised, the omnipresent art of beadwork might be discontinued in future.

4.3.4 Presentation of Theme 4: Vanishing beadwork

FASHION EXPERTS

The world of fashion into which we are born is steadily losing identity. The old traditions are outside of mainstream contemporary fashion. The global trends dictate today what we will be wearing tomorrow. The worry of losing cultural heritage is a global worry. However, it is more pressing in a developing country like South Africa. Interviewee 11 points out: "The problem is that as South Africa develops as a country, we lose more and more of our heritage. We will lose more [of] where we come from as we develop as a nation and as we do that we will be losing more of our heritage. We will use the heritage that we can use."

FASHION DESIGNERS

From an educational point of view, most of the designers didn't have the chance to study fashion design. Fashion was regarded as a "low-income occupation". Consequently, this group pursued their education in more "appropriate" fields, such as education, law and economics (Interviewees 2, 4 & 5, 2007). Others studied fashion, but outside the country (Interviewee 8, 2007). Most of them at first treated fashion as a hobby and their research in fashion history was done according to their own interests.

Even though most of the generation of upcoming designers at least completed a diploma or even a degree, beadwork history was still not part of their curriculum (Interviewees 3, 9 & 7, 2007). None of the designers had studied South African traditional costume history in formal education. Thus, a number of them explained that from time to time they did their own research on traditional beadwork while looking for inspiration. It became clear from the research that not all of the designers had an opportunity to do much research (Interviewee 4) on beadwork.

Up until today, the history of beadwork is not acknowledged in any secondary or tertiary curriculum. Interviewee 1 postulates that traditional costume history should be taught in schools, or at least in fashion colleges. During his career as a designer he keeps presenting his concerns to the broader public: "Why is our own style of design in beadwork, our own style of design in South African clothing not being documented?" To him, the slogan, "the so-called local is *lekker*" (Afrikaans word, meaning "good"), is without value, considering the fact that beadwork is not exposed to the public. "In terms of documentation, how *lekker* is it?" he asked. He also explains that the tertiary educational institution where he was pursuing his dream had a Eurocentric approach. He is shocked that in his education, there

was no room for South African indigenous culture. "In South Africa, fashion education was only Western education. You call me [a] drop out," he says, implying that he felt compelled to leave the educational system due to its Eurocentricism. This concern was not raised in the literature. However, the point was made that "Vukani Fashion Awards were founded 13 years ago out of a need to develop local industry, but with specific focus on indigenous fashion" (Vukani-Ubuntu, 2007, see Section 2.9).

4.3.4.1 Discussion of Theme 4: Vanishing beadwork

Contemporary art does not indicate the loss of culture. As indicated by the previous discussions, most of the designers and fashion experts agreed that traditional beadwork has many functions in fashion today. Beadwork as a heritage appears as a catalyst for inspiration or even in shaping a designer's identity. It is evident in haute couture and ready-to-wear. Designers also express heritage through modern design aesthetics. The inherited beading skills are highly respected by many. The beadwork is also recognised as a product marketable in the fashion world.

However, on the other hand, it is apparent from this data that beadwork might not be a vanishing culture. The twentieth-century fashion icons and media have a huge impact on fashion, and they have contributed to the development of the "global village". Global trends dictate today what will be marketable tomorrow, even though, as pointed out in the literature review, trends are frequently inspired by various cultures, fashion is subjective and reflects the designer's interpretation of the world (Proudly South Africa, 2009, see Section 2.11.1). The concern still is that losing one's cultural heritage in global fashion might result in a uniform, look-alike fashion world-wide. As a reaction to this, local flavours mixed with global looks, as suggested by trend predictors, should be considered.

Fashion consists of the past, present and future. It becomes clear from this data that cultural background affects the future direction taken by designers. As Gibian explains, culture (design) can be placed in time and space because some of the expressions of designs rely on the bond between the artist and his or her cultural relationship (Gibian, 1997:15, see Section 1.5). According to Lynch (1999:7), normative appearance is most often an individual's striving to fit into his or her cultural and social context. Heritage is an important base on which designers can build their foundation (Interviewee 11, 2007).

