

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MODEL  
FOR THE INTERPRETATION OF FASHION MEANING  
IN SOUTH AFRICAN MEN'S LEISUREWEAR**

**BY**

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**VOLUME I**

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MODEL FOR  
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By

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I declare that this dissertation is my own work.

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## DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to the students and colleagues  
who have been, and will be, fellow learners.

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## **ABSTRACT**

This study sought to reveal conceptual connections between experienced social reality and garment products as cultural artefacts. Evaluation of the aesthetic fashion appeal of garment products was seen as a specialised interpretive skill. Modelling of essential elements of fashion meaning in South African men's leisurewear aimed to render professional interpretive acumen more widely accessible.

Theoretical perspectives influenced the idea that changing and divisive fashion meaning could be represented in comparative relationships within a sample of widely distributed market garment style genres. These perspectives chiefly concerned communicative and discursive functions of artefacts in material culture and mass consumption. Tenets of fashion and marketing theory were amalgamated with these theories in research planning for data collection and analysis. Their implementation in a research design drew upon views of intersubjective meaning generation in social contexts.

Data collection involved a tandem exploration of the fashion meaning of these garments in qualitative interviews with South African men's leisurewear merchandisers, and men's leisurewear consumers. A heterogeneous sample of consumer interview participants were recruited for consumer interviews, according to criteria of social differentiation. Interviews focussed on projective interpretation of the garment sample.

Appraisal of collected data made inferences from representational occurrence and meaning assimilation across interviews, in respect of sample garments. This appraisal also addressed relations between visual and verbalised meaning. A comparative play of meaning difference among sample garments indexed social and cultural description. Resulting organisations of fashion meaning elements and dynamics were displayed in a series of interconnected modelling schema. Core interpretive organisations centred upon correlation, position and transformation of fashion meaning. These functions involved a method for contextual framing of meaning correlations; the positioning role of 'idioms' of fashion meaning, and the changing location of meaning within or outside of culturally framed meaning contexts.

Interpretive schema were alternatively proposed for application in fashion training, professional practice, and income-generating research.

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# Chapter 1

## STUDY ORIENTATION

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### INTRODUCTION

The impetus for this research project came of a long-standing need to clarify interpretive processes of garment product evaluation in fashion.

The skills involved in assessing garment products were first encountered in my employment as a fashion designer and later highlighted by my role in the curriculation and delivery of higher education fashion courses.

Starting in clothing design and manufacture after training as a designer, I found that 'mass market' designers who worked in clothing manufacture - and their retail merchandiser clients - made adaptations to the construction of garment products, which were aimed at different consumer groups. In appraising garments as products, professionals working in retail and in manufacture drew upon a tacit attunement to inexplicitly identify and change groupings of fashion needs. Distinguishing descriptions of these targeted consumer groups characteristically went far beyond standard marketing segmentation typologies based on the All Media and Product Survey (AMPS) and Living Standards Measures (LSM) surveys (South African Advertising Research Foundation: 1996). They might for instance attribute a way of wearing combinations of garments to a particular consumer grouping, or make social interpretations of consumer identity based on specific activities or beliefs. Highly idiosyncratic descriptions of consumer groupings were used, which would alter over trading seasons to embrace new influences on consumer preferences.

Essentially, the ability to make these penetrating judgements constitutes an interpretive-evaluative capability for discerning which garment design features have meaning to particular consumers at a particular time.

It can be confidently stated that this is the core of profitable trading in fashion garments. Design features, as aspects of the fashion appeal of garments, are an aesthetic reflection of consumer taste, which is influenced by prevalent environmental forces that are generally social, economic or technological (Frings, 1982:32). Troxell and Stone (1981:14) assert the widely held view that consumers establish fashion by their acceptance or rejection of garment products in the marketplace, and that essentially, fashion value is not based on price or sales promotion (Bohdanowicz and Clamp, 1994:3-4), (Stone, 2000:21-22). This does not however exclude commodifying media influences on fashion meaning.

The ability to understand *consumer* apprehension of fashion as a correspondence with the design features, which make a garment a fashion modification of an outdated style, is crucial.

For the purposes of this study, fashionable clothing was seen to carry meaning for consumers and fashion professionals in three main areas of interpretation: *style*, *design* and *dress*. According to Stone (2000: 5-6) *style* is a term which embraces a combination of particular garment construction features that distinguish a garment item from others; this particular combination is recognizable, whether currently favoured or not. Blazers, jeans, and sweatshirts are styles. By contrast, *design* means applying a constructional treatment to a garment that makes it a modified style version. Recognisable styles are however themselves composed of particular design elements of construction, which have become typical, or generic through persistent and widespread 'public memory' (Rubenstein, 1995:4) association. The delimited definition of the word *style* provided above is however frequently departed from, as in the phrase *style affiliation*, which does not refer to people who prefer to wear only generic styles of clothing. The term *style* may then be taken to indicate *style version* or *style modification*, and is used thus in this study. *Dress* is most often a term, which broadly refers to

the range of styles and style versions to be found at a particular time in history, or within a particular context of wearing (dress for formal occasions, or casual dress). There is, too, an implied inclusion of the different items of clothing and accessories assembled together on the body in the word 'dress' (Sproles and Burns, 1994:7). The term 'assemblage' also indicates this use of the term 'dress'. *Appearance management* is akin to assemblage and dress, in that it encompasses all purposive decisions made by an individual in planning or assessing the consequences of personal presentation through clothing (Kaiser, 1997:5).

Identifying a correspondence between garment design and style elements and the tastes of consumer groupings within prevailing and evolving modes of dress remains the basis for financial reward and career advancement in fashion retailing and manufacture. This correspondence is however subject to *change*, which is widely held to be the definitive characteristic of fashion as a social and cultural phenomenon (Horn and Gurel, 1981:106). Interpretation of fashion meaning must therefore address change.

## **SOUTH AFRICAN MEN'S LEISUREWEAR AS THE RESEARCH CONTEXT**

A particular observation that clothing and fashion operate both as a market stimulus and as a market response has had a strong influence on my thinking about fashion commodity evaluation. Reciprocal relationships of fashion to consumers mean that fashionable clothing is a source of stimulation to beholders, as well as a reaction to "social expectancies and aesthetic tensions" (Hartmann, 1949:295). In this respect, Martin and Koda (1989:5-9) say that men's dress options are greatly restricted in comparison with those of women and may therefore be more loaded with expectancies and tensions. They point out that men's style is very tradition bound, so that any deviation from traditional and normative modes of dress "transforms the role and the man" (ibid). Dressing to create or recreate social roles may thus assume more importance for men than for women. For these reasons, menswear was chosen

as the market area most suitable for research. Leisurewear has the potential to provide a far more diverse range of contexts of social use than formalwear.

## FASHION INTERPRETATION AS EVALUATION IN THE MASS MARKET IN SOUTH AFRICA

The ability to monitor and understand fashion change, as it is represented in garment design, is regarded in this study as a meta-interpretive analytical skill, mostly confined to fashion professionals. Fashion garments have value attributes attached to their formal elements of construction, which are identified by consumers in ways which warrant their purchase, and it is the work of designers and merchandisers as fashion professionals to know what these value attributes are. Interpretive confluences of garment design variables with social and cultural meaning are constantly made and re-made by retailers and designers, as new social and cultural circumstances arise.

This evaluative-interpretive capability is however not easily passed on to others in merchandising and design working situations, or in in-service training. Highly skilled interpretive ability in the evaluation of fashion products tends to be developed with lengthy experience in the fashion field, and to be informed by continuous monitoring of markets over time. Complex conceptual judgements are made by fashion professionals as they abstract from social circumstances the particular interpretive resources consumers that bring to their understanding of being 'fashionable'. An added difficulty is that these resources differ amongst consumers.

Due to a dearth of highly skilled merchants and designers in South Africa, successful professionals in the fashion industry tend to be head-hunted between major retail buying consortia and manufacturing concerns. It is said that South African merchandisers easily obtain high-ranking merchandising positions abroad because of their exceptional ability to



'read' or analyse mass markets (Milligan, 1999), (Wallis, 2002). A possible reason for this is that South African merchandisers have long contended with a diversity of consumer demographics, coupled with the presence in South Africa of both first and third world technological cultures. This has been complicated by socio-economic flux brought about by accelerated political change. All contexts of fashion consumption are subject to change. This is especially true in South Africa, a country of considerable societal transition.

As an employed designer and later as a fashion entrepreneur, I successfully developed mass market analysis skills through experience, rather than instruction. But, from the outset of my career in fashion, a disjunction between tertiary level training in an art school environment and the exigencies of the design and manufacturing merchandising workplace became glaringly evident: The ability to evaluate garments as a representation of divided social understanding and cultural meaning was simply not on the curriculum. When, fourteen years later, I myself became a fashion educator, developing fashion interpretive skills of this nature through teaching strategies became an imperative. This has led to a special interest in fashion interpretation and market analysis as an area of knowledge construction.

The object of this inquiry is what garments mean to consumers beyond price or utility value; in other words, their social value in terms of fashion meaning. Fashion interpretation as aesthetic connection between form and meaning, in which product evaluation was seen as an interpretive skill, is investigated. Interpretation in the mass market addresses a broad spectrum of public consciousness, in which varied social histories and current social experience are dynamics. This approximates the idea of *Zeitgeist* or '*spirit of the times*', which is seen by Fiore and Kimle (1997:80-81) in their work on aesthetics in fashion consumption as "the dominant ideology or beliefs of a culture and historical period that surrounds the aesthetic decision".

In my teaching, the need to factor these dynamics into design as an interpretive practice has led to ongoing development of teaching strategies which integrate the study of culture with fashion interpretation, and finally to this qualitative research study.

## THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL ORIENTATION OF THE STUDY

Generally, ideas about what 'fashion' means are various and contradictory. Some understand being fashionable as wearing what is currently widely worn by others. Evans (1994:299) mentions that fashion is traditionally defined as acceptance (of fashion goods) by a sizable proportion of a market. A contradictory popular understanding sees being fashionable as being exceptional in what one wears and different from 'the mass'. This understanding sees fashionable garment forms as *avant garde, yet to be adopted*. Fashion is also seen as ways of combining garments in assemblage in order to make a fashion statement.

The relationship of fashion to change lies within these contradictory understandings. Consumers who consider themselves fashionable because they dress according to current fashion will however make new purchase decisions over time in order to change their appearances. At any one time many modifications and variations of styles are available in the marketplace. Fashion consumers are able to recognise what is out of date and consciously choose among what is available. Also, a style may at the same time be deemed fashionable by some and unfashionable by others (Easey, 1995:1-7). Consumer subcultures as constituencies of preference re-form constantly, as the consumption of fashion goods spreads from small enclaves of consumers to larger collectivities. This movement of fashion goods is accompanied by alterations of meaning along the way, through the agency of cultural influences, communication media and social interaction (McCracken, 1990:71-80).

Concomitant to this alteration of meaning is the need for people to change their self-representation in response to the circumstances of their social milieux (Horn and Gurel, 1981:154-157). Recent fashion theory works have elaborated explanations of social processes that account for the movement of fashion from one social context to another, construing the broad phenomenon of fashion as primarily cultural. The relationship of culture to fashion was seen in this study in the context of Baumann's theories of culture. Baumann, writing in '*Culture as Praxis*', sees culture as a phenomenon which is self-perpetuating, not just in terms of shared patterns of behaviour and belief, but in the *urge to modify them* (1999:xx). Fashion is theoretically defined essentially as a phenomenon of constant change (Wilson, 1985:3), involving both shared meanings and perpetual modification. Social and cultural effects on fashion are intertwined. New currents of social meaning arising out of social interaction and cultural influences challenge the self-concept of individuals and groups, who change their self-representation through acceptance of adapted fashion style versions. Following Baumann, the term culture is used in this study to refer to aggregations of values, and to larger dynamics of prevailing and evolving practices and beliefs within which social interactions occur. The term 'social' is used to refer to processes of interaction among groups of people, which are locally active manifestations of their changing cultural milieux; in other words, they are dynamic parts of a cultural context as a larger changing whole containing these dynamics.

Bauman makes fine distinctions between definitive uses of the term 'culture'. One view is of hierarchical culture ('low' popular culture versus 'high' cultural forms). Another is of culture as a systemic aggregation of values, norms and artefacts.

A further view examined by Baumann is of relative forms of culture, which are inside or outside of specific cultural systems (1999:xx-xlv). These definitive distinctions of culture as a phenomenon are echoed in the theories of fashion adoption and diffusion which have been promoted from the late 19<sup>th</sup> C onwards.

Knowledge of the cultural backgrounds of consumers is clearly important to understanding fashion buying behaviour. Such an understanding is however complicated by Mike Easey's deceptively simple assertion that all consumers are unique, are different from other consumers, but are also similar to some other consumers (1995:45). Fashion on the one hand confers acceptance and conformity, and on the other a means of emphasising difference; a garment may be expressive of either statement to different groups of people. On top of this, culturally distinct collectivities of people may incorporate the same brands or styles differently in their dress assemblage. Theories of fashion consumer buying behaviour, as it is culturally meaningful, have consequently drawn upon a variety of disciplines, including psychology, sociology, social history and social anthropology (Bohdanowicz and Clamp, 1994:14).

Fashion diffusion theories are based in a similar spectrum of social sciences disciplines. Diffusion and adoption theories attempt to explain how garment styles and designs spread amongst social groups, who adopt them earlier, later, or simultaneously with other groups. Georg Simmel, who originally wrote on fashion in 1904, is identified as one of the earliest sociological contributors to fashion adoption theory. While Simmel, according to Barnard (1996:10-11), saw fashion at the time as a class phenomenon, his work is seminal chiefly because it explains fashion as a phenomenon *in which social groups seek to be a part of or apart from other groups*.

Reference to Simmel appears repeatedly in the work of many fashion theorists. His work has influenced the pervasive exploration of theories of social difference to be found in fashion studies, which address particular fashion forms and contexts. Difference tends in many of these studies to be approached from a critical theory point of view, where ideological forces, which involve, *inter alia*, hegemony, race, ethnicity and gender account for social difference. The present study does not investigate the causes of social difference, but concentrates on effects of difference upon variable interpretations of the fashion value of garments.

Herbert Blumer is among the fashion diffusion and adoption theorists who have diverged from the original sociological work of Simmel. He has seen fashion adoption as collective selection, in which style versions are widely adopted because they resonate with emerging tastes, giving form to new aesthetic needs (Blumer, 1969:275-291). This parallels one of Bauman's definitions of culture that of shared norms, subject to constant modification. Blumer's theory of fashion diffusion is characterised as 'horizontal', in that it sees fashion interpretation as spreading horizontally across groups through processes of social interaction; his view of fashion departs from Simmel's trickle-down theory. His theory holds fashion adoption to be a class phenomenon in which the modes of the upper classes are adopted by social groupings of lower social status, who emulate the dress of the upper classes (Sproles, 1981:5). From a cultural theory point of view, this is echoed by the 'high' taste versus 'low' taste distinction (Bauman, 1999: xxxii). The trickle-down theory has also been repudiated by King (1981:31-39), who made a case for the role of fashion innovators and opinion leaders as exerting influence on others to adopt particular fashion modes. There is some common opinion leadership ground to be found in subcultural or 'trickle up' fashion innovation, which is discussed in Chapter 2. In both cases cultural boundaries are crossed, leading to a gradual redefining of the cultural description of fashion consumer groups.

More recent writing on fashion tends to examine fashion adoption within particular cultural and sub-cultural contexts, avoiding the attempt of a general theory of fashion diffusion. However, in this study, mechanisms of collective fashion adoption are found which bear out the applicability of all of these diffusion theories. Trickle-down, collective selection and fashion innovation/emulation fashion diffusion processes are all found to have been operative in the men's leisurewear market in South Africa during the period under study.

It needs to be remarked that multiple diffusion and adoption mechanisms operating in the South African men's wear market mean that the terms *mass market*, *middle market* and *mainstream* may operate under different understandings in the United Kingdom and United States of America, where mainstream and middle markets are more readily defined in terms of

closely related consumer groups. Fashion evaluation training for mass marketing in South Africa must address a wide spectrum of fashion consumers, because areas of specific or niche fashion need are simply not extensive enough for large-scale merchandising. As a result, retail chain stores cater for fashion fringe consumer needs along with more conservative tastes. Mass marketing is therefore not 'mainstream'. The mass market in South Africa is really a term which applies to large retail chains with in-store merchandising aimed at a variety of consumer groupings, where garments are available in large numbers and are distributed to multiple retail outlets nationally.

Kaiser, Nagasawa and Hutton, in Part I of their three-part paper 'Construction of a Symbolic Interactionist theory of Fashion: Ambivalence and Change', point out that the fashion diffusion theories referred to above have tended to concentrate on *how* fashion diffuses among groups, but not *why* (1995a:173). They present a symbolic interactionist theory of fashion, in which appearance as communication has meaning variables which are symbolically interpreted in social interaction, but which are subject to social identity ambivalences and polarities. These authors see the principle of symbolic ambiguity as a major characteristic of non-linguistic appearance codes, and as an integral aspect of collective meaning negotiation in social interaction (1995a:177). Ambivalence and ambiguity then hold potential for interpretive insight into fashion adoption across groups. Kaiser *et al* pertinently add in this paper a footnote on their view of culture as, following Clifford Geertz, "a structure of feeling and hence a context for shared meaning, or one within which people experience and evaluate their lives". Symbolic interaction happens in lived experience, pointing to phenomenological investigation of fashion meaning interpretation.

In this study, menswear garments are seen as objects which function expressively within social representations. As Potter and Wetherell (1987:138) explain, social representations are mental schemata attached to objects, practices, and institutions as a sense-making function in human communication. The attachment of certain ideas to any kind of material or abstract object (such as a practice or institution) can be described as discourse. While discourse as an

analytical concept has been associated mostly with language and speech, the study of communicative effects of material objects in culture has identified the attachment of discursive formations to objects of consumption. Discourses are by nature, according to Parker (1992:5), representational practices. Interpretation of fashion meaning is investigated in this study through methodological standpoints of discourse analysis, where menswear garments are seen to embody discursive social representations. Their interpretation relies upon consumer understanding of their aesthetic value; this value expresses ideas of self, as well as desires and beliefs circulating in society (Wilson 1985:9). South African menswear fashion garments as adopted dress forms are socially representative in speaking discursively about particular realities, communicating meanings which have come to be associated with social processes and cultural circumstances.

Studies in material culture, for example the writing of Daniel Miller, see consumption as a social process in which differences in artefacts are grounded in social distinctions (Miller 1987:15). Garments as social artefacts are discursive of social difference, representing plural and also contradictory discourses. As communicative objects, then, menswear garments express social distinctions which lie within discourses. Turner (1990:30) describes 'discourse' as referring to "socially produced groups of ideas and ways of thinking that can be tracked in individual texts or groups of texts, but that also demand to be located within wider historical and social structures or relations". Here, "texts" refers to ideas, objects, practices, or institutions, to which shared but specific social understandings are ascribed. For the purposes of this research, garments are seen as 'texts', in keeping with methodologies of interpretation established in the ambits of material culture and mass consumption. The work of Miller (1987) and McCracken (1990) deals with socially divisive and distinctive qualities of material artefacts as they are *consumed*. Consumption embraces the emblematic and symbolic use in social interaction of objects as expressive of beliefs, ideas, practices and identities. Fashion meaning is produced, circulated via communications industries and social interaction, and then interpreted.

Fashion garment consumption is a social phenomenon, in which the *shared or differentiated* cultural interpretation of the expressive, representational qualities of garment objects is most important.

Both historical and contemporary social processes and circumstances have relevance to shared interpretations of garments. Representational meanings, which must be shared in order to exist, are part of evolving fashion discourses. Fashion meaning interpretation is approached through the idea that social and cultural meaning is inscribed in the design elements of garments, and read off through changing social and cultural codes of interpretation. A fashion discourse interpretation strategy is generated by this research through the ordering and arrangement of systemic elements of fashion meaning, within the context of South African men's leisurewear.

Culturally orientated theoretical perspectives relating broadly to fashion theory, communication, marketing, material culture and mass consumption are employed in this study to find a model, or arrangement of concepts, which apply to fashion interpretation as a professional evaluative skill in South African men's leisurewear.

## INTENDED APPLICATIONS OF INTERPRETIVE MODELLING

The task of accounting for and assessing fashion meaning is clearly articulated by Solomon (1985:xi) in the introduction to 'The Psychology of Fashion':

"Fashion is nothing more and nothing less than the systematic encryption, transmission, and interpretation of social meaning. A fashion item itself is only a vehicle that transports cultural information to its destination - the consumer. It is, however, a vehicle that makes many stops along the way. Proposals for the appropriate "payload" to be transported are put forth by design specialists, the most successful of whom function as "cultural telepaths" by virtue of their ability to detect the wants and whims of the public. These proposals compete in the creative marketplace; some are selected to be given physical form by manufacturers and imbued with symbolic form by advertisers. Retailers in turn act as filters by screening out potentially unpopular models and adding



additional layers of meaning to the product. Finally, consumers vote with their dollars for those vehicles which will provide the best social mileage."

Angela McRobbie encapsulates this idea of evaluative interpretation in her definition of fashion design. She says that fashion garment designs have a formal and aesthetic coherence, which can be evaluated according to criteria of professional, expert repertoires of meaning and judgement (1998:14).

As combinations of formal elements, fashion garments combine coherent permutations of design variables. Fabric, colour, shape, proportion and structural, functional and ornamental details of design are all technological garment design variables; fashion garments are technologically adapted artefacts. But these aspects of garment design are secondary; they are primarily employed *in the service of producing social and cultural meaning*. The discourse analytical approach of this project seeks to model conceptual connections between experienced social reality and the aesthetics of garment design, in order to shed light on evaluative interpretation of fashion aesthetics.

The aim of this research project is to develop a qualitative model for the interpretation of fashion meaning in South African men's leisurewear, which can reveal important aspects of prevailing and evolving attitudes to fashion.

It is intended that the study will contribute to teaching approaches and to study in fashion training. Strategies and conceptual frameworks of modelling development are also mooted for potential income generating fashion research.

## DISSERTATION STRUCTURE

This research dissertation addresses the modelling of fashion interpretation as an interpretive correspondence of change and difference within garment design. The development of modelling is recounted as follows:

Chapter 2 deals with the research data collection plan devised to address the purposes of this study. Primary data collection strategies involved investigation of a marketed sample of garments by means of six in-depth interviews with fashion professionals and three consumer focus group interviews. This research design plan was influenced by theoretical views of social and cultural mechanisms of fashion consumption in collective contexts.

In Chapter 3, I analyse this primary data, and explain resulting methodological decisions. Analytical data displays provide illustrative and substantive arguments for methodological departures, by showing operative links between primary data and methods.

In Chapter 4, developmental schema and resources for the interpretation of fashion meaning in South African men's leisurewear are presented.

In Chapter 5, the application of these schema to fashion interpretation and evaluation, to higher education teaching, to in-house retail fashion training and to professional garment design as a practice, is proposed.

I have provided a separate volume (Volume II) of research interview transcripts. Transcription of consumer focus group interviews for purposes of fashion interpretive study is treated as an analytical problem, which requires special attention. Volume II therefore includes an analytical transcription display, which is intended to facilitate analysis of data in any further research undertaking that might adopt the methodologies generated by this study.

## Chapter 2

### GENERATION OF RESEARCH DATA

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This chapter explains how a research design for generation of fashion meaning data was planned and implemented. In broad outline, research proceeded as follows:

Data collection centered on a marketed sample of South African menswear garments. Verbal interpretation of this sample of garments in interviews with menswear fashion professionals and fashion consumers was to provide discursive data relating to changing and divisive fashion meaning. Key aspects of interpretation were to be identified in this data.

The methodological orientation of the study as discussed in Chapter 1 was an elected approach to the generation of interpretive fashion meaning data.

Lennon and Burns\* (2000:213-226) provide a comparative matrix of five research design dimensions of diversity of research in textiles, clothing and human behaviour, which organize relative methodological advantages and disadvantages. Their analysis of research strategies draws attention to time frame and data origin limitations on changing perceptions across consumer groupings. Although a wide range of qualitative and quantitative data elicitation methods were reviewed by Lennon and Burns, including cross-sectional and longitudinal research designs, none accommodated the purposes of this study in the ways allowed by discourse analysis.

\*This useful paper is entitled Diversity of Research in Textiles, Clothing and Human Behaviour: The Relationship Between What We Know and How We Know.

Field work within social contexts was rejected as a productive method because it might not offer indications of fashion meaning change. Content analyses and historic research presented the same problem. Survey research needed properly established variables, but variable relationships of fashion meaning differentiation and change could not be established *a priori* and needed to be discovered through data collection.

Development of a model for fashion meaning interpretation through discourse analysis was deemed a viable option because this method can bring both past and present meanings of garments into interpretive focus. Discourse analysis welcomes rather than excludes variation, difference, contradiction and ambiguity. As Barnard (1996: 156) has said, fashion and clothing are not simple presences; they communicate social and cultural meaning in complex ways.

Data collection in interviews was based upon the power of discourse analysis to reveal inherent interpretive constructions. The textual qualities of the garment sample were assumed to lie in historical and social understandings, and to be discursively represented.

Interviews with consumer and professional participants sought to expose reciprocity of fashion meaning – garments as a source of stimulation to beholders, and as a reaction to social expectancies and aesthetic tensions (Hartmann, 1949:295).

Research goals could not be realised unless careful preparation for revealing representational meaning was made. A research design was experimentally based on theories of how change is impelled by divided fashion consumption.

Verbal disclosure of garment sample meanings was tactically planned to implement these theoretical tenets of the representational functions of fashion garments. The research design for data collection was then a scripted orchestration of empirical data collection.

This is recounted in three parts:

PART 1 discusses theories that motivated garment sampling;

PART 2 argues for participant sampling and methods used to collect data, and

PART 3 reports on data collection.

## PART 1

### SCOPE OF REPRESENTATIONS IN FASHION

Planning for data collection took for granted that social and cultural fashion meaning was non-verbally communicated to consumers through garment styling. All theoretical perspectives drawn upon to create an initial framework for investigation were intrinsically based on the communicative scope of fashion garments.

To begin with, the scope of textual meanings non-verbally communicated by clothing and fashion is prodigious. What *can* be visually communicated by clothing ranges from a macro symbolic level, where clothing communicatively mediates in the relationship between man and his socio-cultural environment (Cordwell and Swarz, 1979:31) to the symbolic-interactive negotiation of social identity. Clothing has been seen as "the most easily controllable aspect of the external environment of the individual" (Holman, 1980:15). In the macro view of clothing communication Roach Higgins and Eicher\* (1979:8-21) have expounded an anthropological view of the role of adornment in social interaction. They give an account of adornment as communicating social role and worth, as politically and sexually symbolic, as facilitating social rituals, as recreation, as reinforcing beliefs and even as representing magico-religious condition (ibid).

\*Roach Higgins and Eichers' paper, presented at the IXth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences is considered by Malcolm Barnard, the author of 'Fashion as Communication', as the classic text on the functions of fashion and clothing.

These authors sum up their article by saying that adornment is a communicative symbol that serves as a way of dealing with life aesthetically (ibid), a description that applies to textual interpretation of fashion more than clothing.

Fashion as adornment is poignantly evoked by Elisabeth Wilson's (1985:x) quotation of Simmel's statement that ". . . .adornment allows the mere having of the person to become a visible quality of (the personality's) being". And this is so not *although* adornment is superfluous, but *because* it is. It brings the contents of personal life and activity into a form shared by many and accessible to many."

Scholarly enquiry into human behaviour has placed great emphasis on clothing. Holman\* observes that a great many communication theorists have dealt with the representational and significative expression value of clothing to people in society (1980:15).

Moving to the micro view, Rouse (1989:27) says the kind of information communicated by clothing is specialised: our bodies and clothes constitute our physical presence in the social world. They are the means by which our place and our participation in the social world are signified. Kaiser, citing Dermott and Church, calls this social identity 'work' (1997: 576). This work is appearance management behaviour for making sense of and feeling positive about an ongoing situation (ibid).

The communication function of fashion can then be seen as non-verbal negotiation of differentiated meaning in social interaction. This is fundamental to symbolic interaction processes, which happen both on a macro and a micro level (Kaiser, Nagasawa and Hutton, 1995a: 173-174).

\*Holman gives a summary of the large body of systematic study of clothing worn by individuals, starting with 'Sartor Resartus' written by Thomas Carlyle in 1893.

Some perspective of the range of experience in which fashion garments might function discursively is afforded by these accounts.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR DATA GENERATION**

Particular theoretical themes of fashion communication resonated with my own experience of evaluatively interpreting garments. These offered views of fashion consumption in social interaction, and of the role played by historic meanings in aesthetic readings of garment texts.

Three theoretical themes dealing with garment style expression of transient fashion meaning are discussed over the following pages.

### **1. Continuity, Discontinuity and Social Mobility**

Before embarking on this project, my unformalised thinking about fashion interpretation in South African menswear incorporated a long focus on generic, antecedent meanings and a short focus on current meaning – the former immanently illuminating the latter. Changing social processes and circumstances connected in a general way with modifications of garments in evolving menswear fashion discourses.

Therefore, in data collection interviews, I sought to lay open possible style distinctions between historic and contemporary understandings.

A theoretical explanation of the discontinuation of long term, continuous fashion meaning focused on mobility of social identity in fashion.

Writing in 1978, British anthropologists Polhemus and Proctor used the term 'anti-fashion' to describe dress which continuously remains impervious to fashion change\*.

Continuous 'anti-fashion' was for these authors the wearing of garment 'uniforms' in traditional contexts - the enduringly identifiable traditional dress of the British Royal Family, or the dress of subcultural groups like hippies or Hell's Angels (1978:16).

'Fashion' was differentiated from 'anti-fashion' by the arbitrary appropriation of established anti-fashion dress where, for example, hippy dress or biker jackets become a fashion 'statement.' When those who are not bikers or hippies adopt these styles, their meaning is de-contextualised. New contexts of interpretation were based for Polhemus and Proctor (1978:18) on the juxtaposition of wearer identities with inimical social milieu.

In this displacement, antecedent meanings would however still be interpretable, but qualified by new contexts of wearing. Thus, fashion meanings were seen by Polhemus and Proctor as discontinuous, or interrupted by dislocation of place, time and wearer. The nucleus of this concept was found by Polhemus and Proctor in Flugel's idea of static, continuous meaning, which maintains the social status quo, versus departures from customary mores. Adopting the established dress of others was an expression of discontinuous, mobile and mutating social identity (1978:12).

In the words of cultural critic Tom Wolf, adoption of new styles "absorbs and transmutes" meanings from other countries and other periods, against mainstream mores (Polhemus and Proctor, 1978:17).

\*The term 'anti-fashion' is alternatively used to indicate rejection of fashionable dressing (Wilson, 1985:183; Davis, 1992:160).



Appropriation and recuperation of various historically continuous or culturally differentiated styles in the postmodern era are frequently seen to express irony and pastiche. Conscious overturning of a modernist desire for novelty (Polhemus, 1998:75) may be part of postmodern fashion meaning, but is likely to depend first on the recognition of nuances of continuous meaning. When retro or ethnic styles are assimilated as fashion, their interpretation still relies on the incongruity of established meanings with newer contexts (Back, 1985:3).

Seeking a layering of older and newer meanings based on movement across social contexts over time then seemed a useful precept for investigation of textual garment meanings. Therefore selection of a garment sample of items concurrently available at retail needed to include both more and less established meanings.

## **2. Codified and Modified Fashion Meaning**

Garment style meanings transformed over time were theoretically based on social mobility. But modification of fashion meanings had to be considered in terms of garment modification, as the fashion industry's response to changing mores.

My original thinking about changing fashion meanings had loosely embraced some ideas as to the contexts in which collective meanings are found, and the influences that might bring about contextual shifts.

The following theoretical explanation elaborated early understandings, and contributed a further avenue of research investigation.

Martin and Koda (1989) amply illustrate collective codification of fashion meaning. They discuss male identities, which have evolved as social representations in 20<sup>th</sup> Century menswear. The sports Jock, the Nerd or "slide rule toting proto scientist", the Worker, the Rebel, the Cowboy, the Military Man, the Hunter, The Sportsman, 'Joe College' and others are described as social

identities typically linked to particular garment style forms (1989: 34). Martin and Koda trace the origins of these styles, and then show how they have been appropriated over time. For example: "the button down shirt is not a collegiate invention, having been a style manufactured as early as 1901, according to Brooks Brothers, in adaptation of the shirt with a fastened collar worn by polo players – but its imagery is compellingly collegiate" (1989:139) and "(the college style) became an epidemic as men long graduated sought association with the young and educated"(1989:143).

By contrast with these examples of traditional menswear, in his later book 'Streetstyle' Polhemus talks about the gradual mainstream adoption of the subcultural motorcycle 'Perfecto jacket' over the 1970's and 1980's, and of the commercialisation of adapted and watered-down punk looks (1994:10-15).

Subculturally codified style has had pre-eminent effects on male fashion change (Crane, 2000:187). The adoption of oppositional subcultural street style by mainstream groups is known as the 'trickle up' or 'bubble up' phenomenon (Polhemus, 1994:8-12), so named because it inverts Simmel and Veblen's idea of class based 'trickle-down' fashion diffusion. Subcultural style is known to have been initially a class-based male preserve. British youth styles of the 1950's, 1960's, and 1970's such as teddy boys, mods, skinheads, rastas and especially punks were male working class subcultures (Watt, 1999:245-246) whose dress challenged normative class-based and establishment ideals. Mass 'fashionalisation' of these subcultural style forms has been attributed to the commodifying agency of fashion marketing and communication media (Nixon, 1996:114-117), or signified transmission of meaning in symbolic social interaction within and among groups (Kaiser, Nagasawa and Hutton, 1995a: 173). Meaning imagery becomes compounded in the public mind; new images are superimposed on old images as Hebdige, (1997:400-401) has said – marginal, subcultural 'youth-as-trouble' is commercially re-codified through modification of subcultural styles, becoming 'youth-as-fun'.

Watt draws attention to Tom Wolfe's broad distinction of subcultures as white 'radical chic' protest style, or black dandyism of the streets (1999: 247). This description has some relevance to the

historical permeation of fashion styles in South Africa, where white class differentiation has been far less delineated, and possibly inclined to imitative radical chic rather than social disaffection.

Comprehensive documentation of subcultural male dress in South Africa is non-existent, but black men's style in South Africa during the 1950's is famously captured in Jurgen Schadeburg's photographs of township life in Sophiatown, Johannesburg (Schadeburg, 1994). Amongst these photographs are images of young blades driving large American cars and wearing Palm Beach suits with two-tone winklepickers. These images are of a piece with the emphatically sharp tailoring of 'natty rebel' style across the global black diaspora, based upon modified appropriations of conservative and traditional formal menswear of the 1940's (Tulloch, 1992:84).

Schadeburg, on being asked by an American visitor to South Africa "Where are the pictures of white people?" (Donaldson, 2001) subsequently held an exhibition entitled 'The White Fifties' where photographs of white 'ducktails' were displayed (ibid). Ducktails are a South African version of British rocker style, as Polhemus has shown it in 'Streetstyle' (Polhemus, 1994:54-57).

The division of labour in South Africa through the apartheid years has seen formal and conservative garment styles worn for leisure by the black working class. Far less formal white style has been worn more to express group affiliation than opposition.

The irony of this situation is that black 'natty' formal and conservative style was authentically part of vibrant street life in Sophiatown, Johannesburg, while white male youth from affluent suburbs has appropriated street looks from America and Britain. The adoption of subcultural style among white South Africans has historically been influenced by social identity imagery originating in British oppositional subcultures and American teenager rebellion.

Codification and modification of subcultural style in South Africa could not therefore unreservedly look to the plethora of British and American theoretical models of *oppositional* subcultural fashion style adoption.

Different black and white heritages of subcultural identity in South Africa have spawned later black subcultures such as rappers, pantsulas and 'Italians', in contrast to white skate, surf, rave and alternative rock subcultural groups, whose dress roughly resembles that of the same British and American subcultural groups. Distinctive 'Pantsula' dress choices like all-star takkies (sandshoes) and tailored 'Brentwood' pleated trousers worn low on the hips have been favoured; 'Italians' have customarily preferred high-priced Italian imports and leather jackets (Pearce, 1995: no page number).

According to a South African marketing study of male youth subcultures conducted in 1995, only 30% of white males identified with subcultures, while 60% of black males were subcultural group members (ibid). Both groups' leisure activities revolved around sports, entertainment events and shopping mall 'flaneusing'. This term is popular argot for Baudelaire's Parisian 'flaneur' (Benjamin, 1983:35-39), and is perhaps best described as 'cruising while parading'. Nixon (1996: 64-65) highlights the codifying effect of the latter-day flaneur as a male public display of self in urban shopping arcades, where seeing is as important as being seen.

The polarising cleft between black male subcultures (the population majority) and white male subcultures (in the minority) has however narrowed considerably from the 1990's onwards, as predominant media influences of sport and entertainment have brought black and white dress closer together.

Irwin (1997:14) provides a useful point of departure for thinking about garments as representative of subcultural social identities when he shows how the term 'subculture' has come to mean lifestyles, action systems and social worlds which are not fixed to any particular group. This wider definition does not exclude the conservative groups that have featured in mass style appropriation in South Africa.

This study has stood back from a distinction between traditional or subcultural style, in order to investigate difference and change through a less limiting focus on social worlds, actions and practices.

Selection of a garment sample needed then to express identity in both traditional and subcultural ways.

Fred Davis concurs with Blumer's collective selection theory of style adaptation that is accepted as fashion because it modifies codified meaning. Acceptance of the new is driven by the challenging effect of social change upon collective identity (1985:24). He explains that garment styling adaptation alters typical or codified meanings linked to key formal features such as fabric, colour, pattern and silhouette (1985:17). Such codification assimilates lifestyle, practices and beliefs into representational repertoires of meaning. These features become modified by designers, who manipulate technological characteristics to communicate meaning imagery that resonates with social tensions of identification and differentiation among consumer groups. However, Davis in his later book finds Blumer's collective selection theory an ahistorical and vague explanation, which neglects to find more specific determinants of change (1992:118-120). Modified fashion meaning codes express for Davis ephemeral ambivalences of social identity (1992:24-25); he expands fashion novelty and change as a social and cultural necessity. In another paper on fashion communication, Davis posits that the more complex and heterogeneous a society, the more likely it is for ambivalence and therefore modification to occur (Davis, 1988:25).

Hollander (1993: xv) offers a summary of this re-codifying transformation of style meaning. She says that a style genre evolves as groups and individuals modify its social meaning, but always in terms of previous examples within it, and rules that define it. Nevertheless while a style genre in itself represents interpretively channeled and shared meaning, its meaning may be discontinuous for some consumers and continuous for others, depending on their available span of antecedent meaning resources. Public groups have access to different symbolisms and sign systems (Davis,



1985:18), necessitating the plurality of style genres in a marketplace at any one time. Aesthetic choices of commodity objects are made in negative relation to the other kinds of objects that could have been chosen. As Frow (1995:35) has explained, a preference is asserted, and this preference has a bearing on the historical sequence in which the object belongs, and to its relation to other objects.

Differences of continuity and discontinuity are thus germane to codified and modified fashion meaning. Selection of a garment sample for data collection would then require that codified style genres and modified style genres should be included, and should stand in contrast to one another.

### 3. Systemic and Unrelated Meaning

The underlying distinction between codified continuity and modified discontinuity of garment meaning is theoretically one of relationships between meanings.

Polhemus and Proctor point out that discontinuous and continuous meanings are also either *related* or *unrelated*, functioning distinctively as signs or symbols. Discontinuous fashion meaning takes on sign-like significance according to its place in a related system of meanings (1978:18 - 19). Barthes' 'systeme de la mode' saw fashion in this way – as a system of arbitrary signs, which depend on their relative difference to other signs in an enclosed, internal web of meaning (Wilson, 1985:57). Symbolic clothing meaning in the sense of anti-fashion 'uniforms' was for these authors *unrelated* to other clothing meanings: meaning was so established that it did not rely on further interpretative resources. Such garment meanings were iconic, 'naturally' symbolising stand-alone meaning (Polhemus and Proctor, 1978:18). Fashion objects as postmodern objects have meanings which according to Baudrillard, cited by Barnard (1996:152-155), operate under "the logic of differentiation".

This needs an explanation of how *non-fashion goods* are seen by Baudrillard as objects of consumption: An object, according to Baudrillard (ibid), may have use or utility value, or commercial exchange value in terms of price, or symbolic value. In any of these cases, meaning is determined by these values, and not in terms of distinguishing other meanings. A wedding ring is the example given by Baudrillard for symbolic value. It symbolises commitment to matrimony. The wedding ring cannot be replaced by any other style of ring, and it does not derive meaning from a differential relation with other rings. Other ordinary rings, however, are not bound to symbolic meaning and may be substituted for different ones. Their value is in differential relation to other rings, in "the play of accessories and the constellation of fashion" (Barnard, 1996:152-155).

Fashion meanings could then conceivably be distinguished from non-fashion meanings by virtue of having a *differential relation* of meaning value with other meanings. The proliferation of alternative style modes as a mechanism of fashion change allows a discursive view of Baudrillard's differential relation of meaning. The relation of styles to other styles must to some extent index discursive social meaning and cultural value.

Overall, selection of a marketed garment sample would then need to create an interplay of the differential relationships of meaning theoretically posited.

## **DIFFERENCE AND CHANGE: TOWARD RESEARCH INVESTIGATION OF A GARMENT SAMPLE**

Concurrently available mass marketed and modified men's leisure fashion styles were posited to express fashion and non-fashion meanings. A sample of these was to be interpretively investigated in terms of style, design and dress. In this sample, multiple style discourses might be governed by the proposed theoretical co-ordinates of change and difference. However this depended on what interpretive purchase such tangential co-ordinates of meaning might have for interview participants.

## **GARMENT SAMPLE SELECTION**

Selection of a garment sample required firstly that each garment style differed to a greater or lesser extent from 'basic' or preceding versions, and secondly that the sample contrasted garment style genres. Garment items were chosen on the basis of style adaptation of enduring menswear leisure garment styles: for example, the blouson jacket, the shirt, the sports-orientated 'sweat' top. Sample items were generically different in terms of their historically antecedent style differentiation, but only to the extent allowed by the differing style genres that were widely distributed in significant numbers in the South African marketplace at the time of data collection. Selection was limited to outerwear/tops because they tend to dominate in winter garment assemblage. These were marketed in the South African mass market over the winter 1997 trading period in five retail chain stores with national store distribution ranging between 105 and 221 outlets per retail chain.

Given these sampling requirements, the final selection comprised of nine garments, described as follows:

1. **Zippered orange corduroy shirt-jacket.** (Adaptation of shirt to jacket (McKelvey, 1996:197)).
2. **'Varsity' bomber jacket with rib knit neckline, cuffs and hem.** (Blouson jacket associated with American Ivy League universities (McKelvey, 1996:198)).
3. **Houndstooth check tweed blouson jacket.** (Adaptation of Harrington Golf jacket (McKelvey, 1996:198)).
4. **Corduroy Western trucker jacket with contrast quilted lining and piping.** (McKelvey, 1996:87).
5. **Black leatherette jacket.** (Tapered 'car coat' silhouette (Gross, 1993:99); adaptation of Rocker style jacket (de la Haye and Dingwall, 1996: no page number)).
6. **Red velours soccer sweatshirt with v-neck.** (Soccer shirt adaptation of skinny rib silhouette (McKelvey, (1996:215)).
7. **Black/white polyester sports top with striped rib collar and contrast white panel.** (Motorcycle sport adaptation of polo shirt (McKelvey, 1996: 215)).



8. **Waxed check-lined jacket.** (Adaptation of Barbour or shooting jacket (McKelvey, 1996:196)).
9. **Fleece track top** with logo detailing and hood. (Hybrid adaptation of tracksuit top (McKelvey, 1996:198), and ski blouson (McKelvey, 1996:198)).

This garment sample brought together the differentiated and modified style genre examples shown on pages 64 – 72. Volume II contains photographic reproductions of these garments.

## **PART 2**

### **DATA COLLECTION METHODS**

Proceeding with data collection involved applying propositions made in respect of the research value of the garment sample. Fundamentally, this application was dependent on the representational meanings the garment sample would have to purposively selected research participants, in a series of research interviews. This phase of data collection explains tactics for verbally generating the particular intertextual meanings seen theoretically to embody fashion communication. Selection of consumer research participants depended on a reciprocal diversity of views. Professional participants were on the other hand selected on the basis of their acumen as national mass market merchants of men's leisurewear.

Protocols for identifying and recruiting interview participants are given after discussion of the tactical purposes which their participation was to serve.

### **INTERVIEW AIMS**

Differences and similarities in the expressive, representational meanings conveyed by the garment sample, and the relationship of these meanings to each other, amount to intertextual meaning. Intertextuality refers to the presence in any one meaning of trace elements of other

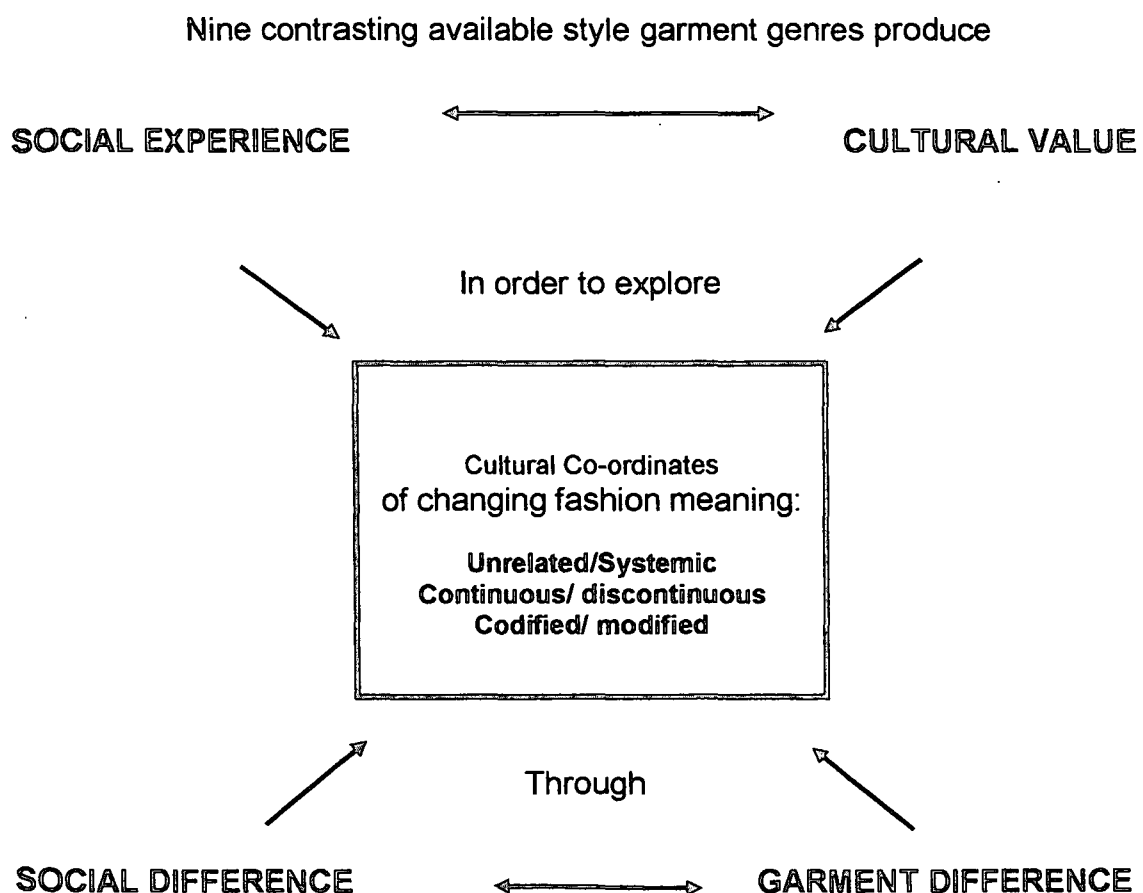
meanings (Fourie, 1996:17). The meaning of any one object or commodity is composed of diverse references to other social ideas, practices and products. The sample garments as textual objects were to be examined for immanent intertextual meanings, which were historically and socially accumulated.

The requisite scope of intertextual interpretation in this study predisposed research data collection to qualitative interviews. Qualitative research argues for understanding the meaning of experience, actions and events, as these are interpreted through the eyes of particular participants, researchers and (sub) cultures, and for a sensitivity to meaning in the contexts where it might occur (Henwood, 1996:27). In seeking application and explanation of theoretical precepts, data collection explored different experiences of context and identity, historical and contemporaneous links between these, and connections with the formal properties of sample garments.

Qualitative interviews with consumers and menswear merchants were deemed a viable research option because of the nature of verbal data; spoken discourse in interviews would not be merely linguistic. Speech acts are spontaneously selective of experiences, selves and social psychological phenomena constituted in and through language (Potter and Wetherell, 1987:7). Possibilities then existed for the generation of specialised, pertinent discourse, which might express the required scope of aesthetic correspondence between form and meaning. The presence of interpretive cultural co-ordinates of transient fashion meaning over this discourse was an open question, to be explored in the meeting of research participant subjects with research garment objects. Miller (1987:11) has stated that culture is a process not reducible to object or subject, a statement which called to mind Alvar Aalto's trenchant evocation of the inseparability of people from an object's meaning. Aalto says that a standardised object should not be a finished product, but made to be supplemented by man (Reed, 1998:35). Fashion garments are intentionally mass produced and intentionally worn with the expectation that they will generate meaning.

Interviews had the aim of revealing dress as a practice embodied in social experiences where the human body becomes culturally visible (de la Haye and Wilson, 1999:2-3). If relationships of cultural value to social experience of fashion meaning could be found in research participants' engagement with the garment sample, insights into evaluative interpretation of garments might be gained. Investigation of theoretical themes in interview data collection is summarised in Figure 2.1 below.

FIGURE 2.1 FRAMEWORK FOR INTERVIEW DATA COLLECTION



Research design decisions settled upon sets of interviews, in which a contrast of consumers' social experience of the sample garments with professional fashion-evaluative acumen might be produced.

Tandem exploration of 'elite' professional participants' (Marshall and Rossman, 1989:94) views of the garment sample and consumer participants' experience of these garments was therefore planned.

Interviews with the menswear merchants who had marketed one or more of the sample garments were planned to pilot the selection of sample garments. These interviews were also intended to compare emergence of pertinent fashion issues with those evinced in consumer interviews, and further to pilot an interview schedule.

Investigation of fashion meaning was empirical, in that the sample of nine garments had either been marketed by menswear merchants over the Winter 1997 trading period, or were well known to them as competing marketplace products.

Similarly, during a period of three to four months prior to interviews, these garments were available at retail to the consumer public, when they might or might not have been seen in use by consumer participants, worn by members of the public at the time of data collection. Failing that, garments had been seen by consumer participants at retail or in social situations, as the garment sample consisted of adaptations of well-known style genera.

Because of the assumed scope of socially reciprocal meaning that sample items would have for consumer interview participants, expectations of Focus Group interviews were far-reaching.

Shared and differentiated interpretations of the sample garments might amount to discourses of fashion meaning – systems of related intertextual understanding, in which intersubjectivity would play a central role. The concept of intersubjectivity holds that people interpret their own experience of social interaction in terms of their relation with others (Luckmann, 1999:387-388). Garments would however be seen without wearers or contexts of use. These would be supplied by consumer interview participants, or suggested by me. Since distinctions in objects are grounded in social distinctions (Miller, 1987:15), it was anticipated that heterogeneous participant

sampling in conjunction with a differentiated garment sample would distinguish between *shared interpretive repertoires of meaning*. Diverse individual interpretations of the garment sample in interviews could reliably be assumed to go beyond individual opinions; they must to some extent be shared because the communication of a non-verbal signal by an object depends upon shared norms and collective agreements of those who identify such a signal (Holbrook and Dixon, 1985:110-112).

Sampling of interview participants from different social backgrounds over three Focus Group interviews was planned to minimise stereotyping of attitudes. Focus groups are well suited for examining diversity that goes beyond ethnicity and language (Morgan, 1998a: 59); in the case of these interviews where high involvement in controversial views was likely, the size of groups according to Morgan would be best limited to 6-8 participants (ibid). Smaller groups also allow participants who are not necessarily compatible to build the familiarity that is needed for discussing controversial views on complex topics. As Morgan observes, and as I found later, smaller focus groups would also allow the researcher to respond to large amounts of interview data (1998b: 73- 74).

The question of what constitutes collection of a reasonable amount of data is held by Morgan (1998a: 51-52) to depend on what sorts of generalisations are necessary to research objectives. Small groups would not seem to provide generalization to the larger population of South African men's leisurewear consumers. However in this case responses must be shared to exist, based as they are on non-verbally communicated meanings of the garment sample. The scope of generalisable data remained to be seen after interviews had been conducted.

Elite and consumer interviews were planned to include particular participants as described over the following pages.

## **PARTICIPANT SAMPLING**

### **1. Selection of Elite Participants**

A merging of the traditional role of the manufacturing designer with that of the retail merchandise or buying manager has meant that retail professionals in high positions often specify the design of garments. They have interpretive, if not technological design expertise, which often equals that of designers employed in manufacture. Where large retailing chain buying managers in South Africa are concerned, this interpretive expertise can be taken for granted, although it could not be assumed that interviews with menswear merchants as elite or expert participants would be able to verbally reveal their interpretive acumen.

Five retail-buying managers who were involved in competitive marketing of at least one of the garments included in the research sample acted as Elite participants in individual audio-taped interviews. In addition, one manufacturing Marketing Director who is recognised nationally for his menswear marketing acumen participated in a sixth interview. Garments were presented to Elite participants in photographic form. Their expertise and familiarity with the sample items as mass marketed products disposed toward this less cumbersome way of presenting the garment sample.

Elite interviews were conducted at the central buying offices of the five retailers and the manufacturing headquarters of the sixth participant.

### **2. Selection of Focus Group consumer participants**

People tend to live within fairly narrow social networks, where social status and sets of interests are held in common (Easey, 1995:44). Selection of participants from different social backgrounds was intended to bring commonly held but socially distinct viewpoints into play in interviews. Available interpretations of the historical continuity of style genres would also vary across participants in the three planned focus group interviews.

Observing these considerations, group interview participant recruitment sought professionals and artisans, different race groups, and different socio-economic strata. These broad selection criteria could not provide for unlimited variety, but did offer promising potential for a differentiated range of attitudes toward men's fashion. Sixteen to twenty-four year old males of all races formed the major (28.7%) clothing consumer group in South Africa in 1996, with males of all races between the ages of twenty-five to thirty-four years old forming the second largest clothing consumption age-group (26.23%), according to the All Media and Product Survey of 1996 (Smit, 1997). An age cohort spanning eighteen to thirty-four years of age was chosen for the group participant sample, because it would include research participants who were employed and therefore more able to compare between work and leisure dress. A reasonable level of comfort with English as a spoken language was also a requirement, in view of the diversity of race groups in participant sampling, where English, Afrikaans, Zulu or Xhosa, might all be mother tongues.

The first of the three Group interviews was to further pilot the interview schedule and participant sampling protocols.

### **Focus Group participant recruitment**

Research participants for the pilot interview were recruited indirectly by asking various business or social contacts to put me in touch with suitable young men who met the sampling criteria of differentiated range of race groups and social strata. Amongst the seven pilot interview participants were two sets of acquaintances that were, however, unknown to the remainder of the group. Morgan (1997:37-38) advises that the recruitment of strangers is the rule of thumb for focus group interviews, but that the use of acquaintances can enhance the emergence of data because they can converse together more readily. Focus Group participants then remained a heterogenous sample of racially mixed participants from differing socio-economic strata, providing potential for cultural and social differences in interpretation of the garment sample.

Recruitment for the second and third Focus Group interviews was entrusted to a marketing student, who was provided with a recruitment guide for this purpose. He was to approach young men identified in this guide in shopping malls, and solicit their co-operation. The recruitment guide (Appendix G) contained questions regarding the sampling criteria mentioned. The offer of a nominal money reward of R50 was also made to prospective participants. This was done in accordance with Morgan's (1998b: 99) advice that focus group participants should be compensated for their time and effort in research participation.

Although recruitment of participants for interviews 2 and 3 was ostensibly carried out in shopping malls, I doubt that this was uniformly done, although the recruiter (who was paid for this work) represented otherwise. It seemed that in these interviews one or two participants were acquainted with one other participant, so that all interviews comprised of at least one set of two acquaintances, although this could not be certain. Doubts about the consequent value of interview data were dispelled by Morgan's (1997:37-38) sanction of the use of acquaintances; issues of disclosure can be assisted by working with prior acquaintances. Social scientists routinely conduct focus groups in organisations. (ibid).

Bias in interviews would be likely to result from the use of acquainted participants, but this was seen as a positive means of producing moot areas of contention. Certainly, in these interviews it enabled divergent and disputed connection of social identities and practices to garments, so much so that garments later became controversially personified in discussion.



## **INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

Investigating the systemic or unrelated impress of continuous or discontinuous, and codified or modified meanings in the garment sample required strategic tactics.

Simply stated, conjoint objectives were to generate verbal interpretation of South African men's leisurewear garments through the initial theoretical model of changing and divisive fashion meaning. The interview schedule sought to projectively engineer opportunities for exploring these research issues.

Projective tactics of an interview schedule are explained on the following pages in advance of each abbreviated tabular schedule section. Overall, these intersecting areas of enquiry endeavoured to generate the fashion meaning of the garment sample items. Each section was to expand upon foregoing questions, but it should be noted that the interview schedule was planned to be used opportunistically rather than sequentially.

To obviate any leading suggestions on my part as interviewer, all garments were numbered, and in initial stages of interviews, only referred to by number. Later, I used participants' own descriptions of garments to refer to garments.

Four tabular interview schedule sections are discussed over the following pages. Theoretical bases for tactical data collection strategies are discussed between tabular sections.

### **SECTION A1: CODIFIED AND MODIFIED FASHION MEANING**

Interview participants' descriptions of garments over both Elite and Consumer interviews were sought in order to create trajectories of interpretation springing from garment features that were first noticeable. This recognition might relate garment forms to either codified or modified meaning, as this has been discussed in Part 1 of this chapter.

Symbolic meanings might remain evident in the style genres of the garment sample. In this way, garment interpretations might be codified. But because garments were adapted style genres, they might have sign-like, modified significance. Through following questions, this distinction might be clarified.

## SECTION A 2: GARMENTS IN USE

Garments projectively seen *in use* would be most likely to reveal interpretive resources, beyond perceptible formal design features.

My aim was to elicit a wide spectrum of social and cultural descriptions of sample garments. Some commonplace ideas of broad contexts of meaning were part of my prior thinking. These were broad areas in which I assumed fashion meaning to operate.

### SECTION A 2.1

Theoretically, signified intertextual meanings cannot be established as either systemic or unrelated (Polhemus and Proctor, 1978:18-19) outside of their location in a functioning context of understanding.

Section A 2 1: Codified and modified fashion meaning	
Question	Orientation: Garment style genres and adaptational features.
Type*:	1. How could garments be described in a straightforward, first noticeable way?
Screening, probing	2. What garment features might qualify description?

\*Question type, shown in the left hand column illustrates questioning techniques for qualitative interviewing (Wickham, 1997:3).

Contexts of fashion meaning were conceptualised as social institutions, in order to provide a diverse spectrum of investigation. These were defined as "constellations of social relations" (Thompson, 1984:128) which, together with material manifestations of them, (in this case garments) can be recognised in cultures (Thompson, 1984:135).

The research notion of social institutions as contexts of meaning broached intertexts of garments *in use*; how they would be seen, where and when they would be worn. This way of thinking about systemic fashion meaning theory in Part 1 allowed for directed yet reasonably open investigation. The following institutionally related intertexts of social experience theoretically supported my pre-suppositions about social institutions:

LEISURE - The production of popular meanings in dress through leisure has been the subject of theoretical survey by Elisabeth Wilson (1985:155-178). Events, occasions, practices, places and media communications are productive of popular codifications of fashion meaning. Turim's concept of semiotic layering of meanings through film, television, music, and advertising cited by Crane, (2000:181-182) explains leisure-based mechanisms of cultural meaning codification. Leisure as an institutional context then included entertainment and social events, and media-disseminated awareness of these.

THE BODY - As Cavallaro and Warwick say (1998: 6 - 7), dress frames and represents the body as an interpretive boundary between the abstract and the physical, where it is central to the active articulation of cultural and social practices. Dressing as a body presentation activity is engaged in attention to social expectations by performing 'face work' according to Entwistle (2000:11)\*.

\*Entwistle draws upon Goffman's (1971) dramaturgical theory of the body in symbolic interaction. 'Face work' is self-presentation as a social act, performed by consumers before an audience of onlookers, or in relation to other social actors.

**MASCULINITY** - Visual coding of masculinity is extensively examined in Nixon's book 'Hard Looks: Masculinities, Spectatorship and Contemporary Consumption' (1996). In the representational imagery of plural masculinities fashionable clothing forms are paramount.

**LIFESTYLE** – Lifestyle, for the purposes of this study, was seen as everyday life with the import Mackay (1997:7) gives it - everyday life as culturally productive consumption. For Mackay this involves creative appropriation and manipulation of goods in taken for granted routines, places and people. Clothing (and fashion) meanings are culturally evocative of lifestyle for Davis (1985: 21), in the same sense that our symbolic universe is made up of common understandings around the food we eat, the music we listen to, our furniture, and our health beliefs.

**SOCIAL IDENTITY** - Wilmer (1997:3) defines identity as the mechanism through which we locate ourselves in relation to the social world. Fashion consumption articulates collective male social identities through codified 'membership' imagery. Street styles and youth subcultures have been especially important to fluctuations in dress attitudes and behaviour as identity practices (Crane 2000: 187), but social identity interpretation was seen following Irwin (1997:14) in the wider sense of subcultures as action systems, lifestyles and social worlds.

**FASHIONABILITY** - As distinct from fashion meaning, many understandings of fashionability are popularly and theoretically conceived. Theoretically fashionability is about identification and differentiation; this sums up the mechanisms of fashion discussed in Part 1. But for consumers it may be either one or the other. A clue to separating this duality is offered by DeYoung Barr when she contrasts fashion as 'mode of choice' with custom, which has greater stability and wider scope (1934:5). This contrast is a circumscribed and evaluative idea of fashionability. Alternatively, Palmer and Dodson (1996: 97) refer to "reconciling notions of classical style while accepting a process of change in the style of consumer goods which we would now call Fashion". Their processual encapsulation brings meaning over time to questions around fashionability.

IDEOLOGY - Ideas, attitudes and values of consumers would necessarily extend to larger groups, because these abstract ways of thinking are shared. While ideology is not usually seen as a social institution, Kohl points out that it embraces systems of beliefs and values which determine people's actions (1992:167).

IMAGE – Holbrook and Dixon (1985:111) refer to image as publically revealed preference, intentionally communicated, and complemented by association with consumption of other image products. Revealed preference refers to something beyond it, often disseminated by the 'image industries' - advertising, public relations, and popular magazines, but also to entrenched associations of social identity with social worth. When buying fashion goods, consumers are buying an image (Bohdanowicz and Clamp, 1994:117) codified in these ways.

## SECTION A 2.2

I had conceived divisive interpretation of fashion meaning to be of crucial importance from the outset of this study. Also, as noted at the start of this chapter, my initial view of the meaning properties of any one garment involved shorter contemporary meanings and longer historical meanings. This perspective offered an avenue of meaning differentiation. Interpretations of the sample might relate to either symbols or signs or a tension between them, which could reveal:

Established historical or 'public memory' connotational meanings, or social resistance to these meanings.

Institutional constellations of intertextual meaning were to be extended in interviews to questions about their socially divisive effects. Theory explicated in Part 1 indicates that forms of identification and differentiation underlie movement of meaning and change in fashion. In order to explore this separation, the interview schedule included allied terms of acceptance and rejection as alternatives to be tried out or noted in interviews. Essential to this tactic was the understanding from Douglas and Isherwood, cited by Barnard (1996:37) that goods are neutral, their uses are

social; they can be used as fences or bridges. The metaphor of 'fences or bridges' describes material consumption as a display of differentiating 'fences' among social groups and individuals, or merging 'bridges' which allow the sharing of identities.

Carter (1993:104) refers to conformity and resistance, passivity and activity, femininity and masculinity and other binary oppositions variously theorised as symbolic tensions in fashion meaning. In my view these oppositions were likely to constitute the challenging of older ideas by newer ones. Forming a data relationship of difference to change was to be accomplished by finding meanings of normative, stable and continuous cultural description, and divergent, mobile and discontinuous cultural description. Acceptance and rejection\* might then be incumbent upon these meanings.

Section A 2.2: Garments in use	
Question type:	Orientation: Contexts of use:
probe	2.2.1 Suggested contexts: a. leisure b. the body c. masculinity
repeat	d. fashionability e. lifestyle f. social identity g. ideology h. image
prompt	2.2.2 Associations of garments as described in A 1 and A 2.1 in terms of:
echo    clarify	acceptance \\ rejection?                      established    \\ innovative?
verify	normative    \\ divergent?                      imitative        \\ individual?
	identified    \\ differentiated?                      static            \\ mobile?
	historic        \\ zeitgeist?                                      codified        \\ modified?
	continuity    \\ discontinuity?                      fences            \\ bridges?

\*Barnard discusses fashion acceptance and rejection in depth in his chapters 'Fashion, Clothing and the Reproduction of Society' and 'Fashion, Clothing and Social Revolution' (1995:96-144).

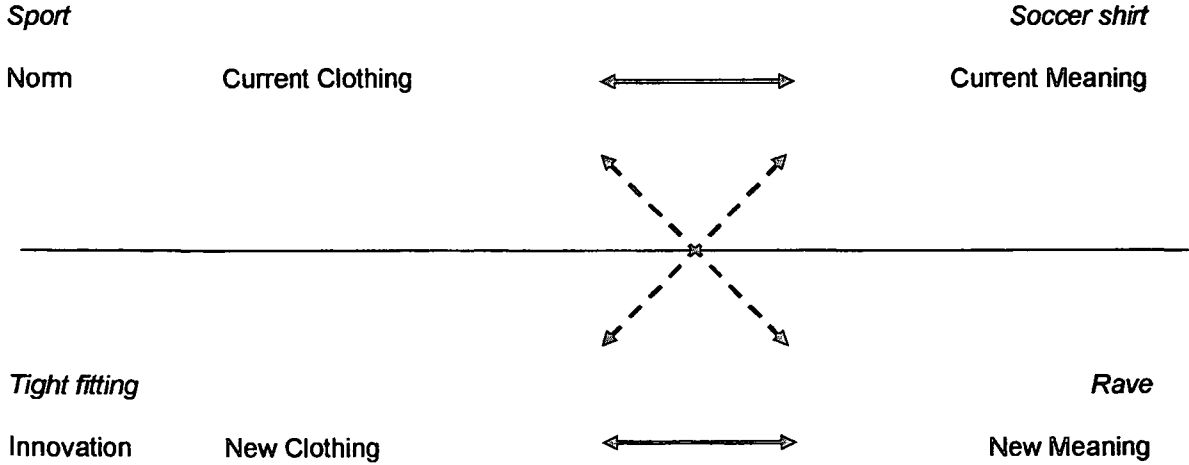
SECTION B: MEANING CONTINGENCY

This section of the interview schedule was planned with the object of finding contingent meaning chains between interpretations and their signifiers.

With strong similarity to the fashion/anti-fashion theory of Polhemus and Proctor, Simon-Miller (1985:77) draws attention to the distinction between clothing as submission to norm, and fashion as departure from norm, or rejection of conformity.

Drawing upon the work of Davis, Simon Miller says change in dress is linked to the introduction of new signifiers, or to new interpretation of what is signified, a relationship illustrated in Figure 2.2.

FIGURE 2.2 SIGNIFIERS AND INTERPRETATIONS – OLD AND NEW RELATIONSHIPS



Adapted from F Simon-Miller, 1985. Signs and Cycles in the Fashion System. In Solomon, R. 1985. *The Psychology of Fashion*. Massachusetts: Lexington Books.

Theoretically, meaning can also be found at levels of codification, which occur when elements of codes are either very well known or vague. Davis (1985:19 speaks of Eco's concept of 'undercoding' where, in the absence of known code-element combinations, interpretation fastens upon macroscopic, unspecific textual cues. The opposite effect, 'overcoding' allows naturalised,

pre-known iconological interpretation (a picture of a man with a missing ear represents Van Gogh), which does not use code elements as cues (Simon-Miller 1985: 75).

Garment meanings might then be interpreted by participants through enveloping, macroscopic characterizations, or through consolidation of merged garment textual cues to produce overlaid iconological meaning. Potentially, undercoded and overcoded interpretations might shed light on participants' allusions to 'public memory'. Simon-Miller (1985: 76) construes undercoding as proceeding from non-existent codes to potential codes, and overcoding as proceeding from existing codes to more analytic subcodes. These refinements of aesthetic interpretation move beyond the level of meaning fit (semanticity) between codified garment meaning and its interpreters, to the formulation of extended or mutated notions of semanticity, as Davis explains (1985:20). Degree of semanticity of garments is another way of understanding over- and undercoding as more or less specifically available meaning, dimly glimpsed or elaborately defined.

Section B: Meaning contingency	
Question type:	Orientation: Contingent association of responses
probe	1.1 new garment, old meaning? old garment, new
clarify	meaning?
verify	1.2 signified as referent?
	1.3 modification of codes: move from non-existent code to potential code? existing codes lead to sub codes?