Interviewees emphasise the importance of South Africans cultivating their heritage more extensively. As elaborated by Interviewee 11, losing cultural heritage is a global concern. However, it is more prominent in a developing country like South Africa, as global trends and commercial consumers have a huge impact on designers' decision taking. According to Interviewee 1, while Western fashion is regarded as elite and well known, beadwork is not acknowledged in the South African fashion market. In his opinion, the neglect of traditional knowledge can cause the feeling of not belonging and detachment from culture. This may be caused by the absence of traditional beadwork in education. The concern was raised by Interviewee 1 that South African heritage is not extensively documented. In this instance, it is difficult for designers to attempt to re-fashion African fashion with emphasis on ethnic cultures, since fashion is overpowered by Euro-American influences. Interviewee I proposes that the most urgent reform is needed in education. To him, the reshaping of social awareness on a cultural level should take place. Further, he posits that "in South Africa, fashion education was only Western". He notes that in the contemporary South African climate a number of designers finally have realised that the search for identity is part of "intellectual development" and if designers are aware of the wealth of their heritage which, "for all its universality, is above all their own" (Getaneh, 1998:183, see Section 2.9), it is possibly a good idea to educate the young generation what the art and cultural history of this country is all about.

The concern was raised that, if heritage was not cultivated within the country, knowledge thereof would evaporate as memories fade, and an estrangement from society might be developed. Abdour Moumouri, in his plea for a return to national cultures, refers to "society which bears no relationship to its surroundings", people who "are cut off from the life of the country and society", "unproductive nations which only train people for civil service ... which destroy national cultures and personality and produce men who are foreigners in their own society" (Bishop, 2008:6).

To conclude, contemporary art does not mean the end of heritage. However, even though South African beadwork is omnipresent and it plays many roles in traditional and contemporary fashion, the worry was raised that beadwork might be a vanishing culture.

4.4 Conclusion

This purpose of this chapter was to collate and present the generated data. The data were presented in seven themes. The first theme concentrates on beadwork representing heritage. Theme 2 investigates the position of traditional aesthetics in modern fashion. This theme was presented in six sub-themes. The first one focused on beadwork as a inspiration; sub-theme 2 explored how beadwork can contribute to shaping fashion identity; sub-theme 3 investigated the position of beadwork in haute couture and ready-to-wear; sub-theme 4 explained the value of beading skills; sub-theme 5 interrogated the influence of beadwork on fashion trends. Theme 3 questioned and scrutinised the stigma attached to beadwork, whereas Theme 4 discussed the consequences under the heading of "Vanishing beadwork". Chapter 5 will present the conclusions drawn from these data and the author's recommendations.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of Chapter Four was to present an analysis of the generated data. Based on the findings of this research and an analysis thereof, this chapter presents a summary of the study and its outcomes as informed by the problem statement, as well as the author's concluding remarks and recommendations emanating from the results.

5.2 Summary of the study

This title of this study was: "An analysis of beadwork and its impact on contemporary fashion in South Africa".

Chapter One, the introduction, conceptualised the study, giving the background to the research. This chapter also explained the formulation of the research problem and research questions. The chapter substantiated how this research intended to investigate the problems and indicated the methods that would be implemented. Since this research examined the balance between traditional beadwork and current fashion in South Africa, a qualitative study was selected. To gain research depth, one-on-one interviews using semi-structured schedules were selected. Next, this introductory chapter proposed employing supporting tools in order to gain validity and credibility for this investigation, such as the pilot interview, observation, video and photographic recording, as well as journal- keeping.

Chapter Two, the literature review, proved that beads are omnipresent in South African society, not only as decorative items on garments, but also as items of identity in traditional societies. It became apparent from the literature that beadwork and its role in the social structure are continuously changing in line with South African history. Next this chapter portrayed how, in contemporary fashion, beadwork inspires both fashion designers and global trends, and influences the shaping of designers' identities. Finally this chapter assessed how the consumer and fashion cycles/trends influence the use of beadwork. To explore the phenomena in depth, Chapter Three explained how the research was conducted.

Chapter Three explained the research methods used. To add to the body of knowledge, designers and experts were interviewed. Before the interviews took place, interviewees were asked if they would allow the researcher to use the information for the purpose of this study; they were also assured of anonymity. The research made use of one-on-one interviews with a semi-structured schedule. To gain data profundity, purposive sampling was used in order to identify designers using beadwork, based on the researcher's observation. As the data had to be accurately recorded, ensuring validity and credibility, video and photographic recording as well as journal-keeping took place during this research.

In Chapter Four, the data were analysed in an orderly way: first the data were organised and then data reduction and coding took place, followed by the generation of themes and sub-themes. The data were presented in four themes: beadwork as heritage; beadwork aesthetics and modern fashion; stigmatisation of beadwork, and vanishing beadwork. Theme 2 – beadwork aesthetics and modern fashion – was divided into eight sub-themes: beadwork as inspiration; beadwork and fashion identity; beadwork and fashion trends; haute couture versus ready-to-wear; beading skill; development materials and techniques; market requirements; traditional beadwork and fashion trends. Finally the data were analysed and the results were related to the literature review.

5.3 Conclusions

For all, experts and designers, beadwork is a heritage. Analysis of the interviews in this study indicated that the beadwork heritage is still alive in fashion and is omnipresent. The African renaissance and the world's looking to Africa for inspiration played important roles in steering fashion in its current direction. The study also led to the conclusion that rising market trends are still pervasive enough to integrate ethnic beadwork into the current fashion industry – even in the era of Euro-American economic, cultural and political dominance that results in fashion uniformity in the "global village". Therefore it became apparent that beadwork plays many roles in current fashion. However, the concern arose as to what could be done to prevent stigmatisation and possible degradation of beadwork in future fashion.

5.3.1 Beadwork as heritage

In South Africa, beads are respected as part of indigenous culture for centuries, owing to their long history (Mustafa, 1998:40, see Section 2.10.2). The interviewees noted that beadwork had undergone many changes. These involved the status of beadwork, the development of beads themselves, as well as beading materials and techniques; thus they never lost their status as heritage, owing to their protracted history. Furthermore, it was noticed that since the African renaissance, the nation's focus on being "proudly South African" also affected fashion (Anon., 2005:41, see Section 1.2.4). The interviewees shared the view that they were proud of their heritage. Consequently, since beadwork is the "country's history", a rebirth and preservation of traditions took place, with elements of ethnicity being present in the contemporary framework of fashion. Interviewee 1 placed major emphasis on the fact that because beadwork represents freedom of expression of the designer's own roots, it also creates a sense of "comfort" with his or her own culture. According to the interviewees, beadwork "advocates" South African fashion and indigenous style to such an extent, that for Interviewee 3, beadwork appeared "subconsciously" in her work. All in all, currently using beadwork in fashion is a method of recovering, reviving, promoting and reinventing heritage. As a result, beadwork currently appears on South African ramps in many ways.

5.3.2 Beadwork aesthetics and modern fashion

Designers implement beadwork in its original form, or as a mosaic of techniques, materials and methods. Some see it as inspiration, others as a catalyst for shaping identity in fashion. Regarding indigenous beading aesthetics in contemporary fashion, there are notable influences to bear in mind, as fashion is related to the immediate experience of the designers and how they reconstruct their medium as modern and authentic (Labelle, 2005:1, see Section 2.9).

· Beadwork as Inspiration

The South African heritage, owing to its uniqueness, is often used as inspiration. Since the overall view is that beadwork is a heritage, most interviewees claimed that beadwork in many forms was noticeable on South African fashion ramps (Interviewee 6, 8, 2007). In current fashion beadwork has become a muse, with a stronger impact than ever before. Designers "look into their roots" for inspiration, since in the era of a global village they have "nowhere to go", building a bridge between old and the current fashion (Gibian,

1997:15, see Section 2.10.2). To many designers beadwork will always be a guiding light in their career as "culture is never old" (Interviewee 8, 2007).

Beadwork and identity

For some designers, beadwork is the point of departure for their brand. It plays the role of a catalyst in their search for an identity. They understand the need for a designer's uniqueness, and for self-conceptualisation in establishing an identity. "Fashion is a search for identity, an assertion and a projection into the future," states Aminata Dramane Traoré, the Minister of Culture and Tourism in Mali (Traoré, 1998:8, see Section 1.2.4.1). Designers, driven by desire and wanting to compete with world-famous fashion creators, had to embrace their own identity, as the time of benchmarking against Western norms had passed (Interviewee, 11, 2007). In a time of education dictated by the mass media, it might be crucial to end buying into Western fashion style. Instead, it is important to explore one's own heritage as a starting point in career building and achieving a creative "soul", according to Veronique Leroy, quoted in Jones & Mair (2005:294, see Section 2.10.1). This opportunity should not be missed in the desire for success. Two identities underscored in South African fashion today, namely, designers' individual and national identities.