## SECTION C: MEANING ASSOCIATION

This final section of the schedule was aimed at confirming systemic links between meaning elements of interpretation, so that unrelated meaning might later be sequestered. Interview questions would then revolve around textually inter-reliant meaning aggregations.



Participants' projective view of research garments in assemblage (in other words worn with specific other garments) could help to bring contextual systems of meaning to light in interviews. Barnard (1996:89) mentions Leach's assertion that items of clothing can have no meaning if taken out of the context of combination with some other garment: A tweed jacket with corduroy trousers suggests countryside informality; a tattersal check shirt on its own has no meaning. Combined with a pair of jeans, a tattersal shirt might be judged 'too smart'; but combined with a city suit, not smart enough. Appearance management is strongly invested with intentional image communication through assemblage choices, and assemblage choices could differentiate groups (ibid).

Section C: Meaning association	
Question type	Orientation: Systemic meaning
echo	1.1 connections, links between signs?
repeat   clarify	1.2 additive and interactive effects?
verify	1.3 differential relations between garment meanings?
prompt	1.4 garments in assemblage?

## Summary of interview schedule

### SECTION A 1: CODIFIED AND MODIFIED FASHION MEANING

Participants were to be asked to identify style genres and features. This was done in order to find out what participants found typical or atypical about garments. Distinctions were sought between style genres as codified, and adaptational design features as modified.

### SECTION A 2: GARMENTS IN USE

Social institutional contexts of use were to be suggested to participants: a. leisure; b. the body; c. masculinity; d. fashionability; e. lifestyle; f. social identity; g. ideology; h. image.

These contextual associations were to be qualified by social acceptance and rejection, historical public memory and resistance to public memory, and new or old meaning.

#### **SECTION B: MEANING CONTINGENCY**

Referential contingency might be provided by overlaid meanings or underlying meanings. This might reveal priority of meaning, or secondary, supporting meaning.

#### **SECTION C: MEANING ASSOCIATION**

Accretion of meaning through garment comparisons was to allow a view of fashion meaning as systemic. Additive and interactive links across garments and interpretations were to be sought. Projected assemblage of sample garments with other garments in wearing was also to be pursued.

### **DATA COLLECTION STRATEGIES - ELITE INTERVIEWS**

I wished to elicit as far as possible the views of Elite participants as a corpus of data not overdetermined by the purposes of the interview schedule, but assaying its contents. Accordingly these interviews proceeded as an ad hoc and non-sequential conversational blend of interview schedule suggestions and probes.

Numbered photographs of the sample garments were shown to Elite participants in groups of two or three photographs, and then all together.

The semi-structured interview schedule was planned to be used first in six Elite interviews to provide the option of using their interpretations of garments as probes in subsequent consumer Group interviews.

## **DATA COLLECTION STRATEGIES – FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEWS**

As Morgan (1997:2) says, the chief virtue of focus group interviews is that meaning is generated by the interaction of group participants. This stimulates a flow and exchange of diverse ideas, which may be disputed, expanded or altered in the course of interviews. From the interplay of different viewpoints in research interviews, I anticipated that participants would build and expand significant verbal interpretations of the garment sample, displayed in physical form.

### **Disclosure issues**

Conducting consumer Group interviews aspired to reveal relationships of the textual qualities of garments with ordinary life in South Africa. Williams has said that culture is ordinary (1993:6); research investigation looked to ordinary experiences. Relationships between experience and textual garment properties could be found if the wearing of the garment sample items held the important function of aesthetically negotiating, or indeed to some extent, as Holman has put it (1980:15), controlling the social environments of Group interview participants. Hultgren's (1982:18) phenomenological approach to collecting such data sums up Group interview objectives of allowing "the active participation of individuals in constituting their own meaning through a reflection on lived experiences". Elizabeth Wilson's quotation from Simmel, that garments would each constitute a projected wearer's 'visible quality of being' (1985:x) inspired efforts toward eliciting participants' disclosure of textually indexed ordinary experience of garments. What might possibly be revealed in Group interviews was further crystallised by Hultgren's reference to Heidegger's phenomenology, where disclosure is "to let that which shows itself be seen from itself in the very way in which it shows itself from itself", requiring that one goes to phenomena as directly experienced in the lived world (1982:36). Heidegger (cited by Hultgren) sees the phenomenon of phenomenology as hidden, but which belongs to what is shown, and constitutes the meaning of what is shown (1982:37). The role of spoken language in this search for meaning is seen by Hultgren as a disclosure not of the speaker, but of the speaker's social world, and therefore neither subjective nor objective (1982:38).

The overall proposition for discourse production in interviews was that discourse would make manifest interpretive rules and patterns of association. In other words, presiding interpretive elements and evaluative functions of fashion meaning would become evident.

The communicative primacy of clothing and fashion in human interaction (discussed at the start of this chapter) was much in favour of interviews as potentially fruitful. Clothing and adornment have been discussed at the start of this chapter as constituting a primary means of expressing social identity. Therefore it was assumed that research participants would be strongly invested in issues relating to their social selves and the social self-representation of others in their daily lives, and would be able to draw upon their life experience for these meaning resources.

These deliberations put Group participants' experiences of fashion meaning at a considerable remove from more evaluative data collection in Elite interviews. Therefore implementation of the semi-structured interview schedule in Group interviews necessitated interventions for encouraging disclosure. The assumption that participants *could* verbally provide reliable evidence of clothing in use, that is to say, in experience, as well as reliable attributions of garment characteristics to group affiliation might then be reasonable; but it did not mean that they necessarily *would* do so in an interview situation. Young men, particularly in South Africa, are not much in the habit of holding protracted conversations about their own or others' clothing appearance.

Another likely difficulty in articulating experiences might have been exacerbated for Group interview participant by reluctance to express opinions to a group of strangers. 'Speaking to the public gallery' or a broader audience who will be presented with research results is Gamson's way (1992:19) of describing 'public discourse' which is subject to norms that participants might be reluctant to violate. What participants might feel comfortable about saying in private might possibly not be ventured in the interview setting. The middle path taken by Gamson in his own study was what he refers to as 'sociable public discourse' - a blend of social conversation and public discourse (Gamson, 1992:20). Speaking to the gallery was a given for participants in Group interviews; to counteract this they were encouraged to respond spontaneously without

thought for the formulation of committed opinions. To this end, the following shortened 'ice breaker' shown overleaf introduced Group interview participants to the interview process:

"there cannot be any right or wrong comments - both positive and negative comments are fine, and I'm very interested in them - it would be strange if there were only positive ones - in the process of discussing these garments when somebody says something it makes you able to identify what you think - we sort of feed off one another, that's how a normal conversation works - we don't need the Queen's English, feel free to use slang, sometimes it means more - don't worry if you want to contradict someone - nothing is cast in stone, there's no certainties - if you said something earlier you can change your mind later - there are many meanings there's never one meaning there's a whole lot of meanings - it'll take about 40 minutes and there'll be time to pause and relax and think about things".

A further concern was that the 'male gaze'\* might inhibit discussion of appearance. According to Berger, cited by Barnard (1995:113) men *act*, and women *appear*.

Self-evaluation of appearance might not be considered a male 'act' by participants. Appearance might be seen as passive and female gendered - appearance implies being looked upon, whereas looking is an act, and one which by Berger's account has been culturally and historically a male preserve. To counter this problem, participants were asked to venture their thoughts on who might wear the garment items, and were not prevailed upon to reveal their own appearance preferences. By this means Group interview participants could in a masculine sense *act* by judging the appearance of others who might wear items of the garment sample, albeit other *men*.

They were asked to recall and reflect on their intersubjective experience - a view of other male identities and practices in social life, which would refract their own interpretive resources.

To allay any anxieties participants might have had about their ability to cope with interviews, they were asked to co-operate in the exercise, excerpted overleaf.

\*Mulvey (1989:16 - 19) has made active and passive distinctions between the ways in which men look, and how women are looked upon. The male gaze is her term for active, male gendered looking (Barnard 1996:114).

My questions as interviewer are indicated by the letter 'I' and participant responses are indicated by the letter 'R' or 'Rs' in the case of simultaneous responses.

- I: I want you to close your eyes and think about a meal you would really like to eat and picture it in your mind - just something you would really like to eat and when you've got that picture in your mind I'd like you to nod your head when I see everybody's nodded their head I'll know everybody's thought of the meal they'd like to eat . . . . . - OK open your eyes.
- I: Hilton what did you think of?
- R: A nice fillet steak with mushroom (laughter) mash potato and gravy.
- I: Mash potato and gravy - that sounds wonderful. Marlin?
- R: Spareribs.
- I: Spareribs what with?
- R: Just with a lot of sauce and peri-peri.
- I: Garlic or peri-peri that sounds wonderful and Bruce?
- R: A tower zinger rounder (laughter).
- I: What on earth is that?
- R: It's a tower rounder the big one like a chilli zinger rounder.
- I: The chilli zinger one now where would you eat that?
- R: At Kentucky.
- I: Okay now your meal would you make it at home Hilton.
- R: I could make it myself or . . . . .
- I: Anybody else go for Hilton's meal?
- R: I would probably burn the meat though.
- I: Bevan?
- R: A Cheddarmelt steak.
- I: Cheddarmelt steak is this something you eat at home or in a restaurant?
- R: Nope you have to buy it in a restaurant.
- I: Is there anybody here with a favourite meal that they are going to cook themselves?
- R: Ja, pap and tripe (pap is a thick maize porridge).
- I: Ah pap and tripe and you make it?
- R: Well I can't make it they would make it at home.
- I: So who would make it for you?
- R: My mother can make it I am in the process of being taught how to do it (laughter).
- I: Okay Garth what would yours be?
- R: Steers Tikka burger.
- I: There's a lot of restaurant meals here. Now tell me these meals are they going to be eaten on your own or with someone else?
- Rs: Depends hey. Depends on who's paying for it (laughter).
- R: No you pay for it. When you go out, with something at home you don't really have it.
- I: So maybe each person might have two favourite meals one to have at home and one to have out?
- R: Ja, mainly a weekend thing.
- I: Right maybe a weekend thing. Okay so you can see that there are associations that we can make just with a meal - that's just how easy this (interview) process is. I ask questions except you don't have to imagine a meal like you just did because we look at the garments and we talk about them in exactly the way we have done now - okay? What we're going to do first is we're going to describe what the garment is. I'm going sit to over here where I have some notes so that I won't be in the way.
- R: Sit well to it (laughter).

I had misgivings about this rather patronizing approach, but a good rapport was achieved here, and simultaneous responses along with laughter indicated a relaxing of self-consciousness. Discussion moved easily toward the situating of favourite meals in contexts of time, place, occasion and other people. Later unfolding of association in interviews formed a similar pattern of intermittent fragments of response by different participants, leading to amalgamations of meaning.

Three interviews were conducted, the first of which functioned to pilot participant sampling and the interview schedule. However, use of the interview schedule was refined over all three Group interviews.

Morgan (1998a: 10) advises that focus groups work best when there is a match between the interest of the researcher and the participants. Participants were apprised of my research objectives in a simplified way at the start of interviews, although my approach to characterizing research altered experimentally over the three Group interviews, with possibly different effects, which are mooted toward the end of Part 3. My own role in moderating group development of research data was motivated both by professional experience and the potential impact of theory upon research questions.

Interviewer detachment is an impossible claim; interviewers who give something of themselves are more likely to be rewarded with authentic data (Robson and Foster, 1989:28). Implementation of the interview schedule therefore strove to judiciously facilitate the emergence of authentic data by means of my active participation and receptivity to important points. Gamson, in his book 'Talking Politics' views the pursuit of naturalness in a focus group situation as a red herring. Research interviews cannot be 'natural' in the sense that they are planned and purposeful (Gamson, 1992:19). Time and place arrangements, participation of the researcher and other factors condition the generation of data in a group discussion.

## **PART 3**

### **REPORT ON DATA COLLECTION**

This report of data collection gives an account of issues which occasioned later departures in my thinking. Appraisal of data collection in Chapter 3 deals with decisions made in respect of these issues.

#### **Elite Interviews**

As per Section A of the schedule Elite participants readily described in garments professional terms of style type, whether asked for these defining descriptions or not. Identification of style type engendered in some cases explicit elaborations of social meaning; in some cases such description seemed merely to provide an introductory neutral space between broad and more specific observations. Explanatory instances of lifestyle activities and practices in which garments might be seen in use were volunteered along with more specific social and cultural attributions of garment meaning, for example to sexuality and masculinity. Observations on the national origin of garments (British, American) were frequent, as were references to white, black, English and Afrikaans South African consumer groups. Social description of groups across interviews was associated with youth activities such as rave, clubbing, or surfing, or more affluent lifestyles, for example that of a company director.

These were seen as exemplifying the institutional contexts of garments in use in Section A 2 of the interview schedule. Constructions of meaning around social practices and activities combined institutional interpretive contexts and also imbricated fashion evaluations. Descriptions of garment styling and assemblage as a distinctive mode of wearing these garment items were linked to institutional contexts. Interpretations concerning institutional contexts subsumed judgements of consumer acceptance and rejection, so that actively pursuing these aspects of the interview schedule (Section A 2.1 and 2.2) was far less necessary than anticipated. Amalgamations of



judgement and description could be recognised as ideologically based, pre-empting any need to try to pursue ideology in Elite specialist discourse. Additive and interactive effects of the garment sample (as per Section C of the Interview Schedule) were seen when Elite participants grouped some garments in terms of general meanings, comparing them in terms of the degree to which they might, for instance be sporty, or relaxed, or fashionable. At the same time garments were comparatively isolated to more specific paradigms of meaning.

The more intricate relationships of contingent or systemic meaning sought in Sections B and C of the schedule were felt to be somehow present, but could not with any certainty be held to apply before analytical scrutiny of data.

Elite participants as experts were not constrained to discount or dispute my suggestions of meaning association, and felt free to expand or qualify ideas. Specific terms of description, interpretation and evaluation provided avenues of enquiry for follow-up in other Elite and Group interviews. Examples of these specific terms can be seen in the transcripts of these interviews, which are included in Volume II.

### **Research Garment Sample**

One garment was found to lack significance for research and therefore discarded. This was Garment 4, a Corduroy Western trucker jacket with contrast quilted lining and piping. Elite participants described this garment in ways that indicated spurious differentiation from other garments; the extent of styling adaptation obscured meaning and the photograph was insufficiently clear. One retailer identified the absence of a particularly meaningful garment style: a padded nylon sport parka. This was substituted for the Corduroy Western trucker jacket, Garment 4. Only one Elite participant, but all Group interview participants were then shown a nylon padded sport parka as Garment 4.

Four of the six Elite participants interviewed were asked to comment on the garment sample (as my omission in the case of the remaining two interviews). Their comments show the sample to be a well-differentiated cross-section of marketplace styling. Elite interviews yielded sufficient social and fashion difference data to foster confidence in the research garment items as projectively useful for Group interviews. (Elite interview transcripts in Volume II show comments on the garment sample).

### **Focus Group interview 1 – Pilot Interview Report**

Research aims were explained to pilot interview participants as investigation of the meanings of currently available garments. I stressed that the impressions of young men not involved in fashion were sought in respect of these garments. The following points were noted:

This interview was animated by participants' obvious interest in interpreting garments. Laughter could frequently be heard, but did not necessarily indicate humour; ventured interpretations that were not particularly funny, were greeted with laughter by other participants, sometimes as a sign of embarrassment or dissent. Very definite and often opposing positions were taken by participants toward garments.

A satisfactory level of participation amongst participants was established; although two participants tended to dominate the interview initially, they facilitated entrée to the verbalising of imaginative thought for other participants. Allowing reticent participants leeway in not responding at the start of the interview meant that they could contribute more authentically when encouraged by the flow of talk. Contestation, interruptions, interjections by participants, and a great diversity of garment interpretations characterized this interview. Comparison among garments was suggested by me, but equally initiated by participants.

Participants interactively built associative meaning with alacrity and great freedom of expression, sometimes with two, three or four participants responding in unison, and with highly varied interpretations.

Potter and Wetherell (1987:164) assert that consistency is less desirable than variation in the discourse mode of research because it reveals little of the full range of associations people use in constructing the meaning of their social world. If fashion meaning is to be found in both identification and differentiation from norms within cultural diversity (Kaiser, 1997:453-457) then fashion discourse is best investigated in terms of variety and contradiction.

Garments were shown first three at a time to participants in this pilot interview; at the end of this process all nine garments were assembled for further comment. The busy immediacy of interview dialogue imposed the need to remember and interpret discussion, to offer summary descriptions as interpretation of what had been said, and to re-propose these interpretative descriptions comparatively among garments. Specific interpretative descriptions from Elite interviews or of my own could be interposed as suggestions only when they could be ventured without undue directive emphasis. The fast pace of participants' comparisons and interpretations of garments as they were shown in groups of three were as prolific as they were various. Garments were shown in subsequent interviews one at a time and then all together, in order to elicit data in a less haphazard way.

Tactics for pursuing changing fashion meaning through the intersecting areas of enquiry of the interview schedule are more fully discussed as they evolved over the three interviews in the account of these, which follows.

### **Participant and Researcher Generation of Data over Group interviews**

My characterization of research purposes over the three Group interviews moved from an unspecific and open inquiry into the associations of young men not involved in fashion in the pilot interview, to the investigation of 'other' consumers in the second interview, and finally to a definite

request for explanation of what sorts of young men would accept or reject the sample garments, and why, in the third interview. This progressively more explicit account of research objectives may have provoked attempts at demonstration of participant 'expertise' in research matters in the second and third interviews.

Interview 1 was enhanced by a Shakespearian 'fool' participant, whose provocatively humorous interjections and gung-ho attitude promoted the flow of dialogue. Knowing about fashion was a far more serious matter in subsequent interviews, and indeed provided interactional energy to the third interview where the presence of an 'expert' participant aroused contention and extended dialogue.

Interview 2 by contrast began in a stilted way, only reaching comfortable engagement among participants with garments after some time. Tension was generated by differences among Group participants, certain of whom were keen to distance themselves from the viewpoints and interpretations of others. A far higher degree of interviewer involvement was initially needed in this interview than for the first interview.

The key to Focus Group development of data lay in both participants' and researcher's co-operation in the search for meaning resources which could interpretively describe garments. However in interviews the subject of discussion changed, as participants interpreted my questions to suit their own experiences. They also combined meaning in interesting and significant ways – as an example: "that (garment) is average, disco".

For each participant to take a conversational turn, he had to interpret what had previously been said. Entering into these participant constructions of meaning required the use of suitably colloquial language, and also a search for alternative ways of phrasing questions and descriptions between interviews. It was imperative to strike a balance between suggestions and probes, listening and understanding, and saying nothing at all. Posing interpretations from Elite or previous interviews could only be done at opportune moments, and in such a way as to offer

these for ratification. Suggestions could be easily judged as worth pursuing by the instantaneous commitment of participant responses, as against responses of a hesitant or equivocal nature. Interpretation frequently called forth both consensus and dissenting viewpoints without the need for interviewer intervention, and comparisons among garments arose unprompted as much as at the interviewer's behest. Some interviewer probes were taken up without hesitation and with conviction; others were dodged by answering off the point.

The mix of socially and culturally different participants meant that descriptive colloquialisms and vocabularies were made available through interaction, helping with the conceptual and interpretive work of interviews, and fuelling contention. I was struck by discrepancies between individual participants' exposure to mass media: one participant described Garment 4 as suitable for a fireman, another associated this garment with snowboarding, an extreme sports theme in advertising at the time.

Institutional contexts were indexed from lived experience, comprising of anecdotes of social representation, originating in social interaction, and representing shared codes marked by social identity distinctions. Gamson, quoting Eisenstadt (1992:21), refers to 'legendary conversation' as facts and interpretations of facts blended to achieve consensus and enlist imaginative energies, a description which very much fits the pattern of participants interaction as conversational turn-taking developed into 'stories' about garments, generating further questions and answers. There were a few occasions when terms I used were misinterpreted – 'standing out from the crowd' was seen as a specific crowd and treated as my crowd versus your crowd, and nationality was confused with race. These misapprehensions were treated as productive diversions.

## **Focus Group Interviews 1, 2 and 3 – Developing Use of the Interview**

### **Schedule**

The interview schedule more than catered for generation of fashion meaning data, but this emerged in a very dense way. The reckoning given here with what was achieved through the

interview schedule is intended to prepare the ground for later modifications of methodological approach.

## SECTION A: CODIFIED AND MODIFIED FASHION MEANING

As with Elite interviews and according to Section A 1.1 of the interview schedule I sought a designatory means of identifying garments – a denotative or referential name for garments under discussion which, I assumed, might bring forth codified associations, and also distinguish meanings modified by garment adaptation. Participants found garments difficult to characterize in terms of an identifying 'name' label of genre, a difficulty which in some cases had the effect of moving discussion to connotations of the 'institutional' connotations of garments 'in use' as per Section A 2 of the interview schedule in interview 1. The attempt to distinguish design features which might qualify 'archaetypal' meanings of sample garments was counterproductive; what was first noticed was indeed first noticeable data, and not to be sacrificed to the coherence of the research agenda. First noticeable meaning did however in some instances significantly index garment design features, with the possibility that these represented adaptational and modified meaning. In order to leave this question more open, it was phrased in neutral and more broadly screening terms such as "What's the basic idea about this?" or "What do you recognise this as?"

Associative responses varied upon all institutional contexts, sometimes contingently combining these areas of meaning with assemblage or garment styling features or fashionability judgements in frankly derisive or appreciative ways. In interview 2 these qualifications of meaning were more specifically elicited by using simpler language for the binary oppositions in Section A 2.1 such as "Is this typical?" and "Would you say it's classic?".

'Fashionability' as an institutional concept came in both questions and responses to imbricate acceptance and rejection as in the question 'Would he stand out?' (referring to the person described by participants as the wearer of a sample garment). These responses were often

conditional upon descriptions of 'Image'; indeed institutional contexts proposed by the interview schedule mostly surfaced in combination.

As examples of lifestyle and social identity for garment 8:

DENZIL It's more of a community sort of a jacket you wear it round the area when you visit your friend or something, when it's raining you put it on, you won't get wet –

GREG Driving in your Volvo (general laughter) -

BRIAN In the 'burbs –

(Interview 1)

ALAN It strikes me as the kind of jacket that somebody would wear to go camping but they wouldn't camp, they'd stay in a chalet. It's used for camping but they wouldn't want to rough it too much, it's a comfortable camping jacket

(Interview 3)

These comments were often ideologically inflected, as the excerpt above reveals. In the following example of image and the body in Garment 4, the letter 'I' indicates the interviewer:

SCOTT - It makes you very big as well.

I - Makes you big looking?

DAVE – Macho.

I - You think big guys would wear it? Or would skinny guys wear it to look big?

SCOTT - Big guys and small guys – not in between guys.

JEFF - Skinny homeboys.

(Interview 2)

Masculinity was discussed in all three interviews, but variously upon garments 1, 2 and 6. As an example, the colour as a design feature of Garment 1 was found 'girlish'.

JABU - Well, as you (*referring to another participant*) said it suits women. (general laughter) (No response. Respondents laugh and titter)

I - Is it something which you would find quite masculine or not?

Rs - Ay! No. It's not masculine at all.

JEFF - Ay I would think not, no. Girlish boys would wear that. (SCOTT laughs)

I - Girlish boys would? Is that because of the fabric, or because of the (JEFF -

No, you do get nice corduroy jackets (MITCH Mmmn) but Ay!) (ROD the colour) the colour is, if this was in navy (ROD - like if you get a Khaki colour) then you wouldn't say it's girlish, it depends on the colours and all that there).

OK so it's the colour (Rs yes, ja) right, that helps quite a lot - let's have the next one

(Interview 2)

Remarks about sexuality appeared in Group interviews as well as in Elite interviews:

I so are there colours here that you think are more masculine or less masculine?

BRIAN No. 2 you need to come out of the closet - you just haven't come to terms with the fact (general laughter).

I No. 2 Brian?

BRIAN I don't like no 2 hey jus.... I reckon you gay if you (general laughter) haven't come to terms with it yet - (Interview 1)

I No. 6 you feel is more fashionable because of the fabric. How's about the fit on the body?

SCOTT Ja and it does look like it would hang more tightly to the body even if it's quite loose.

I Yes it is a tighter fit - so now how do you feel about tight garments?

ROD Ay, faggot (some laughter). (Interview 2)

Leisure activities associated with practices and social identity are exemplified by this excerpt, which refers to Garment 6:

MIKE Going back to your going out, if you going to a rave you going to wear No. 6 you going to dance the whole night anyway (WAYNE and you'd be on drugs) - if you're going to go out in No. 4 you're not going to dance that much. (BRIAN You're standing around, looking cool) (WAYNE because you sweat too much) (Interview 1)

Fashionability judgments were frequently assimilated into institutional contexts of 'in use' or 'as seen' interpretation by Group interview participants. As indications of 'fences or bridges' between identification and differentiation (Barnard 1996:37) these data instances made a start toward finding divisive fashion meaning. Garment assemblage was discussed with ease and alacrity, whether or not cued by the interviewer. Volunteered evaluations of garments allowed me to venture an opposite stance as per the dialectically opposed terms of meaning in Section A 2 of the interview schedule. Some meanings appeared to allude to generic and public memory associations and others to more novel meanings arising from garment styling connection with current media representations of social life.



## **SECTION B: MEANING CONTINGENCY**

As the excerpts above show, signified meanings in some cases operated as referents as per section B of the interview schedule, moving from broad interpretations such as "winter, casualwear" to assemblage and garment styling. But these explanations were dispersed over interviews, among participants and between many spontaneous or prompted comparisons of garments. Superordinate importance of assemblage, style genre, style features, or contexts of use could not be established because the busy interviewer role of following, directing, maintaining and responding to shifts in meaning mitigated against this goal. The notion of finding older and newer meanings was in retrospect naïve – some meanings were, as I should have expected, new for some participants and old for others and vice versa.

## **SECTION C: MEANING ASSOCIATION**

Associations in all interviews were dispersed throughout the play of differential meaning upon assemblage, garment styling features, social identities, activities and practices, and culturally summative attributions of meaning indicating both new and older 'public memory' associations.

Participants' responses were probed in terms of difference among garment sample items over all interviews, and revisited when all garments were shown together, allowing for the pooling of these terms for final comparison of additive and interactive degree and range of meaning. Different garments as signifiers combined the same meanings, or evinced these meanings to a greater or lesser extent, or drew upon entirely different and distinguishing meanings.

## **SUMMARY REMARKS**

The requisite extent of data collection for Morgan, per Glaser and Strauss (1998b: 78) is a question of theoretical saturation, or of finding the full extent of what there is to observe. Interviews yielded a more than sufficient plurality of descriptions of places, people, events, and practices.

Some common meanings across all interviews could be discerned. For instance colour was the major meaning referent for Garment 1 in all interviews, and garment design features predominated with reference to Garment 9. Interpretations across interviews also very often mentioned nationality, ethnicity and what can be termed 'regionality': social identity attributions which repeatedly referred to men from different parts of the country (Cape Town, Johannesburg, Pretoria, the small country town of Mooi River); and urban or rural men (farmers, country types, country types in the city). In addition, participants across interviews referred repeatedly to black men and also to Afrikaans men.

One problem of data collection scope pertained to the recruitment of Group interview participants. All participants resided in the Greater Durban Metropolitan area. In view of the study aim of investigating the *national* menswear mass market, this narrow demographic feature of the participant sample might have been a weakness but for the fact that Group interview participants drew heavily on comparisons of social identity involving young men from other parts of South Africa. This meaning resource for fashion interpretation was so extensively evident across Elite and Group interviews as to allow a reasonable supposition that nationally recruited participants or participants from other cities would have drawn upon the same interpretive frame of reference.

Otherwise, observation of active systems of fashion meaning seemed replete, notwithstanding that theoretical issues around changing fashion meaning were unresolved at the stage of data collection.

Vignettes of verbal interpretation of the garment sample by Elite and consumer Group interview participants over all interviews are given on the following nine pages, along with photographs of the garment items. These comprise of discourse events which have been assembled here to show the scope of data elicited across in interviews. The presentation format of these excerpts is intended to show data which existed only as dispersed fragments of associative meaning, before analytical scrutiny. Elite interview data is shown as a composite of all Elite interviews.

FIGURE 2.3 GARMENT 1 DISOURSE FRAGMENTS ACROSS INTERVIEWS



#### ELITE INTERVIEWS

Too pristine Supposed to be grunge market but doesn't succeed  
Layered garment Zip alienates consumers Luxury purchase Youngest A button closure you wear against the body a zip you wouldn't Spends a lot of time outdoors More laid back than 6 and 7 Generous shaped body Comfortable Fashion colour which comes and goes This particular guy would have a knowledge of fashion trends Lots of guys wouldn't like to wear it as a shirt because of the zip Appeals to students Worn to college, to the movies A junior consumer 16 – 25 years old Street wear orientated Airwolf or Sketcher sneakers A baggier jean, slightly sloppy Skate board lifestyle Extreme sports Rave Culture Fashion forward Young Concerned with image Expects people to notice him Biker boots

#### GROUP INTERVIEW 1

Orange Very trendy Tie it around your waist Little bit untidy Pyjama pants! No. 1 and No. 5 are very individual The pockets make it a jacket not a shirt Very smart No. 1 and 6 you can wear without a shirt underneath Take it off, throw it on the ground Still lives at home Untidy No. 1 and 6 goes with second hand jeans He's gay People wearing No. 1, 5 and 6 are not bothered about brand names

#### GROUP INTERVIEW 2

Colour is too bright You wouldn't know what to wear it with It suits women Models Arty people High fashion kinds of people Sixties era Somebody who's fashion conscious Girlish boys would wear that Used to be very popular 6, 7 and 2 are more fashionable

#### GROUP INTERVIEW 3

Sunday shopping Take a drive somewhere You couldn't wear it with blue jeans He uses his clothes to grab attention to himself Will drive a BMW The colour gives it a feminine look No co-ordination It's cheap Not actually even a shirt When you have got a bit of cash Sunday, shopping, take a drive somewhere Retros type jol



FIGURE 2.4 GARMENT 2 DISCOURSE FRAGMENTS ACROSS INTERVIEWS



#### ELITE INTERVIEWS

Conservative white male Preppy  
 Mid-market Base ball, basket ball  
 A classic Jeans Cowboy boots –  
 American dream Very college  
 Easy to understand, been around for a  
 long time Different but not bold  
 Traditional Comfortable More  
 conservative than No. 1 Conformist  
 Appeals irrespective of culture race or  
 culture Bomber jacket turtle neck collar  
 and padded contrast sleeves and snapper  
 buttons with a welted bottom Universal  
 American college boy look Jeanswear  
 related Slightly more sophisticated  
 than No. 1 Fila shoe type guy Slightly  
 older guy than No. 1 American football  
 Wide appeal Worn with jeans,  
 track suit pants, shorts  
 Been around since the 50's

#### GROUP INTERVIEW 1

Hurricane jacket Status jacket Bomber jacket Nerds  
 Like my old matric jacket Looks like a bouncer Thinks he's  
 cool..back to the future, that movie Michael J Fox jacket The UNCOOL  
 part of the 80's He still hasn't realised that it's 1997 Very fashionable among  
 non-whites An everyday kind of guy Weekend Relaxing at home 2 and 4 are  
 for skinny guys Accountant He's stuck in the 80's Puffy  
 With 2 and 9 you wear track suit pants

#### GROUP INTERVIEW 2

Cold Casualwear Disco Homeboys Yuppies  
 Fashion statement Wear to the movies  
 Quite an 'in thing' Not eye catching Not a classic I wouldn't really notice it  
 Typical Comfortable 9 and 2 are the people who want to blend in

#### GROUP INTERVIEW 3

Putrid JOHANNESBURG type thing Guy who wears shorts Maritzburg  
 It's always in your boot A practical thing Look at his shoes  
 Grandparent's gift Nothing special



FIGURE 2.5 GARMENT 3 DISCOURSE FRAGMENTS ACROSS INTERVIEWS



#### ELITE INTERVIEWS

Boring Thinks he's smart Older  
 Black market appeal because of the  
 colouration Young people will not be seen  
 dead in it because of the elastication at  
 the bottom Corduroy pants acrylic striped  
 T-shirt in La Coste Afrikaans  
 Woollen type Traditional English/  
 Continental because of the tweed Very  
 distinct look It's very Jo'burg, CBD, rural  
 areas Olive and mustard A formal trouser,  
 not jeans Traditional A printed viscose or  
 sheeny type shirt Collared T-shirt Classic  
 Achiever Conservative British gentlemen's  
 club A-income person Doesn't want to  
 make a loud statement Quality trousers  
 Brogue shoes Bomber silhouette Preppy  
 Not worn with denims Smart Casual Very  
 differentiated Conformist Likes to be seen  
 as affluent and stylish Shows his status  
 openly Appreciates quality

#### GROUP INTERVIEW 1

'Preppy' 'Plaid' Sports Drive in the countryside jacket GAME of golf More upperclass  
 You'll feel more hot Too tight around the waist Smart person Midlands Old toppie  
 3 and 8 are sophisticated Hardly actually get them anymore It's neater Too outdated  
 You'll tuck your shirt in Neat people Bomber type You've got to have it  
 Closed Khaki pants Brown hard leather shoes High achiever yuppies  
 Like way back Financially bound He's got a nice job, he's stable  
 Trendy shoes You get curling in Pockets are a bit low  
 No. 3 and No. 9 same neighbour hood different age groups

#### GROUP INTERVIEW 2

Classy The colour The make Too much like work The design, the collar  
 'Father' fabric Older Looks expensive Woolworths  
 You feel great if you're wearing it Golf, Polo players Grey trousers Formal brogues  
 Shoes not takkies T-Shirt with a collar Even a tie 2 and 3 are classy  
 Mature crowd Affluent Enjoys a formal occasion 3 I'd would wear with chinos

#### GROUP INTERVIEW 3

That's a papa's jacket That's image Working class jacket Black culture  
 Design is brilliant Old fashioned tweed Classy Black guys from the rural areas  
 Trying to look good in the city That kind of material Simple, yet elegant 3, 8 and 2 are older



FIGURE 2.6 GARMENT 4 DISCOURSE FRAGMENTS ACROSS INTERVIEWS



#### ELITE INTERVIEW

Has missed the boat completely Got too much on it Young guys will not be seen dead in LA gear Not trendy enough Sneakers, like sketchers Trying to be a rave jacket but it's not the label for rave

(This garment replaced a previous Garment 4 which was discarded from the sample. It was therefore shown to only one of six elite participants. Please refer to page 54 for an explanation of the replacement of Garment 4 in the sample).

#### GROUP INTERVIEW 1

Fire Brigade Rapper with baggy jeans A skinny guy in big pants Snoop doggy dog He'd drive a huge car American 'Image' garment Nightclub sort of thing New establishment Would run a man amok Packing a gun Gangsta rap Thugs It's hot but comfortable Brand conscious Got to have the hood Muscles Not a white person's jacket White person MIGHT wear that in the snow Zips, panel lines Car radio on one side and spare beer on the other side Has to be oversized Too much of details Black car, black windows 4 and 8 are brand conscious Indians love these jackets Drive-by When it's straight at the bottom You can still wear your T-shirt out

#### GROUP INTERVIEW 2

Gangster type Fashion victim unless it's out at sea Use it as a sleeping bag Hiking Not involved with crime but the whole image Makes you very big Macho It reminds me of a walk in the 'berg hell of a lot of mist Hiking type of jacket Skinny home boys Swedish American

#### GROUP INTERVIEW 3

Nylon Shiny effect Hip hop Rave jacket Outdoor raves Cruising jacket, you drive around in it you don't really go in places Very American gangster More for image Popular amongst everyone Blacks, Indians Too forward 4 and 7 make you stand out Too loud They go to far different places they act different, they talk different



FIGURE 2.7 GARMENT 5 DISCOURSE FRAGMENTS ACROSS INTERVIEWS



#### ELITE INTERVIEWS

Worn by everybody white, black  
 All age groups Conservative silhouette  
 Guy will not be sophisticated enough to  
 wear it with a Chino Has a  
 black market connotation Doesn't look  
 right 100% Gangster style Middle to  
 low class customer People would  
 say "hey you are looking cheap"  
 A bit seedy People may be threatened  
 by the biker connotation but pretty  
 acceptable With a white T shirt and  
 slim fit jeans Quite retro Unweltd  
 at the bottom – indicates a more  
 sophisticated lifestyle It suits a classic  
 European type image Would wear  
 a classic regular fit jean Definitely  
 branded A trendy younger affluent guy  
 Very particular, a certain customer  
 Slimmer cut levis Likes to be  
 seen in the right places  
 Inspired by skin head type  
 Leatherette detracts from status

#### GROUP INTERVIEW 1

Wears out quite quick Sort of retro If it was like a tighter more  
 Bob Dylan thing Heavy metal all black Cheesy Blue denims and a white T-shirt  
 Sixties throw-back 'Grease' Black glasses, no lenses in them Trendy guy with a  
 motor bike Like kind of almost 70's Always been in fashion Anytime  
 The cuff puts it in a bit of a class If it was shorter it would take away the retros  
 feel That's a little bit biker Maybe lose the detail No. 5 and  
 No. 8 don't care what other people think

#### GROUP INTERVIEW 2

Only genuine leather Need the Harley People would laugh at you  
 If it's trying to look like rubber it's nice but if it's trying to look like leather its a bit shit  
 Goes with a GTI with the sheepskin inside Guy with the shades Very cheap  
 Biker Bit too ravey Sporty look 3 and 5 have a leather look

#### GROUP INTERVIEW 3

Big IMAGE person Retros Looks leather but it's plastic Biker  
 A semi expensive car, souped up with big spoiler, tinted windows A try hard  
 It's too plain, it's trying to be rebellious but it's not



FIGURE 2.8 GARMENT 6 DISCOURSE FRAGMENTS ACROSS INTERVIEWS



#### ELITE INTERVIEWS

Person would go to soccer if not play it themselves A more athletic body Average South African male would find it too feminine A young age compared with 7 Colour is for a bolder person Person who wears No. 9 would not wear No. 6 It makes too much of a statement V neck is a fashion detail Day wear Retro striping down the sleeves Slightly slimmer fitting Influenced by 50's and 60's culture Jeans wear related during the day, clubbing/rave in the evening Worn as the going out item 6 is more fringe than 7 Fabric is more risqué than 7 Is the most challenging to accepted social norms Tape detail down the arms Your trendy white younger customer that goes off to a rave Would wear baggy loose denims 6 and 1 are more exhibitionistic 6 is the youngest one

#### GROUP INTERVIEW 1

Superman Sleepshirt! Fashion sweatshirt Sportswear People will see you Not in that RED colour A skinny white boy thing Gay The minute you put a sticker on it people will back off Going to a rave You'd be on drugs Stripes down its sleeves, very British 'Oasis' look Very soccer Blur Not gay Very Peter Gallagher Medium build Active Skinny grungy Dietwise 6 and 7 are sports orientated

#### GROUP INTERVIEW 2

Colour's very loud Surfer and Raver Techno freak 6, 7 and 1 you wear with sneakers Soccer shirt Looks like a pyjama Faded jeans Party shirt You can spot it Ay, faggot Won't buy that Old jeans Bellbottoms Sportswear 6, 7 and 4 go towards the future Redone cycle shirt from the 70's It's bright it's tight 6 and 7 are both trendy but 6 is kind of arty

#### GROUP INTERVIEW 3

Raver Image kind of person Big headed person, wants to be noticed 6 and 7 are younger Michael Jackson's concert at night Not practical For night-time Places where there's a lot of light Will make you stand out Only if you're in the right crowd 6, 7 and 4 will make you stand out



FIGURE 2.9 GARMENT 7 DISCOURSE FRAGMENTS ACROSS INTERVIEWS



#### ELITE INTERVIEWS

Probably worn by older  
than younger guys because of the  
collar Won't appeal to black market  
Will wear Cats or hope to wear LA  
Gear shoe More gangster rap with the  
polyester soccer type fabric It's a mixture  
between a racing jacket where  
they colour block the centre and leisure  
because of the collar and zip,  
and the logo Very sporty  
More commercial than the others  
Could be worn with a track  
bottom Is around the age of 25  
A clubber type person—more fashionable  
A gym goer An early innovation of  
the 50's and 60's Very styled and  
your V neck these days Is worn with a  
normal jean or track suit pants  
7 is connected with rap rather than rave

#### GROUP INTERVIEW 1

Rugby player, Rugby supporter Sportsperson Sportswear  
British football Neo nazi punk American  
Nylon soccer jersey Sports game European American Gym boy 7 and 6 very pommie  
The name counts a lot Standing around, looking cool  
Soccer player Sportscafe Just finished gym  
6 and 7 have an European feel to them 6 and 7 are totally different

#### GROUP INTERVIEW 2

Rugby Ice hockey game Student Raver  
A skater You just stick in the crowd Bit too ravey Trying a bit too hard  
Sport watching 6 and 7 are very outgoing, very outspoken

#### GROUP INTERVIEW 3

A raver Night time Nightclub That would stand out Strictly for places like 330  
People try to avoid labels You never see 'Adidas' written Very  
SPORTY Fast paced Not someone who plays golf  
Techno and trance Americanised 6, 7 and 4 are younger A MOVER



FIGURE 2.10 GARMENT 8 DISCOURSE FRAGMENTS ACROSS INTERVIEWS



#### ELITE INTERVIEWS

English country gentleman  
 Definitely Woolworths Traditional Broader  
 Consumer doesn't understand 8 they  
 haven't seen it before Yuppie jacket Wine  
 farmer from Stellenbosch who wants a very  
 affluent look They have a 4 x 4 Goes to  
 'Mannors' in order to be seen  
 Sophisticated guy with the right car, the  
 right house in the right suburb Has a big  
 history It's universal Barbour jacket Mr  
 Cool Wearing a La Coste polo T shirt,  
 bulky leather shoes thick sole Buys all the  
 latest brands Wears a checked Friday type  
 shirt A company CEO with a trout farm  
 Came from English hunting Association  
 with elite sports like polo Worn by middle  
 to older age consumer Out door type  
 jacket Fairly preppy Environment friendly  
 eco, trendy, nature lover More understated  
 social profile Hiking boots or even rubber  
 galoshes Out on a farm Camping Keeps  
 you warm, keeps out wind

#### GROUP INTERVIEW 1

Wear in Cape Town Duck hunting Really practical Will keep you warm and dry  
 Walking to a friend's house when it's cold English Pommies Dri-Mac Driving in your Volvo  
 Trout fishing It's almost a belvedere He's driving his landrover  
 In the 'burbs With your gun rack Classy because of the inner coat, sophisticated  
 Any time of day Purpose orientated Waterproof Big class association  
 Going for a nice walk You buy that at Markhams, or at Woolworths  
 This is a lot of Blacks Look at the buttons Guy's got quite a big house and a lot of cars  
 He's a farmer with shorts on 3 is classy and 8 too but for different reasons

#### GROUP INTERVIEW 2

4 wheel drive Something my Dad would wear It's across the board  
 In the rain Canadian 8 and 9 are the oldest

#### GROUP INTERVIEW 3

Rugby or a braai at somebody's house European logos American,  
 Italian Farmers People who go outdoors Upmarket  
 Wear it with a pair of jeans Wear it with a pair of smart pants  
 Uptight 25 year olds with reasonable jobs With the lining it looks  
 expensive More mature Uncomfortable Too big, too long, too bulky  
 Boring Camping but they wouldn't camp, they'd stay in a chalet 8 and 3 are British  
 More of a trendy type jacket British, Polo Drives a big double cab bakkie Big hiking boots



FIGURE 2.11 GARMENT 9 DISCOURSE FRAGMENTS ACROSS INTERVIEWS



#### ELITE INTERVIEWS

One of those funny garments that try to be everything to everybody  
 Its got too many elements Mid market Worn with a jean but more probably a track suit bottom Will wear the Nike, Reebok trainers Missed the boat Walk in the park, throw a Frisbee with the dog Track suity and comfortable Very mass market Not too fashionable not too plain Mature conservative customer Would be worn to the gym or to a braai Polo over shirt, half zip detailing, contrast panel inserts silver tape detail Reebok cross-trainers On the weekend he would want to be a bit of a schloomp This is a Tommy Hilfiger knock-off Very leisure sport orientated Not worn to a rave Broad appeal 5 and 9 are saying 'look I run with the times' Wide range of body silhouettes

#### GROUP INTERVIEW 1

Jogger Very unisex No. 3 and No 9 same neighbourhood Wear at home 'Schloomper' A bit outdated Old school Something your Mom would buy for you Wear it 5 days a week Hardly wash it He cares min Anyone would wear that Very Americanised If your buddy rocks up, you take that off quickly! 9 and 7 are associating with sports, but 6 is just trendy Came here now and everyone swallowed it Not for going out Doesn't appeal to anyone Zip is too finicky Too big and too bulky No. 9 and No. 3 that his girlfriend shares with him on weekends

#### GROUP INTERVIEW 2

Over designed Sporty going for a jog You just look at it and you get distracted Doesn't look like it fits anybody nicely Bulky shirt Makes you look clumsy and big Going to gym Slob-ish In public you won't wear that In a bar but not a nightclub Not if I'm going out to supper No one will take notice of a person wearing that Quite 40-something In Hluhluwe this guy is great Track suit pants With jeans (that's doing it a favour)

#### GROUP INTERVIEW 3

Black American ABSOLUTELY TERRIBLE A father going to watch his son play rugby RURAL type of wear It looks fake Your Afrikaans type person Trying to LOOK cool Tommy Hilfiger? It's not something a person would wear to a bar Mooi River jacket Take a drive and go buy a newspaper You wouldn't let your friend see you in that jacket



## Chapter 3

### APPRAISAL OF RESEARCH DATA

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A critical appraisal of collected interview data is made in this chapter. This proceeds through a staged investigation of research interview response to sample garments.

The research design plan to elicit interpretive fashion difference and change data through a sample of garments in interviews was, with hindsight, over ambitious. At the beginning stage of appraising collected data, unwieldy amounts of pluralistic meaning mitigated against distilling interpretive modes of engagement with the garment sample.

I had not expected to find coherent sets of opinions and experiences in any research interviews. But the degree to which data collection generated meanings that were knotted together, superimposed upon each other was initially overwhelming. The isolated fragments of Elite and Group interview data on the previous pages show an assortment of somewhat related and completely unrelated interview talk. How this data might evidence interpretive and evaluative processes was a complex question, addressed first by transcription of all interviews.

The opportunity to compare data across interviews after transcription brought about some departures from the methodological tenets of fashion meaning derived from theory in Chapter 2.

Data appraisal involved a staged reckoning with what, in data collection, might and might not serve research interests. Each stage of appraisal grappled with initial conceptions of fashion meaning, pursued in data collection. Some mechanisms of fashion meaning found in generated data had to be held in temporary abeyance, so that others could be given concentrated attention. With growing understanding, a re-thinking of generative ideas discussed in Chapter 2 took place.

My strategy for staged appraisal was to examine interpretive aspects of interview data through a series of cross-sectional tabular displays. These are briefly described below:

Full transcription of all interviews constituted a first display, enabling inspection of shared and unshared meanings in Group interviews as they were organised by participants' sample garment readings. This is provided in Volume II.

Following transcription, a display of commonalities and differences in the content of Elite interviews was constructed.

A tabular review of interpretations in Group interviews followed, accompanied by attention to shifting collective and divisive meaning formations. Through this review, linkages between Group and Elite interview participants' interpretations per sample garment were made.

Fashion meanings indexed over Group and Elite interviews were then coded to allow a phenomenological view of interpretive essences.

After this, integrating discursive formations in further cross sections of all interview data were found, enabling a particular interpretive understanding of contextual fashion meaning.

Finally, evaluative 'idioms' of meaning that conditioned interpretation were identified by assembling these data instances in displays spanning all interviews.

## TRANSCRIPTION

My approaches to transcribing Elite professional interviews and Focus Group interviews were of necessity very different. In Elite interviews interpretations and evaluations of the sample garments were made far more directly than in Group interviews, where associative building of meaning arrived circuitously at interpretations.

## ELITE INTERVIEWS

In the case of Elite interviews, transcription was a relatively simple matter of repeatedly listening to audiotapes and transcribing verbatim reports of these discussions with attention to my own and Elite participants' turn taking. Interjections on my part or on the part of an Elite participant were recorded where they occurred, in order to keep track of dual contributions to these discussions. Elite remarks on the value of the garment sample were transcribed in italics, and attention was drawn to comments relating to the replacement of a sample garment, noted in Chapter 2. These transcripts are included in Volume II.

## GROUP INTERVIEWS

Group interview transcription presented the problem of faithfully representing who, among participants, said what in relation to which garment or garments. This transcription endeavour was essential to finding substantive evidence of interpretative processes in stages of data appraisal.

In keeping with a prior guarantee of anonymity, transcription of Group Interviews allotted pseudonyms to participants. Transcribing the busy immediacy of their various voices from audiotapes of interviews was an onerous task, requiring many hours of work, and raising unexpected difficulties. Turn-taking, interjection, intonation and emphasis, and the question of which garment or garments were being discussed at any one time all needed to be taken into account.

After some deliberation, a transcription scheme for showing interactive aspects of interviews was developed.

To start with, when several participants (at least two and often three) responded in the same way simultaneously the transcription code 'Rs' was used. When several participants responded

variously, but simultaneously, 'sR' was used. These codes offered one way of looking at meanings that were shared among participants.

The qualitative research software programme NUD\*IST was used in this study. This acronym stands for 'Non-Numerical Unstructured Data Indexing, Searching and Theorizing'. At the stage of importation into NUD\*IST, the raw (yet to be analysed) data had a rudimentary structure dividing participants' utterances into numbered text units, illustrated as follows by an excerpt from Group Interview 1. The letter 'I' indicates interviewer:

- 188 I - OK so we've got No. 4, there's No. 8, there's No. 7. So what we're first looking for is a basic description of what kind of garment is it?  
189 What do you say when you look at this here? (Shows No. 4)  
190 DENZIL - Fire Brigade.  
191 I - What type of garment is it? (DENZIL - for fire brigades) It's a what? Fire Brigade? (General laughter)  
192 GREG - I say like a rapper with the baggy jeans, crutch by your knees. (General laughter)  
193 sR - Ja, ja. (laughter) A real 'mutha' (I - 'Gangsta'?) Ja, Ja.  
194 DENZIL - A skinny guy in a big pants.  
195 BRIAN - Snoop doggy dog.  
196 GREG - He'd drive a huge car.  
197 THEMBA - American I reckon.  
198 I - OK so this is very American? Everybody agree with that?  
199 Rs - Ja, ja.

As this excerpt shows, there were times when participants interrupted one another. Interjections occurred when involvement in discussion became more intense, these were highlighted. Laughter, as I have noted in Chapter 2, was important to the relevance of remarks. These instances were also highlighted.

Dialogue boxes containing discussion of garments were shown together with adjacent placeholders for garments that were concurrently displayed and therefore available for comparison. When meaning was attributed to more than one garment, dialogue boxes were shaded. These simple graphic devices enabled monitoring of shared meanings between garments, and also assent in attribution of meaning among participants.

Group interview participants initiated many interpretations and comparisons between garments, but others were prompted by the researcher. For the purpose of discriminating between elicited and volunteered data my questions and responses were transcribed in colour, and placed outside of dialogue boxes when new probes or new garments were introduced. Vigilance over the production of data by myself as researcher and by participants was maintained in this way, permitting a view of shifts in interview dialogue.

Transcription then showed where shared meaning surfaced among participants and between garments, and where associative building of interpretations occurred. Graphical separations made for an initial organization of the interplay between participants and garments. Interview transcripts are shown in Volume II; use was made of their graphic arrangement at stages of data appraisal, and in the development of interpretive modelling in Chapter 4.

### **Transcription of Elite and Group Interviews as a point of departure**

Transcription is said to be an initial form of analysis (Morgan, 1997:56). Indeed, it was not possible to complete this transcription procedure without organizing data to some extent, or without forming some sense of the significance of data. Impressionistic insights gained during transcription were at odds with the carefully planned determinations of the Interview Schedule. Points of departure for appraisal of research data at this stage became necessarily pragmatic.

As professionals, Elite participants brought pre-formed and direct interpretations to evaluation of sample garments. Therefore I elected at this stage to look at comparative meaning content across Elite interviews, rather than examine the processual aspects of meaning formation suggested by the interview schedule.

Group interviews, on the other hand, provided the opportunity to observe protracted processes of meaning making. The *indexing* of meaning over garment sample items and amongst participants became an important focus.



A sense of connected meanings across all interviews also needed to be investigated.

## ELITE INTERVIEWS – DIFFERENCES AND COMMONALITIES

Differences among Elite participants' views of the garment sample are tabulated as conflicting meanings over all Elite interviews. Commonalities are tabulated as they occurred over two, three, four, or all interviews; appearance of commonalities in five interviews was not evident.

Here I must note that this was a preliminary assessment of Elite interview data, for purposes of investigating the integrity of this data set. Later significances of Elite interview data emerged in cross-sectional data comparisons over all interviews.

For the sake of brevity in this tabulation, instances where specific assemblages of footwear and pants styles were indicated for wearing with particular garment styles are referred to as 'specific assemblage'.

Table 3.1 overleaf shows a high level of related description; more importantly, the column on the right showing all interviews indicates commonalities of meaning. It could not be expected that different Elite participants would express their interpretations of garments using similar verbal terms, or that their views of sample garments would be uniform. Commonalities could be better described as related meanings. Overall, a degree of interpretive consistency of distinguishing terms (shown across all interviews) could be seen.

TABLE 3 1: DIFFERENCES AND COMMONALITIES OF MEANING IN ELITE INTERVIEWS

Garments 1 – 9 are shown in the first column

	DIFFERENCES	COMMONALITIES			
		Two Interviews	Three Interviews	Four Interviews	All Interviews
1	Laid back leisure Not too sporting Expects people to look at him Luxury purchase	Preppy Varsity College			Colour and zip Specific assemblage
2	5 and 2 same market Rugby watching More sophisticated than 1	Baseball College Masculine	American Traditional Universal		
3	3 is black , 8 is white 3 is smarter than 8 8 and 3 are careful dressers 8 and 3 have similar construction		British Expensive Affluent Status Stylish		Specific assemblage Older Conservative Traditional Smart casual Black Compared with 3
<b>Garment 4 ONE ELITE PARTICIPANT ONLY</b>					
5	Retro Classic European image Biker connotation 8 and 5 status conscious Black and Afrikaans customers	Both black and white consumers Particular to a certain customer Garage style Traffic style	Typical Classic		Leatherette fabric Cheap Not sophisticated Uneducated consumer Detracts from status
6	Retro Same as 1	Body conscious 6, 7 and 9 athletic		Un-masculine	Club/Rave Red velour fabric
7	Retro Street Gangster Rap Club Fringe Same customer as 4	Similar to 9 The same as 9	Older and less fashionable than 6		Specific garment styling features Compared with 6
8			Yuppie Informed trendy customer		English Status sports Country Specific garment styling features
9	Gym Braai	Specific garment styling features Not risky Mass market	Older	Tommy Hilfiger copy	Schloomp Throw a Frisbee with the dog Relaxed

## INDEXICALITY IN FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEWS

The formulation of meanings in Group interviews held intimations of important interpretative occurrences, not necessarily in line with the detailed theoretical understandings embraced in Chapter 2. Peirce's explanation of 'indexicality' (cited by Moriarty 2003:2) allowed me to entertain broad notions of intertextual meaning interactions, rather than interpretive determinations.

According to Peirce (*ibid*), non-verbally communicated meanings are motivated by some resemblance to their object. They thus indicate or index something that exists or has occurred - "such as a footprint means someone walked by or smoke means there is a fire", as Peirce explains (*ibid*). This concept of indexicality offered the possibility that interpretive indications might 'show' themselves in interview data, so that subjective researcher interpretations might be avoided.

An advantage of the circuitous nature of Group interview talk was that shifting indexical interpretation was open to inspection. Toren's ethnographic approach to qualitative enquiry (1996: 102-112) sensitized me to latent themes in interview talk.

Tabular displays of indexicality over the nine sample garments are accompanied by discussion over the following pages. Only meanings shared by two or more participants, (made evident by transcription) in respect of the nine sample garments are addressed. This does not mean that the utterances of individual participants were not shared. In interviews, participants did not opine where opinion was not necessary; the flow of talk in the interview setting naturally would not require assent or disagreement on all points of discussion. Also, there were extensive and sometimes very entertaining instances in data where individual participants singled out one or more garments as sharing the same meaning. However, these are not central to this exposition of indexicality and so are excluded.

GARMENTS 1 - 9

Garment 1

Dialogue around Garment 1 developed through shifts in meaning in Interviews 1 and 2, while in Interview 3 opposing viewpoints provoked expanded descriptions. In interview 3 shopping as a lifestyle activity “when you’ve got a bit of extra cash” echoed “luxury purchase” in an Elite interview. Going out, or going to a club were activities mentioned in two Group interviews. Again, Elite mention of someone who expects people to turn and look at him accorded with the Group interview participants who said that the wearer of Garment 1 “uses his clothes to grab attention to himself”. Specific reference to a white T-shirt and jeans was shared among participants across two interviews. These shared and repeated observations indexed what Toren has described as collective (meaning) processes, as they are manifest in the day-to-day relations between particular persons (1996:103).

TABLE 3.2 GARMENT 1 MEANINGS ACROSS GROUP INTERVIEWS

Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	All Interviews
Individual Casual Young Evening wear, going to a club Free-going 1 and 5 are individual Second-hand jeans	Suits women Arty people High fashion White T shirt, blue jeans Old tackies	Feminine For when you've got some extra cash Cheap T- shirt, blue jeans Uses his clothes to grab attention to himself For going out	Colour is wrong

**Garment 2**

Characterisations of this garment were expressed with ease, and without the need for associative building of meaning in dialogue. Elite participants described this garment as universal and traditional: this possibly explains why it could be so readily described and judged by Group interview participants. This garment was very acceptable to some participants in interview 2, but derogated by participants in the other interviews; such judgements were notably indexed upon assemblage. The feelings generated by this garment were as Toren describes, self-consciously historical and comparative (1996:103).

**TABLE 3.3 GARMENT 2 MEANINGS ACROSS GROUP INTERVIEWS**

<b>Interview 1</b>	<b>Interview 2</b>	<b>Interview 3</b>	<b>All Interviews</b>
Gay 9 and 2 are outdated Stuck in the 80's Skinny guys Wear with track suit pants	The in thing Winter, cold Common Wear to the movies Typical Wear with jeans Person who wants to blend in	Yuppie Grandparents' gift	

**Garment 3**

The interesting thing about Garment 3, considered by Elite participants as appealing to black consumers, was that both black and white individual participants saw it as stylish and classy and fashionable, although all considered it 'older'. Group interview participants were all young, but not all young in outlook.

Shared comparisons with Garment 8 shown on page 87 were notable across interviews. Indexed meanings were iconologically related, particularly in the revealed preferences evoked by very specific items of assemblage. The majority of participants distanced themselves by intonation and emphasis from these commonly held interpretations. Collective relations informed how participants as historically located subjects (Toren, 1996: 104) were likely to value this garment, beyond what they said. Toren points out that from an ethnographic point of view, everyone, everywhere, including ourselves, is the locus of the relations in which we engage with others and in which others engage with us (Toren, 1996:104). Garment 3 held codified public memory meanings which were strongly related to those evinced in Group interviews. Public memory meanings then were very divisive.

**TABLE 3.4 GARMENT 3 MEANINGS ACROSS GROUP INTERVIEWS**

Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	All Interviews
Golf Smart person How far you get in life Sophisticated High achiever yuppie	Golf With a cap Work or casual Can go with takkies Even a tie Quite different to other garments	Fabric is out of fashion 8 and 3 are British Person that wears No. 3 will wear No. 8 Black guys Rural He's got ambition	Old Classy Chinos Brown leather shoes Slip-ons Brogues Proper pants, trousers Design is important

**Garment 4**

Excepting reference to snowboarding, it can be seen Interview 1 that meaning attributions were not inimical. But this is in the eye of the interpreting beholder. Knowledge of media imagery surrounding hip hop gangster culture enables connection between these meaning elements. John Shotter (1996:3), in discussing image structured realities, talks of shared judgements as not a matter of either of chance or necessity, but a consequence of the dialogical nature of our social accomplishments. This dialogical nature of response is one of making and managing interactions in terms of joint actions and responses to joint circumstances. Meaning accordingly oscillated between circumstantial discussion of snowboarding, and hip hop in Interview 1. Formulation of meaning in Interview 2 developed from utility associated with the places where the garment would be worn to culturally ambient meanings surrounding gangster imagery.

Utility attributions in Interview 3 moved to assorted popular cultural collectivities. It was to be expected that popular cultural meanings would be indexed in all interviews; the wide ambit of institutional contexts of meaning of the interview schedule ensured this. But as Frow says, popular culture has been cast in the unitary mould of youth subcultures. If it not seen in this way, popular culture fragments into very heterogenous forms and practices (1995: 82) such as those indexed by participants in Interviews 2 and 3. Meanings here indexed social distance between participants.

**TABLE 3.5 GARMENT 4 MEANINGS ACROSS GROUP INTERVIEWS**

<b>Interview 1</b>	<b>Interview 2</b>	<b>Interview 3</b>	<b>All Interviews</b>
Image Nightclub sort of thing A new establishment Packing a gun Have to have the hood Snowboarding Not a white person's jacket It has to be too big	Antarctic, Midmar Dam Out at sea Hiking Makes you very big American	Makes you stand out Image Rave Blacks, Indians Too loud It's got a hood	Rapper Gangster Thug Hip hop American

**Garment 5**

Garment 5 engendered competitive dissent among participants over all interviews, as well as considerable ambivalence. Limits to the sharing of meaning were sharply defined by clusters of beliefs, as they determined what made other participants' experience of this garment similar or different. Checks on relevance, requests for confirmation, and uncertainty revealed interpretive gaps between individual participants. These relational dynamics catalysed differentiated interpretations, enlisting imaginative energies, as Eisenstadt (cited by Gamson, 1992:21) has described. The adaptational features of Garment 5 invoked a 'retro' connotation in an Elite interview and in Group interview 1, but the indexing of comparison with garments 1 and 3 showed that highly different styles could inhabit common meanings. Interpretations of this garment were divisively indexed upon the fabrication of the garment in fake leather.

TABLE 3.6 GARMENT 5 MEANINGS ACROSS GROUP INTERVIEWS

Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	All Interviews
1 and 5 big difference Cheesy Blue denims and a white T-shirt Retro Sixties throw-back	3, 2 and 5 are classy People would laugh at you Cheap	Big image 5 and 3 go for that kind of market Rural He's a try hard I like that style Styles' excellent, very nice	Not real leather



**Garment 6**

The wide attribution of this garment to rave culture across both Elite and Group interviews is an example of the 'bubble up' or 'trickle up' diffusion phenomenon of street fashion (Polhemus 1995:8-12). Beyond this, describing and explaining this garment was at first inhibited by unwillingness to pronounce the garment 'gay' in interview 3. Significantly, participants' subjective position toward this garment within interviews could be in several places at the same time.

It seemed that some interpretive resources for Garment 6 subsumed others, but there was also an eclectic variety of embodied interpretations. Willis (1993:211) puts this into perspective. In his work on symbolic creativity in the practices of everyday life, Willis argues that symbols and practices are selected and re-selected, highlighted and recomposed to resonate further appropriated and particularised meanings (ibid).

TABLE 3.7 GARMENT 6 MEANINGS ACROSS GROUP INTERVIEWS

Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	All Interviews
6 and 7 sports orientated Skinny guy 4 and 6 aware internationally Gay Cannot wear 6 with chinos Very soccer Britpop - that's not gay now	Oh! ooh! Ay! Stripes look like a soccer shirt High energy Makes people think of faggots It's bright and it's tight	Raver 6 and 7 young Wear at night Occasion	Bright red colour Raver Compared with 7

Garment 7

In both Group and Elite interviews, Garment 7 was compared extensively with Garment 6. Indexicality as a process of connectivity in selecting different garment styles which shared common meanings was clearly to be seen. Group interview participants were at a vantage point from which they could view a number of meanings, and weigh up different interpretations. In doing so they built pictures of collective meanings and their relationships with each other. But repetitious meanings and meanings held in common between different garment styles indicated an exhaustion of tacit knowledge; social-interactional meaning and cultural description were bounded. Interpretation is, according to Shields (1996:6), a boundary phenomenon which is contingent upon intersubjective shifts in meaning.

TABLE 3.8 GARMENT 7 MEANINGS ACROSS GROUP INTERVIEWS

Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	All Interviews
Football, rugby player, Rugby supporter Sportsperson, gym boy 6 and 7 more pommie Going to a sports game 6 and 7 sports orientated	Sports watching and doing 6, 7 and 1 with sneakers or tackies	When they go into the nightclub and they've got those lasers the colours will light up With Adidas you never see 'Adidas' written It's got a label on it Americanised 6 and 7 young 4 and 7 American I'd go for it	Compared with 6

**Garment 8**

Across interviews, there was a dichotomy between wearing this garment for practical reasons and wearing it for fashion or image reasons. These were vehemently stated and agreed upon. Comparison with Garment 3 appeared repeatedly, as it did in Elite interviews. On one hand, comparisons dwelled upon iconological interpretations of this garment as a style genre across Group interviews. (For example, 'British' characteristics, and practices associated with this genre: fishing, or driving a jeep). On the other hand, an intimation of trendiness and image value was evident in interviews 2 and 3. Interpretation then operated either on past meanings in the present, or proposed new meanings.

TABLE 3.9 GARMENT 8 MEANINGS ACROSS GROUP INTERVIEW

Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	All Interviews
Fishing Landrover, jeep English Dri-mac Gore-tex Traditional Sophisticated 3 and 8 no class association He's a farmer	Wear it in the rain It's warm inside Image value Fishing Macho 3 and 8 elderly British Canadian 4 wheel drive	Very different to 7 Going out to rugby European logos Wear it with jeans or smart pants 3 and 8 older 8 and 3 British Farmer Camping Trendy	Practical/protective British

Garment 9

In describing Garment 9, participants became explicit about what they felt, and about what fitted their situations. Individual and shared interpretations indexed race and nationality, Afrikaans groups and rural groups or people from a particular city. This characterisation also prevailed in Elite interviews. Participants' dialogue indexed collectively intersubjective 'othering places' (MacKay, 1997:158). Shared norms and collective agreements assimilated *place, practices of wearing and image*. Significantly, these were imbued with meaning by the intention of speakers and treated as meaningful by other participants (Dant, 1991: 113).

TABLE 3.10 GARMENT 9 MEANINGS ACROSS GROUP INTERVIEWS

Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	All Interviews
Sweatshirt Older 3 and 9 same neighbourhood, different age groups 9 and 2 are a bit outdated broadest appeal You hardly wash it Can't wear jeans With track suit pants 9 and 2 takkies, stokies American	Going for a jog It's ugly Bulky shirt Makes you look clumsy and big Would not wear that in public Track suit pants Jeans are OUT 3 and 9 are oldest	Hideous Afrikaans type person Looks fake Mooi River, rural Old fashioned American Older	Sports

## **All garments: non-verbal indexicality in Group interviews**

Faith Popcom (1991:100) says of her trend forecasting presentations that the most illuminating aspect of her talks is to catch what prompted the audience to laugh. She says that it is always the very remarks that seem shocking or absurd that eventually become commonplace. Apart from embarrassment and surprise, laughter in interviews audibly evinced a recoiling from interpretations. Garments interpretations evinced laughter when they were received as foreign, curious and even absurd, apart from the embarrassment and uncertainty that some remarks provoked. Distancing effects of non-verbally expressed responses could be discerned in this way.

Also, in the process of interview interaction, heightened involvement indicated that interpretive resources were moot and possibly more immediately available.

## **INTERPRETIVE RESOURCES IN ELITE AND GROUP INTERVIEWS**

Some interpretive resources across Elite and Group interviews, and within Group interviews could be seen as associated.

Interpretations with common associations were also sometimes based on comparative relationships of meaning among the garment sample items. As an outcome of this commencing investigation of interpretive resources over Group and Elite interviews, limiting boundaries of interpretation were underscored by related and repetitious meanings.

In Group interviews, past and present experiences could act in a dynamic way to become cumulative, and to produce common meanings. There was also a suggestion of pertinent and circumscribed meaning resources with which Group interview participants engaged; dialogical building of interpretation was not accidental.

Indexicality in Group interviews allowed some of the driving social and cultural motifs in participants' interpretations to be perceived. These motifs propelled shifts in the process of participant meaning making. Divisive and collective historical meanings could be tracked in indexed meanings. Also, interpretations could alter over the course of an interview. Collective intersubjectivity of day-to-day experiences, including 'othering' intersubjectivity frequently evinced iconological meanings.

## **INTERSUBJECTIVE INTERTEXTS: DATA LINKS IN GROUP INTERVIEWS**

The relationship of visual garment meaning to spoken meaning made important linkages in data, directing my attention to phenomenological aspects of intersubjectivity in Group interviews.

Successive (but not serial) approximations of meaning by participants therefore contributed not only to the formulation of shared meanings, but to instances of cumulative interpretation. Interpretations then depended on assimilation of particular and limited intertexts.

Interpretive accumulation of meaning through speech had special intersubjective significances:

Connected meaning in Group interviews was non-sequential. Meaning links relied upon what Damhorst (1990:2) terms the 'composite interdependence of utterances' where they apply to language-based interpretation of dress. Larrain's distinction between speech and language refers. While language is a connected system of arbitrary signs, speech acts are individually selective, actualising more immediately accounts of social practices and cultural phenomena (1992: 132). This was apparent not only within consumer Group Interviews, but also where topical interpretation of garments which had emerged in Elite interviews was ventured in Group interviews, and readily accepted as meaningful.

Meaning generated in research interviews emerged not only through dialogue, but also *from* the non-verbal meanings sample garments evinced as texts. Hultgren's (1982:36) reference to

Heidegger, mentioned in Chapter 2, recalls these parallel research processes. " Letting the thing show itself from itself ..... in the way that it shows itself from itself " (ibid) was a matter of producing visual meaning through speech.

Visually communicated meanings are termed 'visemic' by Sandra Moriarty (2003: 36). Since meanings 'shown' by garments were intersubjectively interpreted by participants, and since these interpretations extended to larger social collectivities, I have coined the term 'intervisemic' to describe intersubjectively shared visual meaning.

The process of interview dialogue was also one of making meaning and managing interactions in terms of joint actions and conjoint public memory, or what Turner describes as wider social structures and historical relations (1990:30). Plurality of meanings allowed participants to identify themselves more strongly with some interpretations than with others, resulting in shared meaning. Theoretically, the tenets of dialogism accord with this process of meaning making; dialogism is the making of meaning out of difference, through countervailing voices (Shields, 1996:5). Dialogical meaning has a language-based connotation, but shared and differentiated visual meaning is importantly 'intervisemic'.

Overall, commonly indexed meanings posed questions as to essential interpretive functions, tasking me with a reasonable account of the ways in which these occurred.

## DATA MANAGEMENT ISSUES

The almost antic qualities of Group interview dialogue seemed in danger of being lost in any attempt to find over-determining interpretive dynamics. This brought some disquiet about a consequent flattening of the richness of data.

There are a number of alternative ways in which qualitative data can be managed, and indeed no shortage of theoretical perspectives which can be applied in a research project that

investigates interpretative phenomena. As Potter and Wetherell (1987:136) advise: "The concept of categories structured as fuzzy sets anchored to prototypes and organised in hierarchies differs markedly from the notion of structure revealed in discourse analyses".

The somewhat abstruse indexical meanings identified thus far in Group interview interpretations could not be useful unless their connection with the formal aspects of sample garments could be revealed.

Immersion in hermeneutic and phenomenological methods of approach brought about a temporary moratorium on the theoretically envisaged discourse analytic endeavour of this project. Holding to the realms of interview participants' experience as the source of meaning interpretation, this phenomenological approach to analysis arose from the need to appreciate culturally intersubjective 'structures of feeling' of fashion meaning in life experience.

Alfred Margulies (1984:1025) writes about phenomenological methods as strategies, which "facilitate a process of not-concluding, . . . ." so as to keep the researcher's mind open to possibilities. This tenet of the phenomenological approach is echoed by Will Adams (1995:463), as he explores ways of phenomenologically moving beyond habitual, surface inquiry. Adams writes of "*revelatory openness wedded with the clarity of unknowing*" (author's italics), and later of 'even handedness'. These qualities of methodological intention, called the 'phenomenological attitude', were essential to revelatory discovery of operative fashion meaning.

The next phase of data appraisal attempted to address these equivocal data management issues.



## **'CODING' INDEXICAL MEANING IN ALL INTERVIEWS**

A phenomenological approach to interview data led to coding of indexical essences in intertwined participant interpretations of garments.

A coding system was developed with the specific intent of avoiding narrow categorizations, and of capturing life experience imagery. My approach was to produce a body of instances of the essential ways in which all research participants found meaning in sample garments. Coding isolated identities, purposes, effects, and formal garment properties. Heeding the advice of Potter and Wetherell (1987:167), this was done without setting limits to this body of instances.

Morgan (1997:60-61) cautions that any coding at group level goes beyond aggregating codes at individual level. Coding made allowances for the fact that data were grouped. By embracing both process- and content-descriptive utterances across Elite and Group interviews, this coding strategy could retain both of these meaning aspects. Data were coded in the following way:

1. Where data referred chiefly to a *purpose* in wearing the sample garment under discussion, these instances were coded as garment **Purpose**. All practices, activities and events which involved garments as 'used for', 'in use', or 'used by' were coded this way.
2. Data instances referring chiefly to the social identities of people who might wear the garment were coded as **Persons Intersubjective**. This code included all social- interactional relations whether in the past or present where intersubjectivity generated descriptions of garments.
3. Statements of personal judgement or opinion on the part of an interview participant were coded as a personal **Persons Subjective**.
4. Descriptions of garments which indicated neither a person nor a purpose were coded as **Descriptions and Designations**. "It's very trendy" is an example.
5. Direct reference to garment design variables, such as "not that red colour" was coded **Garment Design Variables**.

6. Reference to the way in which garments in the sample might be worn with other garments was coded as **Assemblage**.

The coding frame for these intertextual references to garment to garments is shown below.

FIGURE 3.1 INDEXICAL CODING FRAME

<b>Purpose</b>
<b>Persons Intersubjective</b>
<b>Persons Subjective</b>
<b>Descriptions and Designations</b>
<b>Assemblage</b>
<b>Garment Styling Variables</b>

This widely inclusive coding system allowed me to archive the metaphors, catch phrases and visual images, which contributed to Elite and Group characterization of sample garments. A body of intertextual instances was retained, allowing the plurality and ambiguity of data to be held in abeyance. All data instances were coded in this way, and considerable amounts of data were coded by more than one of these codes. Within the very broad outer reach of each of these six code exemplars lay intertextual instances of others among the six codes. Of these coded references, some were also interpretive routes to others.

Coding provided windows through which meaning negotiation could be viewed. In addition, the openness of coding allowed for the location of dispersed statements, which qualified or contradicted other statements within and across interviews. But in some instances, these statements were produced by the researcher as instrument. These instances needed to be factored into appraisal.

## DATA GENERATION PROCESS CODING

In the Interpretivism research paradigm, researchers are seen as participants in research who are co-elaborating meaning, and not all detached from the object of study. So I had to see myself as a player in the production of meaning. I had picked up on some issues raised in Elite interviews, and had indirectly used them in Group interviews. It therefore seemed necessary to draw lines between my production of discourse as a researcher asking questions and Group construction of meaning around garments. Transcription layout had enabled a view of what emerging meaning was prompted or produced by me, and what was constructed interactively by participants.

I concluded at length that no solid lines could be drawn between my questioning or production of data and the construction of data by participants, because I often picked up later in the interviews on what had been said earlier, so that ideas could not be said to be mine alone. Connections between Elite interviews, my production of meaning and Group participants' construction of meaning now seemed much more important than comparisons between them.

In the light of this, the production of interpretive talk in Group interviews through introduction of Elite interpretations was coded as 'EP'. My own probes in these interviews as distinct from Elite suggestions were seen as purely productive and coded 'P'. Group participants' construction of meaning was coded 'C'. Where participants constructed meaning upon initial probes or strongly confirmed them, this data was coded 'PC'. Where all of these forms of data generation applied, 'EPC' was indicated.

## INDEXICAL DYNAMICS IN GROUP INTERVIEWS

Descriptive indexical data codes for visually communicated meaning suggested broader interpretative functions. These harked back to Solomon's (1985:xi) description of fashion products as vehicles for design encryption, social transmission and consumer interpretation.

Because sensory data (here, the visual apprehension of sample garments) is symbolically and therefore vicariously interpreted, it forces interpreters to make inferences from lived experience (Krippendorff, 1980:23). Data indexing lived experience in connection with sample garments was then seen as transmission data, in other words transmitted from life experience.

Coding for 'Purpose and Persons Intersubjective' (see Indexical Coding Frame, Figure 3.1 on page 95) appeared to encapsulate transmission of social meaning. These meaning resources were drawn from life experience. An observation was made that they allowed individual participants to become aware of their own perspectives.

Catalysing connections of transmissive meaning to garments could be construed as encryption, incorporating codes for Garment Styling Variables and Assemblage.

Encryption and transmission were perceived to lead to the 'catch all' coding of Designations and Descriptions. Often, these designations and descriptions were implicit interpretive summaries of foregoing talk.

'Persons Subjective' (see Indexical Coding Frame, Figure 3.1 on page 95) coded judgemental interpretations, made upon previous comments in interviews, or springing from prior understandings brought to interviews.

Encryption, transmission and interpretation then could be distinguished as shifting, non-linear routes and destinations of meaning. It is important to note that these meaning transactions were neither orderly nor comprehensive. In some cases, interpretations were made spontaneously, without supporting explanation of their meaning basis in an intersubjectively transmissive context of social interaction, and without indications as to the bases for such interpretations. Reference to garment styling features or assemblage did provide meaning encryption connections with transmission, but were not consistently evident. Similarly transmission of meaning was announced but not explained, and encryption observations were made but not interpretively resolved. Meaning contingency operated, where underlying-, overlying- and sub-meanings occurred.

In order to arrive at interpretive way-stations, transmission and encryption routes needed to have been travelled. Whether or not these routes were consistently evident in interviews does not matter; the semi-structured nature of the interview schedule allowed descriptive meaning to emerge without comprehensive explanation. Interpretations could be made upon prior or tacit understandings, and also upon unspoken understandings assimilated during the process of meaning making in interviews.

This discrimination between areas of coded indexical resource facilitated a flexible way of thinking about fashion meaning dynamics. An alternative way of construing these terms is to label them processes by which meanings are negotiated, created, sustained and modified, as Schwandt has done (1994:120).

## PUTATIVE DISCURSIVE FORMATIONS

Indexical coding of interpretive processes could be seen in the light of initial broad indexical impressions. Garments were connected in limited ways with particular social and historical meanings.

limited combinations, or 'codified', as Back (1985:6-7) sees language-based codification of fashion meaning.

Pursuing a recognition of what might govern codifying limits for different participants became a crucial issue. Examination of interview data returned to the substance of indexed meaning in a more selective way, in order to isolate what appeared to be codifying elements in interviews.

Considered from the point of view of interpretive routes and destinations, connections between meanings could reveal contextual discursive formations.

Such considerations were governed by *participants'* dialogical speech acts. An observation from Potter and Wetherell (1987:17) is that speech acts 'do things and say things'. The performative role of coded speech acts in constraining or expanding garment meaning in all interviews then illuminated the selective nature of participants' cumulative interpretations.

Burman and Parker say that researchers should not pretend to discover the repertoires of what people say, but should attempt to recover what people say they are saying (1993:139).

Accumulation of some interpretations rather than others tended toward discursive formation. In these, meaning routes intervisemically connected past and present meanings, rather than separating them. Visually apprehended but verbally interpreted meanings were in this sense both collective and 'diachronic', or extending over time, as defined by Fourie (1996: 65). Limited accretion of sharing meanings was considered constitutive of discursive content, appreciated by the processual effects of indexical codes.

Different participants brought their own stocks of knowledge to interviews; discursive interpretation occurred when portions of this prior knowledge were acknowledged as meaningful by other participants, in respect of a garment object. Such interpretative occurrences are

Different participants brought their own stocks of knowledge to interviews; discursive interpretation occurred when portions of this prior knowledge were acknowledged as meaningful by other participants, in respect of a garment object. Such interpretative occurrences are referred to by Karasvvidis (2001:2- 4) as *dialogical subsystems of experience* which facilitate shared meaning.

This interpretive organisation of interview data is summarised in Table 3.11 below.

TABLE 3.11 CODING TOWARD DISCURSIVE FORMATIONS

DATA GENERATION PROCESS CODING:	DISCURSIVE FORMATIONS	INDEXICAL CODING
Generation of interpretive and evaluative data	Interpretive routes and destinations	Phenomenological Essences
Elite: Meanings generated in interviews involving retailers and researcher E	Meanings resources from life experience:  Transmission	Purposes: Garments in use Persons: Wearers of garments
Produced: Meanings generated in interviews involving researcher and consumer group participants P	Garment Object intertexts:  Encryption	Garment design variables Assemblage
Constructed: Meanings generated in interviews without researcher participation C	Encryption and Transmission	Descriptions and Designations  Persons Subjective
INTERVISEMIC AND DIACHRONIC MEANING		

## APPREHENDING DISCURSIVE CONTEXTS OF MEANING

This phase of data appraisal brought foregoing considerations to the apprehension of discursive interpretation. The intersubjective acuity of discursive indexes of meaning in Elite and Group interviews raised questions regarding contextualising influences. These centred on meaning that was both shared and limited.

Social institutions as an experimental concept of data collection gave way to the *functional* contexts of participants' accounts. These were dependent upon assimilation of discursive meaning by participants *within* interviews, but also by myself as a co-interpreter *across* interviews, in response to data.

Coded indexes of meaning process and content permitted distinctions to be made between intertexts which were intersubjectively contextual, and those which were not.

Contextual formations were not stable totalities; rather they were built by the existing knowledge participants brought to interviews, plus reactions to interpretive comments and re-interpretive summary comments. Using the facilitating concept of dialogical frames as larger and more embracing ideas of contextuality obviated the need to assign determinate and unchanging meanings to participants interpretations, either as content or content-in process (Karasavvidis 2001:3). These contexts of meaning were not readily isolated to discrete meaning holdings, but more to frames of meaning containment. Subsystems of dialogue were organised into two areas of interpretation in contextual framing of meaning. These were:

Intersubjectivity deriving from social experience of garments in terms of codes for wearers and purposes, and

Coded evaluation of garments, which directly connected with wearers and purposes of wearing.



This stage marked the first level of researcher inference from data toward modelling elements and interactions of fashion meaning.

## **CONTEXTUAL FRAME AGGREGATION**

Possibilities for contextual aggregation were not only very extensive, but also sprang from numerous comparisons among garments. In order to proceed without becoming swamped by the volume of data, I decided to foreground three of the sample garments, arbitrarily choosing garments 3, 6 and 9 for examination of potential syncretic contextuality. Viewing contextual aggregation was deemed unnecessary for all sample garments for purposes of modelling fashion meaning. The focus on Garments 3, 6 and 9 was seen as applicable to any broader or narrower span of inquiry. An additional advantage of this choice was to place these garments in a figure-ground relationship with the other garments in the sample.

Elite and Group interviews generated related and repetitious meanings applying to activities and practices, purposes and identities. Locating instances of these meanings in the sea of copious interview data was made possible by earlier coding for Persons Intersubjective and Purposes. The idea of transmissive meaning allowed these codes to be seen as intersubjectively contextual.

Where encryption and interpretation codes could be sequentially connected in interview data with intersubjectively transmitted meaning statements, they were seen as contextualised. Thus codes for garment styling variables, assemblage, and fashion designations/descriptions complemented intersubjectivity. These connected coded indexes were interpretative, but also evaluative; they played a judgemental role in the contextualising of fashion meaning.

Aggregation attempted to follow processes of meaning accumulation in interviews, in order to discern discursive contextual formations. Citing Foucault, Hall says that discursive statements fit together in formations because any one statement implies a relation to others (1992: 291). This

relationship necessarily applies to dialogical accretion of meaning. 'Frames' or discursive contexts included what was said about the social use of garments across interviews as long as a discursive integrity of relation among utterances was evident. This did not include all interviews, strong coherence of discursive interpretation sufficed so long it appeared in more than one interview.

Qualitative display of contextual framing allowed me to make decisions as to appropriate inclusion and exclusion of data.

Frequency of utterance, extensiveness in terms of shared meanings indicated in transcription by *Rs* and *sR*, and intensity supported by coding for laughter and involvement were essential elements in frame displays. Frames were held to constitute meta-interpretation if there was a reasonable preponderance of participant meaning construction, or participant agreement, coded in transcription as *Rs*, or *sR*. Beyond this, commonalities in the indexing of meaning upon a particular garment object were seen as frames.

At the same time, aggregating related but dispersed remarks in contextual frames required monitoring meanings which were produced by Elite participants, the researcher, and Group interview participants. Earlier data generation process coding made this possible.

Contextual framing of meaning was intertextually composite. A purpose, for instance, in wearing a garment to a social event such as a rave also implied the social identity of the wearer as a raver. For each clearly and extensively replicated meaning, a contextual frame display was made. Inevitably then, contextual frames overlapped. My efforts to discriminate between frames of contextual interpretation looked to minimal but inclusive bounding of overlapping areas. Shield's (1996:2) view of interpretation as boundary phenomenon which is contingent upon intersubjective shifts in meaning was paramount to these decisions.

## FRAMING CULTURAL VALUE IN DISCURSIVE CONTEXTS

From the perspective of the researcher, intervisemic meanings seemed to adhere to bounding cultural interpretations of social experience, which were accordingly labelled.

Clearly, participants were not in a position to make such re-capitulating interpretations; they had no complete record of dialogue over all interviews to draw upon. But they did offer similar encapsulating interpretations of the participatory meaning making in which they had been involved. My belief was that such interpretations came about primarily because sample garments as textual representations intervisemically articulated cultural value through social practices. Certainly, instances in all participants' verbal dialogue framed what Lieblich *et al* (1998:9) call the different building blocks available in culture to construct intersubjective identity – *specific* interpersonal contexts and interactions.

Repetitive molar meanings were clearly intervisemically and intersubjectively available to participants. In other words, they were iconological. Therefore they were labelled by the researcher according to each separable discursive nexus they appeared to describe. This interpretive move attempted the same sort of implicit summary participants often made in interviews. Also, following Hall, (1992:291), they discursively limited *the other* ways in which garments could be described.

Aggregation of contextual meanings suggested their validity as collective fashion meanings. However, it should be noted that these meaning holdings served to identify interpretative phenomena in data, rather than to reveal topical fashion meaning.

Examples of contextual frames are displayed over the following pages, toward explication of their pertinence to modelling of fashion meaning interpretation. An explanation and example of the construction and function of frame displays is given first, in order to introduce their qualitative functions.

## ELEMENTS OF CONTEXTUAL FRAME DISPLAY

Contextual frame displays were organised by intersubjective meanings which were sequentially connected to evaluations of garments. Intersubjective meanings embraced the social worlds which construct fashion identity; garments evaluations did not, in essence, include projected wearers. Text which enables comprehension of the context of utterances is provided and repeated where necessary in these displays. **Intersubjective Contextuality and Garment Evaluations** are shown parallel to each other on the left and right-hand sides of displays.

There are two central columns entitled 'DGP' – Data Generation Process and 'PoD' – Play of difference. 'DGP' illustrate the provenance of data – whether constructed by participants (C), produced by myself as interviewer (P) or produced by myself as interviewer from Elite interviews (EP). Where all of these apply, (EPC) is indicated.

'PoD' shows the functioning or 'play' of difference between the particular garment contextual frame and other garments in the sample. Garment interpretation was generated by comparison with the Garment number indicated in this column. Four kinds of comparison were generated:

**comparable** (For example, this garment would be worn by an older person than the person who would wear Garment 6);

**combinative** (For example, both this garment and Garment 9 would be worn with track pants);

**alternative** (For example, a participant finds meaning applicable to an alternative garment or garments in the sample);

**paradigmatic** (For example, this garment is sporty, garment 3 is old).

A double line in the centre of the display separates comparisons relating to intersubjective contextuality (on the left) or garment evaluation (on the right). Laughter and Involvement in these frame displays are highlighted where they appeared. One of nine frames of meaning for Garment 3 illustrates these layout elements overleaf.

TABLE 3.12: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: AFFLUENT IMAGE: GARMENT 3

**Key:** Involvement; **DGP** - Data Generation Process; **E** - Elite interpretation; **P** - Production of meaning by interviewer; **C** - Construction of meaning by participants; **PoD** - Play of Difference; **Comb** - Combinative garments; **Alt** - effects of other garments; **Bolded double vertical line** shows **PoD** effects as they apply to either **Inter-subjective Contextuality** on the left or **Evaluation of Garments** on the right.

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Elite Interviews E, J, K, S, T, W</b>			
<b>E</b>			
<b>J</b>			
<b>K</b>	E		142 R - And it looks as expensive, - but being regenerated tweed it won't be that expensive.
<b>S</b> 159 R - And No 3 is the kind of guy that likes to be seen to be very affluent.	E		
<b>T</b> 72 R - It's over R1 000 - your A income person would be able to afford that.	E		70 R - A Viyella jacket. It's got a beautiful lining inside it. The finishing off on that garment is really nice. That jacket from a price point of view would probably be one of the most expensive I am looking at here. 72 R - that particular person would appreciate the quality of the fibre, the lining and the construction.
<b>W</b>			
<b>Group Interviews G1, G2, G3</b>			
<b>G1</b> 422 BRIAN - 3 - financially where you are.	C		
<b>G2</b>			144 ROD - It looks expensive.
570 ROD - I'll make a last statement. I think No 3 is more affluent, it's more for a person who enjoys a formal occasion.	C	Alt 4	605 ROD - No 3 looks expensive. 606 SCOTT - No 4.

Cont'd ...

TABLE 3.12: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: AFFLUENT IMAGE: GARMENT 3 (CONT'D)

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Group Interviews G1, G2, G3</b>			
<b>G3</b> 215 RAJ - It's upmarket and that's it.	C		208 LUCAS - I'd say that's the most expensive.
359 VUSI - Those are the type of guys that come from the rural areas. 360 ALAN - Yes, ja they're trying to look good in the city. 361 VUSI - We talking low income now. 363 VUSI - That No 5 as well goes for that kind of market. 364 ALAN - Yes, ja. 365 I - Low income bracket and rural did you say, or not? 366 VUSI - Rural I'd say because it's an imitation, it's what they can afford. 367 ALAN - Ja.	C	Comb 5	362 ALAN - Yes very low income types with the shiny shoes and jeans and maybe that on. When they come into the city they wear something like that, that sort of material, I'm not saying that kind of look, I'm saying that kind of material.
417 ALAN – As well I think. 3 is lower income bracket but it looks smart.	C		421 RAJ - No 3 is the most expensive jacket. 424 ROB - If it's so expensive, why does it look so tacky. 426 ROB - It just doesn't appeal to me.



## CONTEXTUAL FRAMES AS COLLECTIVELY DIVISIVE

Meanings aggregated in contextual frames constructed a discursive position from which sample garments made sense. There was a consensual core to each frame.

From the standpoint of intersubjective contextuality, robust meaning aggregations could be seen as areas of male fashion *verstehen*\*. But participants' were differently positioned toward these meanings. They had a mutual sense of contextual meaning, but could be positively or negatively disposed toward it, or else ambivalent. In their evaluation of garments, (shown on the right hand side of displays), a distancing from shared meaning could be appreciated.

Shield's (1996) paper 'The dialogical challenge to Verstehen' contributed valuable insight into shared contextual meaning. Dialogism sees mutuality in the social construction of meaning as an interplay of forces of meaning with other forces of meaning. In this process judgements may exist in relationships of negation, but do not dispute with one another. Instead they supply the basis for disputation (Bakhtin, cited in Shields 1996: 5).

While participants differed in their attitudes to garments, there was something they were mutually outside of (Shields, 1996:4) which facilitated contextual discourse. Dialogical understanding depends on a relation of difference between subjects which recognizes mutuality beyond 'othering' subjective alterity.

Intersubjective contextuality was then seen as shared meaning, but not shared preferences.

The implications of this were that contextual discursive formations were not areas of *verstehen*. Rather, they confirmed the existence of intervisemic nexes of collective differentiation.

\*Theoretical arguments among proponents of *verstehen* include a defence of *verstehen* as experiential commonsense knowledge of human affairs. Schutz, (cited by Denzin and Lincoln 1994:120), distinguishes collective recognition of intersubjective meanings in everyday social life from perspectives of *verstehen* as shared empathic understanding.

Hunt and Benford's reference to Goffman's dramaturgical view of how contexts define groups adds weight to these observations. The dramaturgical model looks at people as actors who play responsive social roles in a given cultural setting. Hunt and Benford say the temptation to pay too much attention to the 'front stage' positions of social actors (1997:106-113) runs counter to dramaturgical allegiance to a group's constructed definitions and norms. Participants did share a variety of interesting and sometimes outlandish views indexed by sample garments, but this is not the same as their mutual construction of meanings in interviews around unarticulated but collective norms.

In all, nine contextual meaning frames were identified for garment 3, six for garment 6 and five for garment 9. Frame displays for Garments 3, 6 and 9 are included in Appendices A, B, and C respectively. They are briefly described here.

## **CONTEXTUAL FRAME EXAMPLES**

This account of all contextual frames shows how they were developed from indexical coding.

### **Garment 3**

1. **'Older'**. Participants referred to older persons through comparative personification of Garments 5, 8 and 9 in Elite interviews and Garments 2, 5, 8 and 9 in Group interviews. These meanings were indexically routed through Assemblage and Garment styling variables codes.
2. **'Classy'**. This characterization of Garment 3 did not need to draw upon situations or experiences for meaning to extend with high engagement over all interviews. 'Classy' attribution of meaning was heavily associated with Garment styling Variables as an indexical code.
3. **'Smart, Work, Formal, Neat'**. Described a sharp, smart dresser in elite interviews and associated neatness, smartness and formality in Group interviews. In both sets of interviews contexts of place were referred to as smart-casual or work situations. Paradigmatic comparison



with garment 8 in elite interviews and garments 1, 6 and 7 in Group interviews facilitated these interpretations. These identities and places were linked with conviction to indexical codes for 'Assemblage' and 'Garment Styling Variables'.

4. **'Affluent image'**. Also drew upon coded routes of 'Assemblage' and 'Garment Styling Variables'. Some, but not all participants distanced themselves by intonation from the aspirational intentions they attributed to wearing this garment. Coded 'Description and Designation' evaluations of this garment as expensive were prominently controversial.

5. **'Body comfort'**. In this frame, garment evaluations only, and not intersubjective attributions of meaning were made by group interview participants. This frame showed high involvement in coded 'Descriptions and Designations', revealing approbation and disapprobation among participants. Evaluative differences were then seen to be contextually framed by comparisons with garments 9, 2, 6 and 1, showing highly divisive effects.

6. **'Status Establishment conservative'**. This frame showed a separable understanding from 'smartness' which was connected with conservative conformity and especially status. Garment Styling Variables and Assemblage codes predominated in elite participants' garment evaluations, with some 'Descriptions and Designations' of image. Group interview evaluations of garment 3 in this frame were limited to 'Persons Subjective' judgements.

7. **'Status sporting leisure'**. While this frame did not feature Elite comments, closely related activities and practices indexed social identities with high engagement across group interviews, with scant attention to garment object evaluation.

8. **'Black'**. Prolific associations with black men across elite and group interviews drew upon Garment styling variables and Assemblage codes. Comparison with Garment 8 was repeated over elite interviews. Participants explained their association of this garment with black men in terms of 'Assemblage' and Garment Styling Variables' codes.

9. **'British Continental'**. Object evaluations of garments only were made across Elite and Group interviews. These were concentrated upon 'Description and Designation' codes which described meanings of nationality, in common with Garment 8.

## **Garment 6**

1. **'Body Build and comfort'**. Over elite and group interviews this garment called forth contradictory intersubjective body build images – those of skinny men and those of athletic, muscle bound men. Evaluations concerning the tight fit of Garment 6 (a coded reference to Garment Styling Variables) raised questions as to whether this was a matter comfort and discomfort, or of revealing the body.

2. **'Group defined image'**. Fashion related 'Descriptions and Designations' conditioned intersubjective framing of Garment 6. Among the collectivities variously described were bolder, fashionable clubbers, ravers, the fashion aware, skinny white boys, Pommies (slang for British people), and those who reject labels (mentioned also repeatedly in connection with garment 1). Coding for 'Persons Subjective' was prolific in this frame.

3. **'Young'**. This pervasive meaning frame indexed the code 'Garment Styling Variables' through repeated comparisons with garments 7, 5 and 9.

4. **'Unmasculine'**. Elite participants felt free to remark upon feminine connotations of the red velours fabric of Garment 6 (coded as 'Garment Styling Variables'), but group participants in Interview 2 evaluated the garment with un-elaborated 'Persons Subjective' exclamations of distaste. In interview 3 this garment was seen as suitable for a participant's girlfriend, "as pyjamas" (text unit 223), a 'Descriptions and Designations' coding which revealed censure.

5. **'Occasion'**. The occasions for which this garment was deemed to be commonly worn vacillated between sporting events and rave or clubbing activities in elite interviews. Going out at night was the activity linked with various occasions in group interviews. Mostly these referred to raves, but this garment was also seen as ideal for 'Michael Jackson's concert at night'. Thus this frame comprised mainly of coding for 'Purpose' and 'Persons Intersubjective'. 'Descriptions and Designations' of this garment included "you can spot it" and "people will see you".

6. **'Sexuality'**. In this frame group participants discussed a projected wearer's attractiveness to either sex based upon 'Garment Styling Variables' coding of the red colour, velours fabric and close fit of Garment 6. However, once the stripes down the sleeves were of this garment were noticed by participants in Group Interview 1, the gay appeal of this garment was retracted. Coding for 'Persons Subjective' was much in evidence.

## **Garment 9**

1. **'Sports watching and doing'**. This frame was generated by comparison of activity 'Purposes' with garments 6 and 7 in elite interviews, and to a limited extent in group interviews. Comments relating to 'Garment Styling Variables' and 'Assemblage' as coded areas of interpretation brought forth emphatic and derogatory 'Persons Subjective' judgements.

2. **'Who and where from'**. No elite participants contributed to this frame, but group participants variously described it as for anyone, for people from the same neighbourhood, for Afrikaans people, for black Americans, for rural and country people, and for poor people. Coding for 'Persons Intersubjective', 'Persons Subjective', 'Assemblage' and 'Garment Styling Variables' enjoined 'Descriptions and Designations' of fashionability amid laughter and considerable involvement.

3. **'Low profile, non-occasion'**. This frame was predicated on non-occasion activities ('Purpose' coding) where the wearer did not especially expect to be seen and could afford to be 'slob-ish' ('Persons Intersubjective' coding). 'Designations and Descriptions' such as "its just

casualwear, I won't wear it if I'm going out to supper" imbricated 'Purpose' in 'Persons Subjective' evaluations of this garment.

4. **'Body image and comfort'**. Garment evaluations only were made in this frame across elite and group interviews. These clearly differentiated participants who found this garment acceptable, warm, comfortable and even 'cuddly', from participants who saw this garment as ill-fitting and likely to "make you look clumsy and big". Such associations indexed 'Designation and Description' codes.

5. **'Older'**. The attribution of this garment to older wearers was shared with garments 3 and 8 and contrasted with garments 6 and 7. This 'Persons Intersubjective' interpretation was so obvious as to circumvent connection with garment object evaluations.

The contextual frame **'Body Build and Comfort'** is shown on the following page in order to illustrate connections between associatively generated 'Persons Intersubjective' and 'Purpose' codes on the left side of the display and garment evaluation codes on the right.

Codes of garment evaluation comprised of the remaining four intertextual codes, namely 'Descriptions and Designations', 'Persons Subjective', 'Assemblage' and 'Garment Styling Variables'.

All contextual frames organized coding in this way, although all indexical codes were not found in each contextual frame.

TABLE 3.13: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: BODY BUILD AND COMFORT: GARMENT 6

**Key:** Involvement. **DGP** - Data Generation Process; **E** - Elite meaning designations; **P** - Production of meaning by interviewer; **C** - Construction of meaning by participants; **PoD** - Play of Difference; **Comp** - Comparative; **Para** - Paradigmatic; **Comb** - Combinative effects of other garments; **Alt** - participants attribute frame meaning to alternative garments; **Bolded double vertical line** shows **PoD** effects as they apply to either **Inter-subjective Contextuality** on the left or **Evaluation of Garments** on the right.

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Elite Interviews</b> E, J, K, S, T, W			
<b>E</b> 165 R - When people become body conscious they do want to show off, to show off their muscles.	E		164 I - Okay, and the silhouette, fitting tight to the body? Does that have any connotations?
<b>J</b> 84 R - Being a sportsman, I think it would naturally have the more athletic body. 85 - 86 R - This to me is a far more active garment than No. 7.	E	Comp 7	
<b>K</b>	E		69 R - Velours will not work in South Africa because our winters are not that cold.
<b>S</b> 197 R - A guy with a very well-built body. 199 R - Nice chest... 203 - I would say that No. 6 and 7 would be more your jock-type guy, very well built, as would be No. 1 and 5.	E	Comb 7, 1, 5	
<b>T</b>			
<b>W</b>			

Cont'd...

TABLE 3.13: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: BODY BUILD AND COMFORT: GARMENT 6 (CONT'D)

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Group Interviews G1, G2, G3</b>			
<b>G1</b> 423 GREG - No. 6 is a skinny white boy thing. 424 I - Which of these garments are for skinny guys not the jock kind of push weights kind of guy? 425 DENZIL - No. 2. 428 BRIAN - 1, 6. 429 CLIVE - 2, 4, 6. 431 I - Right and the rest of them they'd be quite beefy? 432 BRIAN - No. 7 is a gym boy's - a gym boy's.....	EPC	Comb 1 Comb 2, 4  Para 7	
586 BRIAN - Medium build, I would say if you were too skinny it would look.. 587 I - Mr Active or Mr Skinny kind of grungy. 588 Rs - Active, ja. 590 BRIAN - Skinny grungy could pull it off. 592 DENZIL - Diet wise, diet wise kind of person.	C		
<b>G2</b>	PC		203 JABU - It's warm.
	EP		398 I - No. 6 you feel is more fashionable because of the fabric how's about the fit on the body? 399 SCOTT - Ja and it does look like it would hang more tightly to the body even if it's quite loose.
	P	Comb 1 Alt 2	572 I - Most comfortable garments here? 573 Rs - 2. 574 (SCOTT - 1 and 6.)
	C		617 ROD - It's bright. (SCOTT - and it's tight.) 618 I - Because it's bright and tight fitting? 619 Rs - Hmm mmm.
<b>G3</b>			

## SUBJECTIVITY IN CONTEXTUAL FRAMES

Contextuality as collectively divisive *verstehen* raised questions about participants' different subjective positions.

According to *The Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought* (Bullock and Stallybrass 1977:609) subjectivism as an area of ethics holds that even impersonally formulated value judgments are really about the speaker. Hence evaluations of garments by participants can be construed as revealing their own attitudes. However these attitudes were realized by contextual intersubjective interpretations of meaning, constituting in this way an intertextual relationship of shared meaning with differentiated, subjective meanings. As Hultgren refers to Heidegger's idea of 'dasein', in understanding, the self projects itself upon possibilities (1982:40). This illustrates the reactions of participants as they saw themselves through intersubjective meanings. Significantly, the projecting of understanding upon life situations (as Hultgren shows from Heidegger) has its own possibility for developing itself as interpretation (1982:40). Interpretation then may lie beyond recognition and understanding, in what Bogdan and Taylor describe as the internal subjectivities of motives, feelings and ideas. This is phenomenologically how the world is experienced (1975:2).

Subjective evaluations of garments through contextual intersubjectivity did not announce purely personally held views. Participants' interactive engagement with discursive meaning propelled these evaluations. Subjective positions were also enjoined by media determinants and symbolic interactions established in social life; – what Nixon explains as 'regimes of meaning' (1996:113) which have previously acted to form interpretive positions.

This relationship between intersubjectivity and subjectivity underpins symbolic interactionist perspectives of fashion. But the view taken in this study is somewhat different. It is not that people make immediate symbolic interpretations of others in social encounters; rather their differing interpretations of others from dress derives from a projective interpretation of actions which may be prior to such encounters.

be prior to such encounters.

Parker holds that a discourse addresses us in a particular way (1992: 10). In contextual frames, the researcher act of labeling the frame made a cultural interpretation of how these discursive formations addressed participants. One purpose of contextual display was to qualitatively substantiate this claim.

A contextual frame for Garment 9, 'Low Profile, Non-Occasion' is displayed overleaf. Read from right to left, the subjectivities of participants connect with intersubjectively indexed activities. As an instance an Elite Assemblage evaluation of Garment 9 "he can wear jeanswear related garments with that type of overshirt" (Text-unit 177), was superimposed upon a wearer wanting to 'schloomp' (slouch) on the weekend (Text-unit 177). Similarly, on the second page of this contextual frame, Group interview participants say Garment 9 is something for everybody, something the wearer just puts on because "he cares min (little)" (text units 399 –400). The subjective interpretation of this statement on the right hand side of the display calls forth the designatory remark "If your buddy rocks up, you take that off quickly" (Text unit 402).

Nuances of social distance are highlighted in this frame by laughter and involvement in responses which do not always reveal humour.

In the instances of subjectivity shown in the contextual frame display on the following pages, it can be seen that in all cases 'it' – Garment 9 - is referred to.



TABLE 3.14: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: **LOW PROFILE, NON-OCCASION: GARMENT 9**

**Key:** Involvement; **Laughter**; **DGP** - Data Generation Process; **E** - Elite meaning designations; **P** - Production of meaning by interviewer; **C** - Construction of meaning by participants; **PoD** - Play of Difference; **Para** - Paradigmatic; **Comb** - Combinative of other garments; **Bolded double vertical line** shows **PoD** effects as they apply to either **Inter-subjective Contextuality** on the left or **Evaluation of Garments** on the right.

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Elite Interviews E, J, K, S, T, W</b>			
<b>E</b> 177 R - On the weekend he would want to be a bit of a schloomp.	E		177 R - He can wear a jean, jeanswear related garments with that type of overshirt.
<b>J</b>			
<b>K</b>			
<b>S</b> 74 R - Guy that would stand around, watching a sport game or going to a braai. 6 is more your customer who goes to a rave.	E	Para 6	
<b>T</b> 166 R - It also suits our lifestyle quite nicely in this country.	E		
172 R - I see No. 9 more as a sports garment and this garment will be probably worn to the gym, worn to - he can wear it out - he can throw it over a T-shirt if he goes out to a braai and socialises where 6 & 7 would be worn out in the evening maybe and clubs.	E	Para 6, 7	172 R - He can throw it over a T-shirt if he goes out to a braai and socializes.
<b>W</b> 170 R - Functional, wear to walk in the park, throw a frisbee with the dog.	E		
284 R - You might wear it just to go shopping on a Sunday or through the flea market.			
<b>Group Interviews G1, G2, G3</b>			
<b>G1</b> 357 BRIAN - You'd wear that around the house.	C		
369 BRIAN - 3 and No. 9 that his wife or girlfriend shares with him on the weekends (laughter)	C	Comb 3	
371 BRIAN - That's No. 9 - 'schloomper'.	PC		
388 DENZIL - You'd always wear it round the house.	C		388 DENZIL - That sports top.

Cont'd...

TABLE 3.14: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: LOW PROFILE, NON-OCCASION: GARMENT 9 (CONT'D)

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Group Interviews G1, G2, G3</b>			
<b>G1</b> 397 MIKE - You'd wear it 5 days a week. You get home you'd change into No. 9.	C		398 DENZIL, THEMBA - You wash it once a week and it's fine.
399 I - So No. 9 doesn't make a big personal statement, it doesn't separate you off, it's like everybody. 400 DENZIL - Ja whatever he just puts it on and he cares min.	EPC		402 GREG - If your buddy rocks up, you take that off quickly!
	PC	Comb 2	513 I - Tell me how do you feel about track suit pants? 515 DENZIL - No. 9, No. 9. You have to wear them at home. 516 GREG - 9 and 2. 517 MIKE - Home - gym, home - gym. 521 sR - 9 and 2. 523 I - If you did wear tracksuit pants, what shoes would you wear with them? 524 Rs - Takkies, stokies or maybe slippers! 526 MIKE - Branded takkies. (BRIAN - Hi-tops, like Reebok or...).
<b>G1</b> 745 MIKE - It's like in the neighbourhood, you know it's 746. GREG - Not for going out.	C		
<b>G2</b> 297 JEFF- Makes you look slobbish.	C		
300 I - Where you would not wear that? 301 ROD - Ay! Lots of places. 302 SCOTT - Most places. 303 ROD - Public places just say that in public you won't wear that. 305 SCOTT - In a bar, but definitely not a nightclub. 307 ROD - In a bar you don't give a damn, you're jus there to drink.	EPC		308 DAVE - It's just casualwear, I won't wear it if I'm going out to supper. 310 ROD - No-one will take notice of a person wearing that. 312 JABU - I think it depends on places you visit in some places you'd be treated well! (laughter)
518 ...but to say you are making a statement about yourself - no that's - you're not making no statement.			518 ROD - No. 9 is a - ay! It's too much of a designer. I'll wear that to the gym, probably going jogging or something.

Cont'd...



TABLE 3.14: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: LOW PROFILE, NON-OCCASION: GARMENT 9 (CONT'D)

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluation Of Garments
<b>Group Interviews G1, G2, G3</b>			
<b>G3</b> 322 DONALD - That jacket is someone that's not very fashion conscious that's not really with it, it's trying to be with it. 323 DONALD - Ja but the reason for that is that they're probably ten years behind.	C	Para 4	322 (ALAN - Ja but you know exactly what that jacket is, that's like a Mooi River jacket. (general laughter) Best jacket you can buy in Mooi River.) DONALD - Well put, well put you can't buy anything else and that's the best, you'd buy that nobody else is going to see you so if you're walking round in the best jacket you can buy in that town, you're in, but if you came and some guy was wearing No.4, you'd look like. . . (laughter). 323 ALAN - Well that's it, if you can't get anything else you go for No. 9. 324 Rs - It's an old fashioned thing, it's an old fashioned jacket.
325 VUSI - . . . . (RAJ country type) (ALAN not really country) not really country.			325 VUSI - I could put that on and just laze around you know at home (ROB - Ja the tracksuit pants type of person) that's homely, it's very comfortable. If I'm home and I feel I want to take a drive and go buy a newspaper I could put that on...
328 ALAN - It's not a night time jacket, it's not something you would wear to a bar. 329 VUSI - If there's morning soccer.	C		328 (ROB - you wouldn't let your friend see you in that jacket.) 329 VUSI - but morning soccer is not that serious.
392 VUSI - 9 is definitely homely. 395 ROB - It all depends on the occasion.	C	Comb 2	393 ROB - I would wear No 9 at home cos there's no ways in hell I would ever let anyone see me wearing that (laughter) 397 DONALD - OK but you say No. 2 is hideous between 9 and 2 which would you choose? 398 ROB - God neither, I would go naked. 399 ALAN -If I had to I'd rather go for No. 9 but I wouldn't wear out I'd feel a. . . . wearing it out.

## DISCERNING IDIOMS OF EVALUATION

Contextual frames did not account for everything said by participants. But discourse analysis, according to Potter and Wetherell (1987:168) requires that *all* of what is said be considered; it is the opposite of reading for the gist of meaning. Morgan (1997:62) also says participants in interviews may talk at length about what is unimportant, and deal briefly with what is important. However, from a discourse analytical perspective this is doubtful. As Potter and Wetherell (1987:168) have pointed out, differences in either the content or form of participants' accounts fulfil many functions. One of these functions may be that seemingly unimportant talk is significant because of what is *not* being said; important exchanges can be discerned in this way.

Both original and developing concerns around the development of an interpretive model were addressed by this stage of data appraisal. Further focus on Bakhtin's concept of trading between dialogical 'angles' cited by Shields, (1996:2), especially in Group interviews prompted a reconnaissance of the indexical codes constituting evaluations of garments, shown on the right hand side of contextual frame displays. Taking a cue from this, I found that data lying beyond intersubjective contextual meaning also functioned in an evaluative way. If this data was subjectively evaluative of garments, then the subjectivity of all evaluations connected to garments needed closer scrutiny.

Indexical streams of meaning which related more to garments than persons and activities or practices were identified as 'idioms' of garment evaluation, because they were ideologically charged and forcefully expressive. They derived from the earlier conception of encryption and interpretation indexical codes, namely:

Garment Styling Variables,

Assemblage,

Descriptions and Designations, and

Persons Subjective.

These indexical codes had encapsulated meanings very broadly. Their evaluative significance was re-examined in terms of their divisive functions, resulting in an adjusted view of their significance. Idioms of evaluation as they developed from initial coding are explained on the following pages.

This extension of initial coding to idioms of evaluation formed the second stage of researcher inference from data.

As Miles and Huberman (1994:11) have advised, selective qualitative display can reveal relationships which are not readily discerned in large amounts of data. Superimposed and intertwined evaluations were broken down in qualitative displays so that idiomatic elements of evaluation could be observed in data. Idioms typify commonalities inchoately seen earlier across both Elite and Group interviews. Looking at idioms as they appeared over all interviews, in respect of each garment selected for analysis provided a purview of their effects.

Displays show how each interpretive idiom divisively evaluated sample garments.

In these displays idiomatic intertexts are shown as they appeared within and outside of contextual frames. Critical meanings are shown in bold type, and text is of necessity repeated because of the intertwined nature of intertextual evaluation. At the same time, the comparative function of other garments in generating these meanings is shown. Elite interview displays are followed by Group interview displays, for purposes of comparison. Highlighted laughter and involvement illustrate vehement and contentious evaluations in Group interview displays.

A selection of idiomatic displays is shown and discussed over the following pages. Displays of all idiomatic evaluations for Garments 3, 6 and 9 are provided in Appendices D, E and F respectively.

## 1. GARMENT STYLING VARIABLES

In the display of Garment Styling Variables as an evaluative idiom overleaf, it is evident that elite interview selection of noteworthy garment styling variables reappears in Group interviews, but with far greater descriptive emphasis. The audible conviction of participants' judgements relating to Garment Styling Variables is shown in highlighted areas, keyed as indicating laughter or involvement in this display. Garment 3 has been selected for illustration of this evaluative idiom.

Theoretical considerations in Chapter 2 posed research questions about the codified and modified functions of garment meaning. Specifically, over- and under- and subcoding were tentatively seen as important to fashion change. In the display overleaf, evaluations accentuated by involvement or laughter could indicate the overcoding effect of garment styling aspects. The possibility was also presented that if this idiom appeared in contextual frames, overarching or overcoding cultural meaning was operating. If Garment Styling Variables did not appear in contextual frames, and were not emphasised by laughter or involvement, this idiom of evaluation might under- or sub-code the other idiomatic evaluations that are described on following pages.



TABLE 3.15: EVALUATION IDIOM: **GARMENT STYLING VARIABLES**. ELITE INTERVIEWS E, J, K, S, T, W **GARMENT 3**

**Key :** **Contextual Frames** - Contextual frame titles in this column indicate evaluations which are contextualised within these frames; **PoD** - Play of Difference; **Comb** - Combinative effects of other garments; **Evaluations** - Bolded evaluative phrases pertaining to the evaluation idiom.

Contextual Frames	PoD	Evaluations of Garments	
		202 I - Number 3 is a probably regenerated wool tweed, it is pulled in at the bottom, how would you describe that silhouette? 203 R - I would say its I a <b>bomber silhouette</b> with a constructed waistband at the bottom, very simple in styling with <b>the 2 flap pockets</b> on the front with a <b>normal collar</b> .	E
		221 I - No 3, <b>regenerated wool tweed</b> .	J
		129 R - It's obviously in a <b>tweed fabric</b> . 130 I - Regenerated tweed.	K
Black Smart, Work, Formal, Neat		133 R - Because of the <b>garment colouration</b> .	K
Older Status Establishment Conservative		140 R - Young people will not be seen dead in something that <b>is elasticated at the bottom</b> .	K
Smart, Work, Formal, Neat Affluent Image		142 R - And it looks expensive, but the <b>regenerated tweed</b> means it won't be that expensive.	K
		143 R - <b>If it was a pure wool tweed</b> , it would have a better chance in the black market...	K
		61 R - It looks to me like a <b>regenerated wool Harris tweed</b> , whatever you want to call it.	T
Affluent Image		70 R - A Viyella jacket. It's got a beautiful lining inside it. <b>The finishing off on that garment</b> is really nice. 72 R - That particular person would <b>appreciate the quality of the fibre, the lining and the construction</b> .	T
Classy		72 R - That particular person would appreciate <b>the quality of the fibre, the lining and the construction</b> .	T
British Continental	Comb 8	55 R - (No's 8 and 3) are both very traditional and very English No 3 is a <b>woollen jacket</b> in a continental context.	W
Black		166 R - This is a very distinct look that we don't get in - we don't see it in Cape Town. It's very Jo'burg, CBD, ( <i>central business district</i> ) rural areas - you know that whole look - <b>where colour is important</b> , very olivey and the mustards - you know those colours.	W

TABLE 3.16: EVALUATION IDIOM: GARMENT STYLING VARIABLES. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3: GARMENT 3

**Key: Contextual Frames** - Contextual frame titles in this column indicate evaluations which are contextualised within these frames; **PoD** - Play of Difference; **Comp** – Comparative; **Para** - Paradigmatic effects of other garments; **Subjective Evaluations** - Bolded evaluative phrases pertaining to the evaluation idiom; Involvement is highlighted.

Contextual Frames	PoD	Subjective Evaluations of Garments	
Body Comfort	Comp 1	50 DENZIL - It's too <b>tight around the waist</b> .	G1
		126 CLIVE - If No 3 had more of a leather look than that type of material then it would be more appealing . . . . . 130 CLIVE - <b>Similar shape but out of leather</b> . 131 I - <b>Do you like it pulled in at the bottom?</b> 132 Rs - <b>Ja</b> .	G1
	Para 1	14 I - Is it a different kind of garment to No 1? 15 BRIAN - Ja, totally different. 16 MIKE - <b>'Plaid'</b> .	G1
Status, Establishment, Conservative		661 DENZIL - I can't wear a jacket with a <b>little cuff, a little belt underneath</b> .	G1
		664 I - OK <b>what colours</b> would you like? 665 CLIVE - <b>A full black fine</b> .	G1
Body Comfort		670 DENZIL - <b>The bottom trim spoilt it</b> - very uncomfortable.	G1
	Para 4	671 I - (Shows No 3 and No 4) Can you see the difference between these two jackets, <b>the one is pulled in at the bottom, the other is straight at the bottom</b> . Does that make a difference to the image? 672 Rs - Big difference, ja, yes. 673 DENZIL - You see when it's <b>straight at the bottom</b> you can still wear your shirt or T-shirt OPEN or out.	G1
		693 DENZIL - (looking at 3 on THEMBA) See what happens, <b>you actually get curling in</b> . 694 MIKE - Ja it will curl in hey. 695 GREG - It's also a bit short for him. 697 MIKE - Pockets are a bit low 698 CLIVE - <b>Should be a little tighter</b> .	G1

Cont'd...



TABLE 3.16: EVALUATION IDIOM: GARMENT STYLING VARIABLES. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3 GARMENT 3 (CONT'D)

Contextual Frames	PoD	Subjective Evaluations of Garments	
Classy		124 I - What makes it classy? 125 MITCH - The collar. 126 sR - The colour and the make. 133 I - Is it the colour that makes it classy? 134 JEFF - Not that the design. 135 ROD - I like the design of the jacket. 136 Rs - The design, ja the design.	G2
		137 I - How about the fabric? (JEFF - looks a bit quality) 139 MITCH - I think it's actually the collar.	G2
Older		141 SCOTT - It reminds me of 'father' fabric.	G2
Smart, Work, Formal, Neat		428 DAVE - The kind of fabric I would wear with chinos and smart shoes.	G2
Older	Comp 8	548 I - Elderly? So we're saying No 3 and No 8 have got that feel? (sR - Ja) 549 SCOTT - You can actually see the pockets are kind of similar as well.	G2
Black		223 Vusi - The idea of the design is brilliant but the fabric is not right.	G3
		226 VUSI - That style? The fabric is out of fashion.	G3
Classy		228 (RAJ - And its got round collars)	G3
Black		362 ALAN - Yes very low income types with the shiny shoes and jeans and maybe that on. When they come into the city they wear something like that, that sort of material, I'm not saying that kind of look, I'm saying that kind of material.	G3

## 2. ASSEMBLAGE

Assemblage in all interviews was very much part of what Breward refers to as a cultural 'politics of identity and consumption' (1998:311) as it particularly concerns 'image' orientated dress. Ways of knowing about fashion were intrinsic to projectively 'seeing' garment assemblage in interviews.

Comments on assemblage for Garment 6 in the Elite interviews display overleaf referred to specific variants of appearance management.

The flavour of comments in Group interviews strongly indicated prior experiences of seeing such assemblages, and showed the divisive importance of this idiom to fashion meaning.

In the Group interview display of assemblage for garment 6, participants were particular about what was and was not acceptably worn with this garment. Perceived image communication risk was distinct from normative evaluations, and shown in the highlighted text which signals involvement. This idiom of evaluation often brinked the other idioms of evaluation explained on the following pages, showing a tendency to overcoding and undercoding.

If contextualised, this idiom constituted a clear fashion evaluation.

TABLE 3.17: EVALUATION IDIOM: **ASSEMBLAGE**. ELITE INTERVIEWS E, J, K, S, T, W **GARMENT 6**

**Key: Contextual Frames** - Contextual frame titles in this column indicate evaluations which are contextualised within these frames; **PoD** - Play of Difference; **Para** - Paradigmatic; **Comb** - Combinative effects of other garments; **Subjective Evaluations** - Bolded evaluative phrases pertaining to the evaluation idiom; Involvement - is highlighted.

Contextual Frames	PoD	Evaluations of Garments	
Occasion		131 R - Where it could either be worn with nylon pants or rave type rubberised pants or nylon rubberised pants that sort of feel.	E
Occasion		133 R - He would wear jeans and the more rave top as an overshirt.	E
Occasion		137 R - But it would have a crossover to daytime, tied around the waist.	E
		63 R - If it was anything else, then red would be a problem but in this case red is an active sportswear top. I mean it could be worn with jeans, it could be worn with a tracksuit.	K
	Comb 7	99 R - 6 is a cross-over garment which could be worn with jeans, could be worn with like track bottoms. . . . 7, they would sell to the same person that will buy 6, which they can wear with jeans.	K
	Comp 7, 9	157 I - If we look at 6, 7 and 9, is there a difference in the sort of shoes that would be worn with that? 158 R - Ja, No. 6 will definitely be more Adidas, two stripes kind of thing. 7 - I would think they would end up wearing Cats and they would hope to wear LA Gear but I don't think it would happen to wear LA Gear shoe. 9 will be the Nike Reebok trainer shoes, that type of thing.	K
	Comp 5	86 R - The pants - No. 6 basically I would see the guy wearing big, baggy, loose denims. No. 5 I would see the guy wearing a pair of Levis. 88 R - That slimmer cut.	S
		271 R - 6 - he is definitely in his Diesel jeans and his rave takkies, Adidas or Puma. It's got to be the right...(intervention). 278 R - No. 6 could be wearing a flare.	W

TABLE 3.18: EVALUATION IDIOM: ASSEMBLAGE. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3 GARMENT 6

**Key: Contextual Frames** - Contextual frame titles in this column indicate evaluations which are contextualised within these frames; **PoD** - Play of Difference; **Para** - Paradigmatic; **Comb** - Combinative effects of other garments; **Subjective Evaluations** - Bolded evaluative phrases pertaining to the evaluation idiom; Involvement - is highlighted.

Contextual Frames	PoD	Subjective Evaluations of Garments	
		332 GREG - No. 5 and No. 6 go well together. 333 BRIAN - Ja, you could have No. 5 over No. 6. 334 sR - Ja, it's lekker.	G1
	Comb 9, 2, 7	353 DENZIL - 9, 2, 6 and 7 you can wear <b>it all with jeans as well.</b>	G1
	Comb 1	383 I - Any garments here that go with that <b>second hand, thrift shop</b> recycled clothes? 384 BRIAN - No. 1, No. 6.	G1
	Comb 9, 2, 7, 1	481 I - Which are the garments that go with <b>trainers here?</b> 482 DENZIL - Gym - Oh sneakers. 483 MIKE - 7. 484 GREG - <b>6.</b> 485 DENZIL - And 9 as well. 486 BRIAN - 1. 487 CLIVE - 2 as well.	G1
	Comb 4, 1	503 I - Which tops can you not wear with chinos with. 504 THEMBA - No. 9. 505 sR - 4, 1, 6, No. 4.	G1
Group Defined Image		558 BRIAN - You'd probably worry about the brand name of your shoes (DENZIL - Ja.) but you'd want them to look old but still have the right brand on them.	G1
	Comb 1	655 BRIAN - No. 1's the only one you could wear besides <b>No. 6 without a shirt underneath.</b>	G1
Occasion		<b>220 MITCH - It would probably go quite well with sort of faded jeans, tackies or something.</b> <b>221 ROD - Old tackies.</b>	G2
	Comb 7	388 - <b>6, 7 and 1</b> let's think about what they're worn with - you know trainers, loafers, caterpillars, sneakers? 389 sR - <b>Sneakers! Sneakers or tackies.</b> 390 I - With which one? 391 sR - With 7. 392 ROD - 6! You can never wear shoes with that. 393 TSEPO - Not shoes, tackies.	G2
	Para 7 Para 3	428 DAVE - I see 3 as something smart. (JEFF - If you look at the design.) The kind of fabric I would wear with chinos and smart shoes. No. 7 I see as something very casual as I said just with shorts and sneakers. <b>6 I would wear with a pair of old jeans.....</b>	G2

Indexical coding for Designations and Descriptions was broken down into idioms of 'Fashion Designation' and 'Genre Description'. The latter idiom of evaluation is discussed on page 136.

### **3. FASHION DESIGNATIONS**

Hultgren, citing Palmer, says it makes a great difference to interpretive significance when thinking is conceived in ideational terms. This is because such an interpretation is not of something unknown, but a clarification and evaluation of known data (Hultgren, 1982:48). Fashion designations were ideational implicit summaries, but also seemed always to refer to the public revealing of preferences through dress. Holbrook and Dixon (1985:109-111) offer a transcendently useful marketing definition of fashionability in their explanation of image as publically revealed preference which contains the following descriptive components:

Public consumption

Communication to others

Image

These three components relate to revealed preference, aggregate patterns of consumption, and complementarity. They are discussed as follows:

**Public consumption** as revealed preference is the visible, observable and noticeable outward manifestation of inward judgement. It involves revealed preference through conspicuous usage of dress that is open to inspection by others.

**Communication to others** operates upon shared norms and collective agreements – in other words, common, aggregated patterns of consumption. From Holbrook and Dixon's perspective fashionable garments are not fashionable if only one (or a few) people wear them. As they say, fashion emerges cross-sectionally in the clusters of revealed preferences to be found in different lifestyles (1985:111).

Image is well defined by Reynolds and Gutman, cited by Holbrook and Dixon. They define image as "a hierarchical means end network of personally relevant meanings and associations stored in memory" (Holbrook and Dixon, 1985:111). Holbrook's earlier account of the complementarity of image spoke of mutually re-inforcing or cancelling effects between components of image which could involve brands or products; Holbrook and Dixon say this applies as much to products as it does to fashionable image (1985:111).

Originally, in Chapter 2, Image and Fashionability were proposed for investigative purposes as discrete social institutional contexts. They were found in the review of participants' discussion to be amalgamated. Their ultimate significance is that image and fashionability are essentially a matter of what is communicated publically.

It is hard to find any theoretical fashion definition that does not imply this non-verbal, publically revealed (or, as I have coined the term, 'intervisemic') meaning communication.

Image in Fashion Designations goes beyond the materiality of garment styling variables and assemblage to the ideas imprinted on them. The ideological nature of Fashion Designations on the following pages always implies a collective judgement. These were encapsulating, totalising designations. As examples: "it's one of those funny garments that tried to be everything to everyone" (in an Elite interview) and "No one will take notice of a person wearing that" (in a Group interview).

The following displays of Elite and Group Fashion Designations attempt to convey the tenor of participants' perceptions of public image by means of highlighted instances of laughter and involvement. As I have mentioned earlier in this chapter, these two broad areas of non-verbal response in Group interviews evinced a range of attitudinal affect. Fashion Designations as judgements were accentuated by embarrassment, absurdity, uncertainty, and derision.

Fashion Designations as an idiom of evaluation for Garment 6 are displayed overleaf. Elite participants used opaque and encompassing fashion designations compared with the fashion designations of Group interview participants, which were on the whole sharply divisive.

If a fashion-designated evaluation was contextualised, fashion value was culturally described.

TABLE 3.19: EVALUATION IDIOM: FASHION DESIGNATIONS. ELITE INTERVIEWS E, J, K, S, T, W GARMENT 6

**Key:** Contextual Frames - Contextual frame titles in this column indicate evaluations which are contextualised within these frames; PoD - Play of Difference; Comp - Comparative; Para - Paradigmatic; Comb - Combinative effects of other garments; Evaluations - Bolded evaluative remarks pertaining to the evaluation idiom.

Contextual Frames	PoD	Evaluations of Garments	
		122 I - What is the significance of the retro stripe? 123 R - <b>Younger fashion introduced now is influenced strongly by the 50's and 60' culture.</b>	E
	Comp 7	155 R - <b>No 7 would relate very much to No 6 in terms of it's end use.</b>	E
Group Defined Image	Comp 7	161 R - <b>To the more astute fashion person or the person who wanted to make more of statement,</b> with the fact that the fabric is a little more risqué, and quite a lot bolder than what 7 would be.	E
	Comb 5, 8	219 I - Is there any top out of the whole lot on the table which you feel is most <b>challenging to accepted social norms?</b> 220 R - Ja No 6. 241 I - Which are for more image conscious consumers? 242 R - To put them in order in terms of image. 244 R - I'd probably say 5 and then 8 and then I'd say 6.	E
	Comp 7	78 R - No 6 is even more fashionable than No 7.	J
	Para 9	87 I - Right. And <b>also higher in fashionability.</b> 88 R - Yes. 105 R - I don't think the person who wears No 9 would. 106 I - Would wear No 6? 107 R - <b>It makes too much of a statement.</b>	J
	Para 9	155 I - As opposed to, let's say, 6 and 7, is that much more of an <b>aggressive, active, energetic, dynamic connotation there?</b> 156 R - Yes.	J
Young		59 R - <b>It's aspiring to be an Adidas</b> because of the stripes - soccer V neck.	K
		60 I - <b>Will the colour influence its fashionability?</b> 61 R - No, not in this market at all. 63 R - If it was anything else, then red would be a problem but in this case red is an active sportswear top.	K
		75 R - (6) was something that they would have done to fit in with the <b>jean lifestyle.</b> 77 R - Active sportswear, and then the Joe, which is the <b>young fashion market.</b>	K
	Comb 1, 7	89 R - <b>1, 6 and 7? Ja, I think they aim at the same person.</b>	K
	Comb 7	99 R - 6 is a cross-over garment ... I think <b>6 and 7 aims at exactly the same market.</b>	K
	Comb 7 Para 8	113 R - So it's not, as the previous ones, for <b>6 and 7, which would be very seasonal.</b> 116 I - So 8 is different from 6 and 7 in terms of standing apart from the crowd? 117 R - 8 is somebody with money, somebody who knows what they would like to wear.	K

cont'd...



TABLE 3.19: EVALUATION IDIOM: **FASHION DESIGNATIONS**. ELITE INTERVIEWS E, J, K, S, T, W **GARMENT 6 (CONT'D)**

Contextual Frames	PoD	Evaluations of Garments	
	Para 8, 3, 5, 2	148 R - <b>No 9 has got more in common with No 6 and 7.</b> It's got nothing in common with No 8 and 3 and 5 and 2 - if I have to place them, <b>it's the same customer.</b>	K
	Comb 9	156 R - So it's definitely a casual wear item. So <b>6, 7 and 9</b> is doing the <b>active sportswear area.</b>	K
	Comp 7	36 I - And any difference then between 6 and 7? In terms of where they'd go - rave, sporting events? Is 7 any different to six in that regard? 37 R - 7 is slightly - ja, it's a bit different because <b>No 6 is more fashionable.</b> No 7 is a slightly more conservative style.	S
	Comp 7	48 R - <b>That's become accepted these days,</b> so your collar versus your straight V-neck.	S
	Comb 9, 7	158 R - Well these <b>9, 7, 6</b> to me they are <b>sports active type tops.</b>	T
		160 R - This is a <b>new area which is emerging, this whole sports look.</b>	T
		164 R - Ja, the V-neck on No 6. The zip on No 7 and the banding on No 9. <b>It's a new trend and there is a big aware-ness of this whole look in this country because of the Tommy Hilfiger, the Polo Ralph Lauren, the Nauticas.</b>	T
		166 R - With <b>South Africans</b> now reading international magazines and travelling more, they <b>are becoming very aware of this look.</b>	T
Group Defined Image Young	Comb 7	170 R - No 7 has got the zip detail and the colour blocking. No 6 has got your V-neck which at the moment is a <b>fashion detail</b> on garments. So that would be your younger fashion aware customer.	T
	Comp 7, 9	5 R - <b>7, 6 and 9 falls into athletic look.</b> I straight away can group them. I can see handwritings coming though. I mean these two you could see were Truworths.	W
	Para 7 Para 7, 9	126 I - So that's <b>(No 7) more gangster-rap, as opposed to rave in No 6.</b> 131 R - Ja, No 9 is a lot more commercialised (than 6) - it came from Tommy Hilfiger, who appeals to that whole gangster-rap culture. 132 I - If we have to rate 7, 6 and 9 in terms of fashionability. 133 R - Ja, but 9 I think kind of missed the boat. 136 I - So Mr Fashionable is going to choose out of those three which one first? 137 R - <b>The rave fashionable guy is going to choose No 6.</b>	W



TABLE 3.20: EVALUATION IDIOM: FASHION DESIGNATIONS. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3. GARMENT 6

**Key: Contextual Frames:** Contextual frame titles in this column indicate evaluations which are contextualised within these frames.

**PoD:** Play of Difference: Para - Paradigmatic, Comb - Combinative effects of other garments. **Subjective Evaluations:** bolded evaluative remarks pertaining to the evaluation idiom. Involvement and laughter are highlighted.

Contextual Frames	PoD	Subjective Evaluations of Garments	
		310 I - And No 6? 312 BRIAN - Its <b>just a cool shirt</b> , I don't think it's a jacket. 315 GREG - Sweatshirt, <b>fashion sweatshirt</b> .	G1
Group Defined Image Occasion		320 WAYNE - <b>My friends would laugh at me</b> if I wore No 6. (laughter) 322 BRIAN - <b>People will see you</b> .	G1
	Comb 7 Para 7	321 I - Between 6 and 7 is <b>there a difference in the fashionability of those two garments?</b> <b>324 Rs - Nope, no. 325 GREG - Big time! 326 BRIAN - I'd say totally different.</b>	G1
	Para 9, 7	389 I - Let's contrast in terms of fashionability <b>No 9, No 6 and No 7</b> . Which one is <b>more fashionable of those?</b> 390 MIKE - I think it's 7. 391 BRIAN - <b>6</b> . 395 GREG - No are associating more with sports and <b>No 6</b> looks a bit like sporty but it's not, <b>that's just trendy</b> .	G1
Sexuality		532 THEMBA - I'll 9 and 7 be scared to wear 6 actually. 534 BRIAN - No I won't be scared.	G1
		563 I - But now <b>No 6</b> the one that we've talked about a lot is also very plain hey? 564 DENZIL - <b>Ja plain is more like for people who don't care much about anything</b> .	G1
		200 ROD - <b>Looks like an imitation Adidas</b> . (laughter)	G2
		215 MITCH - Ja. 216 ROD - But <b>Soccer shirts are stylish</b> , you can see the difference, soccer shirts are like silky or like other thing <b>but this is like</b> . . . . .	G2
Occasion		228 DAVE - This is a party shirt. 230 ROD - <b>Ja you can spot it</b> .	G2
	Comb 7, 1	394 I - Which <b>one is more fashionable?</b> 395 Sr - <b>7, 6, 1</b> . (General laughter) (DAVE - I'd say 1.)	G2
	Comb 7	534 I - Which of these go more towards the <b>fashion leader type garment?</b> 535 ROD - No 3. 536 MITCH - No 4. 537 (JABU - No 3.) 538 ROD - No 3 is like WAS in the past, now it's coming back. (laughter) <b>SCOTT - (No 6)</b> . 539 ROD - I'd <b>say 6 and 7</b> . (MITCH - Ja.)	G2
	Comb, 5	550 I - Anything from the past that is fashionable again? 551 Sr - 3,1, 6, and 5 as well.	G2
Group Defined Image		557 SCOTT - <b>6 is obviously a redone cycle shirt from the 70's</b> , but in new fabric.	G2
		581 JEFF - <b>No 6 is Mexican</b> . (I - No 6 is Mexican? (general laughter) 582 DAVE - <b>Brazilian</b> . (laughter) 583 ROD - <b>South American</b> .	G2
Group Defined Image	Comb 7	273 - 274 RAJ - <b>7 and 6 go together only its different colours</b> .	G3

#### 4. GENRE DESCRIPTIONS

Garment style genres have a most unstable and ambiguous nomenclature, mainly because a purely standard 'jogger' is difficult to find, let alone conceive. Garment genre meanings come to mean different things at different times, just as jeans are not, as they once were, workwear.

Elite participants used professional terms of style genre.

But in Group interviews, genre descriptions could be seen as concurrently apprehended available descriptions, and descriptions which applied because they altered or negated known style genres. In this sense 'this is a party shirt' and the absurd 'superman' (Garment 6) were as much a genre description as "something your Mom would buy for you", or the Elite description 'it's a kagoule' in the display for genre descriptions as an idiom overleaf.

Garment genres in their alterity called forth evaluations diachronically, and dialogical frames (described by contexts) generated the preference angles from which garments could be described. These descriptions indexed divisive codified and modified meaning in a very immediately evaluative way. Contextual connection would make available a highly subjective evaluation, but not one that could be said to be collective.

\* A 'Kagoule' is a professional term for an outdoor over garment, usually associated with fishing.