Since designers, through their work, express confidence to be true to their passion, individual identity became crucial and could be described as a designer's signature style and unique look. Given that fashion has no limits, designers should embrace promoting their own creativity in order to stay relevant, and at the same time be recognised in the fashion world (Interviewees 1, 10, 11, 2007). As "identity relates to physical structure and culture" (Motsoene, 2006, see Section 2.10.1), ethnic wealth can imply translating self-esteem into individual style, with the influences of one's culture. Beadwork has continued to play a key role in South African culture, signifying a neo-African cultural identity in a rapidly globalising world (Kanneh, 1998:42, see Section 1.2.4.2).

At the present time, designers undergo a complex educational process to shape their personal style or sense of belonging, consequently creating uniqueness. As Mbeki noted, "the beginning of our rebirth ... must be our own discovery of our soul" (Magubane & Klopper, 2000:11, see Section 2.9). The national identity was defined as building the base on which South African designers can be "proudly South African", a sense of belonging to a group where they find "comfort".

Even though the claim was made by a few that no sense of identity whatsoever was needed to be a successful designer, designers admitted to incorporating beadwork, even sometimes in a minimal way, when exhibiting outside the country. Probably this equates to a symbol of "cultural influence" to tell the world what their "country and its culture was all about" (Interviewee 2, 3, 6, 2007), or possibly for the reason that in terms of world markets, interviewees felt that being recognised was a necessity before South African designers could be deemed "successful".

Haute couture versus ready-to-wear

Currently beadwork is definitely utilised more frequently in haute couture than in ready-to-wear. Haute couture originally operated on a variety of designer levels. Haute couture is a specialised genre, where beadwork can maintain its popularity since creative contribution and uniqueness are expected to attain superlative standards and create an original designer look that satisfies exclusive and status-conscious clients (Interviewees 5, 6, 8, 2007). Beadwork certainly adds to the glamour of eveningwear. A corresponding remark was made that haute couture clients more often require garments which resonate South Africa's multi-cultural milieu (Rovine, 2010:93). A fraction of designers see the high cost of beadwork as a prohibitive force when designing eveningwear (Interviewee 2, 5, 6, 2007); others did not mind paying more for a superior garment.

On the contrary, ready-to-wear has been affordably priced in the consumer-orientated South African society. However, according to Interviewee 11, beadwork could be used in mass production on the condition that a "unique design or label was attractive and trendy" (Jackson & Shaw, 2001:194, see Section 2.11.1.3). Since South Africa has the potential manpower for mass production, it is possible to produce such ranges on a far larger scale than is currently done. It should be kept in mind that ready-to-wear needs to be affordable, thereby limiting the use of beadwork owing to its labour-intensive nature, which raises costs. To date, the use of alternative options, such as pre-beaded trims, has been explored. Two examples in South Africa defy the options mentioned in the preceding paragraph. In the first, a new, commercially viable designer label was created, employing beadwork crafters nationwide (Interviewee 5, 2007). In the second, chain stores have successfully sold off-the-peg ranges that feature beadwork (Interviewee 11, 2007), proving that traditional beading skills (Costello, 1990; Crabtree & Stallebrass, 2002; Hector, 2005) are market sustainable. Therefore nothing should be an obstacle to

organising projects which could be initiated to express South African fashion designers' hitherto unknown uniqueness in ready-to-wear fashion (Interviewee 11, 2007).

Skills

Even though adaptations of materials and sometimes techniques (Blauer, 2000:5, see Section 2.10.2) took place, the African renaissance revived curiosity in traditional beading techniques and consequently in skills. Today these are recognised internationally as a particularly South African talent. If this talent were marketed sufficiently internationally, the possibility of reaching a wide clientele exists. Interviewees 11 and 15 explained that an aim would be to revive the skills to keep the work unique on a global stage and to develop efficient capacity for larger production. One way to make beadwork attractive and promote and franchise beading skills for rapid expansion is to mix traditional and modern techniques and materials to create a cutting-edge style (Jackson & Shaw 2001, see Section 2.11.1.3). This will ensure the beaders themselves enhance their potential for business sustainability in fashion (Interviewee 5, 6, 11, 13, 2007). This process is a constructive step, which is unanticipated, but could propel South African beadwork into the competitive world market. Once again, inherited techniques and essential skills in combination with designers' heartfelt responses could promote South African fashion.