## 5. PERSONAL JUDGEMENTS

Personal judgements were separately identified as an evaluative idiom, because they entailed evaluation without interpretation. These statements represented participants' feelings. Zajonc (1980:151) says psychology has tended to see affect as post-cognitive. But his position is that affective reactions to stimuli can occur without extensive perceptual and cognitive encoding; they can be made sooner and with greater confidence.

Preferences, therefore, for Zajonc, need no inferences (ibid). In interviews, preferences tended also to provide no discursive inferences. Only if they were linked to other forms of evaluation could they have any edifying meaning. If contextualised, subjective but not collective evaluation was clear. Group participants' personal judgements only are displayed on page 141, since Elite interview participants did not make personal judgements. Their evaluations were strictly professional.



TABLE 3.21: EVALUATION IDIOM: **GENRE DESCRIPTIONS**. ELITE INTERVIEWS E, J, K, S, T, W **GARMENT 9**

**Key: Contextual Frames** - Contextual frame titles in this column indicate evaluations which are contextualised within these frames; **PoD** - Play of Difference; **Para** - Paradigmatic; **Comb** - Combinative effects of other garments; **Evaluations** - bolded evaluative phrases pertaining to the evaluation idiom.

Contextual Frames	PoD	Evaluations	
		169 R - Okay, 9 is a <b>polo T-overshirt</b> , . . . . .	E
Body Image and Comfort		171 R - Fairly <b>versatile overshirt</b> . I - a <b>wintery type garment</b> .	E
Low Profile Non - Occasion Older		177 R - He can wear a jean, jeanswear related garments with that type of <b>overshirt</b> .	E
	Comb 6, 7	208 R - So I think 9, 6 and 7 are <b>sweat-shirts</b> opposed to jackets.	K
Sports Watching and Doing	Para 6	172 R - More of a <b>sports garment</b> .	T
		291 R - It's a <b>jacket-stroke-track-top-stroke-kagoul</b> .	W



TABLE 3.22: EVALUATION IDIOM: **GENRE DESCRIPTIONS**. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3 **GARMENT 9**

**Key: Contextual Frames** - Contextual frame titles in this column indicate evaluations which are contextualised within these frames; **PoD** - Play of Difference; **Alt** – Alternative; **Comp** – Comparative; **Para** – Paradigmatic; **Comb** - Combinative effects of other garments; **Subjective Evaluations** - Bolded evaluative remarks pertaining to the evaluation idiom; **Involvement** and **laughter** are highlighted.

Contextual Frames	PoD	Subjective Evaluations of Garments	
		299 DENZIL - Well No. 9 is more of a like a <b>sweatshirt</b> . 300 Rs - Ja a sweatshirt, sweatshirt, Ja. 301 DENZIL - Or a <b>jogger</b> or something like that.	G1
Low Profile Non-Occasion		388 DENZIL - That <b>sports top</b> .	G1
Sports Watching and Doing	Para 6 Comb 7	395 GREG - I think that No. 9 and 7 are <b>associating more with sports</b> and No. 6 looks a bit like sporty but it's not, that's just trendy.	G1
		396 BRIAN - No. 9 is <b>something your Mom would buy for you</b> (laughter).	G1
Low Profile Non-Occasion		398 DENZIL, THEMBA - <b>You wash it once a week</b> and it's fine.	G1
	Comp 6, 7	447 DENZIL - No. <b>7 and 6 more Pommie</b> , 448 BRIAN - Ja definitely British feel ja . 449 DENZIL - <b>9</b> is very <b>Americanised</b> , . . . . .	G1
Body Image and Comfort		741 I - OK. Denzil in No 9 - what do you say? 742 GREG - <b>Cuddly</b> .	G1

Cont'd . . .



TABLE 3.22: EVALUATION IDIOM: **GENRE DESCRIPTIONS.** GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3 **GARMENT 9** CONT'D

Contextual Frames	PoD	Subjective Evaluations of Garments	
Body Image and Comfort		278 THABU - Very <b>warm</b> .	G2
Sports Watching and Doing		285 ROD - Ja it is overdesigned. The hood part appeals to me. (JEFF - its like a <b>track top</b> .)	G2
Body Image and Comfort		299 DAVE - It's <b>nice for our type of Durban winters you know where it's too warm to wear a jacket um but too cold to wear a shirt.</b>	G2
Low Profile Non-Occasion		518 ROD - No. 9 is a - ay! it's too much of a designer. <b>I'll wear that to the gym, probably going jogging</b> or something.	G2
Body Image and Comfort	Comb 3 Alt 1, 6, 2	572 I - Most <b>comfortable</b> jackets? 573 Rs - 2. 574 ROD - Most comfortable to lounge back and (SCOTT - 1 and 6.) 575 JABU - Well <b>3 and 9 for me.</b>	G2
Who and Were From		308 ROB - Because its going to be <b>cheaper than</b> maybe <b>the designer outfit.</b>	G3
		312 LUCAS - I think <b>it looks fake</b> you know. 313 ROB - Ja it does, <b>it looks fake</b> (laughter).	G3
Low Profile Non-Occasion		325 VUSI - I could put that on and just laze around you know at home (ROB - Ja the track suite pants type of person.) that's <b>homely</b> , it's very <b>comfortable</b> . If I'm home and I feel I	G3
Who and Where From		want to take a drive and go buy a newspaper I could put that on .....	
	Comb 4, 7	346 I - We talked about things being American, what do you feel about what might be American? 347 Rs - No 4, No 7. 348 LUCAS - I'd say <b>9 is American.</b>	G3



TABLE 3.23: EVALUATION IDIOM: **PERSONAL JUDGEMENTS**. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3 **GARMENT 9**

**Key: Contextual Frames** - Contextual frame titles in this column indicate evaluations which are contextualised within these frames; **PoD** - Play of Difference; **Comb** - Combinative effects of other garments; **Subjective Evaluations** - Bolded evaluative phrases pertaining to the evaluation idiom; **Involvement** and **laughter** are highlighted.

Contextual Frames	PoD	Subjective Evaluations of Garments	
		747 CLIVE - I <b>don't think it appeals to anyone.</b>	G1
		286 MITCH - Aside from the functional aspect <b>I think it's ugly.</b> 287 ROD - <b>Ja it is actually.</b>	G2
		290 MITCH - I don't know, you just look at it and you get distracted. . . . . <b>you don't want to look at it.</b>	G2
		298 I - (JABU - Well I could still say <b>it's a good design</b> ) <b>(laughter).</b>	G2
		450 JABU - I can take it (No. 9) with jeans. 451 MITCH - <b>That's doing it a favour.</b> <b>(general laughter)</b> (ROD - <b>That's OUT</b> ).	G2
Who and Where From		293 ALAN - That's <b>hideous</b> . 294 ROB - That is <b>absolutley terrible</b> . 295 DONALD - <b>Yes, ja.</b>	G3
		315 RAJ - <b>I actually hate it</b> <b>(general laughter).</b>	G3
Low Profile Non-Occasion	Comb 2	397 DONALD - OK but you say No. 2 is hideous between 9 and 2 <b>which would you choose?</b> 398 ROB - <b>God neither, I would go naked.</b>	G3



## SUMMARY APPRAISAL

Collective discursive formations formed by cumulative meaning were termed **Contextual Frames**. Contextual interpretive framing arose from all research interview participants' comparative indexing of difference among disparate garment styles, called 'Play of Difference', and shown in contextual frame displays.

Play of difference hinged upon meaning relationships among sample garments, which were:

comparable,  
combinative,  
alternative, and  
paradigmatic

These were then seen as indexes of comparison.

Meaning frames afforded cultural description of the reciprocity of garment interpretation with social activities and practices. Idioms of evaluation underpinned these contextual discursive formations.

Evaluative idioms developed from initial coding of participants' interpretations over all interviews consisted of:

Garment Styling Variables

Assemblage

Fashion Designations

Genre Descriptions

Personal Judgements

These idioms were the basis of evaluative disputation and plurality in interviews, generated by representational functions of the garment sample. Comparative play of difference also operated among these idioms, generating evaluative significance. In contextual frames, all garment evaluations involving subjectivity could be described by at least one of these idioms of evaluation. Play of difference also operated among idiomatic evaluations.

Idioms lay within or beyond contextual aggregation.

A third stage of researcher inference toward interpretive modelling was reached at this point. It was possible to infer that changing meaning might be evidenced by the location of idioms of evaluation within or beyond the cultural value of contextual discursive formations. This stage of inference formed part of modelling of fashion meaning, and is further discussed in Chapter 4.

## **REFLECTIONS ON RESEARCH INTERVIEW DATA APPRAISAL**

The purpose of interview data appraisal was to reckon with what might and might not serve the research goal of finding interpretive auspices of changing fashion meaning in South African men's leisurewear. Dingwall (1997:60) says that interviews cannot offer us literal descriptions of participants' realities, but this does not mean use cannot be made of them. Referring to Cicourel, Dingwall points out that research interviews are artefacts made by interviewer and participants jointly in which any relationship to real experience is not merely unknown, but unknowable (1997: 56). Garfinkel is credited by Dingwall for providing the sense in which interview 'accounts' represent the world in ways others can recognize, as they are called into existence through talk (1997:57).

Modelling of fashion meaning in Chapter 4 is mindful of these observations, regarding contextual and idiomatic meanings in interviews as interpretive phenomena, rather than claims as to what fashion meant to menswear consumers at the time of data collection.

## Chapter 4

# DEVELOPMENT OF A FASHION MEANING MODEL

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The summary appraisal of fashion meaning elements that concluded Chapter 3 needs to address the purposes of this study:

Ways of interpreting correspondences between garment styling and consumer interpretation of fashion meaning in South African men's leisurewear were to be investigated. Modelling of fashion meaning aimed also to address training for professional fashion positions, and fashion marketing research.

In this chapter, discursive contexts and idioms of fashion meaning are modelled. They presided over the negotiation, creation, and modification of meaning for research interview participants, in respect of the research garment sample.

Modelling schema move from component parts to complex wholes of interpretive evaluation. Kockelmans' Hermeneutic Canon, cited by Hultgren (1982:66-67) is most pertinent to the methodological development of these schema:

- i. The meaning of a phenomenon cannot be projected onto that phenomenon, but must be derived from the phenomenon itself.
- ii. One must search for an interpretation which makes the phenomenon maximally reasonable, - or perhaps better - human. The interpreter tries to understand the phenomena more deeply than those who are actually involved, and as such complements the phenomenon.
- iii. The interpreter must try to achieve the greatest possible familiarity with the phenomena whose meaning he/she wishes to understand interpretively.

- iv. The meaning of parts is determined by foreknowledge of the "whole" whereas the knowledge of the whole is continually corrected and deepened by the increase of knowledge of the components (hermeneutic cycle).
- v. The interpreter must try to show meaning of the phenomena for his/her own situation.

Contextual and idiomatic modelling schema are presented and explained in terms of the interpretive assimilation of meaning components, per Hermeneutic Canon iv.

The last of these canons is addressed by the application of interpretive methods in particular fashion training situations, discussed in Chapter 5.

Any sample of South African men's leisurewear garments can be interpretively evaluated through these schema, as long as such a sample is composed of currently available differentiated and adapted menswear style genres which are widely distributed. Such garment products are also regarded as representational artefacts which are intervisemically meaningful, opening interpretive enquiry to other observational methods.

As a development of interpretive schema, a strategy for descriptive ordering is proposed as a meta-analytic tool for fashion meaning interpretation and evaluation toward the end of this chapter.

## PLAY OF DIFFERENCE

Generating a play of different fashion meanings among sample garments was a research design strategy for finding discursive dynamics of fashion meaning. This play of difference is treated as an innate dynamic of contextual meaning framing and idiomatic meaning evaluation.

Much in the way that Foucault, cited by Nixon (1996:12)\* sees discourse as emerging *across representational forms*, the garment sample used in this study generated differentiated representational discourses through comparison.

It must be said that the research design for data collection made comparisons among sample garments inevitable. Interview participants naturally drew upon comparisons between garments in order to isolate their meaning. That which makes an artefact have meaning is determined in relation to other artefacts, as Barnard has so cogently pointed out: identities associated with garments can only be read through a network of differences (Barnard, 1996:174).

Comparative evaluation is the professional practice basis of assessment of the profit viability of garment products; retail merchandising range reviews are conducted for precisely this purpose. To underscore this assertion, displays of Elite idiomatic evaluations of research garments in Chapter 3 attest to the frequency and extent of this interpretive mechanism. (The full complement of Elite idiomatic evaluation of Garments 3, 6 and 9 illustrates this point in Appendices D, E and F).

Unfortunately, forced comparison of the garment sample items in the first Group interview skewed a potentially viable contrast between Group and Elite interview play of interpretive difference. Instead of showing the entire sample individually and then together in this first Group interview, three garments were shown at a time, so that participants were obliged to make comparisons between only these three garments. The order of showing garments was not consistent across interviews, as I have described in Chapter 2. Therefore an intriguing possibility for interpretive modelling through the contrast of Elite and Group comparative play of difference indexes had to be abandoned.

\*Nixon deals with masculinity and fashion consumption in his book 'Hard Looks: Masculinities, Spectatorship and Contemporary Consumption'. His account of masculine representations is guided by Foucault's discourse view of differentiation in fields of representation (ibid).

With hindsight, although comparative differences among garments were not always verbalised in interviews, it is very probable that comparison always facilitated garment interpretation. However, particular garment styles generated particular comparative evaluations For Dant (1991:118) object value is always composed of:

A dissimilar thing that can be exchanged for the thing for which value is determined, and similar things that can be compared with the thing of which the value is to be determined. This describes in a nutshell play of difference dynamics of the garment sample, where garments were or were not drawn upon as indexical resources for comparative meaning.

## COMPARATIVE PLAY OF DIFFERENCE INDEXES

Group and Elite interview data made for the grading of comparisons summarised at the end of Chapter 3 as indexes of comparison:

Comparable

Combinative

Alternative

Paradigmatic

*Alternative* meaning comparisons were not however made by Elite participants; their professional interpretations were in this regard decisive. Indexing of alternative garments by Group interview participants indicated particular garments as having the same meaning as other particular garments under discussion. However, meanings in common between particular garments were highly variable across Group interviews. This fact may potentially indicate differences between consumer group apprehensions of fashion meaning. The possibility also exists that participants in Group interviews drew upon visualised garments outside of the sample as resources for interpretation. If this was the case, the research garment sample created productive trajectories of meaning qualification.



Examples of contextual frames in Chapter 3 showed how interview participants were differently positioned toward intersubjectively shared contextual meanings. Combinative meanings and paradigmatic meanings could be found in the same contextual frame. Similarly, in some contextual frames, comparable meaning and meaning alternatively applied to other garments was evident. In a reflexive way, interpretive trading between unshared angles of evaluation produced shared contextual meaning.

Comparative dynamics of the play of difference between garments were also expressed through idioms of evaluation. The panoply of possible intertextual meaning relationships between garments were organised for interview participants in this way. Fences and bridges (Barnard 1996:37) between shared and unshared garment evaluations were exposed, especially when emphasised by laughter and involvement in Group interviews.

Clusters of meaning comparison between sample garments were indexed. The variance of these clusters was limited in Elite interviews, compared with Group interviews. Variations of indexical comparison of garments were temptingly repetitive and related, but close scrutiny of these complex relationships revealed eclectic correlations, which could not be generalised.

These unstable relationships impinged upon the contextual and extra-contextual interpretation of sample garments, discussed as main sections over the following pages.

## CONTEXTUAL FRAMING

Framing of fashion meaning in South African menswear forms the modelling wellspring of incipient consumer group differences.

Contextual discourse framed the fashion meaning of garment sample items. Framing was possible because garment could be seen projectively by interview participants *in use*. The relevance this aspect of fashion meaning is demonstrated here by means of a comparison with

Kyungae Park's paper on fashion usage behaviour by different product type (1997:215-222).

This study has some similarities with the present endeavour.

Park's study proceeded from the standpoint that post-purchase usage behaviour associated with particular product types influences future consumer decision-making. Consumption consequences such as repurchase, word of mouth, brand loyalty and store patronage were considered important.

Contextual framing has analogous relevance to post-purchase behaviour in that it is a method for understanding the interpretive effects of garments already purchased, in contexts of fashion consumption. Park's study used a set of product classifications in order to elicit post-purchase use frequency, use satisfaction, use variety, and use behaviour. In her discussion of findings, Park expressed doubts as to the efficacy of her classification of garments. Further, she reported that her study had examined only simple relationships between usage behaviour and product types, and had used a demographically narrow sample of questionnaire respondents. Park concluded that complex interactions between respondents' social characteristics, lifestyle and past experience, as well as product specific variables and situational variables needed to be further considered.

The contextual framing of fashion meaning bypasses product classifications, and contexts of the use of fashion garments seem to be far more worthwhile ways of classifying them.

Garment product variables of evaluation surfaced in contextual framed evaluation of garments, from which idiomatic essences could be distilled. Fashion meaning variables were in this way brought into play in a non-exclusive and non-conclusive way, allowing for a view of changing and differentiated fashion meaning interpretation.

## RECIPROCAL ICONOLOGICAL AND IDIOMATIC MEANING RESOURCES

Two constitutive areas of contextual frames have been discussed in Chapter 3: The framing of intersubjective contextuality, and subjective evaluation of garments. They are discussed as iconological and idiomatic resources for contextual framing. The term 'iconological'\* is interchangeable with 'contextually intersubjective', and less cumbersome.

The idiosyncratic labels given to contextual frames suggest that their meaning can be usefully summarised as cultural 'structures of feeling' (Kaiser, Nagasawa and Hutton, 1995a: 177).

As examples, '**Status Establishment conservative**', '**Unmasculine**', and '**Who and where from**' make collective cultural interpretations of fashion meaning, connected to garments through idioms of evaluation. In this way, contextual framing is iconological.

Appraisal of research data in Chapter 3 aggregated contextual meaning using Garments 3, 6, 9, but this sort of aggregating description could have been elaborated elsewhere in research interview data. Elite participants offered contextual descriptions which were not always expanded, but which nevertheless had intersubjective acuity of meaning. Examples of inherently contextual description are shown in bold type in two Elite interview excerpts overleaf:

\*The sense of iconological meaning as associated and limited interpretive resources is not 'iconic' as Polhemus and Proctor (1978:18) have used this term for garment styles as pictorial representations of symbolic meaning.

Elite interview participant R, describing Garment 5:

105 R - And No 5 I would see as a more fashion guy that likes to get out and show off in his car and go to the right - be seen at the right places.

106 I - Okay, so there's a country and a ...

107 R - And a country and a club or whatever ... (intervention)

I - A club and a sort of high social profile aspect to No 5.

Elite interview participant W, describing Garment 8:

179 R - When I say by yuppie, it's the person that's the most educated, the most fashion-wise would be the person who understands the No 8.

180 I - Right. But it could be misunderstood on other levels.

181 R - Well it could also be the wine farmer from Stellenbosch who understands and he wants that look, that very affluent look.

These instances of iconological meaning in respect of Garment 5 and Garment 8 might easily have come of contextual aggregation across interviews, had contextual framing not been confined to Garments 3, 6 and 9. They might have been labelled 'high profile' in the first case and 'fashion-wise' in the second. But these terms have little meaning unless expanded. Their elaboration in social activities and practices involving social identity is what renders their cultural value meaningful.

Contextual framing as an outcome of laborious discourse analysis of interview data appears to have been directly evidenced by the iconological contextual descriptions of Elite participants. Their expertise allows them to summarily interpret garments by mentally sifting through large amounts of phenomenological data. Iconological meanings in Elite interviews shown above were articulated as a matter of professional acumen, but the ability to arrive at them is an important part of modelling fashion meaning.

## Iconological meaning resources for contextual framing

Shared views of 'Persons' (Chapter 3 explains this indexical code) in interviews embraced social identities which could be region or place orientated – rural people, people from Pretoria Johannesburg or Cape Town, college students, wine farmers from Stellenbosch. Representations of place could be descriptive of social identities as MacKay (1997: 160 - 161) has explained.

More idiosyncratically, show-offs, drivers of Volvo cars, and slobs were iconological social identities. The 'othering' of black people, Afrikaans people, and yuppies is emblematic of social identity as an iconological meaning resource.

Connections between these social identities and the formal properties of sample garments was achieved in all interviews through garment-related idiomatic evaluations of assemblage, garment styling details, garment genre descriptions and fashion designations.

Activities and practices from drug taking to fishing to throwing a frisbee with the dog were described. Throwing a Frisbee with the dog is no longer an iconological activity, simply because Frisbees have come and gone, as complementary to fashion image (Holbrook and Dixon 1985:111). Iconological meaning when it is concerned with fashion *moves* over time, yet it still recuperates past meanings. In this way it is relatively specific in dwelling upon actions and practices in life situations.

A way of finding specific iconological meaning is to look for the problem a consumer faces as an actor in a social situation. Being seen as about to go duck hunting while wearing Garment 8 could have been an appearance management risk. Similarly, South African black men were the object of iconological attention in connection with Garment 3, when they were viewed as pretentiously status conscious, and attempting to look smart and successful. Descriptions of the fashion 'practices' associated with wearing Garment 3 and Garment 8 evoked iconological British

style. This is an example of class-based 'trickle down' fashion meaning diffusion. (Sproles, 1981:5).

John Irwin says that explicit action categories occur in life contexts when persons are judged by others. 'Being on' is his term for social actors whose performances are judged in life as theatre (1997: 68- 69)\* 'Flaneusing' in shopping malls (as I have described in Chapter 2 on page 23) is by contrast a purposively explicit action category where social actors put themselves on a particular life stage.

Iconological descriptions of activities and practices go around unarticulated norms. Attitudinal response in Group interviews signalled uncertainty, embarrassment and surprise, and at times, clear rejection. These inflections can be observed in social interactional settings.\*\*

As Miller (1987: 133) says, these meanings are available at two levels: our own and those of others, or at the somewhat abstracted level of *media representations*. Iconological fashion meaning constitutes both empirical and more abstract representations of lived experience.

In the empirical vein, iconological actions reflect practices which can be observed in everyday life, if Toren's (1996:106-109) advice is heeded. The observer needs to render strange what might be taken as given (ibid). The evidence of Elite interviews shows that Elite participants had made acute prior social observations of the sample garments. In many ways their interpretive constructions can be likened to techniques of visual anthropology, as outlined by Ball, (1997).

\*Irwin refers to critique by Messinger (1962) of the dramaturgical model of social theory, where they say that the black man is 'on' when in the company of whites and the mental patient is 'on' when constantly under the surveillance of judges (ibid).

\*\*Fiske 1989b gives detailed methods for reading interactional texts in popular cultural settings.

Abstracted media representations\* of actions, practices and persons are popularly iconological. They are widely received, from entertainment guides to advertisements, cinema, and television. Textual interpretation of these can yield central iconological motifs, if idiomatic meaning connections with the wearing of garments are made.

Brannon (2000:350) offers some shortcuts to media scanning as a data collection method for fashion forecasting. In the light of iconological meaning, shorter but not short work can be made of the following suggestions:

*One well-chosen media source used as a proxy for many others* (ibid). Leisure is the *über* context of fashion - interpretive activities and practices in South African menswear. A selection, rather than one source, from print and electronic media source in South Africa is advised. Highly popular magazines and television programmes, and published reportage of events and occasions in national weekend newspapers can be proxies for many other similar but less representative sources.

*Minimalist scans* (ibid). Brannon gives the example of a confined combination for media scanning: the Wall Street journal, a trade journal and one other avant garde source. In the case of this study, a combination of popular and fringe media sources can be mediated by published fashion trade commentary.

*Key word scans* (ibid). Internet searches can be directed by keywords, but this is not a simple matter. Internet searches can be productive only if the interpreter's approach is non-concluding, and open to iterative instances of fashion meaning as potentially iconological.

\*Fiske (1989a) gives detailed methods for textual reading of media representations.



## **Idiomatic meaning resources for contextual framing**

Distinctive effects of idiomatic meaning resources were explained in Chapter 3. They can be summarily described as referring to the manner of consumption of garments as fashion objects, and as Entwistle describes, the bearers of practical ideologies - expressed as the (subjectively) appropriate covering of the body (2000:7). As an example, a keen sense of meaning undercurrent needs to be brought to the seemingly innocuous Fashion Designation "You buy that at Woolworths", or indeed someone who looks as if he shops at Woolworths. In an appreciable sense, this is an expression of *Zeitgeist*.

These idiomatic evaluations were sequestered in analytical appraisal of interview data in Chapter 3. However in life experience as reported in interviews, they were not separated from iconological meaning. Outside of verbally articulated interpretations, idiomatic evaluations are present in menswear garments as visually iconological texts.

## **Reciprocal iconological and idiomatic meaning dynamics**

Tables 4.1 and 4.2 on pages 156 and 157 show how interpretive dynamics between iconological and idiomatic meaning can operate when garment products are compared.

The foregrounding of these meaning elements is illustrated by excerpts from transcription of Group interviews. Other sample garments that were displayed to participants at the same time are shown in tabular placeholders; iconological and idiomatic interpretation stands in contrast to these garments.

TABLE 4.1 CONTEXTUAL FRAMING: ICONOLOGICAL DYNAMICS BETWEEN GARMENTS 4, 6 AND 7

Iconological meaning	Play of difference dynamics	Idiomatic evaluation
<b>Actions and Practices</b>	Comparable <u>Combinative</u> Alternative Paradigmatic	Assemblage Garment styling variables <u>Fashion Designations</u> Genre Descriptions Personal Judgements

156

KEY: **Bolded** - Iconological meaning  
Shaded - Play of difference dynamics  
Underlined - Idiomatic evaluation dynamics  
Gmt - Garment

RAJ No 6 <u>will make you stand out</u> 380			Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9
ALAN 6 will make you stand out definitely 381										
DONALD 6 and then pushing on to 7 382				Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5		
Gmt 1	Gmt 2	LUCAS I'd say 4 too makes you stand 383			Gmt 3	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7		
	ROB Well 7 and 4 even huh 384			Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 5	Gmt 6			

TABLE 4.2 IDIOMATIC MEANING DYNAMICS GARMENTS 4 AND 8

Iconological meaning dynamics →	Play of difference dynamics →	Idiomatic evaluations
<b>Actions and Practices</b>	Comparable Combinative Alternative <b>Paradigmatic</b>	Assemblage Garment styling variables <u>Fashion Designations</u> Genre Descriptions Personal Judgements

KEY: **Bolded** - Iconological meaning dynamics  
**Shaded** - Play of difference dynamics  
Underlined - Idiomatic evaluations  
Gmt - Garment

Gmt 4	DENZIL It's more of a <u>community sort of a jacket you wear it round the area when you visit your friend or something, when it's raining you put it on, you won't get wet</u> 261 <u>GREG Driving in your Volvo (general laughter)</u> 262 B RIAN <u>In the 'burbs</u> 263 I Any more associations with these three garments? 264 <u>BRIAN With your gun rack (laughs)</u> 265	Gmt 7
I OK we've said No 8 is actually very establishment hey? And we've said No 4 (DENZIL and no. 4 as well) No 4 is as well? <b>Establishment?</b> 266		
Rs It's a new establishment, (I a new establishment?) 267 A <b>new establishment</b> 268		

## CONTEXTUAL FRAMES: SUMMARY

Because contextual frames were produced in an artificial research situation, they are simulacra of discursive contexts of representational meaning in social life experience. The research contention is that contextual framing of iconological meaning is possible not only when speech allows for discursive coherence, but when links between technological and aesthetic aspects of garments in social interaction are available for cultural description. Direct observation of social interaction settings can elicit these comparative descriptions, if phenomenological attention is focused on the indexing of meaning.

Wide ranges of meaning for each garment in the research sample were indicated in displays of discourse fragments on pages 64 - 72 at the end of Chapter 2. Many contextual meanings were present in these fragments, but not seen as iconological in the early stages of this study.

Contextual frames clearly brought forth evaluatively charged and differentiated subjective positions toward garments. Brydon and Niessen (1998:24 - 26) say that any situation that creates social uncertainty will lead to diversification and emulation of distinctive forms of clothing expression. This observation is especially pertinent to contextual framing as an interpretive conduit; the social uncertainty described by idiomatic reactions means that contextual framing must change over time.

Following Foucault's rules of discourse formation (Horrocks, 1997: 87), these iconological contexts of social and cultural meaning can be seen as plural *surfaces of emergence*, which are not always linked. Clearly though, these meanings problematize each other. As Foucault, cited by Scott (2002:1) has said, relations between discursive formations are not internal to a discursive formation, but instead explain its limits. Iconological surfaces of the emergence of fashion meaning need to be comparatively viewed in this light.

Kaiser, Nagaswa and Hutton (1995a:175-177) have theorised connections between symbolic ambiguity of appearance and fashion change in social interaction. Iconologically contextual fashion meaning identified in collected interview data expresses cultural roots of ambiguity in South African men's leisurewear.

In Figure 4.1 overleaf the contextual frame 'Occasion' stands in opposition to 'Low Profile, Non-occasion'. 'Who and Where from' evokes social identity in a similar way to 'Group Defined Image'. Iconological epithets that had situational cross-over meaning in South African society at the time of data collection are 'Affluent image' and 'Classy'. More discrete systems of iconological meaning were described by the contextual frames 'Ummasuline' and 'Sexuality'. 'Body Comfort', 'Body Build and Comfort' and 'Body Image and Comfort' graduate specific fashion meaning.

The play of difference between the iconological meanings of contextual frames for Garments 3, 6, and 9, will arguably make for transformation of fashion meaning over time. Later marketplace introduction of new versions and adaptations of these garment genres will alter iconological meaning formations, as the association of identities, activities and practices with these garment genres expands or is diminished.



FIGURE 4.1 GARMENTS 3, 6 AND 9: CONTEXTUAL FRAME DYNAMICS

Garment 3	Garment 6	Garment 9
		
Older	Young	Older
Status Sporting Leisure	Occasion	Low Profile, Non-occasion Sport Watching and Doing
Black	Group Defined Image	Who and where from
Smart, Formal, Neat Classy British continental Status, Establishment, Conservative	Sexuality Unmasculine	
Body Comfort	Body Build and Comfort	Body Image and Comfort

## CONTEXTUAL SUBJECTIVITY OR COMPARATIVE IDIOMATIC EVALUATION

Idiomatic evaluations in contextual frames were essentially subjectively evaluative *typifications*. Pile and Thrift (1995:60.) express the notion of typification as things that are known through that which sets them alongside but apart from other things, partly because this is what other things are not.

Contextual idiomatic evaluations could be made in interviews in the light of iconological meaning. The social expectancies and tensions inherent in iconological meaning created the climate of ambivalence in which idiomatic comparisons arose.

These evaluations were made and received with ease in Group interviews because they are typifying discriminations between garments which are likely to be widely used, but not articulated. Idioms of fashion meaning are posited as ever-present recesses of evaluation that describe fashion image. Although publically recognised, they are concealed intersubjectively in the social-interactional discourses of everyday life.

In the conducive but artificial conditions of research interview settings, idioms of garment evaluation were however articulated, in highly variable and atypical ways, as displays of these idioms have shown.

Curious and even absurd meanings were idiomatically applied to sample garments in Group interviews. These can be seen as divisively *critical discourse moments* (Gamson, 1992:26) which made appearance issues contentious, especially when they were greeted with mirth or derision, and particularly when they were contextualised.

As a comparative dynamic of fashion meaning, idioms of evaluation refer to 'face work' or impression management in social interaction.



Hunt and Benford\* (1997:106) use the theatrical metaphor of 'acting' for impression management as self presentation that fosters and maintains particular images or fronts. Positive and negative appearance impression management evaluations can be textually read in social actions and practices, and in media communications. Appearance was negatively evaluated by group participants as they discussed "stokies" being worn with garment 9. Positive appearance evaluation shows when a garment is connected with an advertisement showing a snowboarding champion.

Figure 4.2 overleaf shows some of the idiomatic evaluations that occurred in Group interviews, stripped of their iconological connection and shown in a comparative light. This display is intended to show what can be observed in social interactional situations, or read textually in the many occurrences of intentional appearance representation in advertising, magazines, film, television and entertainment events.

## ICONOLOGICAL AND IDIOMATIC PLAY OF DIFFERENCE

When both iconological and idiomatic meaning are made subject to comparison by a garment sample, an overview of value relationships is possible.

Figure 4.3 on page 164 shows how the foregrounding of Garments 3, 6, and 9 in comparison with other garments in the sample yielded interpretive values. These were iconological and idiomatic.

\*Hunt and Benford draw upon Goffman's (1959) original work on impression management in social interactions.

FIGURE 4.2 COMPARATIVE IDIOMS OF EVALUATION: GARMENTS 3, 6 AND 9 IN GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2 AND G3



Garment Styling Variables		
G1 126 DENZIL - Pulled in at the bottom	G2 617 ROD - It's bright SCOTT - And it's tight	G3 321 ROB - That big strap across the middle
Assemblage		
G1 68-181 sR - Proper slacks, hard leather shoes	G2 388 sR - Sneakers or tackies 392 ROD - You can never wear shoes with that	G3 325 VUSI - With my running shoes and my track suit pants
Fashion Designations		
G1 13 GREG - Preppy	G2 557 SCOTT - A re-done cycle shirt from the 70's	G3 328 ROB - You wouldn't let your friend see you in that jacket
Genre Descriptions		
G1 55 WAYNE - Scottish	G2 228 DAVE -This is a party shirt	G3 742 GREG - Cuddly
Personal judgements		
G1 659 THEMBA - No, no I don't want No. 3	G2 198 Rs - Oh! Ooh! Ay	G3 315 RAJ - I actually hate it



FIGURE 4.3 COMPARATIVE PLAY OF DIFFERENCE

**Garment 3**



***Combinative***

Contextual frame  
**Older**  
Idiom of evaluation  
**Garment styling variables**

**Garment 8**



**Garment 2**



***Alternative***

Contextual frame  
**Body Image and Comfort**  
Idiom of evaluation  
**Genre**

**Garment 9**



**Garment 7**



***Paradigmatic***

Contextual Frame  
**Body Build and Comfort**  
Idiom of evaluation  
**Fashion Designations**

**Garment 6**



**Garment 6**



***Comparable***

Contextual Frames  
**Group defined image**  
Idiom of evaluation  
**Fashion Designations**

**Garment 7**



## BEYOND CONTEXTUAL MEANING: DIFFERENTIATED IDIOMATIC MEANING

Idiomatic evaluations occurred independently of contextual framing in interviews. To an extent this was happenstance, but many of these judgements could be made purely as garment evaluations without reciprocal reference to iconological meaning. These evaluations differentiated Group interview participants' perception of garments in very lucidly divisive ways. For some participants Garment 6 and 7 were primarily evaluated in terms of a fashion designation, and for others Garments 3 and 8 combined meaning in terms of genre. Variation of idiomatic evaluation might equally prioritise Garment styling variables and Assemblage (as it frequently did in relation to Garment 3 and 9). Other idiomatic evaluations then were subordinate in these instances, and this interpretive phenomenon occurred in both Elite and Group interviews.

Distinctions between idiomatic evaluations (discussed in Chapter 3) are significant to the prioritising of these judgements.

Garment styling variables were provisionally seen in Chapter 3 as thresholds to more encompassing idiomatic evaluations of assemblage, fashion designation and genre. Personal judgements variously proceeded from these evaluations, in selective ways for Group interview participants. However, this order of interpretation did not always apply.

Furthermore, as Table 3.1 in Chapter 3 showed, Elite participants were almost unanimous in applying particular idiomatic evaluations per sample garment.

Dispersed idiomatic evaluations in Group interviews lay either within empirical and material, or ideational and intervisemic domains of perception: As Hultgren has observed, interpretation at the ideational level is not of something unknown, but a clarification and evaluation of known data (1982:48). Figure 4.4 illustrates these distinctions as repertoires of idiomatic evaluation.

the ideational level is not of something unknown, but a clarification and evaluation of known data (1982:48). Figure 4.4 illustrates these distinctions as repertoires of idiomatic evaluation.

FIGURE 4.4 REPERTOIRES OF IDIOMATIC EVALUATION

REPERTOIRES	IDIOMS OF EVALUATION
<div>Empirical - Material Repertoire</div>	Garment styling variables  Assemblage
<div>Ideational - Intervisemic Repertoire</div>	Fashion Designations  Genre Descriptions  Personal Judgements

Cavallaro (1998:100) applies the Foucauldian concept of an archaeology of knowledge to the ideological displacement of fashion garments through history. She holds the wearing of fashion garments to be a discursive practice embodied in techniques and effects, where the author-wearer is not paramount. As Cavallaro says, garments as interpretive surfaces bear their signs (1998: 101), but differentiated idiomatic evaluation of garments is made at levels of fashion meaning apprehension which depend on prior experience.

In the Empirical-Material repertoire, idiomatic evaluations of Assemblage were in Group interviews frequently contingent upon Garment Styling Variables as a threshold of further interpretation. Differentiated fashion meaning here ranged between the wide scope and stability of custom, and more circumscribed mode of choice (DeYoung Barr, 1934:5).

In the Ideational-Intervisemic repertoire, Genre Descriptions revealed not only codified and modified meaning, but highly subjective and differentiated evaluation based on what was perceived as old or new. Garment 6, described in Group interviews as 'Superman' and also as Oasis (the British Band) revealed one instance of temporally divisive and differently available Genre Description.

Fashion designations went even farther by making collective (but subjectively held) judgements of older and newer fashionability.

Personal judgements could be linked to either the empirical – material repertoire, or the Ideational-Intervisemic repertoire. But one person's proximate fashionability evaluation issue is not pertinent for the next. Idiomatic meaning evaluation then depends on the semanticity of garments for consumers at under-, over-, and subcoding levels. The play of difference between garments as comparatively, combinatively, alternatively and paradigmatically meaningful has a strong bearing on this determination of preferred evaluation.

Emphasis on preferred evaluative readings of sample garments was made evident by laughter and involvement in Group interviews; but it is also overlaid in social-interactional situations and media texts.

Movement from the Empirical – Material repertoire of idiomatic fashion meaning evaluation to the advanced Ideational – Intervisemic level is then a possible indicator of changing collective fashion meaning interpretation.

Table 4.3 overleaf shows how idiomatic evaluations are differentiated through semanticity at over-, under-, and subcoding levels in comparisons among garments 4, 6 and 7. Other sample garments that were displayed to participants at the same time are shown in tabular placeholders.

TABLE 4.3 DIFFERENTIATING IDIOM DYNAMICS GARMENTS 4, 6 AND 7

Semanticity dynamics →	Play of difference →	Differentiated Idioms of Evaluation
Over-coded Under-coded Sub-coded	Comparable Alternative <u>Combinative</u> Paradigmatic	Assemblage Garment styling Variables <u>Fashion Designations</u> Genre Descriptions Personal judgements

KEY: **Bolded** – Semanticity dynamics  
**Shaded** – Comparative play of difference  
Underlined – Differentiated Idioms  
 Gmt – Garment

RAJ No 6 <u>will make you stand out</u> 380 ALAN 6 will make you stand out definitely 381			Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9
DONALD 6 and then pushing on to 7 382				Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5		
Gmt 1	Gmt 2	LUCAS I'd say 4 too makes you stand 383			Gmt 3	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7		
	ROB Well 7 and 4 even huh 384				Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 5	Gmt 6		



## DESCRIPTIVE ORDERING: CHANGE AND DIFFERENCE IN FASHION MEANING

Among the many proponents of discourse analysis in the field of object representations, Foucault's theories, cited by Scott (2002:1) regarding unity and disunity of discursive formations seem apropos. Contextual frames were discursive of disunity of fashion meaning, by virtue of the reciprocity of shared intersubjective meanings with different and unshared subjective positions.

Foucault (ibid) holds correlation, position and transformation to apply to both the unity and disunity of discursive statements. These terms are borrowed from Foucault (Scott 2002:3) in the interests of ordering the changing discursive description of contextual and idiomatic dynamics of fashion meaning.

In John Shotter's (1996:11) illuminating discussion of the dialogical constitution of community-structured realities, the following quotation appears:

'... the difficulty – I might say – is not that of finding the solution but rather that of recognizing as the solution something that looks as if it were only a preliminary to it. . . . This is connected, I believe with our wrongly expecting an explanation, whereas the solution of the difficulty is a description, if we give it the right [dialogical] place in our considerations. If we dwell upon it, and do not try to get beyond it. The difficulty here is to stop.\*

This quotation is transcendently pertinent to interpretive evaluation of fashion meaning where description is the solution, and not a preliminary to some further explanation.

\*Shotter quotes Wittgenstein's discussion of Frazer's *The Golden Bough* (1981:314). Square brackets indicate Shotter's addition to this quote.

## **ICONOLOGICAL CORRELATION**

Sample garments were compared in Elite and Group interviews in clustered ways, where particular meanings accrued to comparison groupings. Which garments correlate with what iconological meanings is then a productive question. As Table 4.1 on page 156 has shown, comparison operates on an iconological level. At this level, consumer groups will be divided in terms of fashion meaning, and the ways in which they are divided can be culturally described as cohort frames of reference.

## **IDIOMATIC POSITION**

When comparing garments in terms of idiomatic evaluation, it is important to know what reciprocal iconological meaning they may have, because this adds to and qualifies interpretive description. The politics of fashion image devolve upon evaluations which are idiomatically positioned, as Table 4.2 on page 157 has shown. Consumer cohorts are in this way comparatively described.

## **IDIOMATIC TRANSFORMATION**

Variable distances (Barker, 2000:51) between practices of wearing are characterized when idiomatic evaluations are overcoded contextually, or when semanticity of garments is prioritised through overcoding idiomatic evaluation. These distances will narrow and widen over time.

The comparative clustering of meaning amongst sample garments in Group and Elite interviews was not stable, and had dispersed application to consumer groupings. By abductive logic,\* dispersal and variance of clustered comparisons indicates that they will re-form.

Garment style genres will not disappear from a marketplace; they will reappear in adaptational versions. Over time, and with the movement of idiomatic evaluation from empirical to ideational or intervisemic domains of interpretation, what is comparative might become combinative, and what is paradigmatic might become comparable.

## **CORRELATION, POSITION AND TRANSFORMATION OF FASHION MEANING**

Consumer cohorts can be comparatively described in terms of reciprocal idiomatic and iconological meaning and divisively described by the ordering of idiomatic evaluation.

Idiomatic evaluations could be entrained. As an example, one Group interview participant said that he would not wear Garment 6, as a personal judgement; but this was after he had said it should be worn with pyjama pants, as an assemblage evaluation.

But the evidence of interviews shows that contingency of Fashion designation evaluations on Garment styling variables and assemblage is provisional, and subject to re-ordering.

\*Abductive reasoning has been applied to the semiology of product aesthetics by Holbrook (1987: 99) and to theorising fashion change Kaiser *et al* (1995b:236-237). Essentially, according to these authors, abduction is a logical reasoning process, which is tangential to deduction and induction. Deduction and induction proceed between from the to general the specific, and from the specific to the general respectively. Abduction is the logical inference as to *why* phenomena might obtain, rather than *what* or *which* phenomena might exist.

Changing fashion interpretation could well be described by Pile and Thrift's (1995:21) reference to the movement of subjective interpretation as *mutable sharing*. Interpreted experience is for these authors lived twice: organized by a sense of the past as the source of a given situation, and the future as "what my action must co-determine" (Pile and Thrift, 1995:20). Garment representations contextually organized by a sense of the past provide consumers with the frame of reference for new modes of self-presentation. A garment wearer's intention to express differentiated idiomatic meaning as an act of consumption may co-determine future meaning in terms of past meaning.

Future benefits of wearing garments are most likely to be idiomatically differentiated; this is because contextual meaning cannot be anticipated. Goods serve as bridges to displaced meaning for McCracken (1990:109-110) when they are purchased in anticipation of a much larger package - the realization of unfulfilled ideals, which bring a new sense of being. This presents the likelihood that in this way new iconological meanings will emerge over time.

The sampled garment style genres are still available in the South African men's leisurewear market, six years after data collection, but in modified forms. Their transmission, interpretation and encryption functions will however have altered social value for consumers. These modifications are considered nonetheless to be subject to the modelled resources for ordering description of fashion meaning shown in Figure 4.5 overleaf.

The play of interpretive relationships of difference to change is shown as a meta-model in Figure 4.6 on page 174.

FIGURE 4.5 COMPARATIVE AND IDIOMATIC RESOURCES FOR ORDERING DESCRIPTION

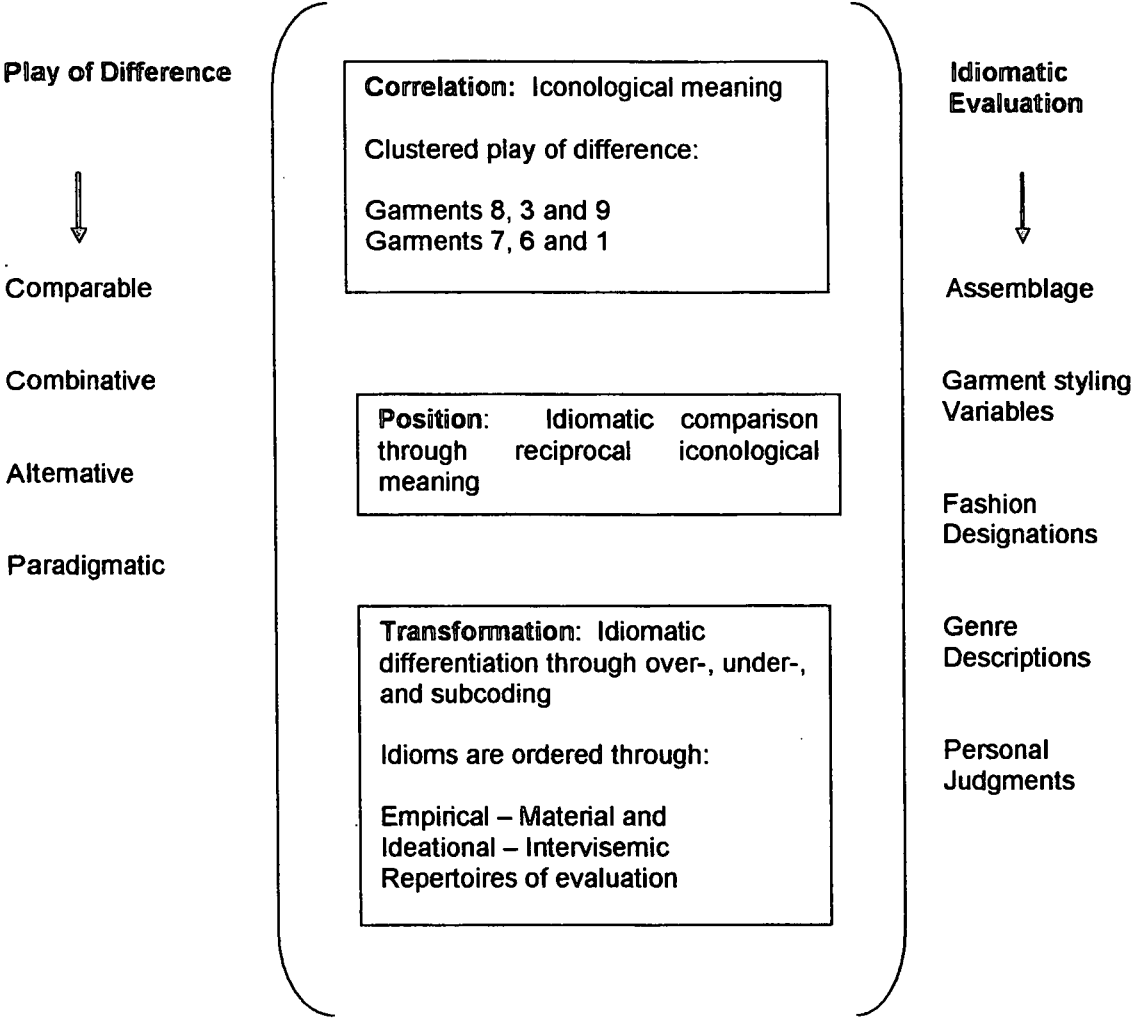
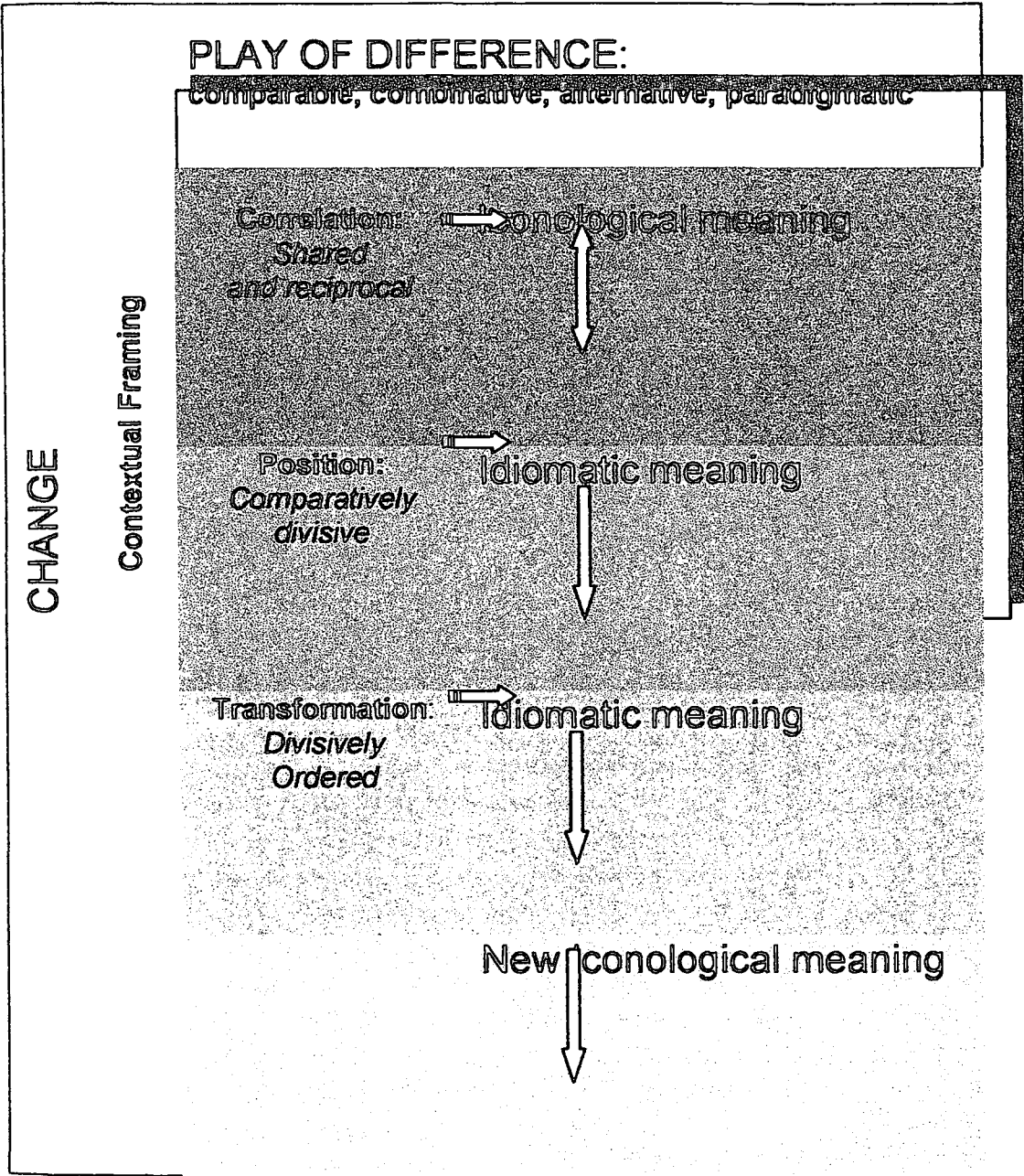


FIGURE 4.6 PLAY OF FASHION MEANING DIFFERENCE AND CHANGE





## **ADDENDUM: RECONCILIATION OF FASHION MEANING THEORIES, RESOURCES AND METHODS**

Early thinking about fashion meaning interpretation made use of Polhemus and Proctor's distinctions between fashion meaning as discontinuous and anti-fashion as continuous (1978:16-18). Interview discourse discriminations between continuity and discontinuity were anticipated to hold propensities for changing fashion consumption. But appraisal of interview data in Chapter 3 made departures from this theoretical and methodological proposition necessary.

Nevertheless, in some ways, the initial theoretical and methodological framework explained in Chapter 2 was useful for the generation of data in this study, and has uses beyond it. A review is given of initial theories and methods that expand alternative tactics and resources for collecting data in respect of modelled schema of fashion meaning interpretation.

### **SYSTEMATISED AND NON-SYSTEMATISED MEANING**

The dialectical question of systemic and unrelated meaning as discrimination between fashion-linked intertexts and unrelated iconic (symbolic) meaning (Polhemus and Proctor 1978:18-19) has been resolved as the dialogical framing of contextual meaning. Contextual meaning is seen in this study as socially and culturally shared and divisive fashion meaning, but not, as Polhemus and Proctor saw it, a 'join the dots' linkage of intertexts which are arbitrarily systematised to form *fashionable* meaning (1978:19). Unrelated symbolic meaning was discarded as a facilitating concept because it could not be isolated. Moreover, when garment meaning difference is in play, it is doubtful that purely symbolic and unrelated meaning can hold sway.

Contextual meaning is significantly *systemically related meaning*; this way of conceiving iconological fashion meaning provides some helpful orientation. It identifies iconological interpretation as meaning resources that can be aggregated because they are systemically related. Contextual framing is discursive in this simple way.

Contextually framed meaning has some continuity, but at the same time suggests discontinuity by virtue of constituting disparate idiomatic elements of garment evaluation. Contextual meaning is an *intersubjective* reflection of experienced fashion meaning, with which *subjective evaluation* of garments can be correlated.

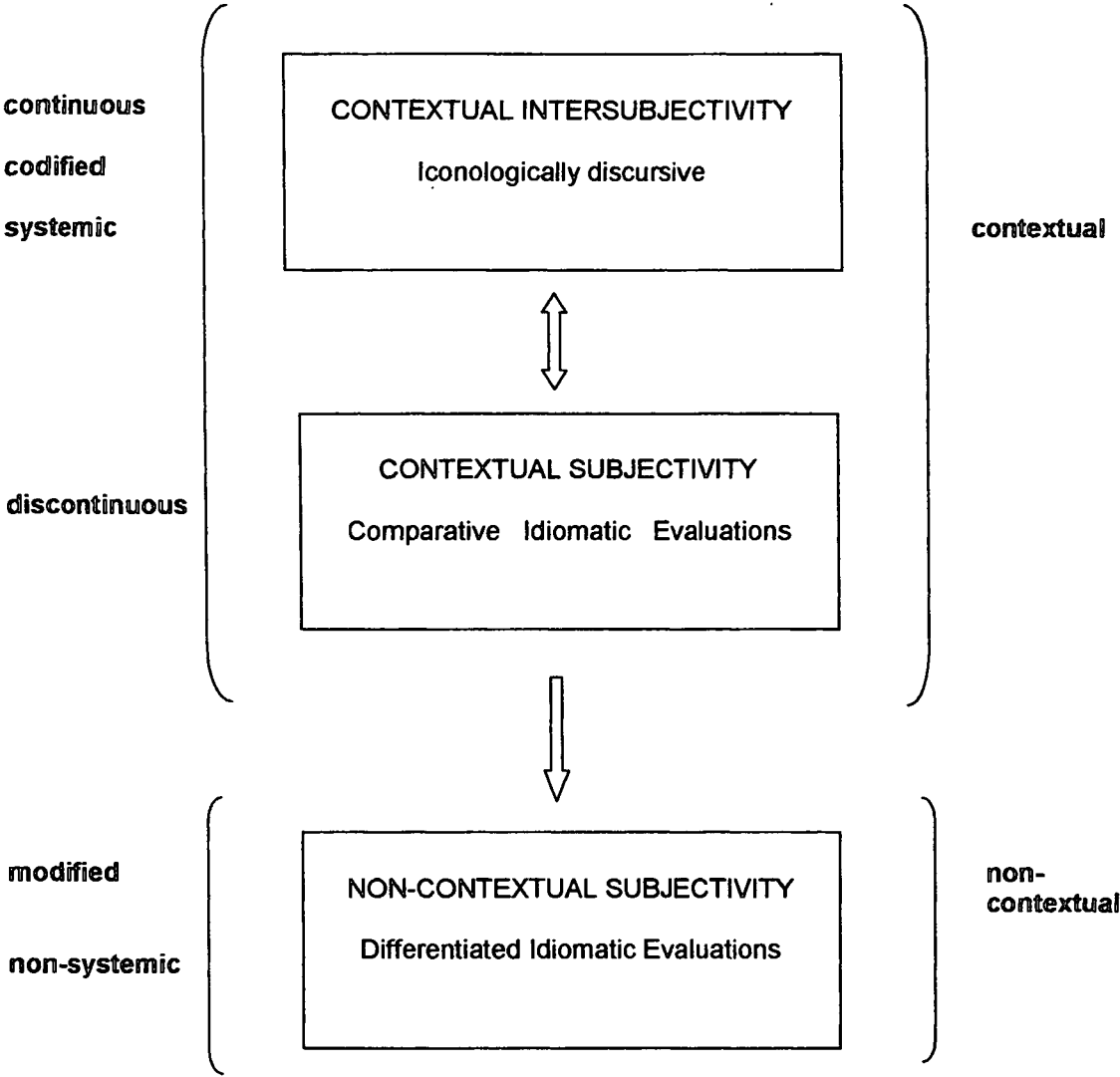
The sense of idiomatic meanings lying beyond contextual frames was decidedly non-systemic. Their subjectivity was independent and differentiated. Non-systemic meaning can therefore be recognised as those meanings which do not depend on culturally systemic contextual experience.

Changing, discontinuous fashion meanings are probably to be found as extra-contextual cleavages from historical or diachronically grounded meaning. This is because non-contextualised meaning discontinues contextual subjectivity. Fashion meanings which do not have an established and continuous meaning also make differentiating departures of garment product preference recognisable.

Continuous and discontinuous meanings have relative phenomenological density. Continuous meanings are situated in prior fashion meaning experience, with attendant iconological meaning. Discontinuous meanings are likely to be less commonly experienced and less understood. Commonly continuous and discontinuously uncommon experiences are then resources for tracking changing fashion meaning.

Resource distinctions can also devolve upon apprehension versus evaluation of fashion meaning. With gross simplification, what is *apprehended* is intersubjective, and what is *evaluated* is subjective.

FIGURE 4.7 ALTERNATIVE TERMS FOR ORDERING DESCRIPTION



## Chapter 5

### MODELLING APPLICATIONS

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Modeling schema in Chapter 4 have described complex relationships of fashion meaning parts and wholes, which are always in flux. Their application is intended to facilitate a letting-through of information that comes from changing social stimuli and cultural effects.

Brannon (2000:320-328) sees fashion as a complex and potentially self-organizing system. Modelling has aspired to address complexity in ways that are neither complicated, nor or as Ciillers explains, lacking in interrelationship among component elements (1998:2)

Application of these organisations of fashion meaning elements needs to take cognisance of interpreter situations and vantage points.

Accordingly this final chapter proposes application of modelled fashion meaning in particular scenarios of fashion training, professional practice, and marketing research.

### FASHION TRAINING APPLICATIONS

Indications for in-house retail fashion training and academic fashion training curricula place an overarching emphasis on learner construction of meaning. These are discussed here as they have relevance to training for design and merchandising.

The modelling of iconological meaning indicates a Cultural Studies approach to the broad scope of processes and circumstances that inform fashion meaning in menswear.

Trainees need to become familiar with what Schrank calls the historical and contemporary diffusion of ideas, practices and products, as they are expressed in collective behaviour (1973:534).

Fashion perception is a function of visual literacy for Ash and Wright (1988:2); any assumption other than one of competent interpretation on the part of consumers is risky. At the same time, a literate sense of the iconological cannot be presumed to be a matter of public memory (Rubenstein, 1995:4) for all trainees. Training needs to develop a working knowledge of diachronic layers of fashion meaning, which are recuperated and re-assimilated (Willis, 1993:211) in current interpretations.

## ICONOLOGICAL MEANING

Visual literacy concerns modelled iconological connections between persons, activities and practices. 'New historical' (DeLaHoyd, 1999:no page number) approaches are favoured in recent fashion-historical works. *Jocks and Nerds* (Martin and Koda, 1989) is a good example of a new historical approach to menswear that can work with iconological modelling of fashion meaning to develop a genealogical visual literacy. This book deals with cultural constructions of fashion meaning, which are historically specific and relative to prevailing ideas, and beliefs of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century.

Training facilitation can draw upon sources of cultural fashion history for exploratory, trainee-centred study, using the iconological fashion meaning schemes and resources on pages 151-156 of Chapter 4 as an organising framework. Fixing determinations need to be avoided in the opening of conceptual doors to fashion meaning interpretation. Flexible understanding is paramount to the appreciation of iconological meaning. Contextual frames have brought together dispersed social activities and social identity descriptions that are constitutive of iconological meaning: Being fashion-wise, being high profile, being a yuppie and belonging to a country club all centre on a nexus of iconological meaning (Elite Interview R: Text units 105-107).

My own teaching approaches have addressed historical fashion meaning without focusing on the iconological, but with some success in developing interpretive capability. They are briefly described here in order to suggest training resources and modes of facilitation.

In problem-based project assignments I have made grossly simplified propositions about fashion meanings, which are then critically elaborated by students. These tasks have entailed supervised information retrieval in a library containing culturally orientated fashion history works\*, and a variety of media resources. Learning facilitation has been conducted in a workshop mode, where student groups have gathered information from the aforementioned sources, and worked together to construct views of fashion meaning motifs. Assembled print and visual media resources have then been discussed, teasing apart impressions and then consolidating related meanings. Naturally, interactive discussions have provoked many 'ifs' and 'buts', so that interpretive work has remained on the level of critical evaluation. Through guiding facilitation and also through interactive knowledge construction, students have arrived at substantive descriptions, rather than 'answers'. An informal symposium has followed group work, involving the entire student cohort, so that meaning constructions can be compared. Conjoint assessment of these presentations by both students and myself has been primarily based on the ability to make phenomenological connections between garments, social meaning and cultural value.

\*Craik's chapter 'Fashioning masculinity: Dressed for Comfort or style' (1994: 177-203) makes detailed links between social identity and menswear. Wilson's chapters 'Gender and Identity', 'Fashion and City Life', 'Fashion and Popular Culture' and 'Oppositional Dress' (1985:117-207) are seminal to cultural understanding of male fashion. Crane's chapter 'Men's Clothing and the Construction of Masculine Identities: Class, Lifestyle, and Popular Culture' (2000:171-201) associates activities and practices with social identities.



These teaching interventions have been made without the benefit of core questions posed by modelling schema. Specifically, meaning that can be demonstrated to have cumulative intersubjective effects on cultural understandings of fashion garments needs to be sought. Contextual frames significantly span past and present meanings.

The metaphor of transmission, encryption and interpretation routes and (temporary) destinations can further assist understanding of present intervisemic fashion meaning.

A revised list of the social institutional contexts of use which initially guided data collection in this study may also contribute to the development of conceptual skills in training: Leisure; the body, masculinity, fashionability as *image*, lifestyle, and social identity. All of these broad contexts engage ideological and intersubjective evaluations of the wearing of fashion garments.

The addendum at the end of Chapter 4 can contribute simple ways of thinking about these conceptual categories. Continuous, systemic, codified and contextual meanings can be found in all categories, as can discontinuous, modified and non-contextual meanings.

Bringing these broad categories of meaning into focus requires that connections be made between idiomatic garment evaluations and iconological meanings. Trainees need to conduct field observation of life situations, and also review media texts that have potentially high intersubjective (and therefore iconological) significance. Collection of media data is best spread over mass-communicated mainstream, fringe and commentary sources, as Brannon (2000:350) has suggested. Frow (1995:82) comments that popular cultural study has concentrated on the like of examples drawn from reggae, scratch video and hip hop, denying status to family sitcoms, Val Doonican and Kenny Rogers. Comparatively prosaic and pedestrian representations are not less important than those on the social fringe.

The development of textual analysis skills is a necessary preliminary to these training methods.

Idiomatic evaluation has been discussed and illustrated in Chapter 3. To an extent, the Empirical and Ideational repertoires of idiomatic evaluation shown in Figure 4.4 on page 166 can scaffold understanding of the ways in which fashion garments are discursive. However, authoritative sources for methods of textual analysis (pages 152-153) can provide useful insights to the uninitiated. But preferred or unilateral textual readings should be avoided. Textual scrutiny might rather proceed through all of the idioms of fashion meaning evaluation discussed and illustrated in qualitative displays on pages 123 – 141 of Chapter 3, bar that of personal judgements.

These training interventions can be facilitated using workshop-based information retrieval in the manner I have outlined. Observation of social interaction situations, which can be textually read as iconological and idiomatic, can follow upon orientating secondary information retrieval.

## **DIVISIVE AND DIFFERENTIATED FASHION MEANING**

Market orientated design in fashion courses and product development in merchandising in-service training depends on ability to discriminate between market segments. Modelling schema have illustrated divisive relationships of fashion meaning, without however showing the way to any clear discriminations. Such hard and fast determinations may be counter-productive. My contention is that many fashion consumer segmentation studies skirt the issue of changing fashion meaning, and do not accommodate permeable separations between consumer constituencies of fashion preference.

Modelling schema have instead proposed comparatively differentiated fashion meaning interpretation, to be seen in the play of difference between garment products. Discriminations of combinative, comparable, alternative and paradigmatic meaning amongst marketplace garment style genres can develop interpretive skills.

Preferably, in training facilitation three garments should be foregrounded against a further three or six garments.

Dress practices can be discerned by contextual framing of media and social interaction observations. Idiomatic meanings of garments can be identified as *subjective modes of consumption* that are reciprocally immanent in these textual contexts.

Distinctions between idioms of evaluation (explained in Chapter 3 on pages 123–141) do, however, need to be made. Idioms of evaluation can provide a checklist for the targeting of design or product development (as the latter is known at fashion retail). The design or product development intention can be orientated to entrained idiomatic appearance management questions: What do the styling features of a garment dictate in terms of assemblage, and how might this differentiate wearers in terms of appropriate garment assemblages? What public communications of revealed preference would be designated by this garment, and in terms of what genre descriptions is this garment likely to be apprehended? All of these considerations can help those in training for fashion to assess the appeal of their designs and products for consumers. Design and product development as an encoding practice needs to take heed of idiomatic elements of fashion meaning evaluation by consumers.

As a result of these investigations, a number of contextual meaning frames will emerge. Figure 4.1 and the preceding discussion on pages 158–160 show how oppositional, crossover, discrete, and graduated contextually framed cultural descriptions can become evident. A realistic appreciation of market groupings can begin in this way.

In manufacturing and retail firms, garment product developments for coming seasons are proposed through visual presentation boards. Training in the preparation of these presentations of contextualised design and product imagery can be facilitated by the understanding of contextual and idiomatic fashion interpretive elements. This does not mean that visual contexts of meaning should be represented in terms of ordinary life experience;

rather, new proposals for design and product development might be based on novel counterpoints to iconologically known meaning. Digitised visual imagery can persuasively communicate fashion-interpretive intention, if idioms of public image Fashion Designation and garment Genre Description are visually contextualised.

## PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE APPLICATIONS

### ABSTRACTING ACROSS PRODUCTS

Fiore and Kimle (1997:347-348) explain the professional practice of abstracting across garment products as finding underlying aesthetic similarities and differences over garment forms. This is done in a number of fashion industry contexts:

Sales representatives communicate the aesthetic or fashion value of a product line to retail buyers (ibid).

Designers and product developers abstract fashion value across competing marketplace products to broaden their understanding of consumer needs (ibid). This is very much part of merchandising as a planning practice.

Forecasters, marketing and fashion promotion specialists, and fashion journalists abstract across past and present trading seasons to determine future trends (ibid).

It is suggested that modelled contextual framing and idiomatic evaluation can contribute to abstraction across products by providing terms for comparison. In particular, play of difference indexes of comparable, combinative, alternative and paradigmatic meaning can organize contextual description and idiomatic evaluation. The ideational repertoire of idiomatic evaluation may help to reveal consumers' aesthetic experience of garment products.

Methods for contextual framing have been explained in the foregoing section on fashion training. Where contextual frames have been identified, their relative oppositional, crossover, discrete and graduated fashion significance (explained on page 159 and modelled in Figure 4.1 on page 160) can provide descriptive terms for abstraction across products.

## **PLANNING AND PRESENTING GARMENT ASSORTMENTS OR RANGES**

The fashion training applications of modelling schema to design and product development are equally relevant to profession design and product development

Easey (1995:127-128) has said that the introduction and acceptance of new products involves several typical looks or styles in any given season, and the incorporation of many modifications and variations according to market requirements. Professional planning of product assortments by merchandisers, and construction of ranges by designers can be assisted by the scheme for descriptive ordering of correlation, position and transformation shown by Figure 4.5 on page 173. This scheme orders fashion-meaning interpretation, while maintaining a view of tangential possibilities.

Descriptive ordering as a meta-interpretive tool (Chapter 4, pages 169 – 174) looks at moving market requirements. It also provides a format for presenting and defending ranges/assortments to retail buyers or senior retail personnel.

Kunz's (1998:66-67) Taxonomy of the Apparel Merchandising System (TAMS) is adapted in Figure 5.1 on page 189 to locate areas where iconological (contextual) framing and reciprocal idiomatic positioning of garments may apply. Retail assortment (or *line*) planning and presentation is exploded in terms of supporting functions. The TAMS model applies also to range planning and presentation in manufacture, referred to as 'Wholesale' in this figure.