Market requirements

Culturally starved designers explained that is important to keep the balance between contemporary consumerism and classical traditions in fashion today. The expertise of external agents was drawn on to provide knowledge of international market requirements. Their advice was deemed crucial in efforts to target international clients. The emergence of internationally recognised South African designers would depend upon "what tools they are given" (Interviewee 11, 2007), that is, how they are educated, nurtured and developed, before entering the competitive fashion world. Are they updated on an educational level? Can they assess, investigate, and monitor potential fashion developments? The view was also expressed that designers had to create garments and trends that were appealing to international clients and that the main drawback might be to overuse beadwork (Interviewee 4, 5, 13, 2007). The question is: is it the amount of beads used, rather than the design, which should sell the product?

Considering the local market (Rovine, 2010:89-103, see Section 1.11.1.3), some designers use beadwork according to local clients' requirements. This secures their

businesses' financial success. Three elements were mentioned: colour, pattern and techniques. Regarding the meaning of colours used by designers, they were reluctant to admit to any significant symbolism rooted in tradition. The explanation was given that in today's fashion the colours are mainly dictated by fabric and/or fashion trends (Interviewee 2, 5, 15, 2007). The second acquire to satisfy the clients' needs (Rabine, 2010, see Section 2.11.1.3). As for patterns and techniques, depending on the designer, from time to time they make use of traditional patterns and techniques; at other times innovation and development take place.

· Development of techniques and materials

The techniques also depend on which route the designer takes. A number of designers prefer the in-your-face Africanness (Rovine, 2010); others base their creativity on concept. For these and many other reasons, today beadwork once reinvented, becomes a designer piece often commercially acceptable for mass production. This could perhaps be through printing or embroidering, giving a traditional pattern a new and trendy look. Interviewees also felt that traditional beadwork certainly had international relevance, if used circumspectly and reinvented constantly (Interviewee 4, 5, 11, 13, 2007). Examples of reinvention include adapting patterns or replacing beading patterns with an alternative medium, that is, embroidery or print which, in turn, enhances exclusivity. The new techniques and methodologies' interpretation of beadwork stimulated new ideas, creating complementary styles adaptable in modern fashion. Also in reaction to public demand, designers experiment with traditional patterns and techniques and constantly create new and unique designs. Possibilities of this include moderation of patterns or replacement of beads with substitutes such as print or embroidery. Since "culture is never static", the intuitive process and resulting outcome that leads to modern designs suggests a modified interpretation of heritage.

· Beadwork and fashion trends

As for trends, some designers use beadwork only when following fashion trends. This study proved that beadwork had universal applicability in fashion, and it was recognised as an inspiration for world fashion trends. As Western fashion modified African trends and put them on the market, many designers were shifted from Western to a mixture of Western and African styles.

A number of designers did not think that South African beadwork could be strong enough to carry the important role of initiator of world fashion trends (Interviewee 15, 2007). With new trend-forecast companies growing globally and even locally, anything is possible. A question that still remains to be answered is: "can South Africa be the inspiration for fashion trends?" Only time and experience will tell. The hope is that South Africa, after gaining creative maturity, may become an inspiration for world fashion trends (Interviewee 11, 2007).

Finally, the specific consequences of losing a country's cultural heritage because of the pressure of global fashion trends were identified. The analysis has confirmed that even though world-famous designers experiment with Africa (see Section 2.8), South African beadwork may easily be forgotten, because each season's trends impose different styles and cultures, changing continuously (Baker, 1992; Rabine, 2002; see Section 2.11.1.3). It is seldom feasible to constantly adapt beadwork to new trends (Interviewee 15, 2007). Interviewee 15 pointed out that mostly, trends lasted a single or, at most, two seasons. It was also established that it was difficult for designers to claim heritage in their designs because fashion trends dictate what the consumer will wear tomorrow in a fast-moving business environment. As stated in the literature review, the important fact highlighted was that in contemporary fashion structures, where information is gathered by trend predictors and processed into a trend, there may not be room for heritage. This process of losing heritage is more prominent in a developing country like South Africa, where, according to Interviewee 11, society was very commercial and trends played a determining role. The competitive and consumer-orientated industry, with attractive and affordable pricing, can harm individual designers. It should be kept in mind that, owing to the economic climate, the consumer who seeks originality and/or higher status in clothing, is in the minority in South Africa. The general perception among interviewees echoed the concern that beadwork could disappear because of the force of global fashion trends. Regarding the debate on the influence of fashion trends, major problems concerning cultivating heritage have been identified. With regard to trend influences from one source, there is the very real and immediate danger of losing the very heritage that has been shown to be an inspiration for trends. Designers are continually under pressure as consumers in South Africa still remain cost-conscious. Individuality among people is minimal.

In order to really understand current South African fashion, the fusion of indigenous and Western fashion was examined and contextualised. Cultural heritage, acting as a stimulating bridge between pre-colonial and modern fashion, is essential to understanding present dynamic fashion changes. In this regard, it is important to note and recognise that fashion is not static. Every element of fashion history is unique and significant in the trend-building process. Therefore some designers use beadwork according to fashion trends, when there is room for local flavour, so they fit into the global fashion world. However, the guiding factor for the designers could be a statement by the trends predictor, Edelkoort. She suggested that trends "will experience a breath of fresh air if they combine their globally-oriented basis products with local features, regional variety and national flair and a product design that is eye-catching because of its outsider character" (Levin, 2008:1). It became clear that beadwork is an inspiration for a number of local fashion designers and serves to create the country's trends on its own terms.

5.3.4 Stigmatisation of beadwork

However it was raised by this research that the kind of superficial knowledge of beadwork that is gained at the moment may result in lack of respect for the rural arts (Nettleton *et al.*, 2003:14, see Section 1.1). It is perhaps due to lack of respect that beadwork at this stage is still largely regarded as "ethnic", "curio" and "touristy". Our colonial legacy conferred the unfortunate labels of "primitive" and "tribal" on South Africa. Traditional clothing made way for Euro-American dress, which was seen as a mark of "civilisation" and "modernity". The consequences of this perception are that firstly, some designers classify beadwork as "touristy" and "curio" (see Section, 1.2.1); and secondly, there is the belief that South African traditional beadwork is craft, not art, as it requires little original thought (Interviewees 4 and 5, 2007). Simply put, beadwork is considered to be of a lower standard, it has a lack of ownership and an attitude of detachment towards one's culture (Interviewees 3, 4, 2007). It is probably appropriate to assume that to escape stigma, reevaluating the history of beadwork and putting it in a new light should be considered.

5.3.5 Vanishing beadwork

For some designers beadwork represents "fashion in the South and African diaspora" (Proudly South African, 2009, see Section 2.10.2). A number of interviewees were of the view that South Africa's heritage needed to be more actively cultivated in order to be incorporated legitimately into fashion designs as a combination of infused culture and designers' personal styles. If heritage is neglected (Nettleton *et al.*, 2003:14, see Section 1.1), it leads to a lack of ownership and an attitude of detachment towards one's culture. Because according to a number of designers and experts traditional knowledge is disappearing rapidly, partially because it has not been sufficiently

documented, making it virtually impossible to recreate South African fashion based on ethnic cultures. This situation is compounded by the lamentable lack of African ethnic fashion history in fashion education, meaning that only a designer who actively researches beadwork will benefit from its rich heritage and stop the confusion about respecting or not respecting traditional ways (*New Age*, 1962, see Section 2.6.1.2). Most importantly, because "traditional dress has so long symbolised backwardness", finally this is the time for the first time in South African history to give the freedom to designers to reaffirm "pride in their heritage" in their own way (Labelle, 2005:163, see section 2.9; Blendy, 2007, see Section 2.10.2).

5.4 Recommendations

This research makes the following recommendations based on the conclusions and answers to the questions that follow:

Why is beadwork being infused into contemporary fashion? Is this infusion simply because global market trends have triggered the development of ethnic African elements, or is it part of a larger movement that seeks to re-affirm an African identity (an example of which is the concept of an African renaissance)? Finally how does beadwork contribute to contemporary fashion and to what extent are fashion designers being influenced by traditional beadwork in post-apartheid South Africa?

Today beadwork is used in its original form or as inspiration for concept, in search of identity, or to add to designs as an aesthetic decoration, sometimes imposed by passing trends. It appears in haute couture and even in ready-to-wear, once adapted for mass production (Interviewee 11, 2007).