Line planning according to Kunz (1998:7) involves evaluating past selling periods and merchandise classifications, proposing merchandise budgets and assortments for a specified

Line planning according to Kunz (1998:7) involves evaluating past selling periods and merchandise classifications, proposing merchandise budgets and assortments for a specified selling period, and synthesizing current trends. Contextual framing of iconological meaning is pertinent to all of these. Merchandise classifications are used to plan inclusion of style genres, modifications and variations in assortments.

Classification of garment merchandise is perhaps more availably achieved in terms of iconological and idiomatic meaning values. As Easey (1995:123) mentions, product lines are a breakdown of product categories into fashions that are related in specific, identifiable ways. His reference to product attributes (1995:111) impinges on merchandise classification. Easey says that it is essential to understand what is being offered in terms of product attributes, and how this is perceived by the consumer (1995:111). Modelled iconological and idiomatic fashion interpretation offer means of escaping opaque merchandise classifications and attributes which have to be seasonally revised because of intervening social and cultural factors.

Fiore and Kimle (1997:291- 294) broadly categorise fashion professional roles as those of 'Developers', 'Gatekeepers' and 'Promoters'. Iconological and idiomatic framing and positioning of fashion meaning apply to certain of these professional functions. These roles are can be recognized in my adaptation of the Kunz's TAMS model. They are identified here as follows:

'Developers' may create products as designers, or as buyers oversee private label development. Market researchers who provide consumer product impressions to product creators are also 'Developers'. Product managers ensure that product lines are consistent in image, and have differentiated sales appeal (Fiore and Kimle, 1997: 293).



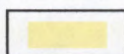
'Gatekeepers' are fashion directors who identify trends and set seasonal fashion direction. Market representatives analyse fashion and sales trend information in order to supply buyers with profitable products (Fiore and Kimle, 1997:294).

'Promoters' of both textile and apparel products are art directors, who develop advertising concepts, marketing specialists who plan and implement promotional activities, and visual merchandisers, who arrange in-store and showroom display (Fiore and Kimle 1997: 294).

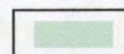
FIGURE 5. 1 APPLICATION OF MODELLING TO LINE PLANNING, DEVELOPMENT AND PRESENTATION

LINE PLAN			
MARKETING PLAN	Evaluate classifications	Line Presentation	
Position the Firm <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• target markets</li> <li>• competition</li> </ul> Create marketing Programs           Plan advertising /promotion           Recommend sales goals           Provide feedback from customers           Forecast sales	Evaluate past periods           Synthesize current issues/ trends           Plan assortments <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• model stocks</li> <li>• basic stocks</li> </ul>	<b>Internal</b> Review for adoption <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• line concept</li> <li>• image strategy</li> <li>• groups and designs</li> <li>• applications to line plan</li> <li>• visual merchandising</li> </ul>	<b>Wholesale</b> Line Preview <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• line concept</li> <li>• image strategy</li> <li>• style appeal</li> <li>• marketing strategy</li> <li>• visual merchandising</li> </ul>
LINE DEVELOPMENT			
BUSINESS PLAN	Line Concept	Pre-adoption Product Development	Line Adoption
Mission           Goals           Merchandise Mix           Fashion Emphasis	Establish line direction <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• colour palette</li> <li>• materials: selection development specification</li> <li>• styling</li> <li>• identify group concepts</li> <li>• continued styles</li> <li>• new designs</li> </ul>	Develop designs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• sketches</li> <li>• design samples</li> </ul> Sample review	Balance of assortments: /diversity /volume /allocation

Key: Iconological correlation



Idiomatic Positioning



Adapted from G, Kunz 1998. Taxonomy of the Apparel Merchandising System. *Merchandising: Theory, Principles and Practice*. USA: Fairchild Books. pp. 66 – 67

## **RESEARCH FOR FASHION MARKETING PURPOSES**

This dissertation is concluded with some outlined proposals for marketing research in South African men's leisurewear.

The following objectives, based on modeling configurations, are considered viable for commercial marketing research:

Finding the specificity and extent of iconological fashion contexts of meaning for consumers.

Finding the differentiated preponderance of idiomatic evaluations in respect of garment products for consumers.

Identifying evolving contexts of fashion meaning.

## **SPECIFICITY AND EXTENT OF FASHION MEANING CONTEXTS**

The idioms of evaluation established in this study can form the basis of a qualitative interview schedule for consumer focus group research, which seeks to find reciprocity between these garment attributes and iconological or contextual meaning. A differentiated garment sample selected according to the criteria mentioned in Chapter 2 on pages 27-28 could facilitate participants' projective interpretations. Transcription of this highly structured data collection could follow the transcription format for organization of shared meanings among participants and over garments used in this study. This has been described in Chapter 3 on pages 75-76; these transcripts are included in Volume II.

Quantitative analysis of data collected in this way is possible because variables, and to an extent, relationships among variables are known. However such an analysis would have to contend with the levels on which findings could be generalised. DiPrete and Forristal's (1994)

comparison of multi-level contextual-effects analysis methods is an instructive resource. They show how links between macro and micro levels of social phenomena can be statistically analysed.

## DIFFERENTIATED IDIOMATIC EVALUATION OF GARMENTS

Polhemus has described street style as the visible, tangible form of an attitude (1994:6-7). Visible attitudes to fashion meaning are available through empirical idiomatic evaluations. Tangible ideational evaluations need to go to textual representation.

Differentiated modes of consumption of a sample of garments can be located in this way. Research by a combination of fieldwork and textual analysis can be conducted as follows:

The empirical and ideational repertoires of idiomatic evaluation can guide an oscillation between observational and textual reading of fashion meaning. In this research scenario, the meanings of an appropriately selected garment sample can be investigated by comparing between media representations and social interactional situations. Such data sources have already been discussed in Chapter 4. It is worth adding that publicity campaigns, advertising and South African television programmes/series reveal visually articulated iconological social identities, practices and activities. Leisure orientated public events and recreational sites such as bars, clubs, cinemas and shopping malls are central social interactional settings. These observational sites are intrinsically popular; popular cultural meaning is importantly located at *the moment of consumption* (Barker, 2000:47).

Brannon (2000: 238) describes similar fashion fieldwork research methods as 'consumer anthropology'. This is conducted in natural settings to help companies understand motivators for purchase within a product category (ibid).

A note on Fashion Designations as an idiom of evaluation needs to be made. The fashion stance of fashion innovators as opinion leaders who influence the diffusion of fashion (King, 1981:31-39) is available as a field observation or in focus group interview situations.

The reader is advised of fashion innovator and opinion leader fashion diffusion studies by Schrank (1973), who developed rating scales, Hirshman (1978), who used survey instrumentation, and Hlavaty, *et al* (1996), who used the Goodell fashion leadership scale. The view of Fashion Designations as publically revealed preference (explained in Chapter 3 on pages 130-132) offers an alternative way of directing such research.

Personal judgements are not available at these sites for data collection. Nevertheless they will be made, but not articulated, by consumers as interpretive receivers of fashion communications. These judgements will be based either in the Empirical – material repertoire, or the Ideational – intervisemic repertoire of idiomatic evaluation. Evans and Blythe contribute a possible means of determining the basis of personal judgement over these idiomatic evaluation repertoires. They describe inner and outer- directedness\* as the difference between consumers whose attitudes are developed independently of group norms (the former) and those who espouse group norms in deciding what are right actions and right attitudes (the latter) (Evans and Blythe, (1994:230). The use of idiomatic evaluations identified in this study, in conjunction with a set of garment genre items might replace the semantic variables in the differential scales developed by these authors.

I suggest that idiomatic data be amassed and recorded qualitatively in the manner shown in the qualitative displays for idioms of evaluation shown in Chapter 3. The full complement of these data displays is appended. Analysis of *differences among consumer cohorts* can be expedited by comparison among idiomatic meanings. Comparative analysis can compress similarities and thereby isolate exceptional, outlier meanings.

\*Inner and outer-directness is a consumer behaviour typology used in marketing studies, first described by Reisman (1950).

## EVOLVING FASHION MEANING

Contextual meaning is an articulation of meaning elements, which are 'put together' to form iconological interpretation. Barker describes cultural 'putting together' of elements of meaning as temporarily unities (2000:9).

As Figure 4.5 on page 174 models fashion meaning change and difference, iconological meaning re-forms over time. It is a temporary putting together of meaning elements, some of which may be shed while others are assimilated. As this model also shows, interpretations can be positioned in prevailing reciprocities of iconological and idiomatic meaning.

Over-, under- and subcoding of idiomatic fashion meaning is an indication of displacement of meaning over time. Equally, the location of idiomatic meaning within or outside of the interpretive boundaries of contextual framing is significant to change. Through a combination of suggested research methods, and using an appropriate market sample of garments, it is possible to find and align the following:

What idiomatic elements overcode interpretations;

What contextual frames overcode interpretations;

What contextual frames of meaning exist in South African men's leisurewear, and the extent to which they are more or less specific to consumer groups.

This layered approach can make use of the transcription strategy used in this study. Shared meanings among research participants/respondents and shared meanings among garments can be interlocuted for idiomatic and contextual meaning. Resulting fashion-meaning descriptions, if quantified, arguably separate consumer groups in terms of changing interpretation. This contention rests on the idea that changing fashion meaning is *substantively differentiated*.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

Application of established research methods and the development of method in this study need some mention.

The theoretical framework used for investigation of fashion meaning in South African men's leisurewear (explained in Chapter 2) generated comprehensive and valuable data. But this framework was a serious hindrance to understanding the import of collected data, constraining my receptivity to authentic meaning.

For one thing, data were copious, and for another, data instances were significant in several ways. Initially, to listen to audiotapes of interviews or to read transcripts was to be inundated with vibrant meaning.

Early theoretical determinations could have led to a reductive analysis of interview data. Paying selective attention to what might seem interesting or significant in an interpretive study brings the danger of misplaced concreteness. This mode of analytic procedure is also inimical to the methodological project of discourse analysis.

Nothing said about sample garments in interviews could really be unimportant. Rather, all data had relative importance.

Rigid adherence to commencing ideas could have resulted in an attempt to 'make things fit' by dint of academic rhetoric. Although it taxed me with constant doubt, a flexible approach brought access to insights available in consumer Group interview participants' *experience*.

Data appraisal in Chapter 3 showed that general propensities for fashion change cannot be dependably based on specific social differences, although these differences may have contributory effects on broad changes. As I have indicated in fashion meaning modelling



recommendations for commercial research, the interpretive problem is one of transient fashion meaning for more and less socially localised collectivities of consumers. The contingency of change upon social and garment differences is then a macro-micro issue.

In the wake of this understanding, readings of dialogical theory and phenomenological method extended discourse methods. These readings indicated the alternative pathway of phenomenological description, and involved a turning away from the methodological order of business that relies on explanation.

Notes made on collected data at the end of Chapter 2 presaged this departure. There was a rich profusion of data instances – but this data could not be 'analysed' so as to arrive at conclusions. The importance of Adams' (1995:463) phenomenological method of 'not-concluding' to the process of arriving at a methodology of description cannot be over-emphasised. Proceeding with interpretative enquiry involved staying in one place until the nature of the place could reveal itself in both topographical and scenic detail.

Understanding data then required an oscillating focus on macro and micro views of the same meaning phenomena. An adjusted view of the value of initial theories given in the addendum to Chapter 4 was made possible by this process.

Theory has been both an aid and a stumbling block in this research endeavour. My discovery through very useful theory of a method for interpretive 'seeing', in both sharp focus and impressionistic relief is offered for the benefit of others:

Kockelmans' hermeneutic circle, cited by Hultgren (1982:66-67), was quoted in Chapter 4. This hermeneutic canon encapsulated the methodological necessity for movement between wholes and parts of meaning. In particular, Kockelmans says that foreknowledge of the whole determines meaning of the parts, while understanding the whole is continually corrected and deepened by knowledge of components (ibid).

Only when contextual framing of relative wholes of meaning was established could idiomatic evaluations as smaller parts be recognised. They were very broadly identified in initial coding, but altered by a developing sense of their roles as parts of functional meaning frames. Greater understanding of the iconological nature of contextually framed fashion meaning was then reciprocally deepened by these idioms of evaluation. It is perhaps worth re-iterating Shotter's (1996:11) advice to those engaged in interpretive analysis. He says we should dwell upon description, and try not to go beyond it. The chief difficulty of interpretive enquiry is that solutions inhere in description which appears to be merely preliminary (ibid).

The interpretive enterprise of this study as outlined in Chapter 1 concerned 'attunement' to the fashion meaning of formal garment characteristics. This term is significant to *description* in the development of interpretive method:

Professional participants in Elite interviews had well-established credentials of attunement to fashion meaning. Significantly, their descriptions of garment fashion meaning were based on comparative differences with other garments, within or outside of the garment sample. Also, their evaluative interpretations of any one sample garment almost always included description of both long and short term meaning. On this evidence, genealogical difference was a key resource for descriptive imagery. Full transcripts of Elite interviews are provided in Volume II to illustrate these specialised fashion discourse characteristics.

This study has differentiated fashion meaning by describing the relative positioning of adapted garment style genres in social experience. Nascent fashion change has been located in iconologically descriptive contexts of meaning which are thresholds of transformation. If any attempt to provide applicable methods of interpretively *seeing* fashion meaning is to have benefit, descriptive methodology needs principal consideration.

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## APPENDIX A:

### CONTEXTUAL FRAMES FOR GARMENT 3

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TABLE 1: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: BODY COMFORT

TABLE 2: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: AFFLUENT IMAGE

TABLE 3: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: BLACK

TABLE 4: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: BRITISH CONTINENTAL

TABLE 5: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: CLASSY

TABLE 6: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: OLDER

TABLE 7: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: SMART, WORK, FORMAL,  
NEAT

TABLE 8: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: STATUS / ESTABLISHMENT /  
CONSERVATIVE

TABLE 9: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: STATUS SPORTING  
LEISURE

### GARMENT 3: CONTEXTUAL FRAMES

**Key for all Contextual Frame tables:** Involvement; **Laughter**; **DGP** - Data Generation Process; **E** - Elite meaning designations; **P** - Production of meaning by interviewer; **C** - Construction of meaning by participants; **PoD** - Play of Difference; **Comp** - Comparative; **Para** - Paradigmatic; **Comb** - Combinative of other garments; **Alt** - Alternative; **Bolded double vertical line** shows **PoD** effects as they apply to either **Inter-subjective Contextuality** on the left or **Evaluation of Garments** on the right.

TABLE 1: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: **BODY COMFORT**

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Elite Interviews</b> E, J, K, S, T, W			
E			
J			
K			
S			
T			
W			
<b>Group Interviews</b> G1, G2, G3			
G1	C	Comp 1	46 I - Is there any difference between No 1 and No 3 in wearability for occasion? 48 DENZIL - Ja I think you'll feel more hot in No 3. 50 DENZIL - It's too tight around the waist.
	C		62 THEMBA - Don't know if it gets that cold in Durban.
	C		670 DENZIL - The bottom trim spoilt it – very uncomfortable.
	P		699 I - Where could he go, dressed like that. 700 GREG - Somewhere cold.
G2	C		149 ROD - It looks warm.
	P		162 I - Where does he go on holiday? 164 JEFF - (joking) India! <b>(laughter)</b> 165 ROD - No that will be too hot for that.

Cont'd...

TABLE 1: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: BODY COMFORT (CONT'D)

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
Group Interviews G1, G2, G3			
	EP	Comb 9 Alt 2, 6, 1	572 I - Most comfortable garments here? 573 Rs - 2. 574 ROD - Most comfortable to lounge back and (Scott - 1 and 6.) 575 JABU - Well 3 and 9 for me.
G3			

TABLE 2: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: AFFLUENT IMAGE

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Elite Interviews E, J, K, S, T, W</b>			
<b>E</b>			
<b>J</b>			
<b>K</b>	E		142 R - And it looks as expensive, - but being regenerated tweed it won't be that expensive.
<b>S</b> 159 R - And No 3 is the kind of guy that likes to be seen to be very affluent.	E		
<b>T</b> 72 R - It's over R1 000 - your A income person would be able to afford that.	E		70 R - A Viyella jacket. It's got a beautiful lining inside it. The finishing off on that garment is really nice. That jacket from a price point of view would probably be one of the most expensive I am looking at here. 72 R - that particular person would appreciate the quality of the fibre, the lining and the construction.
<b>W</b>			
<b>Group Interviews G1, G2, G3</b>			
<b>G1</b> 422 BRIAN - 3 - financially where you are.	C		
<b>G2</b>			144 ROD - It looks expensive.
570 ROD - I'll make a last statement. I think No 3 is more affluent, it's more for a person who enjoys a formal occasion.	C	Alt 4	605 ROD - No 3 looks expensive. 606 SCOTT - No 4.

Cont'd ...

TABLE 2: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: AFFLUENT IMAGE (CONT'D)

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Group Interviews G1, G2, G3</b>			
<b>G3</b> 215 RAJ - It's upmarket and that's it.	C		208 LUCAS - I'd say that's the most expensive.
359 VUSI - Those are the type of guys that come from the rural areas. 360 ALAN - Yes, ja they're trying to look good in the city. 361 VUSI - We talking low income now. 363 VUSI - That No 5 as well goes for that kind of market. 364 ALAN - Yes, ja. 365 I - Low income bracket and rural did you say, or not? 366 VUSI - Rural I'd say because it's an imitation, it's what they can afford. 367 ALAN - Ja.	C	Comb 5	362 ALAN - Yes very low income types with the shiny shoes and jeans and maybe that on. When they come into the city they wear something like that, that sort of material, I'm not saying that kind of look, I'm saying that kind of material.
417 ALAN - As well I think. 3 is lower income bracket but it looks smart.	C		421 RAJ - No 3 is the most expensive jacket. 424 ROB - If it's so expensive, why does it look so tacky. 426 ROB - It just doesn't appeal to me.

TABLE 3: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: BLACK

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Elite Interviews E, J, K, S, T, W</b>			
<b>E</b>			
<b>J</b> 226 R - That, to my mind, is really very much a black market garment.	E		
246 R - I would say No 3 is black market, No 8 is white market.	E	Para 8	
265 R - No 3 is in the black market like a sharper type dresser.			265 R - You know someone who doesn't wear denim jeans.
<b>K</b> 133 R - Black market appeal. 138 R - The more conservative black older person.	E		133 R - Because of the garment colouration.
<b>S</b> 140 R - and No 3 is ours, like I said, from Sales House. (Traditionally black market chain)	E		
<b>T</b>			
<b>W</b> 15 R - This is totally black. I mean we put things in boxes.	E		166 R - This is a very distinct look that we don't get in – we don't see it in Cape Town. It's very Jo'burg, CBD, rural areas - you know that whole look – where colour is very important, very olivey and the mustards - you know those colours.
<b>Group Interviews G1, G2, G3</b>			
<b>G1</b> 703 DENZIL - You know what Brian, this is a lot of Blacks as well. (No 8)	C	Comb 8	
707 GREG - Same class as No 3. (implication through preceding text is black)	C	Comb 8	

Cont'd ...



TABLE 3: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: BLACK (CONT'D)

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Group Interviews G1, G2, G3</b>			
<b>G2</b>	C		
<b>G3</b> 221 RAJ - It would sell at Casanova. (black market shop) 222 ALAN - That's black culture.	C		223 Vusi - The idea of the design is brilliant but the fabric is not right
358 ALAN - I've seen a lot of black guys walking around in that.	C		358 ALAN - Like that sort of material.
359 VUSI - Those are the type of guys that come from the rural areas. 360 ALAN - Yes, ja they're trying to look good in the city. 361 VUSI - We talking low income now. 363 VUSI - That No 5 as well goes for that kind of market.	C	Comb 5	362 ALAN - Yes very low income types with the shiny shoes and jeans and maybe that on. When they come into the city they wear something like that, that sort of material, I'm not saying that kind of look, I'm saying that kind of material.

TABLE 4: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: **BRITISH CONTINENTAL**

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Elite Interviews E, J, K, S, T, W</b>			
E			
J			
K			
S	E		211 R - It's Italian - more Continental inspired.
T	E		64 R - It is a very British look.
W	E	Comb 8	55 R - (No's 8 and 3) are both very traditional and very English No 3 is a woollen type jacket in a continental context.
<b>Group Interviews G1, G2, G3</b>			
G1	P		54 I - Is there any association of nationality here? 55 WAYNE - Scottish.
G2	P		576 I - How about nationality? 581 DAVE - 3 I would put as British.
G3	C	Comb 8	350 LUCAS - No 8 and No 3 is British. 352 Rs - That's right. 353 RAJ - No 3 has got a very strong British look. (ALAN - Ja.) (LUCAS - Formal.)

TABLE 5: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: CLASSY

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Elite Interviews E, J, K, S, T, W</b>			
E			
J			
K			
S			
T	E		69 R - Do you think it's got class connotations? 70 R - Yes, I would say yes because it's a Viyella jacket.
72 R - Your upper class, A - income person.	E		72 R - .... would appreciate the quality of the fibre, the lining and the construction of the garment.
W			
<b>Group Interviews G1, G2, G3</b>			
G1 29 GREG - More upperclass than No 1.	C	Para 1	
70 BRIAN - Someone who's upper class.			
	EPC	Comb 8	358 I - Right so we've identified one classy type of jacket here, No 3. Is that the most classy jacket? 359 BRIAN - And No 8 I reckon but for different reasons.
422 BRIAN - (Rs - Ja and class.) it's a class thing.			
G2 122 I - What's the sort of commonplace idea about this? 123 JEFF - Classy.	CP		124 I - What makes it classy? 125 MITCH - The collar. 126 sR - The colour and the make. 133 I - Is it the colour that makes it classy? 134 JEFF - Not that the design. 135 ROD - I like the design of the jacket. 136 Rs - The design, ja the design.

Cont'd....

TABLE 5: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: **CLASSY** (CONT'D)

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Group Interviews G1, G2, G3</b>			
<b>G2</b> 434 ROD - No 3 is a bit classy. 435 Rs - Ja, Ja.	CP		434 ROD - You wear that with a chino, casual pants.
483 I - So there's only one jacket here that you've mentioned has to do with class and that was no - ? 484 Rs - 3, definitely. 485 I - Is there any other jacket that has a classy connotation to you? 486 JEFF - No 3 and 2. 487 MITCH - No 5. 489 ROD - 5 is almost classy but not quite (general laughter) that's the thing once you find out it's fake you won't even.....	C	Comb 2  Alt 5	
<b>G3</b> 212 ALAN - It's class image. 213 Rs - Ja. 228 ISMAIL - Old fashioned and classy at the same time.	C		228 (RAJ - And its got round collars.)
422 DONALD - I personally think that 3 is not a lower class certainly not. 423 LUCAS - You know what I'd say. (DONALD It's middle class.)			

TABLE 6: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: OLDER

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Elite Interviews E, J, K, S, T, W</b>			
<b>E</b> 207 R - An older more classic look. 218 R - No 3 your older type guy.	E		209 R - Probably wouldn't be worn with denims, worn with a classic type trouser. 211 R - Formal, leather type shoes. 218 R - They would wear over a formal shirt to work with smart trousers and smart shoes.
237 I - Second oldest to No 3? 238 R - Would be 5 and 8.		Comp 5, 8	
<b>J</b> 253 R - It's an older garment.	E		
<b>K</b> 138 R - This will be an older black person.	E		140 R - Young people will not be seen dead in something that is elasticated at the bottom.
<b>S</b> 188 I - The oldest garment here? 189 R - No 3.	E		
<b>T</b> 63 R - It's more conservative. It's a more mature interpretation of No 2.	E	Comp 2	63 R - Ja, Viyella. Okay, so this - well now that I know it's a Viyella jacket, it is, exactly as I said earlier on.
<b>W</b> 162 R - No 3 to me has got the oldest connotation to it. 167 I - Second to that? 168 R - I would say No 8 and 9.	E	Comp 8, 9	
<b>Group Interviews G1, G2, G3</b>			
<b>G1</b> 31 BRIAN - No 1 is a younger person (than No 3).	C	Comp 1	
65 WAYNE - Old toppie kind of person.			
335 I - OK and you said that No 3 was a bit older. Any other garment which you think is a bit older along with No 3? 336 BRIAN - No 9 I think. 340 sR - 8, No 8. 341 sR - No. 9.	CP	Comb 8, 9	

Cont'd ...



TABLE 6: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: OLDER (CONT'D)

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Group Interviews G1, G2, G3</b>			
<b>G2</b> 142 I - 'Father' fabric? Right, so, not only class but you're saying older? 143 SCOTT - Definitely.	C		141 SCOTT - It reminds me of 'father' fabric.
489 DAVE - 3 will go more for the older crowd. 491 ROD - I think it's younger. 493 JEFF - No 3 is definitely a middle age group (Rs - Ja, ja.) for a more mature crowd. (laughter) 494 I - Ok so you say No 3 is the oldest jacket here? 495 Rs - Ja ja. 496 I - Alright so what's the second oldest? 497 JEFF - No 9. 498 ROD - 8. 499 DAVE - 5. 501 JABU - 8 and 9. 502 I - 8 and 9? 503 MITCH - Ja definitely 8. 504 DAVE - 8 is something my Dad would wear B D.	C	Comp 8, 9, 5	
547 JABU - Well no 8 for the elderly persons. 548 I - Elderly? So we're saying no 3 and No 8 have got that feel? (sR - Ja.)		Comp 8	549 SCOTT - You can actually see the pockets are kind of similar as well.
<b>G3</b> 210 ISMAIL - That's a Papa's jacket - for a much older guy. 217 ROB - Wouldn't suit a young person. (ALAN - No it wouldn't.)	C		
335 I - What stands out as older? 336 Rs - No 3, No 3. 337 Rs - No 8, No 8. 338 LUCAS - No 2. 339 RAJ - No 9.	P	Alt 8, 2, 9	



TABLE 7: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: **SMART, WORK, FORMAL, NEAT**

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Elite Interviews E, J, K, S, T, W</b>			
<b>E</b>	E		218 R - They would wear over a formal shirt to work with smart trousers and smart shoes.
<b>J</b>	E		228 R - It's worn casually and more formally. 230 R - You very often find matching trousers. 234 R - They wear them with ties, without ties.
265 R - A sharper type dresser.	E	Para 8	265 R - You know someone who doesn't wear denim jeans. 267 R - Ja. I think No 3 would always be smart casual, as No 8 would certainly wear jeans.
<b>K</b> 133 R - Thinks he is very smart. 142 R - It sort of aims to be slightly smart.	E		133 R - Because of the garment colouration. 142 - But the regenerated fabrication means it won't be that expensive.
<b>S</b>			142 R - Our smart casual type jacket. 144 R - The guy that wears No 3 usually wears the exact same fabric in a pants with very smart formal shoes, genuine leather. We sell it in the stores. 145 I - Like a brogue maybe? 146 R - Ja, a brogue or a slip-on moccasin
<b>T</b> 82 - 84 R - He would probably wear this to a smart casual event. Whereas - No 1 would be worn to college, on the campus, on the weekends, out to the movies.	E	Para 1	86 R - He wears it with pleated corduroy trousers, wool trousers. 96 R - And with a good shoe.

Cont'd ...



TABLE 7: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: SMART, WORK, FORMAL, NEAT (CONT'D)

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Elite Interviews E, J, K, S, T, W</b>			
<b>W</b>	E E	Comp 8	<p>247 R - No 3 is the most traditional. Won't be worn with jeans, it'll be a formal trouser.</p> <p>249 - A nice pair of shoes, good leather shoes.</p> <p>250 I - Underneath the jacket?</p> <p>251 R - A printed viscose - type shirt, or a sheeny-type shirt, polyester.</p> <p>252 I - Not a T- shirt?</p> <p>255 - Maybe a polo neck.</p> <p>259 R - Smart Casual.</p> <p>333 R - Okay, No 8 could wear easily like a nice checked Friday-type shirt.</p> <p>335 R - No 3 definitely could be wearing a collared shirt.</p>
<b>Group Interviews G1, G2, G3</b>			
<b>G1</b> 51 I - Same kind of guy for No 1 (as no 3) or different? 52 GREG - Smart person. 53 THEMBA - Probably a smart person.	P C	Para 1	
74 GREG - It's neater as well. I picture the No 1 guy as a bit more. 75 DENZIL - Free going.	C	Para 1	
	C		114 DENZIL - You'll actually tuck your shirt in.
128 DENZIL - That's for more neat people.	C		
	C		168 - 181 BRIAN, DENZIL - You'd wear No 3 with proper slacks. Rs - Chinos. sR - Hard leather, shoes, slip-ons.
<b>G2</b>	C		<p>127 MITCH - It feels like work to me. (Rs - Ya.)</p> <p>129 MITCH - I wouldn't wear this if I was not at work.</p>

Cont'd ...

TABLE 7: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: SMART, WORK, FORMAL, NEAT (CONT'D)

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Group Interviews G1, G2, G3</b>			
428 DAVE - I see 3 as something smart. No 7 is very casual, and 6 would be purely rave.	C	Para 7 Para 6	428 DAVE - The kind of fabric I would wear with chinos and smart shoes.
570 ROD - It's for a person who enjoys a formal occasion.	C	Comb 2	571 JEFF - No 2 and 3 I'll buy.
G3 207 ALAN -It's like a working class. 214 DONALD - It's a working class jacket. (participant means for wearing to work, not working class - see context.) 220 LUCAS - It's very formal.	C		207 ALAN - That's actually the best out of all of them.
417 ALAN - 3 is lower income bracket but it looks smart.			353 RAJ - No 3 has got a very strong British look. (ALAN - Ja.) (LUCAS - Formal.)

TABLE 8: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: STATUS/ESTABLISHMENT/CONSERVATIVE

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Elite Interviews E, J, K, S, T, W</b>			
<b>E</b> 209 R - Um, more conservative.	E		209 R - Probably wouldn't be worn with denims probably very much a classic trouser type jacket. 211 R - Um, shoes are definitely more formal, formal type leather shoes like Crockett and Jones or (I - Brogues?) ja.
<b>J</b> 255 - 257 R - 8 and 3 are worn by older more conservative people.	E		
<b>K</b> 138 R - This is the more conservative older black person.	E		140 R - Young people will not be seen dead in something which is elasticated at the bottom.
<b>S</b> 151 - 156 I - You've mentioned 3 and 8, how would you characterise them - social identity, level of conformity, activities? 159 R - Well conformity - 3 and 8 are pretty much conformists. 215 R - 8 is status conscious but doesn't like to show it. 3 and 5 like to show it. 3 and 5 like to show their status openly.	E	Comb 8 Comp 8 Comb 5	
<b>T</b>	E	Comp 2	57 R - No 3 is a more traditional interpretation of No 2.
66 R - And the British are known to be more conservative.			64 R - That is the Viyella look. It is a very British gentleman's club kind of look.
80 - No 3 would be your achiever, your professional guy. 84 R - Where (No 3) would be worn - No 1 would be worn to college, on the campus, on the weekends, out to the movies.		Para 1	80 R - guy that doesn't want to make a loud statement but wants to show that he understands fashion and appreciates good clothes.
<b>W</b> 164 R - More conservative Black consumer.	E		247 R - 3 is the most traditional I don't see it with jeans. It will be a formal type trouser.

Cont'd...

TABLE 8: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: STATUS/ESTABLISHMENT/CONSERVATIVE (CONT'D)

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Group Interviews G1, G2, G3</b>			
<b>G1</b> 366 I - Is there anything you associate with high achiever yuppie people? 367 GREG - 3. 368 sR - 3 definitely.	EPC		
420 DENZIL - No 3 how far you get in life. 422 BRIAN - I would say No 3 is the least colour bound one. I would say No 3 is financially bound and (Rs - Ja and class.) it's a class thing it would have nothing to do with colour, it's financially where you are.			
437 I - OK. Respectable? 438 GREG - No 3. 439 BRIAN - No 3. If a girl saw you wearing No 3 she'd go. Jeez he's got a nice job, he's stable . . . .	EPC		
657 DENZIL - Leave them ( 3 and 9) for lawyers.	C	Comb 9	659 THEMBA - No, no I don't want No 3. 661 DENZIL - I can't wear a jacket with a little cuff, a little belt underneath.
686 I - Themba, do you feel like putting on 3? 688 BRIAN - He quite likes 3. (DENZIL - It suits legalwise' huh.) 689 CLIVE - That is definitely YOU.			
<b>G2</b> 622 I - Who is Mr Stable, responsible, respectable over here? 623 Rs - No 3, ja No 3 for sure.	EPC		
<b>G3</b> 418 VUSI - He's got ambition.	C		

TABLE 9: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: STATUS SPORTING LEISURE

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Elite Interviews E, J, K, S, T, W</b>			
E			
J			
K			
S			
T			
W			
<b>Group Interviews G1, G2, G3</b>			
<b>G1</b> 20 BRIAN - Drive in the countryside jacket. 22 BRIAN - With my leather Porsche gloves! (laughter) 23 Rs - I'd say golf, golf! Ja golf!	C		
60 WAYNE - Trout fisherman. 64 GREG - Midlands.			
420 DENZIL - No 3 how far you get in life. 421 MIKE - Getting ready to play golf.	EPC		
660 GREG - No 3's in the country.	C		
<b>G2</b> 155 SCOTT - Golf. 156 DAVE - Polo players. 157 MITCH - Mmm.	C		
158 I - What car does he drive? 159 MITCH - An old MG. 160 ROD - 4 x 4.	EP		161 SCOTT - With a cap! 162 DAVE - You need the cap to go with it.
<b>G3</b> 354 VUSI - No 8 is British only when you go to play polo. 355 LUCAS - Or fishing. 357 RAJ - The person who wears No 3 will wear No 8. (LUCAS - Yes definitely.)	C	Comb 8	

## APPENDIX B:

### CONTEXTUAL FRAMES FOR GARMENT 6

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TABLE 1: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: BODY BUILD AND COMFORT

TABLE 2: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: YOUNG

TABLE 3: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: OCCASION

TABLE 4: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: SEXUALITY

TABLE 5: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: UNMASCULINE

TABLE 6: GARMENT 6 CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: GROUP  
DEFINED IMAGE



## GARMENT 6: CONTEXTUAL FRAMES

**Key for all Contextual Frame tables:** Involvement; **Laughter**; **DGP** - Data Generation Process; **E** - Elite meaning designations; **P** - Production of meaning by interviewer; **C** - Construction of meaning by participants; **PoD** - Play of Difference; **Comp** - Comparative; **Para** - Paradigmatic; **Comb** - Combinative of other garments; **Alt** - Alternative; Bolded **double vertical line** shows **PoD** effects as they apply to either **Inter-subjective Contextuality** on the left or **Evaluation of Garments** on the right.

TABLE 1: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: **BODY BUILD AND COMFORT**

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Elite Interviews E, J, K, S, T, W</b>			
<b>E</b> 165 R - When people become body conscious they do want to show off, to show off their muscles.	E		164 I - Okay, and the silhouette, fitting tight to the body? Does that have any connotations?
<b>J</b> 84 R - Being a sportsman, I think it would naturally have the more athletic body. 85 - 86 R - This to me is a far more active garment than No 7.	E	Comp 7	
<b>K</b>	E		69 R - Velours will not work in South Africa because our winters are not that cold.
<b>S</b> 197 R - A guy with a very well-built body. 199 R - Nice chest.... 203 I - Would say that No 6 and 7 would be more your jock-type guy, very well built, as would be No 1 and No 5.	E	Comb 7, 1, 5	
<b>T</b>			
<b>W</b>			

Cont'd...



TABLE 1: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: **BODY BUILD AND COMFORT** (CONT'D)

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Group Interviews G1, G2, G3</b>			
<b>G1</b> 423 GREG - No 6 is a skinny white boy thing. 424 I - Which of these garments are for skinny guys not the jock kind of push weights kind of guy? 425 DENZIL - No 2. 428 BRIAN - 1, 6. 429 CLIVE - 2, 4, 6. 431 I - Right and the rest of them they'd be quite beefy? 432 BRIAN - No 7 is a gym boy's - a gym boy's.....	EPC	Comb 1 Comb 2, 4  Para 7	
586 BRIAN - Medium build, I would say if you were too skinny it would look..... 587 I - Mr Active or Mr Skinny kind of grungy. 588 Rs - Active, ja. 590 BRIAN - Skinny grungy could pull it off. 592 DENZIL - Dietwise, diet wise kind of person.	C		
<b>G2</b>	PC		203 JABU - It's warm.
	EP		398 I - No 6 you feel is more fashionable because of the fabric how's about the fit on the body? 399 SCOTT - Ja and it does look like it would hang more tightly to the body even if it's quite loose.
	P	Comb 1 Alt 2	572 I - Most comfortable garments here? 573 Rs - 2. 574 (SCOTT - 1 and 6.)
	C		617 ROD - It's bright. (SCOTT - and it's tight.) 618 I - Because its bright and tight fitting? 619 Rs - Hmm mmm.
<b>G3</b>			

TABLE 2: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: YOUNG

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Elite Interviews E J K S T W</b>			
<b>E</b> 127 R - Definitely a younger garment.	<b>E</b>		
<b>J</b> 99 R - But again it's a very young age. No 7 would appeal to an older person.		Para 7	
<b>K</b> 59 - No 6 is young active sportswear. 5 is the more conservative person, definitely not young fashion.		Para 5	59 R - No 6 is .....is aspiring to be Adidas because of the stripes.
85 R - 7 and 6 aim at exactly the same person but 7 is slightly older looking.		Comp 7	87 R -The collar - an older person will definitely wear 7 rather than 6.
163 R - For your younger group I don't think 6 and 7 would be a problem.		Comb 7	
198 R - 2 could easily be more related to 5, 8 and 3 for me. It's not fashionable. It's aimed at a more conservative and I think an older group. I would say as the same age level where they have pitched it, it's 1, 6 and 4.		Para 2, 5, 8, 3 Comb 1, 4	
<b>S</b> 29 R - Your trendy customer, younger customer.			29 R - With the tape detail running down the arms.....
74 R - Where 6 is more your young customer who goes to a rave. Your No 9 is your young and older guy that would stand around, watching a sport game or going to a braai.		Para 9	
192 I - The youngest one there? 193 R - 6.			
<b>T</b> 168 R - No 6 and 7 would be your younger customer.		Comb 7	
170 R - ..... So that would be your younger more fashion aware customer.		Comb 7	170 R - No 7 has got the zip detail and the colour blocking, No 6 has got the V-neck which is at the moment a fashion detail.
170 R - No 9 would be your more mature conservative type of customer.		Para 9	

Cont'd ...

TABLE 2: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: YOUNG (CONT'D)

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Group Interviews G1 G2 G3</b>			
<b>G1</b>			
<b>G2</b> 233 I - So in terms of youth or age? 234 ROD - Ay, 18 - 25. 235 DAVE - Ja. 236 MITCH - Young crowd.	C		
<b>G3</b> 332 I - What stands out as younger and what stands out as older, and mention the number please. 333 Rs - No 6 and 7, No 6, No 7, No 6. 334 RAJ - No 7 No 4.	EPC	Comb 7 Alt 7, 4	

TABLE 3: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: OCCASION

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
Elite Interviews E, J, K, S, T, W			
E 129 R - Jeanswear related during the day, then when you go into evening type activities definitely clubbing and rave type thing.	E		131 R - Where it could either be worn with nylon pants or rave type rubberised pants or nylon rubberised pants that sort of feel. 133 R - He would wear jeans and the more rave top as an overshirt.
133 R - 1 and 6 could possibly be the same person, but he would be wearing it at different times and for different effects, he might go out in the evening to a party or a rave. 137 R - In the main it would be worn as the going out item.		Comp 1	137 R - But it would have a crossover to daytime, tied around the waist
157 R - 7 would be probably a little more daytime-ish than No 6 would be.....		Comp 7	
J 80 R - I imagine the person who wears this would go to soccer or have a very keen interest in the sport, if not play it themselves.			
K			
S 31 R - Initially I think of a guy that goes off to a rave. 33 R - Second to that, a guy that goes - to a sporting event.	E		
74 R - No 6 is more like your younger customer who goes to a rave. Your no 9 would stand around watching a sport game or going to a braai.		Para 9	
T 172 R - 9 is more of a sports garment, worn to the gym - No 6 and 7 would be worn out in the evening, maybe to clubs.	E	Para 9 Comb 7	
W 118 R - I am going to see this guy at the latest mother rave you know.			

Cont'd...

TABLE 3: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: OCCASION (CONT'D)

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Group Interviews G1, G2, G3</b>			
<b>G1</b> 319 CLIVE - 6 you'd get at raves as well.	C		320 WAYNE - My friends would laugh at me if I wore No 6. 322 BRIAN - People will see you.
567 MIKE - Going back to your going out, if you going to a rave you going to wear No 6 you going to dance the whole night anyway (WAYNE - and you'd be on drugs.) If you're going to go out in No 4 you're not going to dance that much. (BRIAN - You're standing around, looking cool.) (WAYNE - Because you sweat too much.)	C	Para 4	
735 BRIAN - Go to like a jol, or to a neo - nazi meeting. 738 MIKE - On his way to rave. 740 GREG - I think of Ecstasy drugs. (general laughter)	C		735 BRIAN - This is cool but the sleeves are a bit short.
<b>G2</b> 217 I - Day or night would you wear this? 218 Rs - Both, both.	EPC		219 JEFF - It looks like a pyjama.
	C		220 MITCH - It would probably go quite well with sort of faded jeans, tackies or something. 221 ROD - Old Tackies.
	C		228 DAVE - This is a party shirt. 230 ROD - Ja you can spot it.
426 DAVE - I'd say 6 is a rave shirt (general laughter)	C		
<b>G3</b> 270 ROB - Raver. Ja, end of story.	C		270 ROB - Stripes down the sleeves.
277 ROB - Well, a raver would wear No 6 when he's on a jol.	C		
285 (VUSI - Ideal for Michael Jackson's concert at night)	C		286 RAJ - The colour even the texture is not for day at all.

Cont'd...

TABLE 3: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: **OCCASION** (CONT'D)

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Group Interviews G1 G2 G3</b>			
<b>G3</b> 287 ALAN - It's for night-time.	C		287 - ALAN - It's not practical.
288 RAJ - Places where there's a lot of light.			
385 ALAN - You have to wear 6 to the event. 387 RAJ - You'll have to wear it in the night. 388 ALAN - When the rave comes to Durban you put it on. 389 ROB - When they've got an occasion that calls for it. 390 ALAN - Ya then they'll wear it.	C		

TABLE 3: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: OCCASION (CONT'D)

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Group Interviews G1 G2 G3</b>			
<b>G3</b> 287 ALAN - It's for night-time.	C		287 - ALAN - It's not practical.
288 RAJ - Places where there's a lot of light.			
385 ALAN - You have to wear 6 to the event. 387 RAJ - You'll have to wear it in the night. 388 ALAN - When the rave comes to Durban you put it on. 389 ROB - When they've got an occasion that calls for it. 390 ALAN - Ya then they'll wear it.	C		



TABLE 4: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: **SEXUALITY**

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Elite Interviews E J K S T W</b>			
<b>E</b>			
<b>J</b>			
<b>K</b>			
<b>S</b>			
<b>T</b>			
<b>W</b>			
<b>Group Interviews G1 G2 G3</b>			
<b>G1</b> 364 I - Will he not be able to pull chicks in 6? 365 BRIAN - (voice raised) Hey he'll pull chicks - he'll just pull different TYPES of chicks! Chicks that aren't like - you don't have to be they WANT you to be sensitive.	EC		
527 I - Is there any connotation of gay and straight here? 528 Rs - No 6, Ja 6, 6! 530 GREG - I could associate it, you know. 531 BRIAN - 6, maybe not gay but you could be bi-.	P C		532 THEMBA - I'll be scared to wear 6 actually. 534 BRIAN - No I won't be scared.
577 MIKE - That's not gay now. 578 (Rs - No.)	C		571 BRIAN - Oh, its got stripes down the sleeves? (Rs - Didn't see that.) Ah that makes a whole world of difference.
<b>G2</b> 401 ROD - Ay, faggot. (some laughter)	P C		400 I - How do you feel about tight garments?
613 SCOTT - Well No 1 obviously makes people think of faggots. 614 JABU - No 6. 615 SCOTT - Also No 6.	C	Comb 1	617 ROD - Its bright. SCOTT - And its tight fitting. 618 I - Because its bright and tight fitting? 619 Rs - Hmm mmmn.
<b>G3</b>			



TABLE 5: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: UNMASCULINE

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Elite Interviews E J K S T W</b>			
<b>E</b>	E		163 R - 6 may be a problem in terms of that, in terms of the fact that velour is, velvet is a fabric that has been associated with feminine dressing with women's dressing.
<b>J</b> 93 R - I don't think the average South African male would wear it. I think they find it too feminine.	E		90 I - Okay. It's in velour.
268 I - Any garment here that is a challenge to masculinity here? 269 R - I'd say it would be No 6. 271 R - No 7 borderline but I think definitely No 6.		Comp 7	
<b>K</b> 79 R - It looks a bit feminine.	E		79 R - Not a fabric that South African men as such have sort of taken to because -
<b>S</b>			
<b>T</b>			
<b>W</b> 229 R - I wouldn't say masculine because rave can also be - it's very feminine as well.	E		
<b>Group Interviews G1 G2 G3</b>			
<b>G1</b> 360 I - Masculinity - is there any garment here that would let him down. 361 Rs - 6. 362 MIKE - 6 will let him down badly. (general laughter) 363 GREG - 2 and 6.	EP C	Comb 2	
<b>G2</b>			198 Rs - Oh! Ooh! Ay! (general laughter and mixed comments - inaudible.)
			223 DAVE - I'd buy it for my girlfriend as pyjamas. (general laughter)
<b>G3</b>			

TABLE 6: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: GROUP DEFINED IMAGE

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Elite Interviews E, J, K, S, T, W</b>			
'E' 159 R - 6 would be slightly more fringe (than 7).	E	Comp 7	161 R -To the more astute fashion person or the person who wanted to make a little more of a statement, with the fact that the fabric is a little more risque than No 7 and quite a lot bolder.
233 I - smallest group membership? 234 R - 6 and 7.	E	Comb 7	
'J' 47-48 R - Obviously a clubber person and a lot more fashionable than No 9.	E	Para 9	
101 R - It's obviously for a bolder person.	E		100 I - and the colour of No 6? 101 R - I don't have a problem with it
<b>'K'</b>			
'S' 29 R - white market, - your trendy customer, younger customer 31 R - I think of a guy that goes off to a rave.	E		29 R - with the tape detail running down the arms
71 I - Any difference in appeal between 9 and 6 and 7? 72 R - There's a big difference between 9 and 6 I would say. 76 R - You know I don't see - you know the guy wouldn't wear No 9 to a rave or so.		Para 9	
187 R - Ja - well 6 and 1 would be the guy that's trying to be more exhibitionist in his statement.	E	Comb 1	
'T' 170 R - So that would be your younger more aware customer.	E	Comb 7	170 R - No 7 has got the zip detail down the front and the blocking at the sides and down the sleeve. No 6 has got your V-neck which at the moment is a fashion detail.
170 . . No 9 would be your more conservative, mature customer		Para 9	

cont'd



TABLE 6: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: **GROUP DEFINED IMAGE** (CONT'D)

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Elite Interviews E, J, K, S, T, W</b>			
<b>'T'</b> 178 R – This (No 7) would be more for your younger customer wanting to go into a rave. No 6 – is more a day wear garment, another version of No 1, wearing it to college or on the campus.	E	Comp 7 Comb 1	
<b>'W'</b> 118 R - I am going to see this guy at the latest mother rave you know.	E		
137 R - The rave fashionable guy is going to choose No 6.			
<b>Group Interviews 'G1' 'G2' 'G3'</b>			
<b>G1</b> 317 GREG - that's a (sR like a 'trendy'-)	C		318 BRIAN - Id wear No 6, I dig No 6
319 CLIVE - 6 you'd get at raves as well	C		320 WAYNE - My friends would laugh at me if I wore No 6 (laughter) 322 BRIAN - People will see you
423 GREG - No 6 is a skinny white boy thing			
447 DENZIL - No 7 and 6 very much Pommie	C	Comb 7	
448 BRIAN - Ja definitely British feel			
454 I - Which is the most progressive	EPC	Comb 1	
455 THEMBA - 6 and 1			
457 BRIAN - I would say 6 and 5		Comb 5	
458 I - people who are aware of what goes on internationally, overseas 459 Rs 6			
460 BRIAN and for a totally different group it would be 4 - the rapper, American look		Comb 4	
558 BRIAN - But you see the person who's wearing No 1 or No 6, No 5 wouldn't care about name anyway. You wouldn't wear No1 if you're bothered about name.....	C		558 BRIAN you'd probably worry about the brand name of your shoes (DENZIL - Ja ) but you'd want them to look old but still have the right brand on them

Cont'd. . .



TABLE 6: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: **GROUP DEFINED IMAGE** (CONT'D)

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	Pod	Evaluations of Garments
571 BRIAN - now its very British . 573 BRIAN - It's got that 'Oasis' look) 574 MIKE - Very soccer, (BRIAN - Blur) 575 BRIAN - well like Britpop 579 DENZIL Very Peter Gallagher sort of thing 581 CLIVE – (No 6) Tennis court tennis court, BMW	C		571 BRIAN - No 6 has stripes down the sleeves? 575 I - So the stripe means Oasis?-
587 I - Is this Mr Active or Mr Skinny kind of grungy? 588 Rs Active, Ja. 589 I - Active, not skinny grungy. 590 BRIAN - Skinny grungy could pull it off	C		
736 I - What would be your impression of someone wearing 6? 737- GREG –Trendy, young, trendy 738 MIKE - On his way to a rave 740 GREG - I think of Ecstasy drugs (general laughter)	C		
<b>G2</b> 208 I - what type of guy? 209 JEFF - Surfer 210 SCOTT - Surfer and Raver 212 TSEPO - Like a techno freak. (laughter)	EPC		
225 ROD This appeals to most people who enjoy going to a rave hey			
231 SCOTT For surfers when they're dressing - other than surfwear 232 MITCH Ja			
237 I - athletic guy or high energy sort of person? 238 Rs High energy, Ja.	EP		
506 I - person you think is high profile? 507 ROD - No 6 and 7. 509 ROD - Very outgoing, very outspoken, making a statement about themselves	P C	Comb 7	
559 SCOTT - the people who are going to wear it are going to be different.	C		557 SCOTT - 6 is obviously a redone cycle shirt from the 70's, but in new fabric 558 I - Is that what's new about it? 559 SCOTT - maybe it's the cut as well.

Cont'd. . .

TABLE 6 : CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: GROUP DEFINED IMAGE (CONT'D)

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
589 I - Is there a rebel jacket here (nonconformist?) 590 SCOTT - The closest is No 5 – maybe No 6	EP	Comb 5	
612 I - Is there any top here that certain people won't like - any group that won't like a top here? 613 SCOTT Well No.1 obviously makes people think of faggots 614 JABU No 6 615 SCOTT Also No 6	P	Comb 1	616 I - Why No 6? 617 ROD It's bright (SCOTT and it's tight) 618 I Because it's bright and tight fitting? 619 Rs Hmm, mmn.
620 I - Who's going to be against that?	EP		
621 SCOTT - More conservative people. Parents	C		
622 I - Conservative people? (MITCH - Ja older people) Older? Authoritarian? (ROD - Religious people)	C		
G3 270 ROB .... raver 271 LUCAS - Surfer	CC		270 ROB - stripes down the sleeves? rave 272 ROB - no way its too bright
272 ALAN - That's a real image kind of person	C	Comb 7	273 - 274 RAJ - 7 and 6 go together only its different colours
275 I - You're saying these two are the same 276 ALAN - they're similar but a raver would wear No 6 first . . . . .	C	Comp 7	276 - . . . . . because it's very plain, it doesn't have logos, and it's very bright
278 ALAN - No 6 I think is a very big headed person, very - they want to be noticed, people are going to say he is a raver 279 I - image conscious? 280 ALAN - Ja very much so	EPC		
379 I - Any garment that which makes a person stand out f from the crowd? 380 RAJ - No 6 will make you stand out. 381 ALAN - 6 will make you stand out definitely, 382 DONALD - 6 and then pushing on to 7. 383 LUCAS I'd say 4 too makes you stand out 384 ROB Well 7 and 4 even huh? 385 ALAN - No 6 you could only wear if you were in the right crowd,	EPC	Comb 7 4	

con't . . .



TABLE 6 CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: GROUP DEFINED IMAGE (CONT'D)

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
G3 411 I - 'I'm trying hard to be fashionable or I'm trying hard to have an image' which one would you say? 412 ALAN - No 6 413 LUCAS - 'Tommy' (the Tommy Hilfiger derived garment, No 9)	EPC	Alt 9	

APPENDIX C:

CONTEXTUAL FRAMES FOR GARMENT 9

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TABLE 1: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: WHO AND WHERE FROM

TABLE 2: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: BODY IMAGE AND  
COMFORT

TABLE 3: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: LOW PROFILE, NON  
OCCASION

TABLE 4: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME OLDER

TABLE 5: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: SPORT - WATCHING AND  
DOING

## GARMENT 9: CONTEXTUAL FRAMES

**Key for all Contextual Frame tables:** Involvement; **Laughter**; **DGP** - Data Generation Process; **E** - Elite meaning designations; **P** - Production of meaning by interviewer; **C** - Construction of meaning by participants; **PoD** - Play of Difference; **Comp** - Comparative; **Para** - Paradigmatic; **Comb** - Combinative of other garments; **Alt** - Alternative; **Bolded double vertical line** shows **PoD** effects as they apply to either **Inter-subjective Contextuality** on the left or **Evaluation of Garments** on the right.

TABLE 1: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: WHO AND WHERE FROM

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Elite Interviews E, J, K, S, T, W</b>			
<b>E</b>			
<b>J</b>			
<b>K</b>			
<b>S</b>			
<b>T</b>			
<b>W</b>			
<b>Group Interviews G1, G2, G3</b>			
<b>G1</b> 342 BRIAN - 9 is very unisex as well.			
351 GREG - No 3 and No 9 same neighbourhood, different age groups. 352 CLIVE - Ya.	C	Comb 3	
418 DENZIL - No 9 is more like every type of person. 419 MIKE - Anyone would wear that.	C		
<b>G2</b> 314 JABU - Well in my area where I come from in Hluhluwe when I come with something like that they will see that. Oh well this guy is great. (general laughter)			
581 JEFF - No 6 is Mexican. 582 DAVE - Brazilian. 583 ROD - South American. (I - Tell me, what nationality's No 9. 584 ROD - No 9? No 9 is South African. (DAVE - Homeboy!)	C	Para 6	

Cont'd ...

TABLE 1: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: WHO AND WHERE FROM (CONT'D)

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>G3</b> 294 ROB - Someone from Pretoria would wear that your Afrikaans type person. 295 DONALD - Yes, ja. 296 ALAN - someone from inland.	C		293 ALAN - That's hideous. 294 ROB - That is ABSOLUTLEY TERRIBLE. 295 DONALD - Yes, ja.
303 ALAN - An Afrikaans guy would look at that and he'd think that's cool, he'll think I'll wear that and I'll look trendy but we think he's an idiot.			
305 ROB - It looks like um a black American. 308 ROB - A person in South Africa who wants to look like an American type thing.			308 ROB - Because its going to be cheaper than maybe the designer outfit.
309 ISMAIL - Aimed more to a low class income.			
317 RAJ - It's more RURAL type of wear. 319 Rs - Rural.			321 ROB - I disagree with you, its not rural - that big strap across the middle.

CONT'D ...



TABLE 1: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: **WHO AND WHERE FROM** (CONT'D)

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<p><b>G3</b> 322 DONALD - That jacket is someone that's not very fashion conscious that's maybe not really with it, it's trying to be with it.</p> <p>323 DONALD - Ja but the reason for that is that they're probably ten years behind.</p>			<p>322 (ALAN - Ja but you know exactly what that jacket is, that's like a Mooi River jacket - (general laughter) best jacket you can buy in Mooi River.)</p> <p>DONALD – Well put, well put you can't buy anything else and that's the best, you'd buy that nobody else is going to see you so if you're walking round in the best jacket you can buy in that town, you're in, but if you came and some guy was wearing No 4, you'd look like. . . (laughter)</p> <p>323 (ALAN - Well that's it, if you can't get anything else you go for No 9.)</p> <p>324 Rs - It's an old fashioned thing, it's an old fashioned jacket.</p>
<p>325 VUSI - . . . (RAJ - Country type.) (ALAN - Not really country.) . . . not really country.</p>			<p>325 - VUSI - I could put that on and just laze around you know at home (ROB - Ja the track suit pants type of person) that's homely, it's very comfortable. If I'm home and I feel I want to take a drive and go buy a newspaper I could put that on.....</p>
<p>369 LUCAS - I'd say a poor person that knows a little bit about fashion.</p>			<p>369 LUCAS - Could get that Tommy Hilfiger Knock-off.</p>



TABLE 2: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: **BODY IMAGE AND COMFORT**

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Elite Interviews E, J, K, S, T, W</b>			
E	E		171 R - Fairly versatile overshirt. I - A wintry type garment.
J			
K			
S			
T			
W			282 R - No 9 is with a track-suit bottom. It's a very track-suity - very comfortable.
<b>Group Interviews G1, G2, G3</b>			
G1	C		741 I - OK Denzil in No 9 - what do you say? 742 GREG - Cuddly.
G2	C		278 THABU - Very warm.
			291 SCOTT- It doesn't look like it fits anybody nicely. 294 (MITCH - Ja.) It just makes you look clumsy and big. (laughter)
			299 DAVE - It's nice for our type of Durban winters you know where it's too warm to wear a jacket um but too cold to wear a shirt.
	EP	Comb 3 Alt 1, 6,2	572 I - Most comfortable jackets? 573 Rs - 2. 574 ROD - Most comfortable to lounge back and (SCOTT - 1 and 6) 575 JABU - Well 3 and 9 for me
G3			



TABLE 3: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: **LOW PROFILE, NON-OCCASION**

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Subjective Evaluation of Garments
<b>Elite Interviews E, J, K, S, T, W</b>			
<b>E</b> 177 R - On the weekend he would want to be a bit of a schloomp.	E		177 R - He can wear a jean, jeanswear related garments with that type of overshirt.
<b>J</b>			
<b>K</b>			
<b>S</b> 74 R - Guy that would stand around, watching a sport game or going to a braai. 6 is more your customer who goes to a rave.	E	Para 6	
<b>T</b> 166 R - It also suits our lifestyle quite nicely in this country.	E		
172 R - I see No 9 more as a sports garment and this garment will be probably worn to the gym, worn to - he can wear it out - he can throw it over a T-shirt if he goes out to a braai and socialises where 6 & 7 would be worn out in the evening maybe and clubs.	E	Para 6, 7	172 R - He can throw it over a T-shirt if he goes out to a braai and socialises.
<b>W</b> 170 R - Functional, wear to walk in the park, throw a frisbee with the dog.	E		
284 R - You might wear it just to go shopping on a Sunday or through the flea market.			
<b>Group Interviews G1, G2, G3</b>			
<b>G1</b> 357 BRIAN - You'd wear that around the house.	C		
369 BRIAN - 3 and No 9 that his wife or girlfriend shares with him on the weekends. (laughter)	C	Comb 3	
371 BRIAN - That's No 9 - 'schloomper'.	PC		
388 DENZIL - You'd always wear it round the house.	C		388 DENZIL - That sports top.

Cont'd ...

TABLE 3: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: LOW PROFILE, NON-OCCASION (CONT'D)

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Subjective Evaluation of Garments
<b>Group Interviews G1, G2, G3</b>			
<b>G1</b> 397 MIKE - You'd wear it 5 days a week. You get home you'd change into No 9.	C		398 DENZIL, THEMBA - You wash it once a week and it's fine.
399 I - So No 9 doesn't make a big personal statement, it doesn't separate you off, it's like everybody. 400 DENZIL - Ja whatever he just puts it on and he cares min.	EPC		402 GREG - If your buddy rocks up, you take that off quickly!
	P C	Comb 2	513 I - Tell me how do you feel about track suit pants? 515 DENZIL - No 9, No 9. You have to wear them at home. 516 GREG - 9 and 2. 517 MIKE - Home - gym, home - gym. 521 sR - 9 and 2. 523 I - If you did wear tracksuit pants, what shoes would you wear with them? 524 Rs - Takkies, stokies or maybe slippers! 526 MIKE - Branded takkies. (BRIAN - Hi-tops, like Reebok or...)
745 MIKE - It's like in the neighbourhood, you know it's. 746 GREG - Not for going out.	C		
<b>G2</b> 297 JEFF - Makes you look slob-ish.	C		
300 I - Where you would not wear that? 301 ROD - Ay! Lots of places. 302 SCOTT - Most places. 303 ROD - Public places just say that in public you won't wear that. 305 SCOTT - In a bar, but definitely not a nightclub. 307 ROD - In a bar you don't give a damn, you're just there to drink.	EPC		308 DAVE - It's just casualwear, I won't wear it if I'm going out to supper. 310 ROD - No one will take notice of a person wearing that. 312 JABU - I think it depends on places you visit - in some places you'd be treated well. (laughter)

Cont'd ...



TABLE 3: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: LOW PROFILE, NON-OCCASION (CONT'D)

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Subjective Evaluation of Garments
<b>Group Interviews G1, G2, G3</b>			
518 - . . . but to say you are making a statement about yourself - no that's - you're not making no statement.			518 ROD - No 9 is a - ay! It's too much of a designer. I'll wear that to the gym, probably going jogging or something.
<b>G3</b> 322 DONALD - That jacket is someone that's not very fashion conscious that's maybe not really with it, it's trying to be with it. 323 DONALD - Ja but the reason for that is that they're probably ten years behind.	C	Para 4	322 (ALAN - Ja but you know exactly what that jacket is, that's like a Mooi River jacket - (general laughter) best jacket you can buy in Mooi River.) DONALD - Well put, well put you can't buy anything else and that's the best, you'd buy that nobody else is going to see you so if you're walking round in the best jacket you can buy in that town, you're in, but if you came and some guy was wearing No 4, you'd look like . . . (laughter) 323 (ALAN - Well that's it, if you can't get anything else you go for No 9.) 324 Rs - It's an old fashioned thing, it's an old fashioned jacket.
325 VUSI - . . . . (RAJ) - Country type.) (ALAN - Not really country.) . . . not really country.			325 VUSI - I could put that on and just laze around you know at home. (ROB - Ja the track suit pants type of person.) That's homely, it's very comfortable. If I'm home and I feel I want to take a drive and go buy a newspaper I could put that on.
328 ALAN - Its not a night time jacket, its not something you would wear to a bar. 329 VUSI - If there's morning soccer.	C		328 (ROB - You wouldn't let your friend see you in that jacket.) 329 VUSI - But morning soccer is not that serious.

Cont'd ...



TABLE 3: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: LOW PROFILE, NON-OCCASION (CONT'D)

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Subjective Evaluation of Garments
Group Interviews G1, G2, G3			
392 VUSI - 9 is definitely homely. 395 ROB - It all depends on the occasion.	C	Comb 2	393 ROB - I would wear No 9 at home cos there's no ways in hell I would ever let anyone see me wearing that. (laughter) 397 DONALD - OK but you say No 2 is hideous between 9 and 2 which would you choose? 398 ROB - God neither, I would go naked. 399 ALAN - If I had to I'd rather go for No 9 but I wouldn't wear out I'd feel a . . . . . wearing it out.

TABLE 4: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: OLDER

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Elite Interviews E, J, K, S, T, W</b>			
<b>E</b> 177 R - I would say slightly older guy .... I'd say he's probably a little bit older in terms of what um 6, 1 and 7 would be, he's slightly less fashion conscious.	E	Comp 6, 7, 1	177 R - He can wear like a jean - jeanswear related garments with that type of overshirt... Although the garments does make a little bit of a statement its not very risky in terms of what people might think, it's fairly basic.
<b>J</b> 108 I - So out of 6, 7 and 9, which is the oldest look? 109 R - The oldest one, No 9.	E	Comp 6, 7	
<b>K</b> 150 R - .... I don't think this is a young man's fashion garment ....	E	Comb 7	150 - No 9 and 7 have got more in common than anything else. Now active sportswear - it's like polar fleece, Union Cape detail, badges, and I think Tommy Hilfiger should get some royalties here from copying the labels to the T. It's one of those funny garments that tried to be everything to everybody. It's got a bit of Ralph Lorentz polo range with a slider, with a thing and then Tommy purely because of it's got too many styling elements.
152 R - 9 and 4 are aiming at the young market but missing the boat.		Comb 4	
200 - Even though 9 and 7 are pitched at the same market, 7 aims to be younger than 9.		Comp 7	
<b>S</b> 74 R - 6 is more like I said your young customer who goes to a rave. Your No 9 is more young and older guy.	E	Para 6	

Cont'd...

TABLE 4: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: OLDER (CONT'D)

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluations of Garments
<b>Elite Interviews E, J, K, S, T, W</b>			
<b>T</b> 167 I - Right. Is there any difference in the consumer who is going to buy 6, 9 and 7. 168 R - Ja. I think No 7 would definitely and No 6 would be your younger customer. 170 - 6 would be your younger more aware customer.	E	Para 6, 7	
<b>W</b> 167 I - Second down in terms of age from 3? 168 R - I would say No 8 and No 9.	E	Comp 3, 8	
<b>Group Interviews G1, G2, G3</b>			
<b>G1</b> 335 I - You said 3 was older - any other garment which you think is a bit older? 336 BRIAN - No 9 I think. 340 Rs - No 8, No 8. 341 Rs - No 9.	EP	Comb 3, Alt 8	
<b>G2</b> 311 SCOTT - I think it's quite 40-something.	C		
494 I - You say No. 3 is the oldest jacket here? 495 Rs - Ja, ja. 496 I - Alright so what's the second oldest? 497 JEFF - No 9. 498 ROD - 8. 499 DAVE - 5. 501 JABU - 8 and 9. 502 I - 8 and 9? 503 MITCH - Ja definitely 8. 504 DAVE - 8 is something my Dad would wear.	P	Comp 8, 3, 5	
<b>G3</b> 330 ROB - It's like a father going to watch his son play rugby. (VUSI - Yes, I mean you know?)	C		
332 - 335 I - What stands out as older? 336 Rs - No 3, No 3. 337 Rs - No 8, No 8. 338 LUCAS - No 2. 339 RAJ - No 9.	P	Alt 3, 8, 2	



TABLE 5: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: SPORT - WATCHING AND DOING

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluation
<b>Elite Interviews E, J, K, S, T, W</b>			
<b>E</b>			
<b>J</b> 15 R - Not necessarily someone who is active.	E		
<b>K</b>			
<b>S</b> 74 R - 6 is more like I said your young customer who goes to a rave. Older guy that would stand around, watching a sport game or going to a braai.	E	Para 6	
<b>T</b> 172 R - ..... worn to the gym, or to a braai, whereas No 6 and 7 tend to be a little more street - wearish and a bit more fashionable.	E	Para 6, 7	172 R - I see No 9 as more of a sports garment.
<b>W</b>			
<b>Group Interviews G1, G2, G3</b>			
<b>G1</b>	C	Para 6, Comb 7	395 GREG - I think that No 9 and 7 are associating more with sports and No 6 looks a bit like sporty but it's not, that's just trendy.
	EP	Comb 2	513 I - Tell me how do you feel about track suit pants. 514 GREG - Hideous. 515 DENZIL - No 9, No 9. You have to wear them at home. 516 GREG - 9 and 2. 517 MIKE - Home - gym, home - gym. 521 sR - 9 and 2. 523 I - If you did wear tracksuit pants, what shoes would you wear with them? 524 Rs - <b>Takkies, stokies or maybe slippers!</b> 526 MIKE - <b>Branded takkies.</b> (BRIAN - Hi-tops, like Reebok or...)

Cont'd ...

TABLE 5: CONTEXTUAL MEANING FRAME: **SPORT - WATCHING AND DOING** (CONT'D)

Intersubjective Contextuality	DGP	PoD	Evaluation
<b>Group Interviews G1, G2, G3</b>			
<b>G2</b> 282 JEFF - This is sporty its like going for a jog. 283 Rs - Ja, ja.	C		285 ROD - Ja it is overdesigned. I think the hood part appeals to me. (JEFF - Its like a track top.)
296 ROD - If you're going to gym, going to the gym.			
			518 ROD - No 9 is a ay! It's too much of a designer. I'll wear that to the gym, probably going jogging or something but to say you are making a statement about yourself - no that's you're not making no statement.
<b>G3</b> 330 ROB - It's like a father going to watch his son play rugby in the morning. (VUSI - Yes, I mean you know?)	C		

## APPENDIX D:

### IDIOMS OF EVALUATION FOR GARMENT 3

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TABLE 1: EVALUATION IDIOM: ASSEMBLAGE. ELITE INTERVIEWS E, J, K, S, T, W.

TABLE 2: EVALUATION IDIOM: ASSEMBLAGE. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3.

TABLE 3: EVALUATION IDIOM: GARMENT STYLING VARIABLES. ELITE INTERVIEWS E, J, K, S, T, W

TABLE 4: EVALUATION IDIOM: GARMENT STYLING VARIABLES. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3

TABLE 5: EVALUATION IDIOM: FASHION DESIGNATIONS. ELITE INTERVIEWS E, J, K, S, T, W.

TABLE 6: EVALUATION IDIOM: FASHION DESIGNATIONS. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3

TABLE 7: EVALUATION IDIOM: GENRE. ELITE INTERVIEWS E, J, K, S, T, W

TABLE 8: EVALUATION IDIOM: GENRE. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3

TABLE 9: EVALUATION IDIOM: PERSONAL JUDGEMENT. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3

## GARMENT 3: IDIOMS OF EVALUATION IN ELITE AND GROUP INTERVIEWS

**Key for all idiom of evaluation tables:** **Contextual Frames** - Contextual frame titles in this column indicate evaluations which are contextualised within these frames; **PoD** - Play of Difference; **Alt** - Alternative; **Comp** - Comparative; **Comb** - Combinative; **Para** - Paradigmatic effects of other garments; **Subjective Evaluations** - Bolded evaluative phrases pertaining to the evaluation idiom; **Involvement** and **laughter** are highlighted.

TABLE 1: EVALUATION IDIOM: ASSEMBLAGE. ELITE INTERVIEWS E, J, K, S, T, W.

Contextual Frames	PoD	Evaluations of Garments	
		148 R - Ja, they would sell <b>corduroy pants again with an acrylic striped T-shirt in Lacoste</b> to go with this one.	E
		205 R - 210 I - For <b>3 shoes?</b> 212 R - <b>Brogues</b> that type of. 213 I - <b>Loafers?</b> 214 R - Loafers, that type of shoes um. 215 I - Okay, well chosen socks? 216 R - <b>Well chosen socks ja.</b>	E
<b>Older Status Establishment</b>		209 R - Probably wouldn't be worn with denims, worn with a <b>classic type trouser.</b> 211 R - <b>Formal, leather type shoes.</b>	E
<b>Smart, Work, Formal, Neat Older</b>		218 R - They would wear over a <b>formal shirt</b> to work with <b>smart trousers</b> and <b>smart shoes.</b>	E
		225 I - Blouson, okay. 231 I - Okay, ... in a suiting or a tweed? 232 R - Yes. I know I sell them as - well they are separate ticket items but <b>they are bought as suits.</b> 236 R - And <b>normally with a formal shoe.</b> 237 I - Okay, like a brogue. 238 R - Ja, a brogue or those <b>shiny leather slip-ons.</b>	J
<b>Smart, Work, Formal, Neat</b>		228 R - It's worn casually and more formally. 230 R - You very often find <b>matching trousers.</b> 234 R - They wear them <b>with ties, without ties.</b>	J
<b>Black Smart, Work, Formal, Neat</b>		265 R - You know <b>someone who doesn't wear denim jeans.</b>	J
<b>Smart, Work, Formal, Neat</b>	Para 8	265 - 267 R - Ja. I think No 3 <b>would always be smart casual</b> , as No 8 <b>would certainly wear jeans.</b>	J

Cont'd...

TABLE 1: EVALUATION IDIOM: ASSEMBLAGE. ELITE INTERVIEWS E, J, K, S, T, W. (CONT'D)

Contextual Frames	PoD	Evaluations of Garments	
Smart, Work, Formal, Neat		143 I - So the pants and the shoes would be? 144 R - The guy that wears No 3 usually wears the <b>same fabric in a pants</b> with very smart formal shoes. 145 I - Like a brogue maybe? 146 R - Ja, a <b>brogue or a slip-on moccasin</b> .	S
Smart, Work, Formal, Neat		86 - R - He wears it with pleated corduroy trousers, wool trousers. 96 - With a good shoe.	T
	Para 5	237 - 245 R - No 5 is a tight pair of skinny jeans. He is going to wear No 3 with a trouser.	W
Status Establishment, Smart, Work, Formal, Neat		247 R - 3 is the most traditional I <b>don't see it with jeans</b> . It will be a formal type trouser.	W
Smart, Work, Formal, Neat	Comp 8	249 R - A nice pair of shoes, <b>good leather shoes</b> . 250 I - Underneath the jacket? 251 R - A <b>printed viscose-type shirt</b> or a <b>sheeny-type shirt, polyester</b> . 252 I - Not a T-shirt? 255 R - <del>Maybe</del> a <b>polo neck</b> . 259 R - Smart casual. 333 R - No 8 could wear easily like a nice <b>checked Friday- type shirt</b> . 335 R - No 3 definitely could be wearing a <b>collared shirt</b> .	W



TABLE 2: EVALUATION IDIOM: ASSEMBLAGE. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3.

Contextual Frames	PoD	Subjective Evaluations of Garments	
Smart, Work, Formal, Neat		114 DENZIL - You'll actually <b>tuck your shirt in.</b>	G1
		140 DENZIL - Ya with jackets its nice if you can wear it open and closed or vice versa but with this one here <b>you've got to have it closed most of the time.</b>	G1
Smart, Work, Formal, Neat		168 - 181 Brian, Denzil - You'd wear No 3 with <b>proper slacks.</b> Rs - <b>Chinos.</b> Sr - <b>Hard leather, shoes, slip-ons.</b>	G1
	Comb 2, 9	488 I - OK. You know those <b>shoes with tassels on the front - moccasins</b> - OK, which garments go with those. 489 BRIAN - No 2 would wear them because he still hasn't realised that it's 1997. (general laughter) 490 Rs - And also No 3 as well, No 3. 495 I - Is there <b>any jacket here that you can't wear jeans</b> with? 496 DENZIL - Depends on the person. 497 MIKE - 9. 498 GREG - <b>3 comes close.</b> 499 Rs - <b>9!</b>	G1
Status Sporting Leisure		161 Scott - <b>With a cap!</b> 162 Dave - <b>You need the cap to go with it.</b>	G2
		168 I - What would you wear on the bottom? 169 ROD - <b>Jeans or something?</b> 170 JEFF - <b>Casual pants?</b> 172 Rs - Anything. 173 SCOTT - <b>Trousers.</b> 174 MITCH - <b>Chinos.</b> 175 SCOTT - <b>Grey.</b> 176 Rs - <b>Ja chinos.</b> 177 Rs - <b>Chinos.</b> 179 ROD - You can go with actually anything this, it depends how you wear it. 180 I - And the shoes? 181 ROD - <b>The shoes can be takkies or it can be formal shoes.</b> 182 MITCH - <b>Brogues.</b> 183 TSEPO - <b>I think it can go with shoes not takkies.</b> 184 JEFF - <b>Not takkies.</b> 185 Rs - <b>Can go with Takkies.</b> 186 ROD - <b>If you going to wear jeans then you're going to wear takkies, if you're wearing a formal pants then you going to wear shoes.</b> 187 MITCH - <b>You can wear jeans and black docs.</b> 188 DAVE - <b>Ja, docksiders.</b> (ROD - Docmartens). 189 I - So will it be a shirt underneath or a T-shirt? 190 DAVE - You can use it <b>with a T-shirt.</b> 191 SCOTT - Any way, it depends. 192 JEFF - I'll wear a <b>T-Shirt with a collar</b> perhaps. 193 JABU - <b>But you can even take a tie.</b>	G2
Smart, Work, Formal, Neat		428 DAVE - The kind of fabric I would wear <b>with chinos</b> and <b>smart shoes.</b>	G2
Classy		434 ROD - You wear that with <b>a chino, casual pants.</b>	G2
		227 RAJ - You <b>can wear it with a formal pants or a jeans.</b>	G3
Black Affluent Image		362 ALAN - Yes very low income types with the <b>shiny shoes and jeans</b> and maybe that on.	G3



TABLE 3: EVALUATION IDIOM: GARMENT STYLING VARIABLES. ELITE INTERVIEWS E, J, K, S, T, W.

Contextual Frames	POD	Evaluations of Garments	
		202 I - Number 3 is a probably regenerated wool tweed, it is pulled in at the bottom, um how would you describe that silhouette? 203 R - I would say its I a <b>bomber silhouette with a constructed waistband at the bottom</b> , very simple in styling with the <b>2 flap pockets</b> on the front with a <b>normal collar</b> .	E
		221 I - No 3, <b>regenerated wool tweed</b> .	J
		129 R - It's obviously in a <b>tweed fabric</b> . 130 I - Regenerated tweed.	
		131 R - Ja, so I am not quite sure if it's acrylic - or when you say regenerated. So it should be <b>acrylic, a synthetic</b> .	K
<b>Black Smart, Work, Formal, Neat</b>		133 R - Because of the <b>garment colouration</b> .	K
<b>Older Status Establishment</b>		140 R - Young people will not be seen dead in something that is <b>elasticated at the bottom</b> .	K
<b>Smart, Work, Formal, Neat Affluent Image</b>		142 R - And it looks expensive, but the <b>regenerated tweed</b> means it won't be that expensive.	K
		143 R - If it was a <b>pure wool tweed</b> , it would have a better chance in the black market....	K
		61 R - It looks to me like a <b>regenerated wool Harris tweed</b> , whatever you want to call it. What was the brand of this garment?	T
<b>Affluent Image</b>		70 R - A Viyella jacket. It's got a beautiful lining inside it. <b>The finishing off on that garment</b> is really nice. That jacket from a price point of view would probably be one of the most expensive I am looking at here. 72 R - That particular person would <b>appreciate the quality of the fibre, the lining and the construction</b> .	T
<b>Classy</b>		72 R - That particular person would <b>appreciate the quality of the fibre, the lining and the construction</b>	T
<b>British Continental</b>	Comb 8	55 R - (No's 8 and 3) are both very traditional and very English No 3 is a <b>woollen jacket</b> in a continental context.	W
<b>Black</b>		166 R - This is a very distinct look that we don't get in - we don't see it in Cape Town. It's very Jo'burg, CBD, rural areas - you know that whole look - <b>where colour is very important</b> , very olivey and the mustards - you know those colours.	W

TABLE 4: EVALUATION IDIOM: GARMENT STYLING VARIABLES. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3.

Contextual Frames	PoD	Subjective Evaluations of Garments	
Body Comfort	Comp 1	50 DENZIL - It's too tight around the waist.	G1
		126 CLIVE - If No 3 had more of a leather look than that type of material then it would be more appealing . . . . 130 CLIVE - Similar shape but out of leather.	G1
		131 I - Do you like it pulled in at the bottom? 132 Rs Ja.	
	Para 1	14 I - Is it a different kind of garment to No 1? 15 BRIAN - Ja, totally different. 16 MIKE - 'Plaid'	G1
Status Establishment		661 DENZIL - I can't wear a jacket with a little cuff, a little belt underneath.	G1
		664 I - OK what colours would you like? 665 CLIVE - A full black fine.	G1
Body Comfort		670 DENZIL - The bottom trim spoilt it - very uncomfortable.	G1
	Para 4	671 I - (Shows No 3 and No 4) Can you see the difference between these two jackets, the one is pulled in at the bottom, the other is straight at the bottom. Does that make a difference to the image? 672 Rs - Big difference, ja, yes. 673 DENZIL - You see when it's straight at the bottom you can still wear your shirt or your T-shirt OPEN or out.	G1
		693 DENZIL - (looking at 3 on THEMBA) See what happens, you actually get curling in. 694 MIKE - Ja it will curl in hey. 695 GREG - It's also a bit short for him. 697 MIKE - Pockets are a bit low. 698 CLIVE - Should be a little tighter.	G1
Classy		124 I - What makes it classy? 125 MITCH - The collar. 126 sR - The colour and the make. 133 I - Is it the colour that makes it classy? 134 JEFF - Not that the design. 135 ROD - I like the design of the jacket. 136 Rs - The design, ja the design.	G2
		137 I - How about the fabric? (JEFF - Looks a bit quality.) 139 MITCH - I think it's actually the collar.	G2
Older		141 SCOTT - It reminds me of 'father' fabric.	G2
Smart, Work, Formal, Neat		428 DAVE - The kind of fabric I would wear with chinos and smart shoes.	G2
Older	Comp 8	548 I - Elderly? So we're saying No 3 and No 8 have got that feel? (sR - Ja.) 549 SCOTT - You can actually see the pockets are kind of similar as well.	G2
Black		223 Vusi - The idea of the design is brilliant but the fabric is not right.	G3
		226 VUSI - That style? The fabric is out of fashion.	G3
Classy		228 (RAJ - And its got round collars.)	G3
Black		362 ALAN - Yes very low income types with the shiny shoes and jeans and maybe that on. When they come into the city they wear something like that, that sort of material, I'm not saying that kind of look, I'm saying that kind of material.	G3

TABLE 5: EVALUATION IDIOM: FASHION DESIGNATIONS. ELITE INTERVIEWS E, J, K, S, T, W.

Contextual Frames	PoD	Evaluations of Garments	
		203 R - Very much a <b>preppy type jacket</b> .	E
	Comb 5, 2, 8	115 R - <b>5 and 2 and 8 has got more of a classic appeal - and No 3 as well.</b>	K
		137 R - So it would be most probably have been bought at <b>Sales House, Pages</b> , those kind of things.	K
		144 R - The black consumer is very price conscious in the sense, the more the things cost the more they think the value is. And they would <b>like to have a label on it</b> .	K
	Comb 8, 5, 2 Para 9, 6, 7	148 R - No 9 has got more in common with No 6 and 7, as I said before. It's got nothing in common with these garments. <b>No 8 and 3 and 5 and 2 - if I have to place them, it's the same customer.</b>	K
	Comp 2, 5, 8	195 R - <b>2 could easily be more related to 5, 8 and 3 for me. It's not fashionable.</b> It's aimed at a more conservative and I think an older group.	K
<b>Smart, Work, Formal, Neat</b>		142 R - Our <b>smart casual type jacket</b> .	S
	Comp 8	149- I - <b>Accessible to the broad mass?</b> 151 - R - It's a <b>toss up between 8 and 3.</b>	S
		164 - 165 R - <b>No 8 and No 3 would be the kind of guys that actually really put their wardrobes together well.</b>	S
<b>Status Establishment</b>	Comp 2	57 R - No 3 is a more <b>traditional</b> interpretation of No 2.	T
<b>Older</b>		63 R - Ja, Viyella. Okay, so this - well now that I know <b>it's a Viyella jacket</b> , it is, exactly as I said earlier on.....,	T
<b>Status Establishment British Continental</b>		64 R - That is the Viyella look. It is a very <b>British gentleman's club</b> kind of look.	T
<b>Classy</b>		69 R - Do you think it's got class connotations? 70 R - Yes, I would say yes because it's a <b>Viyella jacket</b> .	T
	Comb 8	11 R - No 8, No 3 are <b>distinctly Sales House</b> .	W
<b>British Continental</b>	Comb 8	55 R - (No's 8 and 3) are both <b>very traditional</b> and very English No 3 is a woollen type jacket in a continental context.	W
	Para 8	57 R - No 8 is different to no 3 in the South African context. <b>They haven't seen it before.</b>	W
<b>Status Establishment</b>		247 R - 3 is the most <b>traditional</b> I don't see it with jeans. It will be a formal type trouser.	W



TABLE 6: EVALUATION IDIOM: FASHION DESIGNATIONS. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3

Contextual Frames	PoD	Subjective Evaluations of Garments	
		<b>Group Interviews</b>	
		13 GREG - 'Preppy'!	G1
	Para 1	51 I - Different guys for No 1 and 3? 58 BRIAN - No 3 <b>Tourist</b> .	G1
		71 DENZIL - Things like No 3 you <b>hardly get them in the market these days.</b> (laughter) 73 DENZIL - There still are but jus - no-one actually buys them. 104 DENZIL - <b>No 3 is too outdated.</b>	G1
		381 DENZIL - Most of these garments are actually 'in' but I mean like <b>No. 3 is like way back hey if it took a train it still won't get there.</b> (general laughter)	G1
	Comb 8	464 I - OK is there <b>a sophisticated jacket here?</b> 465 DENZIL - No 3. 466 GREG - <b>3 and 8.</b> 467 MIKE - Ja. 469 DENZIL - Actually No 8 is because of the inner coat as well. 470 Rs - Ja.	G1
		701 BRIAN - <b>You buy that at Markhams, or at Woolworths.</b>	G1
<b>Classy</b>	Comb 8	358 I - Right so we've identified one classy type of jacket here, No 3. Is that the most <b>classy jacket?</b> 359 BRIAN - And No 8 I reckon but for different reasons.	G1
		145 SCOTT - It's <b>very Woolworths.</b>	G2
		538 ROD - <b>No 3 is in the past, now its coming back towards the future.</b>	G2
	Comb 5	560 - Which is the most <b>accessible jacket</b> here? 561 ROD - 8. MITCH - No 3. 564 JEFF - 3 and 5. 565 I OK why?	G2
		566 JABU - Well No 3 I think it's. (ROD - It has a leather look.) 567 ROD - As Mitch said <b>leather has got a timeless look, it's classic.</b>	G2
		224 ROB - It looks like a tweed jacket you know those <b>old fashioned tweed jackets?</b>	G3
		226 VUSI - That style? The fabric <b>is out of fashion.</b>	G3

TABLE 7: EVALUATION IDIOM: GENRE. ELITE INTERVIEWS E, J, K, S, T, W

Contextual Frames	PoD	Evaluations of Garments	
		224 R - That's a <b>blouson jacket</b> .	J
		127 R - No 3 is so <b>boring</b> that it's actually frightening.	K
<b>Affluent Image</b>		142 R - And it <b>looks expensive</b> , but being regenerated tweed it won't be that expensive.	K
<b>British Continental</b>		211 R - It's <b>Italian</b> - more <b>Continental</b> inspired.	S
<b>British Continental Status Establishment</b>		64 R - It is a very <b>British</b> look.	T
<b>Affluent Image</b>		70 R - A <b>Viyella jacket</b> . It's got a beautiful lining inside it. The finishing off on that garment is really nice. That jacket from a price point of view would probably be one of the most <b>expensive</b> I am looking at here.	T



TABLE 8: EVALUATION IDIOM: GENRE. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3

Contextual Frames	PoD	Subjective Evaluations of Garments	
Body Comfort	Comp 1	46 I - Is there any difference between No 1 and No 3 in wearability for occasion? 48 DENZIL - Ja I think <b>you'll feel more hot in No 3.</b>	G1
British Continental		54 I - Is there any association of nationality here? 55 WAYNE - <b>Scottish.</b>	G1
Body Comfort		62 THEMBA - <b>Don't know if it gets that cold in Durban.</b>	G1
Body Comfort		699 I - Where could he go, dressed like that? 700 GREG - <b>Somewhere cold.</b>	G1
Body Comfort		149 ROD - <b>It looks warm.</b>	G2
Body Comfort		162 I - Where does he go on holiday? 164 JEFF - (joking) India! (laughter) 165 ROD - <b>No that will be too hot for that.</b>	G2
		193 JABU - But you can even take a tie. 194 I - Even a tie? (Rs - Yes, mmmn.) Is it is quite <b>different to the others in that sense?</b> 195 Rs Ja, <b>quite different.</b>	G2
Body Comfort	Comb 9 Alt 2, 6, 1	572 I - Most <b>comfortable</b> garments here? 573 Rs 2. 574 ROD - <b>Most comfortable to lounge back</b> and (SCOTT 1 and 6) 575 JABU - <b>Well 3 and 9 for me.</b>	G2 G2
British Continental		576 I - How about nationality? 581 DAVE - 3 I would put as <b>British.</b>	G2
Affluent Image	Alt 4	605 ROD - No 3 looks <b>expensive.</b> 606 SCOTT - No 4.	G2
Affluent Image		208 LUCAS - I'd say that's the most <b>expensive.</b>	G3
		211 RAJ - This is <b>100% down the lane.</b> (sic)	G3
		227 RAJ - It's not actually a sports coat, but more of a <b>same trend of a sports coat</b> system.	G3
British Continental	Comb 8	350 LUCAS - No 8 and No 3 is <b>British.</b> 352 Rs - That's right. 353 RAJ - No 3 has got a very strong <b>British look.</b> (ALAN - Ja.) (LUCAS - <b>Formal.</b> )	G3
Smart, Work, Formal, Neat		353 RAJ - No 3 has got a very strong British look. (ALAN - Ja.) (LUCAS - <b>Formal.</b> )	G3
Affluent Image		421 RAJ - No 3 is the most <b>expensive</b> jacket. 424 ROB - <b>If it's so expensive, why does it look so tacky?</b>	G3



TABLE 9: EVALUATION IDIOM: PERSONAL JUDGEMENT. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3

Contextual Frames	PoD	Subjective Evaluations of Garments	
<b>Status Establishment</b>		659 THEMBA - No, no I don't want No 3.	G1
		150 JABU - You feel great if you're wearing it. (general laughter)	G2
		153 DAVE - I don't like it but that's my comment. (general laughter)	G2
<b>Smart, Work, Formal, Neat</b>	Comb 2	571 JEFF - No 2 and 3 I'll buy.	G2
<b>Smart, Work, Formal, Neat</b>		207 ALAN - That's actually the best out of all of them.	G3
<b>Affluent Image</b>		426 ROB - It just doesn't appeal to me.	G3
		430 VUSI - Would you buy it for your Dad say?	G3
		434 ROB - Ja I'd consider it. 435 ALAN - I wouldn't, I'd have a good look but I wouldn't.	G3

## APPENDIX E:

### IDIOMS OF EVALUATION FOR GARMENT 6

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TABLE 1: EVALUATION IDIOM: ASSEMBLAGE. ELITE INTERVIEWS E, J, K, S, T, W.

TABLE 2: EVALUATION IDIOM: ASSEMBLAGE. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3.

TABLE 3: EVALUATION IDIOM: GARMENT STYLING VARIABLES. ELITE INTERVIEWS E, J, K, S, T, W

TABLE 4: EVALUATION IDIOM: GARMENT STYLING VARIABLES. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3

TABLE 5: EVALUATION IDIOM: FASHION DESIGNATIONS. ELITE INTERVIEWS E, J, K, S, T, W.

TABLE 6: EVALUATION IDIOM: FASHION DESIGNATIONS. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3

TABLE 7: EVALUATION IDIOM: GENRE. ELITE INTERVIEWS E, J, K, S, T, W

TABLE 8: EVALUATION IDIOM: GENRE. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3

TABLE 9: EVALUATION IDIOM: PERSONAL JUDGEMENT. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3



## GARMENT 6: IDIOMS OF EVALUATION FOR ELITE AND GROUP INTERVIEWS

**Key for all idiom of evaluation tables:** **Contextual Frames** - Contextual frame titles in this column indicate evaluations which are contextualised within these frames; **PoD** - Play of Difference; **Alt** - Alternative; **Comp** - Comparative; **Comb** - Combinative; **Para** - Paradigmatic effects of other garments; **Subjective Evaluations** - Bolded evaluative phrases pertaining to the evaluation idiom; **Involvement** and **laughter** are highlighted.

TABLE 1: EVALUATION IDIOM: ASSEMBLAGE. ELITE INTERVIEWS E, J, K, S, T, W.

Contextual Frames	PoD	Evaluations of Garments	
Occasion		131 R - Where it could either be <b>worn with nylon pants or rave type rubberised pants or nylon rubberised pants that sort of feel.</b>	E
Occasion		133 R - He would wear <b>jeans</b> and the more rave top as an overshirt.	E
Occasion		137 R - But it would have a crossover to daytime, <b>tied around the waist.</b>	E
		63 R - If it was anything else, then red would be a problem but in this case red is an active sportswear top. I mean it could be <b>worn with jeans, it could be worn with a tracksuit.</b>	K
	Comb 7	99 R - 6 is a cross-over garment which <b>could be worn with jeans</b> , could be worn <b>with</b> like <b>track bottoms</b> . . . . 7, they would sell to the same person that will buy 6, which they can wear with jeans.	K
	Comp 7, 9	157 I - If we look at 6, 7 and 9, is there a difference in the sort of <b>shoes</b> that would be worn with that? 158 R - Ja, <b>No 6 will definitely be more Adidas</b> , two stripes kind of thing. 7 - I would think they would end up wearing <b>Cats</b> and they would hope to wear <b>LA Gear</b> but I don't think it would happen to wear LA Gear shoe. 9 will be the <b>Nike Reebok trainer shoes</b> , that type of thing.	K
	Comp 5	86 R - The pants - <b>No 6 basically I would see the guy wearing big, baggy, loose denims.</b> <b>No 5</b> I would see the guy wearing a pair of <b>Levis</b> . 88 R - <b>That slimmer cut.</b>	S
		271 R - <b>6</b> - he is definitely in his <b>Diesel jeans and his rave takkies</b> , Adidas or Puma. It's got to be the right ... (intervention) 278 R - <b>No 6 could be wearing a flare.</b>	W

TABLE 5: EVALUATION IDIOM: FASHION DESIGNATIONS. ELITE INTERVIEWS E, J, K, S, T, W.

Contextual Frames	PoD	Evaluations of Garments	
		122 I - What is the significance of the retro stripe? 123 R - <b>Younger fashion introduced now is influenced strongly by the 50's and 60' culture.</b>	E
	Comp 7	155 R - <b>No 7 would relate very much to No 6 in terms of it's end use.</b>	E
<b>Group Defined Image</b>	Comp 7	161 R - <b>To the more astute fashion person</b> or the person who wanted to make a little more of a statement, with the fact that the fabric is a little more risque than No 7 would be, and quite a lot bolder than what 7 would be.	E
	Comb 5, 8	219 I - ... Is there any top out of the whole lot on the table which you feel is most <b>challenging to accepted social norms?</b> 220 R - Ja <b>No 6.</b> 241 I - Which are for <b>more image conscious consumers?</b> 242 R - ... to put them in a particular order in terms of image - -. 244 R - I'd probably say <b>5 and then 8 and then I'd say 6.</b>	E
	Comp 7	78 R - <b>No 6 is even more fashionable than No 7.</b>	J
	Para 9	87 I - Right. And <b>also higher in fashionability.</b> 88 R - Yes. 105 R - I don't think the person who wears No 9 would. 106 I - Would wear No 6? 107 R - <b>It makes too much of a statement.</b>	J
	Para 9	155 I - As opposed to, let's say, 6 and 7, is that much more of an <b>aggressive, active, energetic, dynamic connotation there?</b> 156 R - <b>Yes.</b>	J
<b>Young</b>		59 R - <b>It's aspiring to be an Adidas</b> because of the stripes - soccer V neck.	K
		60 I - <b>Will the colour influence its fashionability?</b> 61 R - <b>No, not in this market at all.</b> 63 R - If it was anything else, then red would be a problem but in this case red is an <b>active sportswear top.</b>	K
		75 R - (6) was something that they would have done to fit in with the <b>jean lifestyle.</b> 77 R - Active sportswear, and then the Joe, which is the <b>young fashion market.</b>	K
	Comb 1, 7	89 R - <b>1, 6 and 7? Ja, I think they aim at the same person.</b>	K
	Comb 7	99 R - 6 is a cross-over garment ..... I think <b>6 and 7 aims at exactly the same market.</b> ..... But 7, they would sell to the same person that will buy 6 .....	K
	Comb 7 Para 8	113 R - So it's not, as the previous ones, for <b>6 and 7, which would be very seasonal.</b> 116 I - So 8 is different from 6 and 7 in terms of standing apart from the crowd? 117 R - (8) is somebody with money, somebody who knows what they would like to wear.	K

Cont'd...

TABLE 3: EVALUATION IDIOM: GARMENT STYLING VARIABLES. ELITE INTERVIEWS E, J, K, S, T, W.

Contextual Frames	PoD	Evaluations of Garments	
		119 R - Okay, that is a <b>velour V necked top with retro striping down the sleeves</b> , it's a slightly <b>slimmer fitting garment</b> with a <b>high V contrast</b> um velour detail.	E
Group Defined Image	Comp 7	161 R - To the more astute fashion person or the person who wanted to make a little more of a statement, with the fact that the <b>fabric is a little more risqué than No 7</b> would be, and quite a lot <b>bolder than what 7</b> would be.	E
Unmasculine		163 R - 6 may be a problem in terms of that, in terms of the fact that <b>velour is, velvet</b> is a fabric that has been associated with feminine dressing with women's dressing.	E
Body Build and Comfort		164 I - Okay, and the silhouette, <b>fitting tight to the body</b> ? Does that have any connotations? 165 R - When people become body conscious they do want to show off, to show off their muscles.	E
	Comp 7	81 I - Right. How about the fit? The <b>fit is a little bit closer to the body</b> . 82 R - Correct.	J
Unmasculine		90 I - Okay. It's in <b>velour</b> . 93 R - I don't think the average South African male would wear it. I think they find it feminine.	J
Group Defined Image		100 I - And the <b>colour of No 6</b> ? 101 R - I don't have a problem with it.	J
Young		59 R - It's aspiring to be a Adidas <b>because of the stripes - soccer V neck</b> .	K
Body Build and Comfort		69 R - <b>Velours will not work in South Africa</b> because our winters are not that cold.	K
Unmasculine		79 R - <b>Not a fabric that South African men</b> as such have sort of taken to because -	K
Young	Comp 7	87 R - <b>The collar</b> - an older person will definitely wear 7 rather than 6.	K
		7 R - I will take the next as No 6. This is a <b>long-sleeved V-neck with tape detail down the arms</b> . And then No 7 is a long-sleeved golfer with a quarter zip placket. I mean those are professional - those are how we describe them in the industry.	S
Young Group Defined Image		29 R - <b>With the tape detail running down the arms</b> .	S
	Comp 7	41 R - <b>6 is cut slightly slimmer than 7</b> .	S
	Comp 7	46 R - Plus the <b>V-neck versus your golfer silhouette</b> , even those that are zip-neck.	S

Cont'd...

TABLE 3: EVALUATION IDIOM: GARMENT STYLING VARIABLES. ELITE INTERVIEWS E, J, K S T W (CONT'D)

Contextual Frames	PoD	Evaluations of Garments	
	Comp 9,	162 R - <b>Racing stripes, colour blocking....</b> 164 R - Ja, <b>the V-neck on No 6. The zip on No 7 and the banding on No 9.</b> It's a new trend and there is a big aware-ness of this whole look in this country because of the Tommy Hilfiger, the Polo Ralph Lauren, the Nauticas -	T
<b>Young Group Defined Image</b>	Comb 7	170 R - No 7 has got the zip detail and the colour blocking, No 6 has <b>got the V-neck</b> which is a fashion detail. So that would be your younger more fashion aware customer.	T
	Comp 7	176 R - Except 7 is black and white. And red - <b>red (No 6) has never been a good men's colour.</b> So I think the club - ja, I think this would be more your club number, the No 7.	T
		180 R - I think <b>red makes a very bold statement</b> as far as the colour goes. 182 R - It's <b>not an easy colour for guys to wear.</b>	T



TABLE 4: EVALUATION IDIOM: GARMENT STYLING VARIABLES. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3

Contextual Frames	PoD	Subjective Evaluations of Garments	
		328 MIKE - I wouldn't wear 6. 330 MIKE - <b>Not in that RED colour.</b>	G1
Group Defined Image Sexuality		571 BRIAN - No 6 <b>has stripes down the sleeves?</b> Oasis. 575 I - So the stripe means Oasis?	G1
		583 I - How's about the <b>V neck?</b> 584 Rs - Cool. Oh Ja, <b>that's quite nice.</b>	G1
Occasion		735 BRIAN - This is cool but the <b>sleeves are a bit short.</b>	G1
		206 JEFF - Ja the colour's the main thing that – 207 ROD - It's loud, <b>the colour's very loud.</b> (laughter)	G2
		214 DAVE - <b>The stripes</b> remind me too much of a soccer shirt.	G2
		394 I - Which one is more fashionable? 395 sR - 7, 6, 1. (general laughter) (DAVE - I'd say 1.) 396 I - Why? 397 SCOTT - <b>Because of the fabric.</b> (I - OK which one's that?) <b>No 6.</b>	G2
Body Build and Comfort		398 I - No 6 you feel is more fashionable because of the fabric how's about the fit on the body? 399 SCOTT - Ja <b>it does look like it would hang more tightly to the body even if it's quite loose</b>	G2
Sexuality		400 I - <b>Yes it is a tighter fit - so now how do you feel about tight garments?</b> 401 ROD - Ay, faggot. (some laughter)	G2
Group Defined Image		557 SCOTT - 6 is obviously a redone cycle shirt from the 70's, <b>but in new fabric.</b> 558 I - Is that what's new about it? 559 SCOTT - <b>Maybe it's the cut as well.</b>	G2
Body Build and Comfort Group Defined Image Sexuality		617 ROD - <b>It's bright.</b> (SCOTT - <b>And it's tight.</b> ) 618 I - Because its bright and tight fitting? 619 Rs - Hmm mmmn.	G2
Occasion Group Defined Image		270 ROB - <b>Stripes down the sleeves?</b> Rave.	G3
Group Defined Image		272 ROB - No way <b>its too bright.</b>	G3
Group Defined Image	Comp 7	276 ALAN - . . . . . <b>Because it's very plain, it doesn't have logos, and it's very bright.</b>	G3
Occasion		286 RAJ - <b>The colour even the texture</b> is not for day at all.	G3

TABLE 5: EVALUATION IDIOM: FASHION DESIGNATIONS. ELITE INTERVIEWS E, J, K, S, T, W. (CONT'D)

Contextual Frames	PoD	Evaluations of Garments	
	Para 8, 3, 5, 2	148 R - <b>No 9 has got more in common with No 6 and 7.</b> It's got nothing in common with No 8 and 3 and 5 and 2 - if I have to place them, it's the same customer.	K
	Comb 9	156 R - So it's definitely a casual wear item. So <b>6, 7 and 9</b> is doing the <b>active sportswear area.</b>	K
	Comp 7	36 I - And any difference then between 6 and 7? In terms of where they'd go - rave, sporting events? Is 7 any different to six in that regard? 37 R - 7 is slightly - ja, it's a bit different because <b>No 6 is more fashionable.</b> No 7 is a slightly more conservative style.	S
	Comp 7	48 R - <b>That's become accepted these days,</b> so your collar versus your straight V-neck.	S
	Comb 9, 7	158 R - Well these <b>9, 7, 6</b> to me they are <b>sports active type tops.</b>	T
		160 R - This is a <b>new area which is emerging, this whole sports look.</b>	T
		164 R - Ja, the V-neck on No 6. The zip on No 7 and the banding on No 9. <b>It's a new trend</b> and there is a big aware-ness of this whole look in this country <b>because of the Tommy Hilfiger, the Polo Ralph Lauren, the Nauticas -</b>	T
		166 R - With <b>South Africans</b> now reading international magazines and travelling more, they <b>are becoming very aware of this look.</b>	T
Group Defined Image Young	Comb 7	170 R - No 7 has got the zip detail and the colour blocking. No 6 has got your V-neck which at the moment is a <b>fashion detail</b> on garments. So that would be your younger fashion aware customer.	T
	Comp 7, 9	5 R - <b>7, 6 and 9 falls into athletic look.</b> I straight away can group them. I can see handwritings coming though. I mean <b>these two you could see were Truworths.</b>	W
	Para 7 Para 7, 9	126 I - So that's <b>(No 7) more gangster-rap, as opposed to rave in No 6.</b> 131 R - Ja, No 9 is a lot more commercialised (than 6) - it came from Tommy Hilfiger, who appeals to that whole gangster-rap culture. 132 I - If we have to rate 7, 6 and 9 in terms of fashionability - 133 R - Ja, but 9 I think kind of missed the boat. 136 I - So Mr Fashionable is going to choose out of those three which one first? 137 R - <b>The rave fashionable guy is going to choose No 6.</b>	W



TABLE 6: EVALUATION IDIOM: FASHION DESIGNATIONS. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3.

Contextual Frames	PoD	Subjective Evaluations of Garments	
		310 I - And No 6? 312 BRIAN - Its <b>just a cool shirt</b> , I don't think it's a jacket. 315 GREG - Sweatshirt, <b>fashion sweatshirt</b> .	G1
Group Defined Image Occasion		320 WAYNE - <b>My friends would laugh at me</b> if I wore No 6. (laughter) 322 BRIAN - <b>People will see you</b> .	G1
	Comb 7 Para 7	321 I - <b>Between 6 and 7 is there a difference in the fashionability</b> of those two garments? 324 Rs - <b>Nope, no.</b> 325 GREG - <b>Big time!</b> 326 BRIAN - <b>I'd say totally different</b> .	G1
	Para 9, 7	389 I - Let's contrast in terms of fashionability <b>No 9, No 6 and No 7</b> . Which one is <b>more fashionable of those?</b> 390 MIKE- I think it's 7. 391 BRIAN - <b>6.</b> 395 GREG - No 9 and 7 are associating more with sports and No 6 looks a bit like sporty but it's not, <b>that's just trendy</b> .	G1
Sexuality		532 THEMBA - <b>I'll be scared to wear 6 actually</b> . 534 BRIAN - <b>No I won't be scared</b> .	G1
		563 I - But now <b>No 6</b> the one that we've talked about a lot is also very plain hey? 564 DENZIL - Ja <b>plain is more like for people who don't care much about anything</b> .	G1
		200 ROD - <b>Looks like an imitation Adidas</b> . (laughter)	G2
		215 MITCH - Ja. 216 ROD - But <b>Soccer shirts are stylish</b> , you can see the difference, soccer shirts are like silky or like other thing <b>but this is like</b> . . . . .	G2
Occasion		228 DAVE - This is a party shirt. 230 ROD - <b>Ja you can spot it</b> .	G2
	Comb 7, 1	394 I - <b>Which one is more fashionable?</b> 395 Sr - <b>7, 6, 1.</b> (General laughter) (DAVE - I'd say 1.)	G2
	Comb 7	534 I - Which of these go more towards the, <b>fashion leader type garment?</b> 535 ROD - No 3. 536 MITCH - No 4. 537 (JABU - No 3.) 538 ROD - No 3 is like WAS in the past, now it's coming back. (laughter) SCOTT - No 6. 539 ROD - <b>I'd say 6 and 7.</b> (MITCH - ja.)	G2
	Comb, 5	550 I - <b>Anything from the past that is fashionable again?</b> 551 Sr - <b>3, 1, 6 and 5 as well</b> .	G2
Group Defined Image		557 SCOTT - <b>6 is obviously a redone cycle shirt from the 70's</b> , but in new fabric.	G2
		581 JEFF - <b>No 6 is Mexican</b> . (I - No 6 is Mexican?) (general laughter) 582 DAVE - <b>Brazilian</b> . (laughter) 583 ROD - <b>South American</b> .	G2
Group Defined Image	Comb 7	273 - 274 RAJ - <b>7 and 6 go together only its different colours</b> .	G3

TABLE 7: EVALUATION IDIOM: GENRE. ELITE INTERVIEWS    E, J,, K S, T, W.

Contextual Frames	PoD	Evaluations of Garments	
	Comb 1 Para 2, 5, 4	139 R - Really <b>a sweater</b> sort of. 140 I - Your saying <b>so 6 and 1</b> are quite different from 2, 5 and 4. 141 R - Ja, definitely.	E
	Comb 9, 7	208 R - So I think <b>9, 6 and 7</b> are <b>sweat-shirts</b> as opposed to jackets.	K



TABLE 8: EVALUATION IDIOM: GENRE. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3.

Contextual Frames	PoD	Subjective Evaluations of Garments	
		310 I - And No 6? 311 GREG - <b>Superman</b> . 314 CLIVE - <b>Sleepshirt!</b> 316 DENZIL - It's called <b>sportswear</b> .	G1
	Comb 7	347 DENZIL - ( <b>6 and 7</b> ) are more <b>sports orientated</b> . 348 BRIAN - They've got that <b>European feel</b> to them.	G1
		734 DENZIL - <b>Gauteng Lions</b> (soccer team).	G1
<b>Body Build &amp; Comfort</b>		203 JABU - It's <b>warm</b> .	G2
		214 DAVE - The stripes remind me too much of a <b>soccer shirt</b> .	G2
<b>Occasion</b>		219 JEFF - It looks like a <b>pyjama</b> .	G2
<b>Unmasculine</b>		223 DAVE - I'd buy it for my girlfriend as <b>pyjamas</b> . (general laughter)	G2
<b>Occasion</b>		228 DAVE - This is a <b>party shirt</b> .	G2
<b>Body Build &amp; Comfort</b>	Comb 1 Alt 2	572 I - Most <b>comfortable garments</b> here? 573 Rs - 2. <b>574 (SCOTT - 1 and 6.)</b> 575 Rs - Hmm mm.	G2
<b>Occasion</b>		287 ALAN - It's <b>not practical</b> .	G3



TABLE 9: EVALUATION IDIOM: PERSONAL JUDGEMENT. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3.

Contextual Frames	PoD	Subjective Evaluations of Garments	
Group Defined Image		318 BRIAN - I'd wear No 6, I dig No 6! (general laughter)	G1
		328 MIKE - I wouldn't wear 6.	G1
		583 I - How's about the V neck? 584 Rs - Cool. Oh ja, that's quite nice.	G1
Unmasculine		198 Rs - Oh! ooh! Ay! 199 (general laughter and mixed comments inaudible)	G2
		202 SCOTT - I quite like it. 205 ROD - Nice, but it doesn't look nice.	G2
	Para 1	424 I - What's the difference then between No 6 and No 1? 425 ROD - (Softly) 6 is not nice - 6!	G2



## APPENDIX F:

### IDIOMS OF EVALUATION FOR GARMENT 9

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TABLE 1: EVALUATION IDIOM: ASSEMBLAGE. ELITE INTERVIEWS E, J, K, S, T, W.

TABLE 2: EVALUATION IDIOM: ASSEMBLAGE. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3.

TABLE 3: EVALUATION IDIOM: GARMENT STYLING VARIABLES. ELITE INTERVIEWS E, J, K, S, T, W

TABLE 4: EVALUATION IDIOM: GARMENT STYLING VARIABLES. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3

TABLE 5: EVALUATION IDIOM: FASHION DESIGNATIONS. ELITE INTERVIEWS E, J, K, S, T, W.

TABLE 6: EVALUATION IDIOM: FASHION DESIGNATIONS. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3

TABLE 7: EVALUATION IDIOM: GENRE. ELITE INTERVIEWS E, J, K, S, T, W

TABLE 8: EVALUATION IDIOM: GENRE. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3

TABLE 9: EVALUATION IDIOM: PERSONAL JUDGEMENT. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3

## GARMENT 9: IDIOMS OF EVALUATION FOR RETAIL AND GROUP INTERVIEWS

**Key for all idiom of evaluation tables:** **Contextual Frames** - Contextual frame titles in this column indicate evaluations which are contextualised within these frames; **PoD** - Play of Difference; **Alt** - Alternative; **Comp** - Comparative; **Comb** - Combinative; **Para** - Paradigmatic effects of other garments; **Subjective Evaluations** - Bolded evaluative phrases pertaining to the evaluation idiom; **Involvement** and **laughter** are highlighted.

TABLE 1: EVALUATION IDIOM: ASSEMBLAGE. ELITE INTERVIEWS E, J, K, S, T, W.

Contextual Frames	PoD	Evaluations of Garments	
		174 I - Okay what sort of shoes? 175 R - Probably more an <b>activewear type shoe</b> guy, he <b>may wear jeans</b> but he would wear them together with say Nike and Reebok cross trainers.	E
Low Profile Non - Occasion Older		177 R - He can wear a <b>jean, jeanswear related garments</b> with that type of overshirt.	E
		4 R - I would say it's an active wear garment. 5 R - I imagine most people would <b>wear it with track bottoms</b> . 9 R - Ja, fleece I think - , people would either wear it with <b>tracksuits</b> ..... 11 R - Or <b>denim jeans</b> . 12 I - What sort of shoes? 13 R - Probably <b>sneakers</b> .	J
		99 R - This one, the buyer would buy this in the hope that they can sell a <b>track pants</b> with it.	K
	Comp 4	154 R - 4 would try and get like brown bull denim jeans and that kind of look. 9 most probably be worn with a <b>jean but more probably with like a tracksuit bottom</b> .	K
	Comp 6, 7	157 I - If we look at 6, 7 and 9, is there a difference in the sort of shoes? 158 R - Ja, No 6 will be more Adidas, two stripes kind of thing. 7 they would wear Cats and they would hope to wear LA Gear. 9 will be the <b>Nike Reebok trainer shoes</b> , that type of thing.	K
	Comb 7	82 R - No 7, would be more an <b>active Adidas, Nike shoe</b> . And No 9, with any of those.	S
	Comp 7	95 R - 7 I would say is just a normal jean or a pair of track-suit pants. And 9, I would see it with <b>a track-suit pants or a pair of cotton chinos or a pair of jeans</b> .	S
Low Profile Non - Occasion Sports Watching and Doing	Para 6, 7	172 R - He can <b>throw it over a T-shirt</b> if he goes out to a braai and socialises, whereas 6 and 7 tend to be a bit more street wearish and fashionable.	T
Body Image and Comfort		282 R - No 9 is with a <b>track-suit bottom</b> . It's a very track-suity - very comfortable.	W

TABLE 2: EVALUATION IDIOM: ASSEMBLAGE. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3.

Contextual Frames	PoD	Subjective Evaluations of Garments	
	Comb 2, 6, 7	344 DENZIL - Even No 2. 353 DENZIL - 9, 2, 6 and 7 <b>you can wear it all with jeans as well.</b>	G1
	Comb 6, 7, 2	481 I - Which <b>garments that go with trainers</b> here? 483 MIKE - 7. 484 GREG - 6. 485 DENZIL - <b>And 9 as well.</b> 486 BRIAN - 1. 487 CLIVE - 2 as well.	G1
		495 I - Any jacket here that you <b>can't wear jeans with?</b> 497 MIKE - 9. 498 GREG - 3 comes close. 499 Rs - 9! 500 DENZIL - <b>You can actually wear jeans with that. (CLIVE - No you can't.)</b> 501 MIKE - A good pair of jeans! 502 DENZIL - I could wear jeans with that, but it depends on whether it's fluffed or not.	G1
	Comb 4, 6, 1	503 I - Which jackets can you <b>not wear with chinos</b> with. 504 THEMBA - <b>No 9.</b> 505 Rs - 4, 1, 6.	G1
<b>Sports Watching and Doing Low Profile Non - Occasion</b>	Comb 2	513 I - How do you feel about <b>tracksuit pants</b> ? 515 DENZIL - No 9. 516 GREG - <b>9 and 2.</b> 521 sR - 9 and 2. 523 I - If you did wear tracksuit pants, what shoes would you wear with them? 524 Rs - <b>Takkies, stokies or maybe slippers!</b> 526 MIKE - <b>Branded takkies.</b> (BRIAN - Hi-tops, like Reebok or...)	G1
		446 I - What's the pants for <b>9?</b> 447 Rs - <b>Track suit pants.</b> (I - And trainers?) 448 Rs - Ja, mmn. 449 I - Nothing else? 450 JABU - <b>I can take it with jeans.</b>	G2
<b>Low Profile, Non - Occasion</b>		325 VUSI - .....with my running shoes and my tracksuit pants I could put that on and just laze around you know at home (ROB - <b>Ja the track suit pants type of person.</b> ).....	G3

TABLE 3: EVALUATION IDIOM: GARMENT STYLING VARIABLES. ELITE INTERVIEWS E, J, K, S, T, W.

Contextual Frames	PoD	Evaluations of Garments	
		169 R - Okay, 9 is a polo T - overshirt, which is um with <b>1/2 zip detailing, contrast panel insets, silver tape detail</b> very much an activewear type garment.	E
		9 R - Ja, <b>fleece</b> I think -, people would either wear it with tracksuits.....	J
Older		150 R - ... somehow it's like <b>polar fleece, Union Cape detail, badges</b> , and I think ... Tommy Hilfiger should get some royalties here from copying the labels to the T. This is not a fashion garment because it's got <b>too many elements</b> .	K
		206 R - Oh that one has got a <b>hood</b> , but that to me is not a jacket, it's more a sweat-shirt. No 9.	K
		68 R - It's very leisure sport orientated, that lifestyle of sporting types with <b>big applicated numbers</b> all over them. He's got numbers, he's got <b>bright tape reflective tape</b> detail which is very sport orientated plus the fabric. This looks like it's done in a <b>fleece</b> .	S
		290 I - And it's a actually <b>pulled in at the bottom</b> . 291 R - The bottom, ja. It's a jacket-stroke-track-top-stroke-kagoul.	W

TABLE 4: EVALUATION IDIOM: GARMENT STYLING VARIABLES. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3.

Contextual Frames	PoD	Subjective Evaluations of Garments	
		748 WAYNE - I don't like the zip, it's too like finicky. It's too big and too like bulky.	G1
Sports Watching and Doing		285 ROD - Ja it is overdesigned. I think the hood part appeals to me. (JEFF - Its like a track top)	G2
Body Image and Comfort		291 SCOTT - <u>It doesn't look like it fits anybody nicely.</u>	G2
		293 DAVE - <u>That's a bulky shirt, it doesn't have any shape to it.</u>	G2
Who and Where From		321 ROB - I disagree with you, its not rural - <u>that big strap across the middle.</u>	G3



TABLE 5: EVALUATION IDIOM: FASHION DESIGNATIONS. ELITE INTERVIEWS E, J, K, S, T, W.

Contextual Frames	PoD	Evaluations of Garments	
		169 R - Okay, 9 is a polo T - overshirt, . . . . . I very much an <b>activewear type garment</b> .	E
		173 R - This would be worn very much a <b>jeanswear related garment</b> as well.	E
Older Low Profile, non - occasion		177 R . . . . he can wear like a jeanswear related garments with that type of overshirt . . . . although the garment does make a little bit of a statement, its not very risky in terms of what people might think, it's fairly basic. 178 I - Right, so you're not <b>stepping out there with a big personal statement?</b> 179 R - <b>No you're not.</b> 181 R - Most people say its quite nice, that is about it.	E
	Comp 1, 4	229 I - Okay, so we have said then <b>mass appeal?</b> 230 R - 1 and 4. 232 R - Then I'd say No <b>9</b> .	E
		4 R - I would say it's an <b>active wear garment</b> . . . . .	J
	Para 7	26 R - This (No 9) is <b>very much mass market</b> . 28 R - <b>It's not too fashionable, but it's not too plain.</b> 31 I - <b>Not making a large personal statement?</b> 32 R - No. 34 I - Is there anything on the table that makes more of a statement, that's a bit more provocative? 35 R - No 7. 47 R - (No 7 is) obviously a young person a clubber type of person and a lot more fashionable.	J
	Para 6	105 R - <b>But I don't think the person who wears No 9 would.</b> 106 I - <b>Would wear No 6?</b> 107 R - I think it makes too much of a statement.	J
	Para 6, 7	155 R - <b>(9 is) opposed to 6 and 7 which are more aggressive, active, energetic?</b> R - Yes.	J
	Comb 6, 7	148 R - No 9 has got more in common with No 6 and 7 . . . . .	K
Older	Comb 7	150 R - <b>9 and 7 have more in common</b> than anything else. Now <b>active sportswear</b> - ...and I think <b>Tommy Hilfiger</b> should get some royalties here from copying the labels to the T. <b>It's one of those funny garments that tried to be everything to everybody.</b> It's got too many elements that actually is <b>not cool enough.</b> So I would think that they would aim at sort of <b>mid-market</b> with that.	K
		156 R - So it's definitely a casual wear item. So 6, 7 and 9 is actually doing the casual wear sort of <b>active sportswear area.</b>	K
	Comb 6, 7	196 R - Ja, and then <b>9, 6 and 7 work together</b> and then 1, 2 and 4.	K

Cont'd...



TABLE 5: EVALUATION IDIOM: FASHION DESIGNATIONS. ELITE INTERVIEWS E, J, K, S, T, W. (CONT'D)

Contextual Frames	PoD	Evaluations of Garments	
		64 R - . . . . that Tommy Hilfiger? It was just a knock-off.	S
		68 R - It's very <b>leisure sport orientated</b> .	S
	Comb 7	78 R - <b>7 and 9 go hand in hand. I would say it's the same customer.</b>	S
	Comp 5	170 I - Okay, Mr Fashionable, what's he is going to choose? 171 R - Well I would say if it was in leather, No 5. 173 R - Second to that No 9. No 5 and 9 are guys that are saying, " <b>Look, I run with the times. I have got the latest fashion garments.</b> "	S
	Para 6, 7	170 R - No 7 has got the zip detail down the front and the blocking at the sides and down the sleeve. No 6 has got your V-neck which at the moment is a fashion detail on the garments. That would be your younger more aware customer. No 9 would be your more mature, conservative customer. It would <b>appeal to a broad spectrum of customers.</b>	T
	Comb 6, 7	5 R - Well, as I said, 7, 6 and 9 falls into <b>athletic look</b> .	W
	Para 6, 7	132 I - If we have to rate 7, 6 and 9 in terms of fashionability. 133 R - Ja, but <b>9 I think kind of missed the boat.</b>	W

TABLE 6: EVALUATION IDIOM: FASHION DESIGNATIONS. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3.

Contextual Frames	PoD	Subjective Evaluations of Garments	
	Comb 2	372 I - . . . . . conventional people who don't want to stand out in a crowd what would they choose here? 374 GREG - If you weren't fashion conscious, .. <b>9 and 2 are a bit outdated.</b> 375 Rs - Ja, mmm. 376 <b>BRIAN</b> - Old school.	G1
	Para 6, 7	389 I - No 9, No 6 and No 7. Which is more fashionable? 390 MIKE - I think it's 7. 391 BRIAN - 6. <b>What would have the broadest appeal</b> then would you say? 393 Rs - No 9.	G1
Low Profile Non-Occasion		402 GREG - <b>If your buddy rocks up, you take that off quickly!</b>	G1
		449 DENZIL - 9 is very Americanised, but it <b>came here</b> now <b>and everyone swallowed it.</b> (laughter)	G1
		290 (ROD - <b>It's old fashioned.</b> )	G2
Body Image and Comfort		294 (MITCH - Ja) it just <b>makes you look clumsy and big.</b> (laughter)	G2
Low Profile Non - Occasion		308 DAVE - It's just casualwear, I won't wear it if I'm going out to supper. 310 ROD - <b>No one will take notice of a person wearing that.</b> 312 JABU - I think it depends on places you visit - <b>in some places you'd be treated well.</b> (laughter)	G2
	Comb 2	510 I - <b>The person who wants to blend in</b> , which would you say for that? 511 MITCH - No 2. 512 SCOTT - <b>9, 2.</b> 516 ROD - <b>Not No 9.</b> 517 TSEPO - No 2 for sure.	G2
Sports Watching and Doing		518 ROD - No 9 is a ay! It's too much of a designer. I'll wear that to the gym, probably going jogging or something but <b>to say you are making a statement about yourself - no that's you're not making no statement.</b>	G2
		297 ROB - Ja he's <b>trying to LOOK cool.</b> 298 LUCAS - Is that from <b>Tommy Hilfiger?</b> Is it? 299 I - Well spotted it's a knockoff.	G3
Low Profile Non - Occasion Who and Where From	Para 4	322 (ALAN - Ja but you know exactly what that jacket is, that's like a <b>Mooi River jacket.</b> (general laughter) Best jacket you can buy in Mooi River.) DONALD - Well put, well put you can't buy anything else and that's the best, you'd buy that nobody else is going to see you so <b>if you're walking round in the best jacket you can buy in that town, you're in, but if you came and some guy was wearing No 4, you'd look like. . .</b> (laughter) 323 (ALAN - Well that's it, if you can't get anything else you go for No 9.) 324 Rs - It's an old fashioned thing, it's <b>an old fashioned jacket.</b>	G3
Low Profile Non - Occasion		328 (ROB - <b>You wouldn't let your friend see you in that jacket.</b> ) 329 VUSI - But morning soccer is not that serious.	G3

Cont'd...



TABLE 6: EVALUATION IDIOM: FASHION DESIGNATIONS. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3.

Contextual Frames	PoD	Subjective Evaluations of Garments	
	Comb 2	372 I - . . . . conventional people who don't want to stand out in a crowd what would they choose here? 374 GREG - If you weren't fashion conscious, .. <b>9 and 2 are a bit outdated.</b> 375 Rs - Ja, mmm. 376 BRIAN - Old school.	G1
	Para 6, 7	389 I - No 9, No 6 and No 7. Which is more fashionable? 390 MIKE - I think it's 7. 391 BRIAN - 6. <b>What would have the broadest appeal</b> then would you say? 393 Rs - No 9.	G1
Low Profile Non-Occasion		402 GREG - <b>If your buddy rocks up, you take that off quickly!</b>	G1
		449 DENZIL - 9 is very Americanised, but it <b>came here</b> now <b>and everyone swallowed it.</b> (laughter)	G1
		290 (ROD - <b>It's old fashioned.</b> )	G2
Body Image and Comfort		294 (MITCH - Ja) it just <b>makes you look clumsy and big.</b> (laughter)	G2
Low Profile Non - Occasion		308 DAVE - It's just casualwear, I won't wear it if I'm going out to supper. 310 ROD - <b>No one will take notice of a person wearing that.</b> 312 JABU - I think it depends on places you visit - <b>in some places you'd be treated well.</b> (laughter)	G2
	Comb 2	510 I - <b>The person who wants to blend in</b> , which would you say for that? 511 MITCH - No 2. 512 SCOTT - <b>9, 2.</b> 516 ROD - <b>Not No 9.</b> 517 TSEPO - No 2 for sure.	G2
Sports Watching and Doing		518 ROD - No 9 is a ay! It's too much of a designer. I'll wear that to the gym, probably going jogging or something but <b>to say you are making a statement about yourself - no that's you're not making no statement.</b>	G2
		297 ROB - Ja he's <b>trying to LOOK cool.</b> 298 LUCAS - Is that from <b>Tommy Hilfiger?</b> Is it? 299 I - Well spotted it's a knockoff.	G3
Low Profile Non - Occasion Who and Where From	Para 4	322 (ALAN - Ja but you know exactly what that jacket is, that's like a <b>Mooi River jacket.</b> (general laughter) Best jacket you can buy in Mooi River.) DONALD - Well put, well put you can't buy anything else and that's the best, you'd buy that nobody else is going to see you so <b>if you're walking round in the best jacket you can buy in that town, you're in, but if you came and some guy was wearing No 4, you'd look like. . .</b> (laughter) 323 (ALAN - Well that's it, if you can't get anything else you go for No 9.) 324 Rs - It's an old fashioned thing, it's <b>an old fashioned jacket.</b>	G3
Low Profile Non - Occasion		328 (ROB - <b>You wouldn't let your friend see you in that jacket.</b> ) 329 VUSI - But morning soccer is not that serious.	G3

Cont'd...



TABLE 6: EVALUATION IDIOM: FASHION DESIGNATIONS. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1, G2, G3. (CONT'D)

Contextual Frames	PoD	Subjective Evaluations of Garments	
Who and Where From		369 LUCAS - <b>A poor person who knows a little bit about fashion. Could get that Tommy Hilfiger knock-off.</b>	G3
Low Profile Non - Occasion		393 ROB - <b>I would wear No 9 at home cos there's no ways in hell I would ever let anyone see me wearing that. (laughter)</b> 397 DONALD - OK but you say No 2 is hideous between 9 and 2 which would you choose? 398 ROB - God neither, I would go naked. 399 ALAN - If I had to I'd rather go for No 9 but <b>I wouldn't wear it out I'd feel a . . . . wearing it out.</b>	G3

TABLE 7: EVALUATION IDIOM: GENRE. ELITE INTERVIEWS E J K S T W

Contextual Frames	PoD	Evaluations of Garments	
		169 R - Okay, 9 is a polo T - overshirt, . . . . .	E
Body Image and Comfort		171 R - Fairly versatile overshirt. I - A wintery type garment.	E
Low Profile Non - Occasion Older		177 R - He can wear a jean, jeanswear related garments with that type of overshirt.	E
	Comb 6, 7	208 R - So I think 9, 6 and 7 are sweat-shirts opposed to jackets.	K
Sports Watching and Doing		172 R - More of a sports garment.	T
		291 R - It's a jacket-stroke-track-top-stroke-kagoul.	W



TABLE 8: EVALUATION IDIOM: GENRE. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1 G2 G3

Contextual Frames	PoD	Subjective Evaluations of Garments	
		299 DENZIL - Well no 9 is more of a like a <b>sweatshirt</b> . 300 Rs - Ja a sweatshirt, sweatshirt ,ja. 301 DENZIL - Or a <b>jogger</b> or something like that.	G1
<b>Low Profile Non - Occasion</b>		388 DENZIL - That <b>sports top</b> .	G1
<b>Sports Watching and Doing</b>	Para 6 Comb 7	395 GREG - I think that No 9 and 7 are <b>associating more with sports</b> and No 6 looks a bit like sporty but it's not, that's just trendy.	G1
		396 BRIAN - No 9 <b>is something your Mom would buy for you.</b> (laughter)	G1
<b>Low Profile Non - Occasion</b>		398 DENZIL, THEMBA - <b>You wash it once a week</b> and it's fine.	G1
	Comp 6, 7	447 DENZIL - No <b>7 and 6 more Pommie</b> . 448 BRIAN - Ja definitely British feel ja. 449 DENZIL - <b>9 is very Americanised</b> , . . . . .	G1
<b>Body Image and Comfort</b>		741 I - OK Denzil in No 9 - what do you say? 742 GREG - <b>Cuddly</b> .	G1
<b>Body Image and Comfort</b>		278 THABU - Very <b>warm</b> .	G2
<b>Sports Watching and Doing</b>		285 ROD - Ja it is overdesigned. I think the hood part appeals to me. (JEFF - Its like a <b>track top</b> .)	G2
<b>Body Image and Comfort</b>		299 DAVE - <b>It's nice for our type of Durban winters you know where it's too warm to wear a jacket um but too cold to wear a shirt.</b>	G2
<b>Low Profile Non - Occasion</b>		518 ROD - No 9 is a - ay! It's too much of a designer. <b>I'll wear that to the gym, probably going jogging</b> or something.	G2
<b>Body Image and Comfort</b>	Comb 3 Alt 1, 6, 2	572 I - Most <b>comfortable</b> jackets? 573 Rs - 2. 574 ROD - Most comfortable to lounge back and (SCOTT - 1 and 6.) 575 JABU - Well <b>3 and 9 for me</b> .	G2
<b>Who and Were From</b>		308 ROB - Because its going to be <b>cheaper than maybe the designer outfit</b> .	G3
		312 LUCAS - I think <b>it looks fake</b> you know. 313 ROB - Ja it does, <b>it looks fake</b> . (laughter)	G3
<b>Low Profile Non - Occasion</b>		325 VUSI - I could put that on and just laze around you know at home (ROB - Ja the track suit pants type of person) that's <b>homely</b> , it's very <b>comfortable</b> . If I'm home and I feel I want to take a drive and go buy a newspaper I could put that on . . . . .	G3
<b>Who and Where From</b>	Comb 4, 7	346 I - We talked about things being American, what do you feel about what might be American? 347 Rs - No 4, No 7. 348 LUCAS - I'd say <b>9 is American</b> .	G3



TABLE 9: EVALUATION IDIOM: PERSONAL JUDGEMENT. GROUP INTERVIEWS G1 G2 G3

Contextual Frames	PoD	Subjective Evaluations of Garments	
		747 CLIVE - I don't think it appeals to anyone.	G1
		286 MITCH - Aside from the functional aspect I think it's ugly. 287 ROD - Ja it is actually.	G2
		290 MITCH - I don't know, you just look at it and you get distracted. . . . .you don't want to look at it.	G2
		298 I - (JABU - Well I could still say it's a good design.) (laughter)	G2
		450 JABU - I can take it (No 9) with jeans. 451 MITCH - That's doing it a favour. (general laughter) (ROD - That's OUT.)	G2
Who and Where From		293 ALAN - That's hideous. 294 ROB - That is ABSOLUTLEY TERRIBLE. 295 DONALD - Yes, ja.	G3
		315 RAJ - I actually hate it. (general laughter)	G3
Low Profile Non - Occasion	Comb 2	397 DONALD - OK but you say No 2 is hideous between 9 and 2 which would you choose? 398 ROB - God neither, I would go naked.	G3

## **APPENDIX G:**

### **RECRUITMENT GUIDE**

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## RECRUITMENT GUIDE

I'm recruiting for a Technikon consumer research project.

We're looking particularly for guys of about your age group to participate, and we would very much appreciate your help.

This is not a commercial market research project, it is student work.

The research will consist of an informal group discussion of men's clothing which is aimed at finding out what guys think about particular items of clothing. Guys participating don't need to be interested or knowledgeable about clothing. The session will last about 1 hour.

This will be an informal session where you'll discuss who might wear the clothes shown and what sort of lifestyle that person may have. This is all about spontaneous, off the top of your head reactions. There are no wrong or right or definite answers, we're just looking for your impressions. The discussion will be tape recorded so that we can go back and compare different views but your input will be anonymous - no one needs to be identified in the recording.

Your co-operation would be very much appreciated. As a token of appreciation for your help with this project we are offering a gift to the value of R50.

Are you between 18 and 34 years old? \_\_\_\_\_

Are you employed full time? \_\_\_\_\_

Are you reasonably comfortable expressing yourself in English? \_\_\_\_\_

The group will consist of 6 or 7 guys.

Can participate:

Friday 29th August at 5:15 for 5:30 p m \_\_\_\_\_

-

Friday 5th September at 5:15 for 5:30 p m \_\_\_\_\_

**YOU WILL NEED TO GET TO THE VENUE WITH OWN TRANSPORT**

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MODEL  
FOR THE INTERPRETATION OF FASHION MEANING IN  
SOUTH AFRICAN MEN'S LEISUREWEAR**

**BY**

**PHILIPPA KETHRO**

**VOLUME II**



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GARMENT PHOTOGRAPHS 1 - 9



Garment 1



Garment 2



Garment 3



Garment 4



Garment 5



Garment 6



Garment 7



Garment 8



Garment 9



GLOSSARY OF TERMS USED IN ELITE INTERVIEWS

<i>Airwolf</i> - sports shoe brand name	<i>Ja</i> - Yes	<i>La Gear</i> - clothing brand name	<i>Schloomp</i> - laze about the house
<i>Braai</i> - barbecue	<i>Joh'burg</i> - Johannesburg, city in South Africa	<i>Markhams</i> - South African menswear retail chain	<i>Stellenbosch</i> - farming town in Western Cape
<i>Celio</i> - menswear clothing label	<i>Kagoul</i> - outerwear pull-over garment	<i>Polo</i> - menswear clothing label	<i>Tommy Hilfiger</i> - menswear clothing brand
<i>Edgars</i> - South African menswear retail chain	<i>Kappa</i> - clothing brand name	<i>Ralph Lorenz</i> - menswear clothing label	<i>Trendoids</i> - self-consciously fashionable people
<i>Fila</i> - sports shoe brand name	<i>Lacost</i> - knit T-shirting with pique appearance	<i>Shacket</i> - shirt/jacket	<i>Truworths</i> - South African menswear retail chain

Interview: Retail Buying Manager 'E'  
Interviewer: P. Kethro  
4<sup>th</sup> August 1997  
Johannesburg.

Text in **bold type** shows Retailer comments on the garment sample.  
Text units **76 - 94 / 224 - 231 in italics** show Garment 4 which was discarded from the garment sample.

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- I - What I am going to ask you to describe is in basic straightforward recognition terms particular garments and then lets make some associations and interpretations of the connotations of those garments, in terms of the kind of guy who would wear them. So if you would like to pick any 2, okay?

R - Okay.

I - And, or any 3 that catch your eye, describe them in terms of what it is, and then what it means.

R - Okay.

I - Sorry if I could interrupt, would you mind referring to the number?

R - Okay. The first one I have picked is number 1 which is a corduroy over jacket with a zip through detailing, double flap pockets, this was a very versatile garment which was used for it was really geared towards a junior younger consumer between the ages of 16 and 25.

I - Okay

R - Although it did have a lot of crossover usage in terms of the fact that it being a fairly basic it was able to be worn by older consumers as well. what else do you want me to say about the garment?

I - What sort of garment would you call it? You called it an over jacket I think.

R - It - it has like it really had like 2 uses I think that was part of the reason that it was so successful was the fact that it could be used as an over shirt or as an over jacket.

I - So it has a shirt feeling as well?

R - Yes, I think the versatility of the garment was really one of the things that sold it.

I - Okay.

I - How does it become a jacket? What's the jacket part of it and what's the shirt part of it?

R -Well the thing is, you could wear a shirt underneath it or you could wear a woven shirt underneath it with a collar and you could wear it over or you could wear it with a jacket over it. Or you could wear it as a t-shirt undergarment and wear it as a jacket.

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I - Right, okay, good and we then can compare it to number 2. What is number 2?

R - Number 2 really has a specific use as a jacket. Um it really is also suppose if you can compare the two the one could be worn um early summer evenings um going right through to winter as an over jersey.

I - That's number 1.

R - That's number 1. Whereas number 2 is really more of a high winter jacket it would be worn specifically as a jacket.

I - Okay

R - Rather than over (I - Not as an overshirt)

I -

Ja because it's got padding and its fleeced it's really more committed to one use.

R - Yes.

I - So how would you describe it?

R - No 2?

I - Ja

R- No 2 is a bomber jacket with a turtle neck collar, turtle neck knitted collar and padded contrast sleeves and snapper buttons.

I - Okay.

R - with a welted bottom

I -A welted bottom? okay, good. Does it have any connotations to you in terms of nationality or country of origin?

R - Um not really, I would say its fairly much I would say, okay if I have to be specific about where, it would be more like a college American college boy look.

I - Right.

R - But that American college boy look has filtered through into really sort of main stream um normal people who would wear it with um, the South African consumer I believe would wear it with a number of different things. It really is a jeanswear I'd say a jeanswear related garment essentially.

Continued/...