Designers cherish beadwork on local ramps and exhibit it internationally to tell the world what South Africa is all about (Interviewee 2, 2007). Based on the fact that beadwork is not only a cultural but also a fashion heritage, and may be a tool in South African designers' hands, this study uncovered the concern that the balance between beadwork and current fashion is not documented. It is common knowledge that history that is well taught to young generations strengthens the understanding of heritage and becomes a tool in building the nation's future. As Shigwedha (2004:267) correctly observes, "tradition should not be understood as the opposite of modernity, because traditions are continuously created, not only in the past but in the present and in the future. Because if you don't know the past, you can't understand the present" (see Section 2.10.2).

Although the purpose of this study, dated 2007, was not to address the educational system in fashion design institutions, this is an important aspect that affects the understanding and use of elements of heritage. The hope is that this research might motivate further study to determine if students in fashion design institutions are, in fact, interested in learning about the heritage of indigenous fashion in South Africa. Furthermore, evidence from the study indicated that there is a need to document the relationship between traditional attire and modern fashion at an academic level. Although the history and symbolic use of beadwork is documented, the impact of beadwork on current fashion remains unrecorded. One constraint of this study at the time was sourcing publications on the topic. It is recommended that attempts be made to generate publications on traditional beadwork itself and its correlation with current fashion. A further aspect hampering the understanding of the value of beadwork is its stigmatisation.

The South African fashion industry is in jeopardy of permanently losing a sense of respect for its own heritage values since the stigma — that beadwork is rural and for the tourist market created around beadwork still exists. "One might reason that since the transition from the precolonial to modern fashion was done without any respect for the old tradition, it gave birth to the nature of the antagonistic and ambivalent attitude about Africans today" (Shigwedha, 2004:245, see Section 2.10.2). In a post-independent South Africa, the ideal identity is to be an urbanised and global citizen, which inadvertently results in total submission to contemporary fashion. With the advent of European fashions, a uniform identity has been developed, thereby compromising African heritage. Any tradition should have value and pride, since in a society where the pride and interest of the custodians are in decline, the heritage might become vulnerable and stand to lose the respect and esteem of the younger generations (Shigwedha, 2004:214, see Section 2.10.2), so much needed in today's fashion world. The research concludes that viewing beadwork from different perspectives — with the additional reinforcement of its history and symbolism being taught, as well as consciously removing the stigmatisation of beadwork as rural and of interest only to the tourist market — may revive a sense of ownership and pride. More importantly, gaining self-respect and self-esteem through history for the younger fashion generations to come is essential in building successful business ventures.

This argument is stimulated by the discourse of promoting and preserving South African beadwork as the beginning of South African fashion history. Since this study revealed the significance of heritage, it is hoped that these recommendations will provide the necessary measures for fashion experts and educators to investigate and record beadwork in the

contemporary fashion context, as not knowing one's own heritage is a challenge not only for fashion designers but for the entire nation.

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Appendices

APPENDIX A: QUESTIONS ASKED TO THE FASHION DESIGNERS.

- 1. What inspired you to become a fashion designer?
- 2. Did you study fashion design?
- 3. Would you call your company South African?
- 4. Beadwork has got a long history in South African clothing and fashion: do you use beadwork in your designs?
- 5. Do you adapt beading techniques or do you create your own techniques?
- 6. Do colours in your designs have a specific meaning?
- 7. Do patterns in your designs represent any of the South African ethnic groups?
- 8. Does the fact that the beading is done manually influence your production?
- 9. Was that the intention from the beginning, to use traditional beading?
- 10. Where and how do you think your designs contribute the most to fashion? In the:
 - World
 - Country
 - Region
 - Province
 - District
 - Community
- 11. If you are exhibiting outside of the country, would you then use beadwork more extensively?
- 12. What are the future plans for your company/label?
- 13. Do you think that South African traditional beadwork has got a future in fashion?
- 14 Would you like to add some comments on the topic?

APPENDIX B: QUESTIONS ASKED TO THE FASHION EXPERTS.

- 1. In your opinion, do South African designers achieve a South African identity or signature style, or are they designers of the global village?
- 2. How do you see the future for South African fashion designers and their designs in the local and world market?
- 3. World trends are still looking at ethnic cultures for inspiration; in your opinion, has South Africa got a chance to be in the spotlight again?
- 4. South African beadwork is the very beginning of fashion in the world (75 000 years old). Do you think that beadwork will play a major role in the fashion market of the future?
- 5. Do you think that beaded clothing can be assembled for mass production?
- 6. Is the consumer getting closer to wanting a unique product and an individual, original look?
- 7. Would you like to add any comments on the topic?