**Interview: Retail Buying Manager 'E'cont'd**

36 I - So, although it originated as a preppy college thing, it's now become an across the board garment?

37 R - Across the board thing. I think its definitely worn as a casualwear item.

38 I - So the difference between, is there any difference in the image, the fashion image of the guy who wears number 1 and the guy who wears number 2?

39 R- Number 1 is slightly more streetwear orientated um daywear sort of um a daywear type look, whereas um number 2 is slightly more sophisticated and slightly more preppy.

40 I - Well how would you see the bottoms or the shoes that would go with those 2 would they be the same or would there be a streetwear or maybe a difference slight difference?

41 R - There would be an element of crossover which I think both of them could be worn as denim related jackets or shirts, I mean denim related jacket and over shirt and I see them being worn with like street sneakers and with um . . . .

42 I - What are street sneakers like a trainer?

43 R - Yes like a trainer

44 I - Okay

45 R - Yes like what the younger children are wearing now.

46 I - So in other words a very codified one like a Fila or a ...

47 R - No not necessarily a, I would say number 2 would be more the Fila type guy which would be more for your branded, branded type street sneaker um from the activewear side, and number 1 would be more your 'Airwolf' um 'Sketcher' type guy.

48 I - Okay, okay, okay.

49 R - I see number 2 being worn by a slightly older guy than number 1.

50 I - Number 1 is much younger than number 2?

51 R - Yes.

52 I - Okay so we getting a different picture of a guy

53 R - Although there is a crossover I see in the main, number 1 will be more a younger persons garment.

54 I - Okay. Would there be any difference in the leisure pursuit or the lifestyle of the guys wearing number 1 and number 2?

55 R - Probably due to the age with number 1 being a bit younger.

56 I - Yes

57 R - He would be um uh in terms of leisure pursuits, I suppose its the same guy just a bit younger, a bit younger.

58 I - Right

59 R - The one has developed he has become a little bit more sophisticated, and the other is still a bit younger so in terms of leisure pursuits, he would do what a younger person does and number 2 as a slightly older person would do.

60 I - Okay.

61 R - I would say still quite a preppy sort of lifestyle though.

62 I - Lets bring number 5 into the occasion, into the equation rather. Number 5 is a leatherette jacket, not really actual leather.

63 R - Hmm

64 I - Now is that a different person to number 2 and 1 and how would you describe that jacket?

65 R -I'd say that this is well the jacket is um full zip through 'traffic'

style.

66 I - Right

67 R -Um, bomber jacket but it's unwelted at the bottom um which indicates a more sophisticated lifestyle, probably, probably worn a lot more formally..

68 I - Okay

69 R - Um, although it could have a casualwear connotation...

70 I - So it goes across both?

71 R - Goes across the both but I think in the main it would be worn as a as a slightly more classic merchandise a, where it would be worn with um whether it be cotton trousers or whether it be worn with your poly-viscose type trousers it suits a more classic European type image, um definitely worn as a less casual, less casual um than the first 2.

72 I - So when you mentioned the word street a bit earlier, is there a difference then between 1 and 5, in terms of 1 is very street and 5 is less street?

73 R - Definitely, maybe defining street a bit more um specifically when I say streetwear I mean streetwear is the younger skateboard type young guy.

74 I - Okay, street culture

75 R - Ja, this guy might be on the street casually but it is not - it's a different way of dressing .

76 I - So number 1 is a more defined street group whereas number 5 is a broader category of -of street? Great. Number 4 there, its difficult to see in the photograph its actually a trucker type jacket like the denim style with the little flap pockets. Any differences - first of all now how would you describe it? Do you agree with my description?

77 R - Yes, ja definitely, it is definitely, it is a denim style trucker jacket basically

78 I - Okay

79 R - With button - tab detail and all of that.

80 I - Sorry Sean can you talk a little louder.. Okay. Any difference now in the consumer or the style of the guy or the image of the guy or the fashion level of understanding of fashion or making a personal statement about yourself, any difference now between 1, 2, 5 and 4?

81 R -Okay I'd say number 4 is now um still very much a casualwear guy but he's tending to be on the slightly more preppy side, more so than 1 or 2...

82 I - Okay.

83 R - A slightly more classical way of dressing, less classical than what number 5 would be, it still would be I would say still more a jeanswear lifestyle .

84 I - Okay.

85 R - Or smarter jeanswear lifestyle than 1 or 2 would be.

86 I - Right, okay and how would you put that together, how would the guy put his outfit together, in terms of the pants, or the bottoms and the shoes?.

87 R -Okay well I would say he would be wearing, um he would probably wear like a white undershirt with a with a navy sort of a slightly preppy check shirt um underneath it together with definitely a chino..

Continued/...

**Interview: Retail Buying Manager 'E'cont'd**

88 I - Okay  
89 R - As opposed to, a cotton chino or a fashion jean like a Levi, or a branded denim  
90 I - Okay  
91 R - Um, possibly wears the whole outfit together with a shoe like a 'Kicker' or a slightly preppy leather shoe as opposed to being more street sneaker orientated.  
92 I - Okay so not so sneaker orientated?  
you see any different jean silhouette being worn here, say between number 1 and number 5?  
93 R - No not so sneaker orientated.  
94 I - If we look now at 1, 2, 5 and 4 if there are jeans worn here would  
95 R - Okay, with number 1 I would say he would probably be -at this point in time would be wearing, he would be wearing a slightly baggier jean, a slightly more sloppy...  
96 I - Okay.  
97 R - And in terms of ..  
98 I - What lifestyle does that fit with?  
99 R - That is really a streetwear skateboard lifestyling, extreme sports  
100 I - Right  
101 R - Like a sloppy/smart if you know what I mean..  
102 I - Right, right  
103 R - They look sloppy but they actually when they put it together its a lot of work in actually putting the look together....  
104 I - What are there musical interests?  
105 R - Um, very much what is, I would say they are potentially more slightly alternative but very much into rave culture type music um - probably not - probably wouldn't follow your very commercial like um, what do you call them - Spice Girls? you know like that type of thing  
106 I - Not so mainstream?  
107 R - Not so mainstream young orientated. They probably, they probably quite individual in their tastes as regards music but definitely rave type children.  
108 I - Okay  
109 R - And number 5, they would obviously wear I think they would wear a more classic fitting regular fitting jean which would probably be, um, definitely be branded, this jacket I would see like in 2 lifestyles, I would see it as a black lifestyle where it would probably have a black person wearing it, in which case they probably wouldn't wear Levis, they would probably wear one of the Versace or Kappas or one of those that would be slightly wider....  
110 I - Like a sweatpant?  
111 R - No a a jean.  
112 I - A jean, okay.  
113 R - I'm looking at jeans lifestyles here, what they would wear  
114 I - Okay fine.  
115 R - And if it was a I would say if it was a preppy more classic white person, possibly they would be they would wear Levi's, with possibly the jacket would be their statement or they wouldn't mind actually just wearing a um a normal regular fitting jean, maybe unbranded.  
116 I - What I'm noticing you saying is that different people wearing the same jacket will put it together differently.  
117 R - Mmm definitely.  
118 I - Okay, lets bring number 6 in.  
119 R - Okay, that is a velour V necked top with retro striping down the sleeves, its a slightly slimmer fitting garment with a high V contrast um velour detail.

120 I - Did you call that retro stripe?  
121 R - Ja, retro stripe.  
122 I - Okay, what is the significance of retro stripe?  
123 R - Well a lot of the fashion, well the younger fashion introduced now is influenced strongly by the 50's and early 60's culture.  
124 I - Okay  
125 R - And a lot of that time was the racing stripes down the sleeves and tape detailing onto garments which made um influenced the which was, which caused that influence, um in terms of art in terms of architecture and this type of thing it it, people relate to it as a as something that came from that era, and it has worked very well.  
126 I - Okay.  
127 R - Um, It's definitely a younger garment.  
128 I - Okay  
129 R - Worn with, really a jeanswear related garment or, or I would say a jeanswear related garment during the day and when you go into evening type activities definitely clubbing and rave type thing..  
130 I - Okay  
131 R - Where it could either be worn with nylon pants or rave type rubberised pants or nylon rubberised pants that sort of feel.  
132 I - Okay, so there is a difference in the image here between 6 and the others that we have talked about?  
133 R - Um, I think 1 and 6 could quite possibly be the same person, but he would be wearing it at different times and for different effects, like number 1 he might be wearing it during probably wearing 1 during the day with his baggy jeans and street sneakers and he might go out in the evening to a party or a rave in which he may wear the same jeans but he would wear the slightly more ravey top as an over shirt.  
134 I - That would be 6?  
135 R - Ja.  
136 I - Okay so 6 has some night time connotations as opposed to 1?  
137 R - Ja, I would say, I would say in the main it would probably be worn as the going out item but it would have a crossover to daytime where for example if the guy wore a white t-shirt hanging tied around his waist as a colder during the day sort of garment.  
138 I - Okay. Right.  
139 R - Really as a sweater sort of.  
140 I - Your saying so 6 and 1 are quite different from 2, 5 and 4  
141 R - Ja, definitely  
142 I - There is a split there between the kind of guy. Lets ring in 7 and 9. Okay - 7 is 100% polyester - okay - so its a completely synthetic fabric, not a natural cotton knit type fabric and 9 is a fleece.  
143 R - What would you like me to comment on those?  
144 I - Okay  
145 R - Would you like me to comment on what the end use it?  
146 I - First of all, what is number 7? How would you describe it?  
147 R -As a quarter zipped lacoste sweatshirt with um panel inset detail and branded logo on left chest.  
148 I - Okay  
149 R- Um  
150 I - Is there any particular fashion scene that it reminds you of?  
151 R - Its, its colour blocking and um this thing was very much part of sort of early fashion innovation also in the 50's and 60's, where a lot more was put into the garment in terms of the styling and tended to be slightly more overstyled and very distinguished, in the look um

Continued/...



Interview: Retail Buying Manager 'E' cont'd

152 I - Okay.  
153 R - This, I'd say this particular garment would really relate.  
154 I - This is number 7 we are talking about?  
155 R - Yes, number 7 would relate very much sort of to number 6 in many ways in terms of its end use.  
156 I - Okay and the kind of person..  
157 R - Ja, um probably worn a little bit more daytime-ish that what number 6 would be but it is still would be as a, as a fairly trendy, fairly now type garment would be worn..  
158 I - And the groups of people is there a wider appeal than for 6 or less?  
159 R - Definitely I would say there would be a wider appeal than for 6, I would say 6 would be slightly more fringe .  
160 I - Okay  
161 R - To the more astute fashion person or the person who wanted to make a little more of a statement, with the fact that the fabric is a little more risque than number 7 would be, and quite a lot bolder than what 7 would be.  
162 I - Do you think that there is in consumers, any particular consideration about masculinity, what would any of the garments in front of you be a challenge to masculinity? Or would any of them perhaps accentuate or confirm masculinity here?  
163 R - I think, for your younger-or your younger group I don't think 6 and 7 would be a problem, 6 may be a problem in terms of that, in terms of the fact that velour is, velvet is a fabric that has been associated with feminine dressing with women's dressing.  
164 I - Okay, and the silhouette, fitting tight to the body? Does that have any connotations?  
165 R - I don't think that has any effect on whether its masculine or not because I mean especially in this day and age when people become body conscious they do want to show off, to show off their muscles as much as women who want to show off their curves.  
166 I - Right  
167 R - What did you want did you ask in terms of are they young?  
168 I - Ja well maybe lets just talk now about 9 and 7 because we've discussed 6, 5, 1, 2 and 4 quite a lot. 9, who's the guy that wears 9 ? Is he different to the other guys or how would you describe, first of all lets talk about what 9 is?  
169 R - Okay, 9 is a polo T - overshirt, which is um with 1/2 zip detailing um contrast panel insets, silver tape detail very much an activewear type garment  
170 I - Right.  
171 R - Um a fairly versatile um overshirt, I would say it really would be worn only during your um fairly versatile garment in terms of it very much being a wintery type garment.  
172 I - Okay.  
173 R - This would be worn very much a jeanswear related garment as well.  
174 I - Okay what sort of shoes ?  
175 R - He would probably be more an activewear type shoe guy who would, he may wear jeans but he would wear them together with say Nike and Reebok cross trainers, that type of look.  
176 I - Okay.  
177 R - I would say slightly older guy but very much a guy who would say work in an office on a weekend uh work in an office during the week and have to wear fairly smart formal trousers and suits and then on the weekend he would want to be a bit of a schloomp and he can wear like a jean- jeanswear related garments with that type of overshirt.

I'd say he's probably a little bit older in terms of what um 6, 1 and 7 would be, he's slightly less fashion conscious and although the garments does make a little bit of a statement its not very risky in terms of what people might think, its fairly basic.  
178 I - Right, so you're not stepping out there with a big personal statement?  
179 R - No you're not.  
180 I - Okay.  
181 R - Most people say its quite nice, that is about it.  
182 I - Okay, great. Number 8 is a wax jacket from Woolworths with a checked lining. Okay? Perhaps one might describe it as a parka, has it got any other description? What did you call it?  
183 R - A Barbour jacket.  
184 I - A Barbour jacket right right absolutely.  
185 R - Very much a versatile jacket. Its origin come sort of from English hunting where it was versatile in terms of the fact that it has warmth and yet being a waxed jacket the dirt doesn't stick to it so its easy to clean.  
186 I - Okay, those connotations of English uh leisure sporting life in the countryside, how do you think does that distinguish the consumer, does the consumer understand that about the jacket?  
187 R - mm, I think in the South African context maybe not quite as much. I'd say in the English environment it obviously - its a bit of association with elite sports like polo and that type of thing. It does give a - people wearing them do get a feeling of affluence. In this country it would probably I think it would probably be worn as a very contemporary garment for your middle to older age consumer because of its versatility and warmth.  
188 I - Right.  
189 R - Um but its also obviously very much a casualwear garment and therefore, would be jeanswear related um crossover with um cotton trousers.  
190 I - Right  
191 R - Probably worn very much as a high winter warmth garment.  
192 I - Okay. Do you think there's anything particularly yuppie about number 8?  
193 R - MNnn it does give a yuppie um connotation and I think it will be specifically worn as a as a in its simplicity I think it will be worn as a trendy type garment.  
194 I - Okay  
195 R - With a nice argyle type jersey underneath in high winter.  
196 I - Right. Because that is a very traditional classic look.  
197 R - That's very much a classic, classic type guy.  
198 I - Okay, and do you feel that that is well understood or have I asked the question before? Is that understood across the board is it actually understood in pockets of consumers rather?

Continued/...

**Interview: Retail Buying Manager 'E' cont'd**

199 R - I would say.. I would say it is understood in pockets of consumers. But I think it, the product itself because of its versatility and its warmth will probably appeal to people who didn't understand it.

200 I - Okay, so because its so basic it can transcend the particular meanings that it has for some people, because its so basic it will then appeal to others even if though the meaning doesn't come through.

201 R - Definitely.

202 I - Okay, lets go to number 3, going great guns here. Number 3 is a probably regenerated wool tweed, it is pulled in at the bottom, um how would you describe that silhouette?

203 R - I would say its still a bomber silhouette with a constructed waistband at the bottom um very much a preppy type jacket um very simple in styling with the 2 flap pockets on the front. Um with a normal collar.

204 I - Right.

205 R -Um, the guy the guy that wears this will probably be most definitely be an older consumer.

206 I - Okay.

207 R - Definitely, an older more classic look.

208 I - And, therefore, more conservative?

209 R- Um, more conservative probably wouldn't be worn with denims probably very much a classic trouser type jacket.

210 I - Right. shoes?

211 R -Um, shoes are definitely more formal, formal type leather shoes like Crockett and Jones or I - Brogues? ja.

212 R - Brogues that type of ..

213 I - Loafers?

214 R - Loafers, that type of shoes um

215 I - Okay, well chosen socks?

216 R - Well chosen socks ja.

217 I - Okay, alright so, going back now lets compare another 3 jackets. Lets take out number 5, number 3 and number 8 and if we could perhaps just see if there are any distinctions here between the images. If we describe the images of the 3 guys wearing these?

218 R - Okay. Number 8 definitely your casual English lifestyle outdoor type jacket. Which could very much a jeanswear related lifestyle and fairly preppy. Number 3 would definitely be your older type guy um probably not the same guy as number 8 he would wear it as a smarter for of look, either as a jacket that he would wear over a formal shirt to work or on the weekends with smart trousers and smart shoes. Number 5 is um more classic customer that probably crosses over to between 8 and 3 um he's a in the middle of the two. Um I don't think that the person who wears 8 may wear number 5 as evening type garment but he wouldn't wear that as a daytime, daytime garment.

219 I - Okay so it has those distinctions in terms of the time worn and also the person, is there any top out of the whole lot on the table which you feel is most challenging to accepted social norms?

220 R - Ja number 6.

221 I - Number 6 far and away. Which is the most conservative, conformist top here?

222 R - You mean the one that appeals to the broadest lifestyle?

223 I - Right, absolutely, the one that doesn't want to stand out in the crowd.

224 R - Um it would - I'd say between number 4 - 4 would probably be your, your number one and number 1, but not necessarily orange but um in another colourway which it was done - which was like a beige and then

your standard shades, navy, black and beige.

225 I - Right, those more standard shades are they well accepted across your.

226 R - Definitely,

227 I - okay

228 R - By a huge margin. And I think what makes them - makes them popular is that they are not - they are fairly plain in their styling but they are quite distinct as well.

229 I - Okay , so we have said then mass appeal? 1 and ?

230 R - 1 and 4.

231 I - 1 and 4, right

232 R - Um, then I'd say number 9

233 I - Okay, now of all of them, I think you'd agree then if we say then, that the person whose the most particular group - in other words, the smallest group - membership is number 6?

234 R - 6 and 7.

235 I - Okay, right - and we've said the oldest is number 3?

236 R - Definitely.

237 I - And the second eldest then to number 3?

238 R - Would be 5 and 8.

239 I - Okay, the person whose most interested in image here?

240 R - Most interested in image

241 I - Or, perhaps not only one, which of the jackets are more image conscious consumers? Tops or jacket?

242 R - Uh. I would say -um the three that I would pick would be 5, 8 and 6 and I think to put them in a particular order in terms of image um -

243 I - Okay, 8 and 5 and 6 are people who are understanding the effect that they are having on most of the people in terms of how they're perceived -

244 R - I'd probably say 5 and then 8 and then I'd say 6.

245 I - Okay Sean, thanks very much that's great.

246 I - Sean if you'd comment on the selection of garments that I've chosen to identify different aspects of fashion - contemporary fashion now -is there something that you think is missing?

247 R - Um, just, well just from my head it doesn't really look like there is, you've really got a - you've really got the broad spectrum -um from the youngest consumer - junior lifestyle right up to your, to your older more classic customer.

248 I - Okay.

249 R - I think on the whole you really have, you've encompassed all those lifestyles.

250 I - Okay in as much as you can in nine or ten garments.

251 R - Exactly.

252 I - Ja, because the research becomes very unwieldy when you've got fifteen garments or twenty garments.

253 R - Ja, definitely.

254 I - Thanks Sean.

RECORDING MACHINE SWITCHED OFF.

Interview: Retail Buying Manager 'J'  
Interviewer: P. Kethro  
5<sup>th</sup> August 1997  
Johannesburg

Text in **bold type** shows Retailer comments on the garment sample.

Text units **118 / 278 - 284 in Italics** show Garment 4 which was discarded from the garment sample.

1  
2 I - In the research I am going to ask you just to give a straightforward  
description of a garment, any garment that you choose and then we will talk  
about associations with that garment. Any particular one that catches your  
eye? R - Probably No 9.  
3 I - Okay.  
4 R - What's it? I would say it's an active wear garment. I - Okay.  
5 R - I imagine most people would wear it with track bottoms.  
6 I - Right.  
7 R - Because they see it more as an active wear garment.  
8 I - Okay. It's a sort of fleece.  
9 R - Ja, fleece I think - ja, people would either wear it with tracksuits.  
10 I - Right.  
11 R - Or denim jeans.  
12 I - Or jeans. And what sort of shoes because shoes are quite telling in  
terms of who ... (intervention)  
13 R - Probably sneakers.  
14 I - Sneakers?  
15 R - Sneakers - and not necessarily someone who is active.  
16 I - Right. Okay, so it's an active fashion statement rather than a real  
active wear item.  
17 R - Sure.  
18 I - What's a sneaker exactly?  
19 R - A sneaker?  
20 I - Is it different to a trainer?  
21 R - It's an athletic type shoe.  
22 I - Athletic?  
23 R - Athletic type shoe, ja.  
24 I - Okay, so would a trainer be included in a sneaker? R - Yes, yes.  
25 I - Okay, great. In terms of fashionability - what's on the table - is it  
more general in appeal? Would you say so?  
26 R - Ja, I would say this is very much mass market.  
27 I - Okay.  
28 R - It's not too fashionable, but it's not too plain.  
29 I - Middle of the road?  
30 R - Ja.  
31 I - Okay, it's going to have a broad appeal. So would you then say that the  
guy wearing that was not making a large personal statement?  
32 R - No.  
33 I - Right. I think it's generally someone that disappears into the crowd.  
34 I - Okay, right. Then is there anything on the table that makes more of a  
statement, that's a little bit more provocative?  
35 R - I'd say No 7.

36 I - Okay. Now can we describe 7?  
37 R - All right, No 7 I'd say is a sweat top. It's obviously a knitted fabric.  
38 I - It's 100% polyester. So it's like that soccer jersey fabric but it's not  
so shiny.  
39 R - Oh. All right. Well it's a casual wear top. It's a very young garment.  
40 I - Right.  
41 R - I would say it is the age of like 25.  
42 I - Okay.  
43 R - I think this would either be worn with clam-diggers or with denim jeans.  
44 I - What are clam-diggers?  
45 R - Clam-diggers are those very long shorts. The long baggy shorts.  
46 I - Okay, right.  
47 R - Obviously a young person - a clubber type of person and a lot more  
fashionable.  
48 I - Okay. Much more so than No 9.  
49 R - Ja.  
50 I - Right. Any other association with it in terms of a fashion theme  
derivation? Does it remind you of anything? R - Sorry, what sort of theme  
are you looking for?  
51 I - I had an association of motor sport. Do you?  
52 R - No.  
53 I - Not really?  
54 R - I don't associate it with any sport. I think it's purely a leisure wear  
garment.  
55 I - It's just a leisure wear garment. It doesn't have a particular theme.  
56 R - No.  
57 I - Like you could say that's a football jersey or that's a golfer or  
whatever. Nothing like that.  
58 R - No.  
59 I - All right. So we more or less talked about - it's a younger garment you  
said, than No 9.  
60 R - Right.  
61 I - More circumscribed in its appeal.  
62 R - Mmm.  
63 I - Any particular kind of lifestyle, leisure activity that you think of  
there?  
64 R - I think the person who wears this would be a gym goer.  
65 I - Right.  
66 R - Somebody who does look after the way they look.  
67 I - Right.  
68 R - Probably gym and running I would say.  
69 I - So it's going to be a body conscious person.  
70 R - Yes.

Continued/...

## Depth Interview Retail Buying Manager 'J'

71 I - Okay, as a sportsman.  
72 R - I think also due to the fabric.  
73 I - Right.  
74 R - I don't think people who are out of shape would wear that sort of garment.  
75 I - Right.  
76 R - Or they shouldn't.  
77 I - Absolutely. Anything else on the table while we are in that area?  
78 R - Okay, now No 6 to me is again I think even more fashionable than No 7. But to me this is a soccer look.  
79 I - Right.  
80 R - I imagine the person who wears this would go to soccer or have a very keen interest in the sport, if not play it themselves  
81 I - Right. How about the fit? The fit is a little bit closer to the body.  
82 R - Correct.  
83 I - Than No 7.  
84 R - Correct. I think again the same thing, being a sportsman, I think it would naturally have the more athletic body.  
85 I - Okay.  
86 R - This to me is a far more active garment than No 7.  
87 I - Right. And also higher in fashionability.  
88 R - Yes.  
89 I - You see it as being able to be worn day and night. R - Yes, absolutely.  
90 I - Okay. It's in velour.  
91 R - Right.  
92 I - Is there any threat to some consumers, it being in velour?  
93 R - I don't think the average South African male would wear it. I think they find it too feminine.  
94 I - Okay.  
95 R - I think the really ... (intervention)  
96 I - And that's a fabrication problem.  
97 R - Fabrication. I think the really fashionable man would wear it.  
98 I - Right.  
99 R - But again it's a very young age. I think No 7 would appeal to an older person, compared to No 6. I think that's a far smaller range of ages that would wear that.  
100 I - And the colour of 6?  
101 R - I don't have a problem with it. It's obviously for a bolder person.  
102 I - It's not a feminine colour?  
103 R - No, I don't think so.  
104 I - Okay.  
105 R - But I don't think the person who wears No 9 would ... (intervention)  
106 I - Would wear No 6?  
107 R - I think it makes too much of a statement.  
108 I - So out of 6, 7 and 9, which is the oldest look?  
109 R - The oldest one, No 9.  
110 I - Okay, great. All right, going into the heavier jackets now, let's talk about youth versus age in the other jackets. What's the youngest jacket here?  
111 R - Are you including No 1 as a jacket?  
112 I - Yes, if you do.  
113 R - Ja.  
114 I - How would you describe it?  
115 R - To me that's more an overshirt.  
116 I - It's an overshirt, okay.

## Depth Interview Retail Buying Manager 'J'

117 R - Okay, well doing that I would say No 1 is the youngest. And the oldest No 8 - I think it's the oldest.  
118 R - No 4 has not come out very well in the photograph. It's supposed to be a trucker like that Levi trucker with the panel lines that come down to the waist and the flaps, but it's - you can't really see there. I would say No 4 could be younger if they used like contrast panels.  
119 I - Right.  
120 R - Or that reflective tape like on No 9.  
121 I - Right. Which one have you got there? No 8 is a Wax jacket with a lining. Is there any national origin or sense of derivation in terms of . . .  
122 R - Fabric-wise?  
123 I - Ja. Or shape-wise.  
124 R - To me either the northern part of North America or Northern England.  
125 I - Okay.  
126 R - Probably Scotland, Ireland, that sort of thing.  
127 I - Any other garments have that?  
128 R - A national identity?  
129 I - A national identity.  
130 R - I would say definitely No 2 is American.  
131 I - Okay.  
132 R - That to me is very strong baseball field.  
133 I - Right. Going back to No 1 which you said was like an overshirt - do you think it's a shirt and a jacket at the same time, or was it just an overshirt?  
134 R - I know that retailers generally are marketing it as a combined garment.  
135 I - Right.  
136 R - To me it's purely an overshirt.  
137 I - Okay.  
138 R - I couldn't imagine wearing it as a jacket.  
139 I - Okay. So how does it diverge from a normal shirt that is worn straight next to the body?  
140 R - Really just the zip closure.  
141 I - Okay.  
142 R - Say a button closure you would wear against the body. The zip you wouldn't.  
143 I - Colour-wise? How do you feel about it in terms of what type of consumer? The social identity of that consumer? Are they conforming or are they differentiating themselves?  
144 R - I'd say they are conforming to fashion.  
145 I - Conforming to fashion.  
146 R - Ja.  
147 I - Therefore differentiating themselves from maybe the mass.  
148 R - Correct.  
149 I - Okay.  
150 I - Recreational activities with that guy?  
151 R - I'd say probably spends a lot of time outdoors but not necessarily in sports.  
152 I - Right.  
153 R - I think walks, taking dogs for walks that sort of thing. What else?  
154 I - So it's got a sort of laid-back leisure connotation. R- Yes, very much so.  
155 I - As opposed to, let's say, 6 and 7, is that much more of an aggressive, active, energetic, dynamic connotation there?

Continued/...

156 R - Yes.  
157 I - Great, great. Going back to 2 and 4, is there a difference now in the image of the style consciousness of the guy wearing those?  
158 R - I would say No 2 is probably an easier garment.  
159 I - Okay.  
160 R - I think the average man in the street, if he walks into a store and sees those two garments hanging side by side, he would go for No 2 initially.  
161 I - Right.  
162 R - I think probably because it's been around for - that look has been around for a long time.  
163 I - So it's unthreatening.  
164 R - Mmm.  
165 - Do you think when I use the word unthreatening - is that what it is? Do you think that consumers refer not to stick out from the crowd? Some of them?  
166 R - I think generally they prefer not to.  
167 I - Okay.  
168 R - I think consumers are looking for something different. They would like something different but I don't think necessarily bold.  
169 I - So they want to make a compromise between wearing what they wore last year and standing out.  
170 R - Mmm.  
171 I - They want to be somewhere in the middle ground between the two.  
172 R - Correct.  
173 I - Okay, so how is No 5 from that point of view? Is that a different consumer? That's actually leatherette, not leather.  
174 R - Right, okay. I think a lot of people may be threatened by it in that it's got that biker connotation to it.  
175 I - Right. Okay.  
176 R - But a lot of the markets wear leather without any fear of connotation so ...  
177 I - So it's becoming more acceptable across the board.  
178 R - Mmm. Ja, it probably is.  
179 I - Because there was a connotation of biker, James Dean rebel kind of thing, but we have discussed this and maybe it's sort of becoming much more accepted and that rebel connotation is falling away What do you think?  
180 R - I think also it depends what you wear it with.  
181 I - Okay.  
182 R - You know someone looking for that James Dean look would obviously do a white T-shirt and jeans.  
183 I - Right.  
184 R - Whereas I think middle South Africa would probably wear it with chinos or corduroys.  
185 I - Which then completely changes the meaning of it.  
186 R - Correct.  
187 I - Ja. Because if it's worn with chinos or corduroys and a shoe, what shoe would it be there then?  
188 R - Probably Hush Puppies.  
189 I - Hush Puppies, ja. That's very different to wearing it with a square-toed boot.  
190 R - Absolutely.  
191 I - So if it were the James Dean type look, how would it be put together in terms of the bottoms and the footwear? A white T-shirt?  
192 R - James Dean definitely would be very weathered jeans.  
193 I - Right.

194 R - White T-shirt. I imagine at the moment they would probably wear it with something like Caterpillars.  
195 I - Okay, ja. That's become the trendy footwear for that area. So if we then put together the outfit for the guy wearing No 2, what are the bottom possibilities there?  
196 R - All right, there I think he would wear denims.  
197 I - Okay.  
198 R - But less worn denims.  
199 I - Right.  
200 R - I think it would be someone who is more - how can I say? Cleaner in their appearance.  
201 I - Right. So more neat and tidy and orderly  
202 R - Correct.  
203 I - Okay. Would there be any difference in the denim silhouette between 5 and 2?  
204 R - I think No 5 would be very slim-fit denims.  
205 I - Okay.  
206 R - No 2 would be regular.  
207 I - And you associate a slim fit denim with a more fashionable  
208 R - Either very slim denims or very baggy denims. Regular fit is  
209 I - Is middle of the road.  
210 R - Middle of the road, ja.  
211 I - It doesn't really fall into a fashion category? If we go to 1, how do you see the bottom there?  
212 R - I'd say either or most likely - I would wear it with like a canvas trouser.  
213 I - Okay. Shoes?  
214 R - I can't imagine anything - either canvas trouser or possibly black denim.  
215 I - Okay. Right. And burnt orange as a colour? Is it acceptable?  
216 R - Well look it's very fashionable at the moment.  
217 I - Ja, so that means it would distinguish the person as someone making more of a personal statement.  
218 R - Yes and no. I think when the orange originally came out, it was a much brighter orange. This has already moved more towards the burnt orange, which I think is more commercial, you know being part of like the autumn tones.  
219 I - Right.  
220 R - So while it is fashionable, it's not over the top fashionable.  
221 I - No 3, regenerated wool tweed.  
222 R - Right.  
223 I - What would you call that?  
224 R - That's a blouson jacket.  
225 I - Blouson, okay.  
226 R - That, to my mind, is really very much a black market garment.  
227 I - Okay.  
228 R - And it's worn casually and more formally.  
229 I - If it's worn formally how would it be put together in the bottoms and the footwear?  
230 R - You very often find matching trousers.  
231 I - Okay, ... in a suiting or a tweed?  
232 R - Yes. I know I sell them as - well they are separate ticket items but they are bought as suits.

Continued/...



## Depth Interview Retail Buying Manager 'J'

233 I - Okay.  
234 R - And they wear them with ties, without ties.  
235 I - Right.  
236 R - And normally a formal shoe.  
237 I - Okay, like a brogue.  
238 R - Ja, a brogue or those shiny leather slip-ons.  
239 I - Okay. So those are also called loafers.  
240 R - Loafers.  
241 I - Ja, right. So if we compare them 3 and 8.  
242 R - Mmm.  
243 I - The guy wearing them.  
244 R - Okay.  
245 I - Are there ethnic differences there?  
246 R - I would say for the greater part - I would say No 3 is black market, No 8 is white market.  
247 R - Okay.  
248 R - But that's not - I'd say that's probably true 80% of the time. I - Right.  
249 R - I think you will have that 20% cross-over.  
250 I - Right. So not completely true.  
251 R - Sure.  
252 I - No 8 - is that an older or a younger garment? I think you mentioned earlier.  
253 R - It's an older garment but I don't - I think No 3 - let me put it this way - I think really the garments themselves are not that much about age but lifestyle.  
254 I - Okay, right.  
255 R - I think both of them are more prone to be worn by older people.  
256 I - Okay.  
257 R - But I would say it's more true to say by more conservative people.  
258 I - Right. So not so much - older, conservative.  
259 R - Right.  
260 I - So you are going to get younger people who are conservative too.  
261 R - Correct.  
262 I - Right.  
263 R - No 8 I would see as a far more relaxed person.  
264 I - Okay.  
265 R - Not really following fashion as such. No 3 I think is - certainly in the black market like a sharper type dresser. You know somebody who doesn't wear denim jeans.  
266 I - Right. Who would consider that sloppy.  
267 R - Ja. I think No 3 would always be smart casual, as No 8 would certainly wear jeans.  
268 I - Okay. Right, in terms of masculinity, is there any garment here that is a challenge to the more conservative idea of masculinity here?  
269 R - I'd say it would be No 6.  
270 I - Okay.  
271 R - No 7 borderline but I think definitely No 6.  
272 I - And no other one?  
273 R - No. No, I don't think so, no.  
274 I - And guys who are concerned that their image should be masculine would go for which of these jackets?  
275 R - Who are going for a masculine image?  
276 I - Ja, who definitely want to say, "I am macho, male."  
277 R - I would say No 2.  
278 R - And it's worn casually and more formally.

229 I - If it's worn formally how would it be put together in the bottoms and the footwear?  
230 R - You very often find matching trousers.  
231 I - Okay, ... in a suiting or a tweed?  
232 R - Yes. I know I sell them as - well they are separate ticket items but they are bought as suits.  
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248 R - But that's not - I'd say that's probably true 80% of the time. I - Right.  
249 R - I think you will have that 20% cross-over.  
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251 R - Sure.  
252 I - No 8 - is that an older or a younger garment? I think you mentioned earlier.  
253 R - It's an older garment but I don't - I think No 3 - let me put it this way - I think really the garments themselves are not that much about age but lifestyle.  
254 I - Okay, right.  
255 R - I think both of them are more prone to be worn by older people.  
256 I - Okay.  
257 R - But I would say it's more true to say by more conservative people.  
258 I - Right. So not so much - older, conservative.  
259 R - Right.  
260 I - So you are going to get younger people who are conservative too.  
261 R - Correct.  
262 I - Right.  
263 R - No 8 I would see as a far more relaxed person.  
264 I - Okay.  
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269 R - I'd say it would be No 6.  
270 I - Okay.  
271 R - No 7 borderline but I think definitely No 6.  
272 I - And no other one?

Continued/...

## Depth Interview Retail Buying Manager 'J'

273 R - No. No, I don't think so, no.  
274 I - And guys who are concerned that their image should be masculine would go for which of these jackets?  
275 R - Who are going for a masculine image?  
276 I - Ja, who definitely want to say, "I am macho, male."  
277 R - I would say No 2.  
278 I - No 2, okay. Right. No 4 - did we discuss the social identity of that or did we say it was across the board?  
279 R - No, we haven't really discussed this one. No, I would say that's across the board.  
280 I - Okay.  
281 R - I don't think it's black nor white. I think it's probably a person who is fashion conscious but doesn't follow fashion.  
282 I - Again what you mentioned a bit earlier - wanting to make a particular statement but not to stand out.  
283 R - Mmm. This to me is very much a Hilton Wiener type garment.  
284 I - Oh right. And do you associate Hilton Wiener with yuppie or not?  
285 R - Yes, more classic. Slightly fashionable but not too bold.  
286 I - Okay.  
287 R - And clean.  
288 I - Is there a difference in any of these jackets between English and Afrikaans-speaking consumers?  
289 R - Yes. The No 8 is Afrikaans.  
290 I - Okay.  
291 R - And No 4 is English.  
292 I - Right. And No 5 both, or possibly less?  
293 R - I would say less English, more Afrikaans.  
294 I - Oh really?  
295 R - Mmm.  
296 I - Okay, I think we have more or less done it. What I would maybe like to ask you, in terms of trying to find different lifestyles or leisure connotations here, what have I left out? You know just give yourself time if you would like to think about what I might perhaps have put in. I have chosen nine garments. In the research there was a problem of having too many. If there are 15 it becomes very unwieldy. If there are too few, there is not enough comparison. Is there a jacket, any shape, any top that you think should be here?  
297 R - Probably what you are missing is a plain track top.  
298 I - Just a plain track top.  
299 R - Absolutely plain track top.  
300 I - Not like No 9, just completely plain?  
301 R - No, completely plain. You know you get them zipped through or quarter zip with a hood on the back. A very basic type garment.  
302 I - And who does that appeal to? (Pause) Is it huger than any jacket on the table?  
303 R - Yes, I would say.  
304 I - Okay, so that's the basic of all basics here.

305 R - Ja.  
306 I - And so it supersedes No 2 in terms of wide appeal.  
307 R - Yes.  
308 I - Okay.  
309 R - You know I think you will get youngsters who wear it to gym, but it becomes like one of those old friend garments. You know you just end up wearing it all the time. Fathers wear it, English, Afrikaans, black, white.  
310 I - Ja.  
311 R - You know whether you are 20 or 60.  
312 I - Right.  
313 R - A huge spectrum of people there.  
314 I - Everybody. Is there any retro influence anywhere here on the table? Nostalgia?  
315 R - That one (points to no 5)  
316 I - Okay.  
317 R - That's to me is quite retro. And possibly No 4, although not really.  
318 I - Less so.  
319 R - It's probably an updated retro look.  
320 I - Ja, okay. In terms of the upwardly mobile people, is there any garment here that gives you an association of upwardly mobile? R - It's really just No 4.  
321 I - Okay. Anybody who is interested in achievement? Achievement is really a workplace thing, but sometimes in our casual life, in our leisure life, we can represent that we are high achievers.  
322 R - Mmm.  
323 I - Is there a garment that could do that and is it on the table?  
324 R - The only one again to me is No 8.  
325 I - Right.  
326 R - Although this to me is someone who has achieved.  
327 I - Okay. So they are not needing to flaunt it that much.  
328 R - No. You know this to me I see is a company CEO who has got a trout farm.  
329 I - Right.  
330 R - That sort of image. And I don't think it's a youngster who is looking to achieve. I think someone who has made it or who is comfortable already.  
331 I - So then that would also - I don't want to actually say so but if we look at the idea of cosmopolitan - somebody who has travelled, who is aware of other cultures and other social structures - any jacket on the table or garment which you feel conveys that? If not, just say so but..  
332 R - No.  
333 I - Okay, I think that's about it then.  
334 RECORDING MACHINE SWITCHED OFF

**Interview: Marketing Director 'K'**

**Interviewer: P. Kethro**

**4<sup>th</sup> September 1997**

**Durban**

Text **in bold type** shows comments on the garment sample.

1  
2 I - If you don't mind, just mention - if you talk about any garment -the  
number that it is for the tape.  
3 R - Okay. Well we will look at the first three here - 1,2 and 4.  
4 I - Okay.  
5 R - I am not quite sure if you want to know which market they are in.  
6 I - Any association that you have in terms of the kind of consumer, the  
lifestyle, anything that comes to mind.  
7 R - Okay, No 1 is a corduroy jacket with a zip front which is obviously aimed  
at the young man's fashion, purely because of its colour, first of all. That  
colour would never be used in an older age group. I would say from six to 24  
maybe. It's sort of mid-market because definitely you can see the corduroy  
is not washed. Not a lot of money has been spent. It could actually come  
from Jet Stores, if you ask me. If that product was, for instance, in an  
Edgars - or this could even be a Mr Price garment.  
8 I - Right.  
9 R - Because it looks too pristine, it's too new - it's supposed to be in that  
whole grunge market.  
10 I - Ja.  
11 R - Which I don't think it is because it's too clean. So I think it's aimed  
at the young man but definitely at the bottom end of the scale.  
12 I - When you say bottom end, how do you mean? What scale?  
13 R - The sort of Mr Price, Jet.  
14 I - Okay.  
15 R - Because if it was at Edgars or even at a boutique, it would be washed and  
it would be a bit more rugged looking.  
16 I - Okay.  
17 R - If I look at the picture, everything is so clean and pristine, there is  
no washing involved whatsoever. So it's aimed at the young man's fashion but  
I don't think it succeeds 100%.  
18 I - Okay.  
19 R - Okay, No 2 is definitely for a more conservative white male, I would say  
- white/coloured I would think. It's sort of based on the sort of whole  
American sort of preppy kind of look. So, ja, I think it's mid-market. I  
won't say A income but definitely B, C income group.  
20 I - Has that garment got a sort of a name that you would call it?  
21 R - Ja, it's sort of a bomber jacket, the sort of baseball/basket-ball kind of  
jacket. If it's a basket-ball it would have had an embroidery. It's got a  
'Hemisphere' so I think that could be Truworths or could be Markhams.  
22 I - And Woolworths?  
23 R - And Woolworths. 'Hemisphere' is actually a Truworths garment then.  
24 I - Okay.  
25 R - They do their own garments. It's a very functional garment. (a) I  
don't think any age group is involved in this, but it's like the kind of guy that  
wants to look like an American rock star. The same sort of jackets they would do  
with Hard Rock Café. So it's a classic. I would consider it a classical jacket.  
26 I - Right.  
27 R - It's a Melton, so mid-price I would say.  
28 I - Right.  
29 R - Am I doing okay with the kind of ... (intervention)

30 I - That's fine, ja.  
31 R - No 4 has missed the boat completely. That is a young man's fashion  
jacket. By the name I know it comes from Jet Stores. So it's aimed at their  
LA Gear which is exclusive to Jet. So they are aiming that at the young  
active area. It's just got too much on it. If it was a trendy jacket, it  
would be a bit more subtle about it.  
32 I - Okay.  
33 R - It's just over the top and done  
34 I - Do you think it's over-detailed?  
35 R - It's over-detailed and I don't think in the retail market this will do  
well at all because the young guys that wear this kind of thing will not be  
seen dead in LA Gear.  
36 I - Really? It's not trendy enough. They are aiming it for the young trendy  
market but it won't work.  
37 R - That's interesting, Alex, because you are saying that LA Gear then as a  
label, the trendoids are not accepting it.  
38 R - Ja, because in young fashion labels get attached to a certain market.  
It's aspirational. LA Gear had its day. It's finished. There was a time in  
South Africa where you could only get LA Gear shoes. Now the shoes are very  
related - or should I say the jacket is related to the shoes because it's the  
kind of shoes that the trendies wear. Today it's LA Gear. Tomorrow it's Air  
Walk, for instance, or Sketchers.  
39 I - Right.  
40 R - So they are doing something with a shoe label and making it a clothing  
label. The two should be very much related so you can't really see the  
jacket as an isolated situation. It has to be seen with shoes because the  
shoes will sell the jacket. And you don't get kids wearing that kind of  
stuff any more with the shoe and the jacket and the jean and all the kind of  
things. So, yes, I think the customer who did this actually aimed at the  
young market ...  
41 I - But missed the boat.  
42 R - Missed the boat and it won't be too expensive because I know it comes  
from Jet, so, ja, the price won't be too high. And kids would rather spend a  
lot of money on the real thing that makes them feel quite exclusive in the  
eyes of - you know peer pressure kind of stuff. So I don't think this will  
make it.

Continued/...

**Interview: Marketing Director 'K' cont'd**

43 I - Okay, good. That's fine. Perfect, going like a train.  
44 R - So shall we do the next three?  
45 I - Ja, why not?  
46 R - No 5, 6 and 7. No 5 is a typical South African leather jacket, worn by everybody, whether they are black, white, whatever. It's quite ageless, in a sense. I don't think it's a fashion jacket. It just doesn't have the appeal of a fashion jacket. So, yes, it's all age group but more conservative, I would say.  
47 I - If that had to be a fashion jacket, how would it be detailed differently?  
48 R - I don't know. It most probably would have like epaulettes - I can't see a little tab slightly sticking up at the bottom.  
49 I - There is actually one at the back but you can't see (intervention)  
50 R - Ja, you can't really see from the photograph. I don't know, the collar looks too conservative.  
51 I - Right.  
52 R - The zip detail needs a bit of work to make it a more fashionable garment. For instance, this jacket overseas would be a banana republic but it would look exactly like the right thing.  
53 I - Does it make any difference to you if I tell you it's leatherette?  
54 R - Ja, well I was sitting here wondering, is it real leather or not.  
55 I - Nothing gets by you, hey?  
56 R - So I was actually thinking ... (intervention)  
57 I - Can you see it's leatherette from the picture?  
58 R - No, not from the picture as such because leather and leatherette photographs quite very similarly. You know you can actually see it. So telling me it's leatherette, I know it's definitely at the end of the scale.  
59 I - Ja. - But, as I said, I wouldn't call it a fashion jacket, purely because of - I don't know - the silhouette is wrong. So that's No 5 - I would think mid-market but aimed at the more conservative person, definitely not the young fashion. Maybe some people in this country would think it's a fashion jacket but they won't succeed. Okay, No 6 is definitely aimed at the young active sportswear. It's aspiring to be a Adidas because of the stripes but now you can't do three stripes. If you do three stripes, then it's Adidas and then they will sue you. So, ja, that's young active sportswear kind of top - soccer, the V-neck, soccer neck jersey. Colour is also an active sportswear colour. So ja.  
60 I - Will the colour influence its fashionability?  
61 R - No, not in this market at all.  
62 I - Okay.  
63 R - In this market, black, white, red, navy, that's what sells when it comes to active. If it was anything else, then red would be a problem but in this case red is an active sportswear top. I mean it could be worn with jeans, it could be worn with like a tracksuit. So it's definitely a younger market.  
64 I - Right.  
65 R - It's not an older market.  
66 I - Okay.  
67 R - Purely for the neck, for instance, and then the stripes - the sort of sporty stripes. Is it in velour?  
68 I - Ja.  
69 R - Okay, now velour tops don't sell at the moment. So whoever bought this for their range is most probably going to sit with lots of them. Because it's not something that will work in South Africa because our winters are not that cold.  
70 I - Right.  
71 R - So ...  
72 I - It was an Edgars top.

73 R - Ja, Joe I would presume or in their Pro-Action shop.  
74 I - Ja, it wasn't actually in Joe but it was sort of merchandise near about there.  
75 R - As I said, it was something that they would have done to actually fit in with the jean lifestyle.  
76 I - Ja.  
77 R - Active sportswear, and then the Joe, which is the young fashion market.  
78 I - Ja.  
79 R - But I don't think they will do well with the velour. It's not a fabric that South African men as such have sort of taken to because it looks a bit feminine, I would think, in the sense. It's not a rugged-looking fabric. If it was in a waffle and those kind of things, they will do well with it. Okay, that's that. No 7, LA Gear again I see, Jet. What they have done here is done an active sportswear top using colour blocking kind of things and I am sure there are reflective labels on this.  
80 I - Mmm.  
81 R - I am sure it's got like reflective labels.  
82 I - That's right, ja.  
83 R - And it's got piping on the side, again also aimed at the young fashion, like jacket No 4, same customer profile, young, fashionable kind of person. I think it will end up more with the older guy than the younger guy.  
84 I - So is there a slight age difference then would you say between 7 and 6 in appeal?  
85 R - 7 and 6 - it aims at exactly the same person but I think 7 is slightly older looking.  
86 I - Okay.  
87 R - The collar - an older person will definitely wear 7 rather than 6. The concealed zip, binding around the neck. It definitely won't appeal to the black market, that I can say because purely by the use of the white in the garment. In the black market - even though Jet is a black market chain - or they are trying to be one - the black customer won't buy it because of the white getting dirty from the distance they have to travel.  
88 I - Right. And 1, 6 and 7?  
89 R - 1, 6 and 7? Ja, I think they aim at the same person.  
90 I - Right.  
91 R - 1, 6, 7 and 4.  
92 I - That is 4, right.  
93 R - Those four are actually aiming at the same market.  
94 I - Right.  
95 R - While 5 and 2 are aiming at the same market. I haven't looked at the others yet but definitely - but 7 I don't think is actually a very successful garment.  
96 I - Okay.  
97 R - But again aiming at the young man's fashion area.  
98 I - Is there any lifestyle connotation?  
99 R - Ja, well this one, I would think they are trying to - the buyer would buy this in the hope that they can sell a track pants with it. So it's like No 6 which is slightly - 6 is a cross-over garment which, as I said, could be worn with jeans, could be worn with like track bottoms and whatever. I think 6 and 7 aims at exactly the same market - and No 9, which I am going to get to, which is definitely an active sportswear kind of look. But 7, I think they would hope to sell to the same person that will buy 6, which they can wear with jeans and those kind things.

Continued/...

Interview: Marketing Director 'K' cont'd

100 I - Right.  
101 R - Okay, that's as much as I can say about 7.  
102 I - No, but that's fine. No problem. Shall we look at the last three?  
103 R ... (inaudible) the lot. No 8 is definitely a Woolworths garment.  
Okay, we are talking about 9, 8 and 3.  
104 I - Right.  
105 R - It most probably is in an oilskin fabrication.  
106 I - Absolutely.  
107 R - Ja, so it's the country gentleman and I think this is aimed at A  
income group, people that aspire to have like a 4 by 4, a little country  
estate, going into the country, those kind of things. And it looks like it's  
got blanket checks in the inside.  
108 I - That's right.  
109 R - Ja, so this will be an expensive garment purely because of the  
fabrication. The oilskin is expensive.  
110 R - Fashion appeal or not fashion appeal?  
111 R - No, it doesn't have a fashion appeal. It's more classical in the  
sense that the person who buys No 8 would buy this and it will serve him  
for many years.  
112 I - Right.  
113 R - So it's not, as the previous ones, for 6 and 7, which would be very  
seasonal.  
114 I - Ja.  
115 R - And dependent on fashion. 5 and 2 and 8 has got more of a classic  
appeal - and No 3 as well.  
116 I - So 8 is different from 6 and 7 in terms of standing apart from the  
crowd or ... (intervention)  
117 R - Absolutely. This is definitely somebody with money, somebody who, I  
think, knows what they would like to wear.  
118 I - Right.  
119 R - They most probably would wear corduroy pants, like two-pleat corduroy  
pants with this, or a chino for instance.  
120 I - If we talk about image consciousness.  
121 R - Ja.  
122 I - Is it imagine conscious or not?  
123 R - Ja, there is - the only way I can say it's the guy that has got a 4 by 4.  
That is the guy that's going to wear this. Because it's money and it's like  
the whole thing of going into the country, so, yes, there is image involved  
in this. In No 8 definitely. You know the whole English country gentleman,  
that's what they are trying to get to.  
124 I - Okay.  
125 R - This is exactly what they want.  
126 I - Right.  
127 R - No 3 is so boring that it's actually frightening.  
128 I - You can say what you like. It doesn't matter. You are anonymous  
here by the way.  
129 R - Well I couldn't care but I mean it's like No 3 is really and truly - it's  
obviously in a tweed fabric.  
130 I - Regenerated tweed.  
131 R - Ja, so I am not quite sure if it's acrylic - or when you say  
regenerated. So it should be acrylic, a synthetic.  
132 I - Ja.  
133 R - So, yes, I would think the kind of person who is buying this thinks he is  
very smart but as a matter of fact I don't think he really would be. It would  
have a black - to me, if I would have a look at it, a black market appeal to  
it because of the coloration.  
134 I - Ja.

135 R - Even though No 8 has got similar sort of petroly kind of colour from the  
photograph, if I had to do this in a range I would aim this at the black  
market.  
136 I - Okay.  
137 R - Not in anything else. So it would be most probably have been bought at  
Sales House, Pages, those kind of things.  
138 I - And would it then be the younger or the older black market? R -  
Definitely the more conservative older black person.  
139 I - Okay.  
140 R - Young people will not be seen dead in something that is  
elasticated at the bottom.  
141 I - Right.  
142 R - And shorter like a bunny jackets, because that's not the shape of the  
younger buyer. No 8 is more like - shape-wise - in a younger market, purely  
because of the length because they would wear baggier things, but purely from  
the styling and the fabrication, it's definitely aimed at a more conservative  
man. No 3 is definitely conservative. It's not young. It sort of aims to be  
slightly smart. And it looks as expensive but when you look at the  
fabrication, by telling me that it's regenerated, it won't be that expensive.  
Okay?  
143 I - If it was a pure wool tweed, it would be.  
144 R - Yes, it would be and then it would be - I think would have a better  
chance in the black market because the black consumer is very price conscious  
in the sense, the more the things cost the more they think the value is. And  
they would like to have a label on it.  
145 I - Ja.  
146 R - This has got no identification. So I might be wrong saying its Sales  
House or those kind of places where it's bought?  
147 I - No it is Sales House absolutely.  
148 R - Ja, they would sell corduroy pants again with an acrylic striped  
T-shirt in Lacoste to go with this one. No 9 has got more in common with No  
6 and 7, as I said before. It's got nothing in common with these garments.  
No 8 and 3 and 5 and 2 - if I have to place them, it's the same customer.  
149 I - Okay.  
150 R - No 9 and 7 have got more in common than anything else. Now active  
sportswear - somehow it's like polar fleece, Union Cape detail, badges, and I  
think ... Tommy Hilfiger should get some royalties here from copying the  
labels to the T. It's one of those funny garments that tried to be  
everything to everybody. It's got a bit of Ralph Lorentz polo range with a  
slider, with a thing and then Tommy. Definitely I don't think this is a  
young man's fashion garment, purely because of -it's got too many elements  
that actually is not cool enough. So I would think that they would aim at  
sort of mid-market with that.  
151 I - Right.  
152 R - Polar fleece, which is slightly younger, but they will get the guy  
who is sick and tired of a basic sweat-shirt and they will sell this  
to him. He will think he is quite cool with the label. The only thing  
that tells me it's not exactly aimed at that market, it's like the  
reflective tape on it, which I don't know an older customer would go  
for. But, yes, I would say 9 and 4 is aiming at the young market but missing  
the boat.  
153 I - How would 9 and 4 both be put together? What bottoms and shoes  
would go there?  
doing the casual wear sort of active sportswear area.

Continued/...



Interview: Marketing Director 'K' cont'd

154 R - Okay, well I think 4 would try and get like brown bull denim jeans and that kind of look. 9 most probably will end up being worn with a jean but more probably with like a tracksuit bottom.

155 I - Okay.

156 R - So it's definitely a casual wear item. So 6, 7 and 9 is actually doing the casual wear sort of active sportswear area.

157 I - If we look at 6, 7 and 9, is there a difference in the sort of shoes that would be worn with that?

158 R - Ja, No 6 will definitely be more Adidas, two stripes kind of thing. 7 - I would think they would end up wearing Cats and they would hope to wear LA Gear but I don't think it would happen to wear LA Gear shoe. 9 will be the Nike Reebok trainer shoes, that type of thing. That will be worn with that.

159 I - And jeans - you mentioned the bottoms for those. Can we just quickly go through what other bottoms and shoes, if there are distinctions between the bottoms and the shoes that you feel ... (intervention)

160 R - 1 will definitely be a Cat shoes kind of things with jeans - big baggy kind of shoes - clumpy shoes - baggy kind of jeans would be worn with it. Because, as I said, No 1 is absolutely that sort of whole grunge kind of look. That's what they are aiming at. I don't know where did you get this from.

161 I - Edgars.

162 R - Edgars - well if it was Edgars - it actually looks more like, as I said, a Jet version or it looks more like a Mr Price version where they wouldn't wash it down. It's very pristine. I mean that will be worn with T-shirts underneath and that kind of stuff. So, ja, I know exactly what the aim towards young man's fashion and you will find it in the sort of Joe department. You won't find it in the sort of like ... Celio department because they won't do shirts and stuff. So it's definitely aimed at the young man's fashion market.

163 I - Okay. And can you just talk about 2? What will it be worn with?

164 R - 2 will be jeans. It will be worn with jeans, T-shirt and again boots. Some people will wear cowboy boots with that because it will be there idea of what the American dream is about.

165 I - Okay, right.

166 R - That's what I think. But they can wear it with sneakers as well. It's that kind of jacket that doesn't make its mind where it wants to fit in.

167 I - Right.

168 R - Purely because it's so pristine. If it was like with different badges and things, it would be more sporty and be - as I said, have either baseball kind of thing or a number which will make it definitely more Ivy League look. Using the 'Hemisphere' it doesn't aim for any particular customer, I don't think. The buyer is most probably thinking it does, but he is playing it safe.

169 I - Right.

170 R - He doesn't want to slot that one and I think he makes money with that one. 4 is definitely sort of like sneakers, sort of like ... (intervention)

171 I - Is there a difference between a sneaker and a trainer?

172 R - Ja, a sneaker like - it's more of a shoe. Like you know you get Sketchers.

173 I - Oh ja.

Interview: Marketing Director 'K' cont'd

174 R - You get those kind of things. That kind of jacket would be worn with most - about everything. I think what they are aiming there is to get the rave culture. Well they have missed it.

175 I - Ja.

176 R - I think they are trying to be a rave jacket.

177 I - Is that because they are too late or because it's wrong for rave?

178 R - No, it's just not the label for rave. I mean if they are going to wear that at a rave, it would have to be a Diesel or a Replay or something far trendy.

179 I - So it's not really the styling, it's the label.

180 R - It's the label that's important. Because by having something LA Gear, it immediately says, "I don't have enough money to shop at Third Base. I can only afford to shop at Jet."

181 I - Right.

182 R - So I think they would have problems. 5 again - I don't know if you want me to go through all the shoes and options and things.

183 I - If you could because you have only got like two to do.

184 R - Ja, so 5 - again the guy is going to wear this with jeans.

185 I - Okay.

186 R - Jeans, T-shirt. He most probably would wear it with a chino but I don't think he would be sophisticated enough to wear it with a chino, purely because leatherette is not the real thing. So he is not that fashion conscious. He doesn't really care whether real or not - real leather. So he is going to wear it with jeans, Nike sneakers, I can just picture it, and a T-shirt. That's what he will wear.

187 I - **Okay, now in selecting these, what I have tried to do is to achieve contrasting lifestyle, contrasting consumers, contrasting feels, but stay within tops, because if I was going for tops, shirts, jackets, there would be too much contrast.**

188 R - Mmm.

189 I - **Would you mind commenting on my selection here? Is there something missing? What might you replace it with? How do you feel about it?**

190 R - **I think your choice is - you have got a good choice between young and older, okay?**

191 I - Right.

192 R - **I also think your choice of different price categories is also interesting. For instance, I am sure No 8 and No 4 would cost virtually the same - similar I would say - purely of the - No 4's work content but No 8's fabrication.**

193 I - Right.

194 R - **Which would make it more expensive. So you have got a balance of - if I have to shuffle these things over, I would see the things relate, then those three work together.**

195 I - Those three being 5, 8 and 3.

196 R - Ja, and then 9, 6 and 7 work together and then 1, 2 and 4.

197 I - Okay.

198 R - 2 could easily be more related to 5, 8 and 3 for me. It's not fashionable. It's aimed at a more conservative and I think an older group. So if I have to group things that I would say as the same age level where they have pitched it, it's 1, 6 and 4.

199 I - Right.

200 R - 9 and 7 - even though 9 and 7 is pitched at the same market, I think 7 aims to a younger person than 9.

201 I - Right.

Continued/...

202 R - So, ja, I don't think you have actually missed anything. You have got the zip thing which is very fashionable - a full zip jacket. Though it's actually considered more a shirt, compared to the rest of the things. It's actually a shirt - they call it like a zip shirt I think. So I don't think it's aimed as a jacket as such. It's purely because of what it is. It's a young grunge looking shirt. So they are supposed to look unkempt in it.

203 I - Ja. -

204 R - Ja, you have done nothing with hoods I see. I won't say you should have ... (inaudible)

205 I - That one has got a hood.

206 R - Oh that one has got a hood, but that to me is not a jacket, it's more a sweat-shirt. No 9.

207 I - Ja.

208 R - So I think 9, 6 and 7 are sweat-shirts opposed to jackets.

209 I - Ja, no, they are.

210 R - The others are very definite ... (intervention)

211 I - I have included some sweat-shirts because I wanted to show a closer to the body silhouette there in No 6.

212 R - Ja. It would have been interesting for me if you chose something like lifestyle merchandise. By that I mean - okay you have used LA Gear, but if you have something with a Nike or a Reebok on, it would be quite interesting for me to know what the response would be because that - it's purely aspirational lifestyle merchandise.

213 I - Yes.

214 R - And it's quite ageless. It doesn't have an age on it.

215 I - I specifically avoided that because the label overcomes the styling so much.

216 R - Ja, because the styling is simple with those garments.

217 I - Ja.

218 R - It's the label that sells it more than anything. With a label like that, it's far easier to sell than any of the garments you are showing me on this table.

219 I - Yes.

220 R - It sells - the name sells it rather than the style.

221 I - Ja, absolutely.

222 R - To me I would have thought that you could put something like a label merchandise.

223 I - Put in some more label merchandise.

224 R - Ja, because in South Africa things have changed. We couldn't have labels for many years. Now we can. We can - and it's actually amazing how South Africa has suddenly become incredibly label conscious.

225 I - Mmm.

226 R - You can have No 1 as a Joe garment and you could have the same style with the embroidery with the Nike or Reebok on and you would sell the Reebok Nike one three to one to that one.

228 I - Ja. So anything else to say? Because I think we are more or less done. I can switch off the tape.

229 R - Ja, I think.

230 RECORDING MACHINE SWITCHED OFF.

**Interview: Retail Buying Manager 'S'**  
**Interviewer: P. Kethro**  
**6<sup>th</sup> August 1997**  
**Johannesburg**

Text **233 -235 in Italics** show Garment 4 which was discarded from the garment sample.

1  
2 I - Matthew, I am going to ask for your associations and your  
descriptions of all of these garments and those will be maybe in your  
professional capacity or just how you feel about it. Because I think  
there can be an enormous difference between the way different people  
see different garments. Okay?  
3 R - Mmm.  
4 I - So if we start with any two or three - you might have placed them  
next to each other or you might like to just pull out any two - and we  
describe them in terms of their basic straightforward description,  
what it is, what kind of animal it is ...  
5 R - Okay. I'll start here with No 5, basically a leather jacket with  
styling - we call it like a garage styling or a James Dean-type  
styling.  
6 I - Okay.  
7 R - I will take the next as No 6. This is a long-sleeved V-neck with  
tape detail down the arms. And then No 7 is a long-sleeved golfer  
with a quarter zip placket. I mean those are professional - those are  
how we describe them in the industry.  
8 I - Okay.  
9 R - I mean for any other person on the street - if I had to buy this  
for myself, I would just call it a long-sleeved golfer.  
10 I - Right. Can we go just with those three and any particular  
associations - you said No 5 was a James Dean-type outfit. What sort  
of guy buys that or what sort of guy wears it and what sort of leisure  
situation?  
11 R - It's more your trendier sort of customer, definitely not our  
customer - Sales House customer. It's more a younger-type affluent  
guy with lots of money that he can afford to buy a leather jacket.  
It's more for going out.  
12 I - And if I told you it's in leatherette, will that make a  
difference?  
It's not real leather, it's imitation.  
13 R - No, I would still say that it's more or less - more the affluent  
type, more fashionable type guy that uses it.  
14 I - Okay.  
15 R - The styling of it is very particular to a certain customer.  
16 I - Right.  
17 R - I would say.  
18 I - Does it have any connection with James Dean?  
19 R - It's just the silhouette, that's basically that whole ...  
(inaudible), the cropped ... (inaudible), the shortness of the body  
and that.  
20 I - Is there any non-conformist connotation to it or do you think  
that's across the board now - not for all customers but it doesn't  
necessarily show that you are a non-conformist or an alternative kind  
of person.

21 R - No, I think it's become - over the years it's become socially  
acceptable. Maybe five years ago it would have been a bit of a  
non-conformist to have a leather or a leatherette jacket that is cut  
in this silhouette, but over the years it's quite ...  
22 I - So you say a Sales House customer won't wear it. Then what's the  
difference between the Sales House customer and the guy that is going to  
wear this?  
23 R - Well the Sales House customer usually goes for a more up-style type  
of jacket.  
24 I - What's an up-style jacket?  
25 R - Up-style jacket, we usually put embroidery on it, or it's got insets.  
We do leather jackets with insets in and more colour vehicle as opposed  
to - you know like combinations of colour, colour blocking and those kind  
of things.  
26 I - Right. So up-style has got a lot more styling details in it. This  
is quite pared down.  
27 R - This is more ... (intervention) Garage style.... almost too clean for  
our customer.  
28 I - To clean, right, that's very interesting. Okay, No 6, associations  
with the kind of guy that's going to wear it? Any particular kind of  
guy?  
29 R - I would say with the tape detail that's running down the arms, again  
it's more - it's not nice to talk about it but white market, which is -  
and again more your trendy customer, younger customer, I would say would  
go for this garment, I would say.  
30 I - What sort of lifestyle activities, leisure activities could you see  
this worn at?  
31 R - Well this is - initially when I first look at it, I think of a guy  
that goes off to a rave.  
32 I - Right.  
33 R - Second to that, a guy that goes - he would wear it as a - to a  
sporting event.  
34 I - Okay.  
35 R - Those are two connotations I see there.  
36 I - And any difference then between 6 and 7? In terms of where they'd go -  
rave, sporting events? Is 7 any different to six in that regard?  
37 R - 7 is slightly - ja, it's a bit different because No 6 is more  
fashionable. No 7 is a slightly more conservative style.  
38 I - Okay.  
39 R - I think that's got more mass appeal to people.  
40 I - No 7 has?  
41 R - No 7 has. You know the styling details. Just looking at it then on  
the bust, obviously No 7 you can see is slightly cut - I mean No 6 is cut  
slightly slimmer.  
42 I - Yes. The tape detail means genuine appeal to a younger type  
customer.

Continued/...

## Interview: Retail Buying Manager 'S' cont'd

43 I - Right.  
44 R - Whereas a colour blocking ... (intervention)  
45 I - So there's a difference in fashion appeal here.  
46 R - Plus the V-neck versus your golfer silhouette, even those these are zip-neck.  
47 I - Yes.  
48 R - That's become accepted these days, so your collar versus your straight V-neck these days.  
49 I - And this 100% polyester fabric that we find in No 7 - is there acceptance, do you think? Is it a fashion fabric? How is the difference now between polyesters and natural fabrics?  
50 R - Basically your polyesters and your synthetic fabrics are actually very well accepted because of, first of all, washing - the durability of the fabrics. And, secondly, it's almost always the price - there is always a price advantage with the synthetic fibres. But I would say that they are very well accepted at the moment. These garments, if they were done in polyesters, particularly No 7, if you did it in cotton-knit, I would say the appeal is more mass market if you do it in a polyester that looks shiny and silky and everything else. Then it starts getting to that very trendy guy again.  
51 I - Okay.  
52 R - But I would say that this - it's difficult to see but I would have said that that is still - even though it is polyester, it's very commercial.  
53 I - Yes.  
54 R - It's very well accepted.  
55 I - Okay, let's go to some of the others now. Anything that just catches your eye, anything that is off the top of your head, you might say. No 8 there is a Waxed jacket. Okay, maybe call it a parka.  
56 R - Ja, we would refer to it as a parka. Parka jacket.  
57 I - That was in Woolworths.  
58 R - Mmm.  
59 I - No 3 is from Sales House.  
60 R - Ja, a Viyella jacket. This catches my eye.  
61 I - Right, which is No 9?  
62 R - No 9.  
63 I - In that case if you could just mention the numbers for the tape.  
64 R - This catches my eye because it's a - when you first laid it out, I thought where did they find that Tommy Hilfiger? On the photograph then I looked closer then I saw that it was just a knock-off. So that caught my eye initially.  
65 I - How is the appeal for that?  
66 R - What for the knock-offs?  
67 I - Ja, for that Tommy Hilfiger issue. What sort of guy? Who? What leisure activity? Is it very sport orientated? What are your associations?  
68 R - It's very leisure sport orientated, the actual Venti(?) garment and the knock-offs. The knock-offs coming through are all based around that lifestyle of sporting types with big applicated numbers all over them usually. He's got numbers, he's got bright tape - reflective tape detail which is associated with running and sailing and all those other kind of sports. That is very sport orientated plus the fabric. This looks like

it's done in a fleece.  
69 I - Fleece.  
70 R - Which is - you know the fleece that he actually uses. ... is 100% cotton fleece, which they use for sailing and high-care and all that. They never use our polyester fleeces, but it is that whole sport field.  
71 I - Any difference in appeal between 9 and 6 and 7?  
72 R - There's a big difference between 9 and 6 I would say.  
73 I - Okay.  
74 R - I would say like where 6 is more like I said your young customer who goes to a rave. Your No 9 is more young and older guy that would stand around, watching a sport game or going to a braai.  
75 I - Okay.  
76 R - You know I don't see - you know the guy wouldn't wear No 9 to a rave or so.  
77 I - Okay.  
78 R - 7 and 9 go hand in hand. I would say it's the same customer.  
79 I - Okay, right. Now if we put together what sort of shoes, because shoes are really important in men's wear, and what sort of pants, you know what bottoms would go with 9 and with 6 and with 7 and with 5? Is there a difference?  
80 R - Well the way the guys are dressed in it now - I would see with No 5 the guy would wear a pair of black Caterpillars.  
81 I - Okay.  
82 R - With thick ... (indistinct) where the new shoes - the most type of styling is the heavy platform that comes all the way up to the toe. No 7, I would most probably say would be more an active Adidas, Nike and those. And No 9 would be worn with a combination. It would be worn with any of the shoes I have mentioned before.  
83 I - Okay.  
84 R - With our customer it's a total different thing because they wear strange shoes.  
85 I - Okay.  
86 R - The pants - No 6 basically I would see the guy wearing big, baggy, loose denims. No 5 I would see the guy wearing a pair of Levis.  
87 I - Okay.  
88 R - That slimmer cut.  
89 I - Slimmer cut.  
90 R - No 7 I would just that with a pair of denims or a pair of boxer shorts. And No 9 obviously being a sweater it can be ... (inaudible)  
91 RECORDING MACHINE SWITCHED OFF - ON RESUMPTION  
92 INTERVIEWER: Okay, we continue, Matthew. We got to the bottoms. You have mentioned that there would be a baggy jean with 6.  
93 R - Ja.  
94 I - And you said a tighter fit or a more regular fit Levi with 5. And 7 and 9?  
95 R - 7 I would say is just a normal jean or a pair of track-suit pants. But not any specific jean. Just a pair of basic denims. And 9, being a sweat-shirt, I would see it with most probably a track-suit pants or a pair of cotton chinos or a pair of jeans. Your permutations on 9 are endless because it's such a ...  
96 I - Okay, it's a much broader appeal garment.  
97 R - Much broader appeal, ja, being a sweat-shirt.

Continued/...

## Interview: Retail Buying Manager 'S' cont'd

98 I - If we make a comparison now between 5 and 8, in terms of lifestyles, social identity, masculinity, conformity, any of those kinds of things, what are your associations with that? Maybe lets should start with describing 8.

99 R - Okay, 8 I would see as - I would call it a parka jacket or your Barbour-type jacket if it's - it's Waxed I think.

100 I - Yes.

101 R - As it looks here in the photograph.

102 I - Yes.

103 R - If you compare the lifestyles, 8 I would see as more a guy that likes to get out and see the country.

104 I - Right.

105 R - And No 5 I would see as a more fashion guy that likes to get out and show off in his car and go to the right - be seen at the right places.

106 I - Okay, so there's a country and a ...

107 R - And a country and a club or whatever ... (intervention)

108 I - A club and a sort of high social profile aspect to No 5.

109 R - Ja.

110 I - But not so much to No 8.

111 R - Well 8 would have a social profile but it would be more of a guy that wants to be less - more understated. This is what No 8 would be as opposed to the guy in No 5 would be like the guy that wants to make a statement.

112 I - Are there any other lifestyle products, like for instance cars?

113 R - Ja, No 8 I would associate with a Landrover and No 5 with a BMW.

114 I - Okay, that's fits very nicely for you. Okay. Let's bring those others - No 4 perhaps and No 1 and No 3 and all of them in fact.

115 R - Mmm.

116 I - Okay. No 4 is a little bit tricky in the photograph because you can't really see. It's actually like a trucker jacket, like the Levi style with the panels going down from the chest yoke towards the waist. You see it is pulled in quite a lot.

117 R - Yes.

118 I - It's got a piping there, it's corduroy. Any associations with that. How would you describe the jacket or would you agree with my description? I would agree with your description. It's basically the denim jacket silhouette done in corduroy with piping details.

119 R - And it's actually got a quilted lining in there which you can't see on the dummy. So since it's so different now to the normal straight up and down Levi jacket. How do you think the appeal would go?

120 R - I would say most probably because it's not in denim, it's appeal becomes a lot wider. And I would say that the denim jacket has got a very limited appeal whereas the corduroy opens it up to a bigger market than it would have.

121 I - Right.

122 R - The styling is almost western, which has become almost traditional in the market at the moment.

123 I - Ja.

124 R - And the piping and the contrast collar just add perceived value to the garment, as opposed to being fully functional or adding any status symbols to it.

125 I - No 1, if you can just describe what it is.

126 R - No 1 - we basically would refer to it as a shirt-jacket - a corduroy shirt-jacket.

127 I - Right.

128 R - To be worn either over a T-shirt or over another - be layered on top

of a couple of - a shirt and jersey.

129 I - Basically outer wear then.

130 R - Ja.

131 I - Colour-wise?

132 R - Colour-wise - it's burnt orange or sienna - orange - that kind of thing, which is a bit - we are finding that it hasn't got the greatest acceptance in the marketplace with the general masses. It's very fashion - the colour is very fashion forward.

133 I - Right.

134 R - And No 2 is what we call a traditional baseball or American football type jacket.

135 I - Right.

136 R - I mean it looks like it's done in Melton.

137 I - Yes.

138 R - And the association there is very much sport - built up around sport.

139 I - Okay.

140 R - And No 3 is ours, like I said, from Sales House. It's our traditional tweed or regenerated wool. We call it ... bellow pocket silhouette because of the outside pockets.

141 I - What type of jacket is it? Because it's actually pulled in at the bottom there and bloused over.

142 R - As opposed to all the others, which are very casual - we see it more as our smart casual type jacket.

143 I - So the pants and the shoes would be?

144 R - The guy that wears No 3 usually wears the exact same fabric in a pants with very smart formal shoes, genuine leather. We sell it in the stores.

145 I - Like a brogue maybe?

146 R - Ja, a brogue or a slip-on moccasin.

147 I - Okay, with a tassel on the front.

148 R - Ja, it's much more smarter than any of the other jackets on the table.

149 I - So which is the most accessible jacket on the table, to the broad mass of people?

150 R - To the broad mass of people? Mmm. Well maybe there isn't one.

151 R - I would say - well it would be a toss-up between - I would say if No 8 wasn't Waxed, it would be No 8. Looking at my market, I would say No 3 is the most accessible to my market.

152 I - To your market?

153 R - Ja.

154 I - But maybe very differentiated from others in terms of groups.

155 R - Most definitely.

156 I - So if we take No 8 and No 3, how could we characterise the different men that would wear those? Their leisure activities, their social identity, their level of conformity, the kinds of activities they would be involved in in their spare time, because all of this is basically leisure wear.

157 R - Yes.

158 I - Although No 3 is a little smarter, as you mentioned.

159 R - Well conformity - I would say they are both pretty much conformists. They like to - they don't like to stand out in the crowd, either one of them, both No 3 and No 8. I would say that with leisure activities No 8 is the kind of guy that enjoys going trout fishing or getting out into the country, horse-riding. And No 3 is the kind of guy that likes to pop down to a social gathering and be seen to be very affluent and seen to be very stylish.

160 I - So there's an affluent connotation.

161 R - Affluent over here and here is more an environment friendly, eco, trendy, nature-lover kind of connotation. Continued/...



## Interview: Retail Buying Manager 'S' cont'd

162 I - So it's a social statement coming from what you believe in rather than more than how much money you have got.  
163 R - I would say so, ja, No 8, ja.  
164 I - And if we put No 2 alongside 3 and 8, any differences there in terms of say lifestyle?  
165 R - Ja, this guy would be more the kind of guy - No 8 and No 3 would be the kind of guys that actually really put their wardrobes together well.  
166 I - Okay.  
167 R - Whereas No 2 would be the guy that just wakes up and walks out with a jacket and puts that on because he is wearing a pair of denims and goes off to watch a rugby match and wants to be nice and warm. That's how I would see it.  
168 I - So that's the least fashion choice, the least fashion aware choice that there is.  
169 R - Ja.  
170 I - Okay, Mr Fashionable, what's the jacket he is going to choose on the table?  
171 R - Well I would say Mr Fashionable, if it was in leather, No 5.  
172 I - Okay. And second to that?  
173 R - And then second to that he would go with I would say No 9 I would think if I look at the jackets on the table, which is that ... (intervention)  
174 I - Okay, so No 5 and then No 9 are ...  
175 R - Not really a jacket though, is it?  
176 I - No, it's a top. Never mind. I don't think it really matters if we say jacket or top, because they often get worn over something.

178 I - So you are saying those are Mr Fashionable, 5 and 9, more than anything else. So No 8 doesn't represent any kind of a challenge to anybody in terms of what image they are presenting in terms of making a statement about yourself.  
179 R - No, it does but it's more - it's the kind of - the guy that wears No 8 is the guy that is trying to make a statement that "Look, I don't really care about fashion. I care more about the earth." But he is the kind of guy - it takes a special kind of guy to put a look ... (inaudible) wearing No 8 together.  
180 I - Okay.  
181 R - But the kind of guy that is purposely trying not to make the fashion statement here.  
182 I - Playing it down a bit.  
183 R - Ja. Playing it down. As opposed to 5 and 9 are the guys that are saying, "Look, I run with the times. I have got the latest fashion garments."  
184 I - Okay, so some of the garments might have a slightly more exhibitionistic fashion appeal than others.  
185 R - Yes.  
186 I - And that would be mainly - would you agree with 6 and 7? Here they are.  
187 R - Ja - well 6 and 1 would be the guy that's trying to be more exhibitionist in his statement.  
188 I - In terms of the upper age limit, which is the oldest garment here?  
189 R - No 3.  
190 I - Definitely?  
191 R - Ja.  
192 I - Which is maybe the youngest one there?

193 R - 6.  
194 I - If you are looking across all the jackets and you look at that list there, leisure, the body - the body has been very hard to discuss in these interviews because although people have very different body images, I don't think we can really discern them from these pictures. Can you discern a different kind of body image of men wearing these garments?  
195 R - You mean the shape of the guy's body?  
196 I - Ja, and then some people must wear something that is tight to their body.  
197 R - Yes, I would say No 6 would be a guy with a very well-built body.  
198 I - Okay.  
199 R - Nice chest, guy looks ... (inaudible)  
200 I - You know overseas there is a definite feel to the more nerd, more thin, more - kind of body language which is associated with a particular kind of garment. Can you see anything here for the nerd?  
201 R - (Pause)  
202 I - The jock or the nerd?

203 R - Well I would say that No 2 is the jock and the nerd both. It covers both, it's easy appeal. I would say that No 6, 7 and 8 - sorry - 6 and 7 would be more your jock-type guy, very well built, as would be No 1 and No 5.  
204 I - Right.  
205 R - Very few of these would actually appeal to the nerdish-type guy.  
206 I - Okay. In terms of nationality - is there any garment having a flavour of being American, British or that kind of thing. Anything on the table that catches your eye? You mentioned the Tommy Hilfiger but that's because the Tommy Hilfiger is a brand really, hey?  
207 R - I would say well if you talk like Western style orientation, I would say No 4 is more Western style.  
208 I - So that's an American connotation.  
209 R - No 2 is an American connotation most definitely. No 8 is more English country kind of gentleman.  
210 I - Okay. How is 3 then?  
211 R - 3 is more your - I would say it's Italian - more Continental inspired.  
212 I - Okay.  
213 R - Then No 5 would be - you know I just mentioned it as James Dean - I would say it's more - even he was most probably inspired by the English-type skinhead kind of guy.  
214 I - Right. And status - we have already discussed, I think, probably would you agree with 3 and 8 being more status conscious or you don't feel 8 works that way?  
215 R - 8 is - he is status conscious but he doesn't like to show it. Whereas No 3 and 5 are the kind of guys that like to show their status more openly.  
216 I - Okay. The problem with it being leatherette, No 5, do you think that would detract from status?  
217 R - It would do. The problem is that the leatherette that they are producing nowadays is so close to the actual garment that it would only be within the guy that's wearing it really that would know. I think the guy that buys it as a leatherette would be trying to get to that level when he could one day afford the leather, so it would still be quite a status symbol to him.  
218 I - Okay. Because false fabrics or imitation fabrics, synthetics have had a very strong techno kind of ravy appeal and I was wondering whether the leatherette could be accepted in that way, but it's not really. It's just been accepted as a substitute for leather.

Continued/...

## Interview: Retail Buying Manager 'S' cont'd

219 R - Yes  
 220 I - Rather than having ... (intervention)  
 221 R - Particularly on this styling that No 5 is the guy wants to eventually one day be able to walk into a shop and buy the actual leather garment. But for now he is happy to make the statement of looking fashionable but ... (inaudible)  
 222 I - Right, okay, well I think we have more or less done it, unless there is anything else you can think of. Shall we just run through these? Leisure-wise we have discussed more or less everything, haven't we?  
 223 R - Ja, I think so.  
 224 I - Body-wise - I mean we have said as much as we can say, unless you can think of anything else - any body connotations? There may be body connotations with perhaps sport ones because this No 9 - I don't know - I think you mentioned was very sport orientated.  
 225 R - Ja, No 9 funny enough is the one that I would see that has got an appeal to most probably the widest type of body silhouette that you could get.  
 226 I - Okay.  
 227 R - And No 3 would also appeal to a lot of ... (intervention)  
 228 I - Is there a special name for this No 9? What kind of garment it is? Because it doesn't button through, it pulls over, hey?  
 229 R - Ja. We just call it a - I have forgotten - we just call it a pullover with quarter zip.  
 230 I - A sweat-top? No?  
 231 R - Ja, it's a sweat-top. We call it a sweat-top.  
 232 I - All right. And we said - just summing up now - for social identity we have picked quite a definite one for 3, quite a definite one for 8, a very definite one for 6 and 7. We have discussed most of them. 4? Any particular social identity group that you would think about there?  
 233 R - I would most probably say it's your average guy. The guy that goes out with his friends just to have a good time and not really worry about what they look like or where they are actually going to.  
 234 I - Not wanting to make a big statement.  
 235 R - Not a guy that makes a big statement, the guy that actually pulls out something to look nice and warm and looks reasonable with what he is wearing.  
 236 I - And image-wise, what sort of guy is he? Concerned with his image or not so concerned with his image? No 1?  
 237 R - No 1 I would say is very concerned with his image because of the fashionability of the actual shirt-jacket. It's not something that everybody can wear and wear well. So he is quite - and with the colour - I mean the colour also ... (intervention)

238 I - That's quite a challenge.  
 239 R - The kind of guy that if he will walk into a crowded place he expects people to turn and look at him. So he is quite aware of his ... (intervention)  
 240 I - What's he going to put that with in terms of shoes and a bottom?  
 241 R - I would say again I see it living 98% of the time in a pair of denims but more ...  
 242 I - A different silhouette to the denim that would be worn with 6?  
 243 R - Much more - a less baggy silhouette, much more tighter fitting silhouette. And with regard to shoes, I would say with the statement the guy is trying to make, he would either wear boots or square-toed biker kind of style. You know something that makes a statement together with the orange colour that's going to make a statement first off.  
 244 I - Okay, so let's just finish up then with whatever garments we haven't discussed in terms of assemblage, which means the bottoms and the shoes. Did we talk about bottoms and shoes for 8?  
 245 R - No, we didn't. I would say for the bottom there, chinos.  
 246 I - Okay.  
 247 R - And I would see a pair of like hiking boots, Trailblazers or even ..taken as far as (indistinct) rubber galoshes. This is the guy was out on a farm. I wouldn't see him wearing it out into the town but if you see the guy's outfit, you would associate it with somebody in the country. But I would say if you had to see this guy in everyday life he would wear a pair of cotton chinos in a beige colour with a nice pair of hiker-type boots from Hi-Tech or whoever makes hiking books.  
 248 I - Okay, and 2? Did we talk about the bottom to go with that? That would probably be very wide-ranging.  
 249 R - 2 is very wide. As I said, it's the guy ... (inaudible) I have seen 2 worn with jeans, I have seen it with track-suit pants, I have seen it even taken as far as a pair of shorts. 2's appeal is very wide.  
 250 I - And 4?  
 251 R - 4 I would see - the guy could either wear a pair of chinos or a pair of corduroy trousers and denims. But I would say most of the time - about 6% of the time I'd see the guy in either - in summer if he had to wear that out in summer, with a pair of chinos on or in winter with a pair of corduroys. But not a matching colour.  
 252 I - Okay, great.  
 253 RECORDING MACHINE SWITCHED OFF.

**Interview: Retail Buying Manager 'T'**  
**Interviewer: P. Kethro**  
**20<sup>th</sup> August 1997**  
**Cape Town**

Text **in bold type** shows Retailer comments on the garment sample.

Text **in Italics** shows Garment 4 which was discarded from the garment sample.

- 1  
2 I - Okay, Steve, if we take any two or three garments here, could we  
characterise them in terms of their straightforward basic description,  
how they differ from one another - any three? Or any two?  
3 R - You just want three?  
4 I - Ja.  
5 R - Because I can do all of them if you want.  
6 I - That's fine. Great. If we can just mention the numbers.  
7 R - Okay, No 1 to me is a basic... I see this is what I would call a  
shacket.  
8 I - Right.  
9 R - You have got a mixture between a jacket and a shirt, so it's got, in  
my eyes, two end uses.  
10 I - Okay.  
11 R - So there's quite good versatility in this type of garment.  
12 I - Right. What makes it a shirt and what makes it a jacket?  
13 R - Well- the proportion of the garment - it's not really padded inside  
from what I can see.  
14 I - No, no padding.  
15 R - It's got a zip in the front which is quite acceptable now to be worn  
as a shirt the way fashions have gone. It's got the pocket detail which  
you would find on shirts. It's an easy garment just to wear over a pair  
of jeans and you could have a T-shirt or on this garment underneath there  
as well.  
16 I - Right. And what sort of bottom would you imagine worn with that?  
17 R - A pair of jeans.  
18 I - Probably a jean?  
19 R - Ja.  
20 I - More likely than any other bottom?  
21 R - Mmm.  
22 I - And footwear?  
23 R - Do you want to ask about footwear?  
24 I - No, no, what you would imagine would be worn with that - the guy  
wearing that, if he is completing his image.  
25 R - I would say a pair of trainers.  
26 I - Trainers.  
27 R - Cross trainers worn with this look.  
28 I - Right. Okay, so would you say then that the zip is the thing that  
moves it ahead from just a shirt to a shirt jacket?  
29 R - Yes, and also the fact that it looks like it's quite a generous  
shaped body.  
30 I - Okay.  
31 R - I think the way things are going in this day and age customers want  
to be able to feel relaxed and comfortable in something. It's an easy  
kind of garment that you can just throw over a pair of jeans and you have  
got a shirt. But then it can be a jacket. You can put a knitwear piece  
underneath there and then you have got a jacket.  
32 I - Do you think it would be well accepted colour-wise?  
33 R - No, I don't think so. From what I can see it's a rusty orangey-type  
of colour which is a fashion colour. It's not a fashion classic colour  
or a classical colour in my eyes, and it's a colour that's here and then  
out the next season. It's not a traditionally classic men's wear colour.  
34 I - So people who would buy that, do you think they would distinguish  
themselves as more fashion orientated people? Guys who belong to a  
particular more advanced group?  
35 R - Yes. No, this particular guy would understand this garment and would  
feel comfortable in it so he would have a knowledge of fashion trends.  
36 I - Okay.  
37 R - Lots of guys would not like to wear that as a shirt because of the  
zip going up front. Ja, this particular person would understand that  
product.  
38 I - Okay, so that distinguishes them from other people. Looking at any  
of the others ... (intervention)  
39 R - We can go through a number sequence.  
40 I - Sure.  
41 R - No 2 - to me this is a traditional baseball kind of jacket that has  
been around - this shape has been around for many years and it's sold -  
continues to sell well. It's well accepted. It's very easy for a guy to  
understand the shape. I think he feels comfortable wearing it.  
42 I - Less of a statement than No 1?  
43 R - Yes. Less of a statement than No 1, a more conservative statement.  
44 I - Mmm.  
45 R - Feels comfortable in it, doesn't feel that he is drawing any  
attention to himself. It's been around, it's ... (intervention)  
46 I - So it's a conformist garment.  
47 R - It's a conformist garment and it actually appeals to - irrespective  
of culture or race, this type of product to me would appeal to everybody.  
48 I - Okay.  
49 R - I think internationally this has been - it's an universal garment as  
well.

Continued/...

## Interview: Retail Buying Manager 'T' cont'd

50 I - Right. And is there any way in which it diverges from the basic, or is it dead, dead, straight basic this?

51 R - It does diverge slightly in that it's got the colour blocking.

52 I - Okay.

53 R - The basic interpretation of that would be one colour. A bit of a fashion element has been added to this garment with the concept of the two-tone colour blocking.

54 I - But that's still going to be acceptable across a very wide range.

55 R - It is acceptable. It's not radical. It's acceptable, it's nothing radical.

56 I - Great.

57 R - No 3 I would say is a more traditional interpretation of No 2.

58 I - Okay.

59 R - It looks like it's got - I don't know exactly what the fabric is.

60 I - It's a tweed. -

61 R - It looks to me like a regenerated wool - Harris tweed, whatever you want to call it. What was the brand of this garment?

62 I - It's actually Viyella.

63 R - Ja, Viyella. Okay, so this - well now that I know it's a Viyella jacket, it is, exactly as I said earlier on, more conservative. It's a more mature interpretation of No 2.

64 I - Okay. Is there any ethnic or national connotation to that? The one I am looking at - to me there is a possibility that that could be - No 2 could be American and No 3 might be more British. R - Ja. I agree with you. It is a very British look. That is the Viyella look. It is a very British gentleman's club kind of look.

65 I - Okay.

66 R - And the British are known to be more conservative.

67 I - Right.

68 R - In the way they dress, ja.

69 I - Do you think it's got any class connotations?

70 R - Yes, I would say yes, being a Viyella jacket. But I know this particular product. It's got a beautiful lining inside it. The finishing off on that garment is really nice. That jacket from a price point of view would probably be one of the most expensive I am looking at here.

71 I - Right, absolutely right.

72 R - It's over R1 000 and from that point of view, yes, it would be your - not your middle class that would wear that jacket. It would be your upper class, your A income person would be able to afford that jacket and that particular person would understand and appreciate the quality of the fibre used in this jacket and the quality of the lining and the construction of the garment.

73 I - Okay, but it's probably got a very different image base than No 1. If we compare 1 and 3 there in terms of the kind of guy that's going to wear it.

74 R - Yes.

75 I - The man.

76 R - Yes.

77 I - And the sort of leisure activities. If we thought about the sort of things that these two guys are going to be doing in their spare time or wearing the jacket to, perhaps the kinds of activity or the entertainment or the recreational pursuit would be quite different, would you say?

78 R - No, absolutely, No 1 is the jacket that appeals to your young kid, your students.

79 I - Right.

80 R - Your varsity college type guy. That would be his jacket. No 3 would be your achiever, probably your professional guy that has achieved already and would like to make - doesn't want to make a loud statement but wants to show that he understands fashion and appreciates good clothes and he can afford to buy it. And he would want to, due to the nature of his standing in the community, project that kind of image.

81 I - Right.

82 R - And he would probably wear this to a smart/casual event.

83 I - Okay.

84 R - Whereas this one here (no 3) would be worn - No 1 would be worn to college, on the campus, on the weekends, out to the movies.

85 I - What could you imagine this being put together with? Let's just talk about the pants and the shoes.

86 R - With this one here, No 3, I would see a beautiful pair of pleated corduroy trousers, probably in a camel colour or a black colour to match the fabric, a beautiful quality of corduroy. And I would see, as far as shoes go, ... (indistinct) - funny enough I can also see him wearing this with a pair of wool trousers.

87 I - Ja.

88 R - The quality of wool trouser.

89 I - Absolutely.

90 R - And then he would probably wear it with a nice expensive pair of leather shoes.

91 I - Do you think it could be a loafer?

92 R - It could be. It could also be a brogue.

93 I - Okay.

94 R - A Crockett & Jones type of brogue. It could be a Bass type of shoe.

95 I - Okay.

96 R - It would be that type of product. A good shoe.

97 I - Let's go to No 8. By the way, we can take as long as we like. I can turn over the tape.

98 R - Okay ... (intervention) (respondent indicates he does not have unlimited time. You want to go to No 8?).

99 I - Okay, I don't know if you can see it properly. It's a Wax jacket.

100 R - This jacket I would call a parka.

101 I - Right.

102 R - And to me the end use of this jacket is really to keep warm.

103 I - Okay.

104 R - And it's quite functional in that you would - this is a rugby type of jacket; it's a camping, outdoor type of jacket; it fulfils a function, that is to keep you warm and to keep the wind off your body.

105 I - Okay.

106 R - It's not necessarily a fashion item it's almost like an essential that you have got to have in your wardrobe.

107 I - Okay, so it's straightforward functional.

108 R - Mmm.

109 I - Okay.

110 R - You can get fashion interpretations of a parka.

111 I - Okay.

112 R - Which you actually don't have here.

113 I - Right, so I don't have a fashion parka here.

114 R - No. This one really is a basic parka.

Continued/...

## Interview Retail Buying Manager 'T'

115 I - Okay.  
116 R - And the fashion parka is something that is ... (intervention)  
117 I - A strong item.  
118 R - Actually it's quite strong and it should have been here.  
119 I - Do you mean a padded one?  
120 R - A padded one with quilting.  
121 I - Ja.  
122 R - Leather trims, toggles, more fashionable pockets, side entry pockets with jets, trimming like taping around pockets, cellphone pockets on the outside sleeve. That is what's missing here with the jacket .  
123 I - Okay, good. And that particular item which you say is then a fashion parka - what would be the leisure activities or the places people would go wearing that particular parka?  
124 R - Probably the same places as this guy but this is your more conservative customer.  
125 I - Right.  
126 R - And the other one is your more knowledgeable fashion customer that would like to have a parka but wouldn't wear this one.  
127 I - So is there a popular cultural difference in terms maybe of musical tastes?  
128 R - I think this guy is not as aware ... (intervention)  
129 I - In No 8.  
130 R - ... of his environment. He probably is not a fashion person. This kind of guy would probably not buy this parka himself. This purchasing decision would probably be made by someone else in his life. It would probably be given to him as a gift or the wife or the girlfriend would buy it. Whereas the fashion parka is the guy that is aware of what is happening. He is informed. Internationally he knows what's going on and he would like to go out and find something for himself.  
131 I - Okay, to show that he is part of that knowledgeable cognoscenti who are part of that group.  
132 R - That's right, yes.  
133 I - Okay. How is No 5 in terms of what we have just discussed then?  
134 R - Is this the LTD one? Which one is this?  
135 I - Ja, it is an LTD one.  
136 R - Okay. This is not leather.  
137 I - No, it's leatherette.  
138 R - Leatherette. So it's imitation.  
139 I - Ja.  
140 R - So with me knowing that, this is your kind of guy that is probably desperate to have a leather jacket in his cupboard.  
141 I - Okay, but couldn't make the price.  
142 R - This is the closest he will get to it.  
143 I - Okay. Why would he be desperate to have a leather jacket? What does that say about him if he has got a leather jacket? What do you think it says about one if one has got a leather jacket, when he wants to own it but he can't make the funds?  
144 R - I think that most guys would like to own a leather jacket in their wardrobe.  
145 I - Okay.  
146 R - And this is a very young interpretation of a leather jacket.  
147 I - Okay.  
148 R - Look, a proper leather jacket would put him back at least between R1 500 and R2 000 where this one you could probably pick up for R250/299.  
149 I - Okay.  
150 R - And it gives him that look and he will wear it out and it will give

him the social acceptance that he wants and it will make him feel good.  
151 I - Okay.  
152 R - But later on in life he will probably move on to the genuine thing. So I see this as quite a young customer.  
153 I - Because he's compromised.  
154 R - Probably similar to the No 1 customer.  
155 I - Right. So No 1 and No 5 - similar customers. Okay. Let's maybe go to 9 here, the Woolworths garment. How would you describe that?  
156 R - This garment - I don't actually see this necessarily as a jacket. In fact these No 6, No 9 and No 7 to me are not jackets.  
157 I - Okay. How would you describe them?  
158 R - Well to me they are sports active type tops.  
159 I - Okay, fine.  
160 R - Well it's obvious to me that all the others are jackets. This is a new area which is emerging, this whole sports look.  
161 I - Right.  
162 R - With the racing stripes, the colour blocking ... (intervention)  
163 I - On No 6 and then the colour blocking.  
164 R - Ja, the V-neck on No 6. The zip on No 7 and the banding coming through here on No 9. They all vary. It's a new trend and there is a big awareness of this whole look in this country because of the Tommy Hilfiger, the Polo Ralph Lauren, the Nauticas -  
165 I - Right.  
166 R - That are overseas. And with the South Africans now reading international magazines and travelling more, they are becoming very aware of this look. And it also suits our lifestyle quite nicely in this country.  
167 I - Right. Is there any difference in the consumer who is going to buy those - you know are 6, 9 and 7 going to be equally appealing to everybody, or do they have slightly different levels of perhaps fashionability.  
168 R - Ja. I think No 7 would definitely and No 6 would be your younger customer.  
169 I - Right.  
170 R - No 7 has got the zip detail down the front and the blocking at the sides and down the sleeve. No 6 has got your V-neck which at the moment is a fashion detail on the garments. So that would be your younger more aware customer. No 9 would be your more mature, conservative type of customer. That is a very good product because it would appeal to a broad spectrum of customers.  
171 I - Right. So there might be some lifestyle differences here. You have said younger so perhaps the interest would be more around younger popular music, popular sports, popular recreational activities, whereas 9 goes more across the board.  
172 R - I see No 9 more as a sports garment and this garment will be probably worn to the gym, worn to - he can wear it out - he can throw it over a T-shirt if he goes out to a braai and socialises, whereas No 6 and 7 tend to be a little more street- wearish and a bit more fashionable. So these would be worn out in the evening, maybe to clubs.

Continued/...



## Interview: Retail Buying Manager 'T' cont'd

173 I - Any difference in the kind of club that 6 and 7 go to? The guys wearing those?  
174 R - No, I think they would go to the same places.  
175 I - Okay.  
176 R - Except this one is black and white. And red - red (no 6) has never been a good men's colour. So I think the club - ja, I think this would be more your club number, the No 7.  
177 R - No 7, okay.  
178 R - This (no 7) would be more for your younger customer wanting to go into a rave. That kind of image. Whereas this No 6 - I see it more as a day wear kind of garment. It would probably be another version of No 1, wearing it to college or on the campus.  
179 I - Okay, so there's a link there. And when you say red doesn't work well as a men's wear colour, have you got any ideas as to why that might be?  
180 R - I think red makes a very bold statement as far as the colour goes. Red is also known to be I think quite an aggressive colour.  
181 I - Okay.  
182 R - And it's not an easy colour for guys to wear.  
183 I - Right. Is there a masculinity issue or not?  
184 R - No, not with red.  
185 I - Okay.  
186 R - I think probably more with your other colours - pastels, mid-tones, floral prints. Probably there there would, but definitely not with this red.  
187 I - Right. Out of everything that's on the table, what would you say is more masculine, macho, consistent with a South African bloke-ish sense of masculinity?  
188 R - No 2 and No 8.  
189 I - Okay, so those are the more masculine ones. Any comments about No 4? It's got piping down the front, contrast piping and a contrast collar. It's corduroy with a yoke and panel lines coming down from the yoke and those flap pockets which come out of the yoke. And it's quite pinched in towards the bottom. It's quite narrow at the bottom. No blouson.  
190 R - Look, I must say it probably is - I mean it's quite a unisex type of jacket. It's got some feminine aspects to it. So it probably would appeal to - if it was in a unisex sort of environment. It's probably the kind of jacket that your female customer would buy as well. It's the kind of jacket that your ... (intervention)  
191 I - Which are the aspects of it do you think make it unisex?  
192 R - I was going to say it's the kind of jacket that your girlfriend could wear.  
193 I - Okay.  
194 R - So I think she would like it because of the piping, the contrast piping down the front.  
195 I - Right.  
196 R - You say it's quite fitted in the waist probably as well.  
197 I - Ja, it's fitted on the hip. It sort of goes in a triangular shape from broad in the shoulder down to really narrow in the hip. R - Okay, well there that's another aspect of the garment.  
198 I - That you think would make it more unisex.  
199 R - Ja, it's not a really masculine garment. It would appeal to either or.

200 I - Okay. Any other comments with regard to leisure, the particular leisure, differences that might appear here. We have already discussed quite a lot in terms of 7 and 6 and 9. 8 we have discussed in terms of leisure. 2 we have said goes across the board in any leisure activity.  
201 R - Right.  
202 I - 4 we have said no particular meaning leisure-wise, but perhaps unisex meaning. 5 we have said trying for real leather but a compromise.  
203 R - Mmm.  
204 I - Do you think that that is limited in terms of its wearability in situations? Or who wears it?  
205 R - Well of course, I mean that would probably burst into flames if a cigarette came near it.  
206 I - Ja, is there a particular kind of guy? Is there any rebellious sort of James Dean kind of black leather connotation here, or do you think that's actually now worn out, worn itself out because black leather has become such a popular thing that it doesn't really signify rebellion any more?  
207 R - No, it's not a rebellious thing.  
208 I - Okay.  
209 R - I think it's more a fashion statement.  
210 I - Okay.  
211 R - I think black leather has become quite accepted.  
212 I - Right.  
213 R - I think in this day and age that's not the issue.  
214 I - Okay, I think we have more or less done it. Any other comments that you might like to make just off the top of your head?  
215 R - Another thing that is missing here, if you are talking casual jackets, is your smart casual constructed jackets in a linen or corduroy, patch pockets, two or three buttons down the front, with collar and lapel.  
216 I - Right.  
217 R - To me that jacket is missing.  
218 I - So that has become very much part of the leisure recreational scene or - it doesn't get worn to work?  
219 R - No, it can get worn to work but I think the way society is changing and with our consumers not having as much disposable income, it's nice to have that type of jacket to wear to the office.  
220 I - Right.  
221 R - With a smart pair of trousers but then to throw it on over a pair of jeans on the weekend.  
222 I - Okay.  
223 R - So it can be a corduroy jacket. It can be a linen jacket. It can be some kind of a - for this type of No 3 ... (indistinct) So that could be a Harris tweed jacket.  
224 I - Okay.  
225 R - But it looks beautiful with a pair of jeans.  
226 I - Right.  
227 R - And I think it's quite a - it's a traditional well understood look. Customers feel safe with it. It's like your No 8 parka.  
228 I - Okay.  
229 R - Ja, I just think that it's definitely missing here within your assortment of jackets.  
230 I - Okay.  
231 R - And that is ... (intervention) ... (speaking simultaneously) I was surprised you even showed them to me for jackets.  
232 I - No, I don't mean them to be jackets.  
233 R - RECORDING MACHINE SWITCHED OFF.

Interview: Retail Buying Manager 'W'  
Interviewer: P. Kethro  
19<sup>th</sup> August 1997  
Cape Town

Text units 66 - 83 / 292 - 297 in *Italics* show Garment 4 which was discarded from the garment sample.

- 1  
2 I - Okay, so let's just ...  
3 R - Shall we go back in summary of what we ... (intervention)  
4 I - Ja, we can just actually start identifying the garments as their  
basic descriptions - any basic description that comes to mind and then  
carry on from there.  
5 R - Well, as I said, 7, 6 and 9 falls into athletic look. I mean I  
straight away can group them. It's quite funny, I can see handwritings  
coming though. I mean these two you could see were Truworths.  
6 I - Can you see they are Truworths?  
7 R - Ja, I don't know. It's no criticism.  
8 I - This is a very interesting thing because other people have said that  
to me before, you can tell what's a Woolworths garment, you can tell  
what's a Truworths garment, you can tell any retailer. And you obviously  
have a way of picking it up.  
9 R - Ja, well ... (intervention)  
10 I - How do you pick it up?  
11 R - I think it's from - because nearly every week we do comparative  
shopping. You go and look in their stores, you kind of pick up the vibe.  
I mean obviously I know that's a Woolworths, No 8. No 3 is distinctly  
Sales House.  
12 I - You wouldn't find it anywhere else?  
13 R - Maybe a little bit in Edgars but you find it in the independent  
traders and Sales House.  
14 I - And the customer for No 3?  
15 R - Is totally black.  
16 I - Any other group?  
17 R - As I said, if you put that into Woolworths, it probably would appeal  
to the Afrikaans. This is how we think. You know you are putting them  
into boxes.  
18 I - That's fine, that's fine. You have got to put people into boxes.  
Don't worry, this is perfectly confidential. And so what we said before,  
we are going to have to need to say again I am afraid.  
19 R - These three numbers - there's two - No 5 and 1 - my perception is  
that maybe No 1 could have been a Truworths type garment, but I am not  
too sure.  
20 I - Okay.  
21 R - Can you tell me, am I wrong or ...  
22 I - It's actually an Edgars garment.  
23 R - An Edgars garment, okay.  
24 I - How would you characterise it? What garment is that? If you had to  
... (intervention)  
25 R - It's a shirt-jacket.  
26 I - A shirt-jacket. Okay. Right.  
27 R - It's an over-garment, a layered garment. You are going to wear it  
over another shirt. You are not going to use it as a shirt.  
28 I - Okay, so it's outer wear.  
29 R - Outer wear.  
30 I - Anything about it that you think diverges from its basic nature?  
31 R - Well it's corduroy - I mean it's in all the right fabrics but I think  
once you have added the zip to it you start alienating a large sector of  
the original consumer who would have bought it.  
32 I - Okay, so the zip starts to change the meaning of it. R - Ja, it  
makes it a jacket straight away.  
33 I - Right.  
34 R - Customer doesn't understand it as a shirt. This is my perception. I  
might be wrong. It hasn't got cuffs.  
35 I - Ja. Anything else about it? What about the colour? What will the  
acceptability be with regard to the ... (intervention)  
36 R - Is that a rust or ...  
37 I - It's an orange.  
38 R - An orange. Okay, well then obviously it's a fashion colour, which  
makes it a luxury purchase. I mean somehow we call certain colours  
luxury colours.  
39 I - Right.  
40 R - Not because they come from a - we, as a retailer, don't - we don't  
have many of the high-income earner, though we do have him. You know you  
want to see what is an investment purchase. That's not an investment  
purchase.  
41 I - So a colour becomes a luxury kind of purchase where a person is not  
thinking about practicality in their wardrobe. They are saying, "I like  
it. I want it. I have got the cash."  
42 R - And the colour is right you know. This is the colour to wear.  
43 I - Right. Any resistance to that colour?  
44 R - Orange? No, not at all. At the moment we find brights have been  
very successful, especially shirts.  
45 I - What other brights are also successful?  
46 R - Well we have had green, purple. What else did we do?  
47 I - All going equally well?  
48 R - Orange. No purple is doing actually in shirts phenomenally.  
49 I - Really? Yes, and green. A bright green has done well, the bright  
orange. That whole bright palette has done well. But you know it's like  
a five-minute wonder. It comes in and then all of a sudden it just dies.  
50 I - So it's a quick thing.  
51 R - A quick thing, ja.  
52 I - Let's go back over the territory we have already gone over where  
perhaps we compare No 8 and No 3. These two here.  
53 R - Okay.  
54 I - In terms of what you think about ...  
55 R - Okay, they are (no's 8 and 3) both very traditional and very English in  
their tweed, which is No 3, a woollen type jacket in a continental  
context, as I said earlier.  
56 I - Ja.  
57 R - You will probably find 8 and 3 is the same consumer but No 8 in the  
South African context is different to No 3 because I don't think the  
consumer at all understood what - the broader consumer understood No 8 at  
all. They have seen it before.

Continued/...

## Interview: Retail Buying Manager 'W' cont'd

- 58 I - There were particular aspects of No 8 which you felt were difficult for the consumer.
- 59 R - Ja, number one was the well, the smell, the wax treatment that the fabric had been given. (I - They were unfamiliar) - Unfamiliar and the first reaction was offensive. They didn't realise that it's actually the character of the jacket that enhanced it.
- 60 I - Ja.
- 61 R - I mean as a fashion person, I love the smell and was offended when people phoned and said, "There is something wrong with your jacket." You know it just brings you back down to earth. You know the consumer is where it's at.
- 62 I - Ja. You get surprised by what they really interpret. This is what this research is about.
- 63 R - Ja.
- 64 I - Finding out these things.
- 65 R - Mmm. The customer is king at the end of the day and what he thinks is right. But it was successful. It sold well. So there were select - it was a select catalogue anyway. It only went to the top tier stores. So there were consumers out there that understood it.
- 66 I - So shall we now go to 4?
- 67 R - Okay.
- 68 I - Which was perhaps less easy to characterise.
- 69 R - I didn't - or I don't understand 4. Because it seems to be - Jacket no 4 was jettisoned after this interview. almost got a shirt look. It's a jacket. It's got a zip. It's got - you know it's overkill, to me, being a consumer.
- 70 I - So it doesn't get neatly pigeon-holed.
- 71 R - Mm-mm.
- 72 I - If you had to describe it, what would be the nearest description that you could find?
- 73 R - An over - or shirt-jacket.
- 74 I - It doesn't look like a trucker to you?
- 75 R - No, I think - unless you say there are the seams that go down, the traditional ... (intervention)
- 76 I - But you can't see them in the photograph.
- 77 R - Can't see them in the photo. Then maybe my perception would change. Is it in denim?
- 78 I - No, it's in corduroy.
- 79 R - Corduroy.
- 80 I - And it's got a quilted lining, which makes it even more possibly divergent.
- 81 R - I don't know, to me this is fashion for the sake of being fashionable.
- 82 I - Right.
- 83 R - You know.
- 84 I - So that particular aspect that you have just mentioned, fashion for the sake of being fashionable, can you find that in anything else here?
- 85 R - I find it No 1.
- 86 I - And what are the aspects here, which take it away from a basic definition?
- 87 R - Styling. No 1 because of the zip.
- 88 I - Okay, good.
- 89 R - Because it's a shirt and a jacket. It's a shirt styling with a jacket feel.
- 90 I - Right.
- 91 R - Well it is an overshirt. You say it was in a burnt orange colour.
- 92 I - Yes.
- 93 R - That also takes it away from traditional straight away and puts it in a fashion context.
- 94 I - So if we look now at this list that you have got over here on your right.
- 95 R - Ja.
- 96 I - Leisure, body - is there a body image that you think goes with any particular of these? I mean the man who would wear, for instance, No 5.
- 97 R - No 5?
- 98 I - Or a masculinity image or even an image of any kind. R - No 5 actually ironically enough has black market connotation to me.
- 99 I - Really? Okay. Do you think that it being in a leatherette, rather than a real leather, will make any difference to its appeal?
- 100 R - I still think even if it was in leather, it still obviously would have a great appeal to the black market. There might be - you know when I say it has similarities between the black market and the Afrikaans market, you would probably find like in the two - I mean leatherette as a look is also very big in the rave look as well, but I just don't think this garment has got it. I may be wrong.
- 101 I - When you say got it?
- 102 R - It just doesn't look right, 100%.
- 103 I - Is there something a little bit wrong with the garment? R - Well there's nothing wrong with it from a different type of consumer that I think would want it. You know like the black consumer or - how do you describe the guy that wears it? It seems like a gangster type.
- 104 I - Okay.
- 105 R - Almost that look, that kind of guy.
- 106 I - In terms of black groups.
- 107 R - Ja.
- 108 I - Okay. So the rebel kind of connotation of black leather, which was a very white James Dean kind of thing, do you think it doesn't really apply here?
- 109 R - I think it's more an uneducated consumer that ends up buying - even though leatherette is a look in fashion and the educated fashion person will buy it, but maybe in a different look. I see it as middle- to lower-class consumer - you know their social status would be buying this garment. Maybe by price, getting the leather look, wants to look aspirational.
- 110 I - Absolutely.
- 111 R - He doesn't realise that - he doesn't really understand the look he wants but it's there. You know it's got the leather look. He doesn't realise that maybe he is wearing it and he thinks he is looking ...
- 112 I - Okay.
- 113 R - He is looking expensive but the people that he is trying to impress would say, "Hey, you are looking cheap." (intervention)
- 114 I - So there is a contradiction there because it's leatherette. R - Because it's leatherette. The broader consumer wouldn't be able to tell the difference anyway. I am not totally convinced ...
- 115 I - As we said you said there will always be ambiguities here. There is nothing certain about anything.
- 116 R - No.

Continued/...

## Interview Retail Buying Manager 'W' cont'd

117 I - And it these particular uncertainties that we will look at. Looking at the whole broad bunch of them, is there any of them here that you think has a strong lifestyle connotation?  
118 R - Strong lifestyle. No 6 straight away sticks out to me as - I am going to see this guy at the latest mother rave you know.  
119 I - Okay. It's got the colour, it's got the look.  
120 R - And 7 as compared with 6?  
121 R - 7 - just looking at the photograph I thought it was a cotton knit but when you say it's one of those trilobals ... (intervention)  
122 I - Polyester.  
123 R - Polyester soccer-type fabric.  
124 I - Would it be outer-wear?  
125 R - It's outer-wear but it's rap, gangster ...  
126 I - Okay, so that's (no 7) more gangster-rap, as opposed to rave in No 6.  
127 R - Ja.  
128 I - No 9, which is also in the ath-leisure bracket.  
129 R - Ja.  
130 I - Is perhaps - what would you say? Less orientated to rap or rave?  
131 R - Ja, it's a lot more commercialised. I think it was the inspiration - because I know where it came from - it was Tommy Hilfiger, who is very rap or appeals to that whole gangster-rap culture.  
132 I - If we have to rate 7, 6 and 9 in terms of fashionability -  
133 R - Ja, but 9 I think kind of missed the boat.  
134 I - Okay.  
135 R - Because if you see the original garment - this garment - they become like chalk and cheese. It's just ...  
136 I - So Mr Fashionable is going to choose out of those three which one first?  
137 R - The rave fashionable guy is going to choose No 6.  
138 I - Okay.  
139 R - No 7 I think would have had a greater broader appeal if its fabrication was more traditional.  
140 I - Right, so the fabrication takes it into a?  
141 R - Into a different - you know right to that whole rappy ...  
142 I - Okay.  
143 R - The guy is going to buy it because of the fabric. I don't even know - because the styling is almost ravy but it's very classic as well. It's got a very nice look about it. You know you can wear it with a pair of jeans.  
144 I - What sort of styling would you characterise that as?  
145 R - It's almost like a - it's a mixture between a racing jacket - you know those motor-bike racing jackets where they colour block the centre.  
146 I - Okay, so it's motor sport.  
147 R - Motor sport inspired. It's also leisure-inspired because of the collar and the zip.  
148 I - Okay.  
149 R - I mean the print on the left side is very sporty.  
150 I - So we have distinguished the three of those as No 9 very much more directly sport.  
151 R - Ja.  
152 I - No 6 has got sport connotations but also with rave. R - With club ja.  
153 I - Whereas No 7 has got sport connotations but connected with rap rather than rave.  
154 R - Ja.  
155 I - Which is a different maybe social group?

156 R - Ja.  
157 I - A different lifestyle group hey?  
158 R - But 7 is the only one that to me, just by looking at the photograph, is more commercial than the others. You know if I didn't know what the fabric was. So it's still very classic to me.  
159 I - Right, so you would say that has a broad appeal. R - Ja, it seems to have a broad appeal by just looking at it.  
160 I - Across all the groups? White, black, Afrikaans? R - I think once you start putting it into a traditional fabrication, it's probably those consumers that are in that culture of rave, rap. But then I can still see a 35-year old young type guy wearing it. You know if he is wearing a pair of jeans to the movies.  
161 I - Let's talk about age here. What do you think is the upper age limit? Is there a difference in upper age limit here between these jackets?  
162 R - No 3 to me has got the oldest connotation to it.  
163 I - Okay.  
164 R - The more conservative black consumer, 30 plus right to 50.  
165 I - Right.  
166 R - This is a very distinct look that we don't get in - we don't see it in Cape Town. It's very Joh'burg, CBD, (Central Business District) rural areas - where colour is very important, very olivey and the mustards.  
167 I - Second down in terms of age from 3 would be?  
168 R - Second down. I would say No 8 and No 9.  
169 I - Right.  
170 R - Now why I say No 9 is because I don't think most people actually put this into a box - the consumer. It's a great functional, wear to walk in the park, throw a frisbee with the dog.  
171 I - Okay, so it's not making a big personal statement. R - No. Though it was meant to, I think.  
172 I - Of these, which do you think would make the biggest personal statement?  
173 R - No 6.  
174 I - Okay, definitely.  
175 R - Ja.  
176 I - Right. Lifestyle differences. Anything that you can say - well perhaps we looked at 8 earlier and we talked about there being a lifestyle connotation.  
177 R - That's the most yuppie jacket out of all these.  
178 I - Okay.  
179 R - When I say by yuppie, it's the person that's the most educated, the most fashion-wise would be the person who understands the No 8.  
180 I - Right. But it could be misunderstood on other levels.  
181 R - Well it could also be the wine farmer from Stellenbosch who understands and he wants that look, that very affluent look.  
182 I - Would you associate it with a 4 by 4?  
183 R - With a 4 by 4 kind of - in Cape Town you have got the whole yuppie look, that go to Manors, which is like a café thing on the side of the road - want to be seen.  
184 I - Fairly sophisticated, up-market.  
185 R - Sophisticated, the guy with the right car, living in the right house in the right suburb.  
186 I - And does that work with image as well? If you take image now.  
187 R - Ja.

Continued/...

## Interview: Retail Buying Manager 'W' cont'd

188 I - Just as a concept across all of them, which is the strongest image jacket? Or garment?  
189 R - Definitely No 8.  
190 I - Okay, fine. Right. For Mr Don't Want to be Fashionable, just want to wear functional clothing, which jacket would you say there?  
191 R No 2 sticks out to me.  
192 I - Okay.  
193 R - Because it's very college. It's been around since you know the fifties. It's always there.  
194 I - Right. Of these jackets, masculinity? Which one do you think a person who is really concerned about his masculinity will reject?  
195 R - His masculinity?  
196 I - Ja.  
197 R - Will reject?  
198 I - Ja.  
199 R - It's a difficult one if you want to really - in the sense, "I don't feel like a man wearing this jacket."  
200 I - Ja, one could - I mean perhaps that wouldn't really apply but out of these?  
201 R- No 5 has got that whole gay ... S & M type feeling to me.  
202 I - There is that connotation?  
203 R - A bit seedy.  
204 I - A slightly seedy look about it?  
205 R Ja, you know like ...  
206 I - So would you say there is some element of rebellion or non-conformism here?  
207 R - Definitely.  
208 I - So out of all of them, that one the most.  
209 R - It's the naughtiest.  
210 I - The naughtiest.  
211 R - You know with the whole connotation of black leather.  
212 R - Right.  
213 R - Otherwise they all look very masculine.  
214 I - There is nothing actually radical here?  
215 R - No, just a few - you know No 4 and No 1 to me just kind of lose it as functional jackets. You know they just ...  
216 I - Is there anything actually nostalgic here?  
217 R - Nostalgic. Well No 8 has got a big history.  
218 I - Is there anything intellectual here?  
219 R - No 8 again is the most intellectual.  
220 I - Okay. You can get very far wearing this jacket. R -Ja, No 8 - you are global if you wear No 8. It's universal. You know you ...  
221 I - And in terms of ambitious, which is the most ambitious jacket here?  
222 R - No 8 again.  
223 R - Still No 8? Mmm.  
224 I - Okay. Who is the most kind of physically active, and masculine in that sense, being a really kind of physical kind of guy? Competitive sports, maybe even adventure sports.  
225 R - You see that whole outdoor look ...  
226 I - Energy.  
227 R -You know No 6 is energy because of rave.  
228 I - Because of rave, ja.

229 R - But I wouldn't say masculine because rave can also be - it's very feminine as well. You know you are wearing bright colours. So it's not masculine. No 8 is masculine but then - you know a female can wear it and look very sophisticated too.  
230 I - Is there anything about any of these jackets that would help a man be more attractive to women?  
231 R More attractive to women?  
232 I - In other words perhaps promote his macho masculinity, if that's what women go for these days, but who knows what they do go for?  
233 R - You should also put women into boxes. No 5 might appeal to them.  
234 I - Absolutely, ja, because they want - give me the wild one.  
235 R - Ja, give me the wild one with the white gypsy takkie.  
236 I - Ja, let's think about what could be worn with each of these now individually.  
237 R - That's right. The first thing I think is a tight pair of skinny jeans, tight at the bottom, with a pair of white gypsy takkies.  
238 I - What are these white gypsy takkies? I don't know them.  
239 R - I mean it's not around now, but it's just - I remember when I was like at school and tech, there was the distinct look about it, all that white ankle trainers.  
240 I - Oh yes.  
241 R - I don't know - gypsy was the brand or something.  
242 I - Okay.  
243 R - It was just a terminology.  
244 I - What's No 3 going to get worn with? A completely different look?  
245 R - Completely different. He is going to wear that with a trouser.  
246 I - Okay.  
247 R - No 3 is the most traditional. I don't see it with jeans or casual. It will be a formal type trouser.  
248 I - Shoes?  
249 R - A nice pair of shoes, good leather shoes.  
250 I - Underneath the jacket?  
251 R - A printed viscose-type shirt or a sheeny-type shirt. A very sheen, polyester ... (intervention)  
252 I - Not a T-shirt?  
253 R - No, not at all.  
254 I - With a polo neck or not?  
255 R - Maybe a polo neck.  
256 I - Okay.  
257 R - As long as it looks very smart.  
258 I - It's smart casual.  
259 R - Smart casual.  
260 I - Very different to all the rest.  
261 R - Definitely.  
262 I - 7? What's the outfit? Let's just design a little outfit for each guy.  
263 R - No 7 you would see with like a tri-acetate track bottom.  
264 I - Okay.  
265 R - You know that Adidas ... Fila type. Or a pair of jeans. It's a very jeans look.  
266 I - Okay, and the shoes?  
267 R - Caterpillars, boots.  
268 I - Right.  
269 R - Ravy-type sneakers that are big. You know the more mainstream ones though.

Continued/...



## Interview: Retail Buying Manager 'W' cont'd

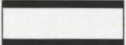
270 I - Yes. 6?  
271 R - 6 - he is definitely in his Diesel jeans and his rave takkies, Adidas or Puma. It's got to be the right ... (intervention)  
272 I - Okay, so that's not a Caterpillar or anything like that.  
273 R - No. No. It's an Adidas.  
274 R - A very fitted look.  
275 I - Okay.  
276 R - When he's bouncing down the passage.  
277 I - Is there anybody in this lot wearing flares or ... (inaudible) at least?  
278 R - No 6 could be wearing a flare.  
279 I - Okay.  
280 R - No, I haven't seen - you know flares are very big in ladies. I haven't really seen it hitting home yet with the guys. But it's there.  
281 I - Right, 9?  
282 R - No 9 is with a track-suit bottom. It's a very track-suity - very comfortable.  
283 I - Is that still an item where people wear track-suit tops and bottoms together?  
284 R - Mmm. You could also wear it with a pair of jeans. You know it's a very relaxed - I don't think - you might wear it just to go on a Sunday shopping or through the flea-market. You know it's a very relaxed look. It's just that I'm in leisure time now. You know that ...  
285 I - Ja, so we have actually identified No 9 as being the most versatile garment of all of these here.  
286 R - Definitely.  
287 I - Okay. And for the record, let's then describe what No 9's basic description is.  
288 R - Basic description is almost like ...  
289 I - Because what it's got, it's actually a pullover. R - It's a kagoul ... but it's ...  
290 I - And it's a actually pulled in at the bottom.  
291 R - The bottom, ja. It's a jacket-stroke-track-top-stroke-... kagoul  
292 I - Right, so now No 4, which is the one which we found most difficult to describe, what could you wear that with? R - Obviously with a pair of jeans and a white T-shirt underneath.  
293 I - Okay.  
294 R - It would be a basic simple look. Maybe a nice shirt underneath.  
295 I - Okay, are there any shoes that you would not wear with that? R - No 4?  
296 I - Ja.  
297 R - You can wear takkies - you know like smart takkies. You could swear smart - you know a nice pair of shoes, caterpillars. I don't know. It's like an in-between - it's a very confused look to me. I don't know. I am just trying to put it in a box.  
298 I - O K ... never mind. NO 2?  
299 R - No 2? No 2 is definitely a pair of jeans and my gypsy takkie look.  
300 I - Okay, no track pants there? (Pause)  
301 R - Not really? If he really is a bad dresser. You know if he really wants to be ... (intervention)  
302 I - Okay, so it wouldn't be normal.  
303 R - No, I don't - it could be you know if he is really not too worried and he is walking around the house and he is wearing it to keep warm, yes. But if he is going to go out to movies ...  
304 I - But if he is going out and he is in a social situation, he is being looked at.

305 R - Then he's wearing his EMME jeans, a nice T-shirt or a nice ... (intervention)  
306 I - When you say EMME jeans, as against a Lee or a ... (intervention)  
307 R - Well Lee and EMME to me are the same.  
308 I - Okay, same category.  
309 R - Same category. It's a very traditional, tapered at the bottom look.  
310 I - Okay. How about Mr Barber jacket.  
311 R - Barber jacket - he is Mr Cool. He will be wearing a Lacoste, polo Ralph Lorenz shirt.  
312 I - Okay.  
313 R - A pair of chinos. He could also be wearing jeans but it will be a branded type. Replay.  
314 I - Right.  
315 R - Very sophisticated.  
316 I - European.  
317 R - Yes, you know he is wearing the right look.  
318 I - Shoes?  
319 R - Kickers.  
320 I - Okay.  
321 R - Nice bulky, funky shoes. It won't be these little fine leather shoes. They will be like bulky leather shoes.  
322 I - With thick soles.  
323 R - Thick sole, ja. He is yuppie-ish. He is buying all the latest brands that are out there.  
324 I - Informed yuppie.  
325 R - Mmm.  
326 I - Ja. And 1.  
327 R - No 1 is in that No 4 category. It's leather and it's - not leather, it's corduroy and it's bright orange. The burnt orange look. It's the jeans look.  
328 I - Okay.  
329 R - I mean it fits into that old jeans wear, inspired - see he wears it with a pair of jeans, T-shirt, takkies, Caterpillars. It's almost a confused look. I mean it's not quite right.  
330 I - So in the whole assemblage of these outfits, it's quite different if you wear an ordinary shirt with a collar underneath as opposed to a T-shirt. A T-shirt is much more fashion world, casual look.  
331 R - Right.  
332 I - Of these, is there any one that you think would be most likely to have an actual shirt collar - I mean now a woven shirt, not a Johnny collar.  
333 R - Okay, No 8 could wear easily like a nice checked Friday-type shirt.  
334 I - Right, Friday shirt.  
335 R - No 3 definitely could be wearing a collared shirt.  
336 I - And the others not?  
337 R - The others not. No 5 to me - all I see is a white T-shirt under there.  
338 I - Right.  
339 R - I don't see much else. Maybe even a tight white T-shirt.  
340 I - Okay.  
341 R - It's also got a very gay feel to it to me too. That whole YMCA, Village People, Mr Leather, big black moustaches.  
342 I - Right.  
343 R - It could also fit into that category.  
344 RECORDING MACHINE SWITCHED OFF.




Group Interview 1

7 male participants ranging from eighteen to thirty-four years of age.  
Black, white and coloured race groups represented by at least 2 participants.  
Interviewer: P Kethro  
22nd of August 1997.  
Durban.

**KEY:** Transcription show which garments were presented any one time, by the placement of dialogue within solid  table borders.

Interviewer questions are shown in purple, preceded by the letter 'I'.

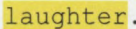
Interviewer questions not relating to participants' immediately preceding dialogue are placed outside of dotted  table borders.


When several participants respond in the same way simultaneously 'Rs' is used, and text is represented in red.

When several participants respond variously but simultaneously 'sR' is used, and text is represented in green.

Interjections are recorded where they have occurred, in parentheses.

Single spacing of transcription indicates involvement in the issue under discussion.

Laughter is represented by .

Where meaning is attributed to more than one garment the table cell in which these garments are mentioned is  shaded

Gmt is an abbreviation for 'garment'.

Participants' names have been changed to preserve anonymity and are shown in UPPERCASE.

Text unit numbers follow each question and response for cross referencing purposes.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS used in this interview

<i>burbs</i> - suburbs	<i>matric</i> — matriculation (school leaving level)
<i>chinos</i> — khaki cotton trousers	<i>mutha</i> — rap term for motherfucker
<i>citi Golf</i> — Volkswagen motor car	<i>oke</i> - bloke, fellow
<i>Drakensburg</i> — mountains in South Africa, a holiday destination	<i>old toppie</i> — old man
<i>dri-mac</i> — wax proofed clothing brand	<i>pommies</i> — British people
<i>Family ties</i> — 1980 s TV show	<i>rands</i> — South African currency
<i>Florsheim</i> — men s formal shoe brand	<i>retro</i> — term usually associated with past 20 <sup>th</sup> C fashion
<i>gangsqa</i> — rap term meaning gangster	<i>Retros</i> — night club in Durban
<i>Gauteng Lions</i> — soccer team	<i>schloomp</i> - laze about in comfort
<i>Ja,ja</i> - Yes	<i>sleepshirt</i> — Sweatshirt for sleepwear
<i>Jarmans</i> — men s formal shoe brand	<i>Sportscafe</i> — Sports bar
<i>jol</i> - social occasion	<i>stokies</i> - backless slip-on shoes worn by older men
<i>lekker</i> — Afrikaans word for nice	<i>Tiffendales</i> — South African snow ski resort
<i>levi s</i> — jeans	<i>whoah</i> — hold on, wait
<i>Markhams</i> — South African National menswear chain	

Continued/...



I Okay, we can see the numbers clearly 1, 3 and 5 can you see them so what's no 1, how would you describe that? 4  
GARMENTS 1,3 and 5'

No 1 5		Gmt 3	Gmt 5
BRIAN Orange. (laughter) 6			
GREG It's very trendy. 7			
BRIAN It's 'terracotta' actually! 8			
I But what sort of garment is it would you say? 9			
sR A cord jacket, its a jacket 10			

I Definitely a jacket? Okay, the one in the middle 3? 11

Gmt 1	No 3 12	Gmt 5
	GREG 'Preppy'! 13	

I Is it a different kind of garment to no 1? 14

Gmt 1	BRIAN Ja, totally different. 15	Gmt 5
	MIKE 'Plaid' 16	

I In terms of what sort of garment you would call it say you had to describe it to someone else would you say I mean if you can see at the bottom here it's got like a waist detail there, pulled in 17

Continued/...



Gmt 1	<p>BRIAN It's more of a sports jacket I would say 18</p> <p>I OK 19</p> <p>BRIAN Drive in the countryside jacket 20</p> <p>I OK 21</p> <p>BRIAN with my leather Porsche gloves! (general laughter) 22</p> <p>Rs I'd say golf, Golf! Ja golf! 23</p> <p>I Golf? Is that the kind of car the guy who wears that would drive? 24</p> <p>GREG No the game 25</p> <p>BRIAN A Citi Golf or a small- small BM 26</p> <p>GREG I associate the GAME of golf 27</p> <p>BRIAN Oh the game of golf 28</p> <p>GREG The game of golf - more upperclass than No 1. 29</p>	Gmt 5
No 1 30	<p>BRIAN No 1's a casual um, young - younger person 31</p> <p>GREG Mmm 32</p> <p>BRIAN Going into a club 33</p> <p>DENZIL It looks sort of - evening sort of wear sort of 34</p> <p>MIKE Evening wear (laughter) 35</p> <p>I Evening wear - you'd wear it at night 36</p> <p>DENZIL Ja 37</p> <p>I So what sort of jol would it be? 38</p> <p>DENZIL Sorry? 39</p> <p>I What sort of jol would it be, what sort of place would you go 40</p> <p>DENZIL It depends, it depends where you go with a friend somewhere you put it on when it's cold something like that 41</p> <p>I OK 42</p> <p>DENZIL It can always go with a pair of jeans something like that 43</p> <p>I Right 44</p> <p>BRIAN No 1 is one of the few jackets you would actually tie around your waist if you got too hot (laughter) 45</p>	<p>Gmt 3</p> <p>Gmt 5</p>

Continued/...



I Is there any difference between no 1 and no 3 in wear-ability for occasion? 46

Gmt 1	No 3 47  DENZIL Ja I think you'll feel more hot in No 3. 48  I OK 49  DENZIL Ja, 'cos it's too tight around here, around the waist 50	Gmt 5
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I Alright, and the kind of guy who would wear them? Different guys for No 1 and no 3

Gmt 1	GREG Smart person 52  THEMBA Probably a smart person 53	Gmt 5
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I A smart person. Is there any association of nationality here? 54

Gmt 1	WAYNE Scottish 55  BRIAN Ja 56  WAYNE No 3's Scottish 57  BRIAN Tourist 58  I No 3 59  WAYNE Trout fisherman 60  BRIAN Ay hey tourist 61  THEMBA Don't know whether it gets that cold in Durban 62  WAYNE Someone's going to the Drakensberg who'll (inaudible) .....for trout 63 GREG A midlands like - 64 WAYNE Old toppie kind of person 65 I Old toppie 66 WAYNE Ja 67  I So there is, you would say then Wayne, 3's an older kind of jacket (general assent) than No 1. Would you agree with that? 68  THEMBA I agree with that. 69  BRIAN Someone who's upper class, and like (slightly contemptuously) doesn't really differentiate between old and young 70  DENZIL I think you hardly actually get things like no 3 these days anyway. Hardly get them in the market. 71  I Ja 72  DENZIL There still are but jus - no-one actually buys them 73	Gmt 5
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Continued/...



Gmt 1	GREG It's neater as well. Like just -I picture the guy personally who wears No 1 as bit more of - 74 DENZIL A free going (GREG ja free going. . . kind of a little bit untidy (general assent) 75	Gmt 5
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I and the last one there - I can't see the No. 76  
No 5 77

Gmt 1	Gmt 3	Rs 5 78 DENZIL Any occasion 79 I Is it a different kind of person to the first two? 80 DENZIL this is every type of person that there 81
Gmt 3		CLIVE 1 and 5 could wear it ja 82 BRIAN 1 and 5. Ja on different occasions I would say 83 DENZIL Most type of people will wear 1 and 5 84
Gmt 1	Gmt 3	CLIVE Is that real leather? 85 I No it's not real leather, it's actually leatherette. Now does that make a difference for you? 86 Rs Big difference, Ja, Yes (some chuckles) 87 I Tell me what the difference is what does it mean that difference because it's not real, it's imitation. 88 DENZIL If they slap you with it you don't you'd hardly feel it 89 I (laughs) 90 CLIVE And it tends to, when you wear it quite a bit the leather starts getting that peeled look on it 91 I OK 92 CLIVE It wears out quite quick 93

I So in terms of classiness maybe the - I mean the leather jacket and the imitation Jacket do you think it's going to make a difference here? 94

Gmt 1	Gmt 3	Rs Yes definitely. 95 DENZIL Genuine leather is actually the best to have 96
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Continued/...



No.'s 1, 3, 5 97		
I O K Anything else to say about these 3? 98		
BRIAN I would only buy the one, No 1 99		Gmt 3
I You only like No 1. 100		Gmt 5
DENZIL I'd also go for No 1. 101		
I How does anyone else feel about the other ones? 102		
Gmt 1	Gmt 3	GREG Ja I think No 5 still, on the left is - 103
		DENZIL No 3 is too outdated - 104
		GREG - sort of retro kind of 105 (No 5)
		BRIAN If it was like a tighter more Bob Dylan thing 106
		I Did you say 'retro'? 107
		GREG Ja a bit like retro, retro-ey 108
Gmt 1	Gmt 3	I So which one's got a retro connotation, would you say No 5? 109
		GREG Ja No 5 110
		I Oh that's interesting. So of the three that's the more retro then? 111
		BRIAN Definitely 112
		I OK 113
		DENZIL with No 3 you'll actually tuck your shirt in hey . . . you can't wear your shirt out at all 114
		Gmt 5
	Gmt 3	GREG No No 5's got a retro - 115
I Ja, no, no I heard that. O K, any more comments about these three while we've got them 116		
CLIVE I wouldn't buy any of them 117		
THEMBA Me neither 118		
I Why? What's the difference between your style and these styles? 119		
CLIVE It doesn't appeal to me 120		
I It doesn't appeal, OK so then you belong to a particular kind of dressing that's different to this. 121		
CLIVE I would think so. 122		
I Ja, OK. 123		

Continued/...



MIKE I would buy 1, I think it's cool. Wear it with a white T shirt and jeans . . . 124		Gmt 3	Gmt 5
I Clive, can you think about what you would like to buy maybe what we'll do is when we come later into more of the garments you can decide whether there is anything that you would buy. 125			
Gmt 1	CLIVE Actually I would be able to decide now. If No 3 had more of a leather look than that type of material then it would be more appealing than . . . . . 126  I O K 127  DENZIL that's for more neat people as well 128  BRIAN so you mean the same shape but just in leather 129 CLIVE Similar shape but out of leather 130 I Do you like it pulled in at the bottom? 131 Rs Ja 132  DENZIL that's for a neat person hey 133		Gmt 5
I Is there a name for that particular way of cutting it? 134			
Gmt 1	CLIVE No idea . . . 135  I Blouson? Bomber? 136  CLIVE Bomber type, Ja 137		Gmt 5
I Bomber jacket. O K. Right cos that's like no 3 is a Tweed type of bomber jacket. And this one, um No 1, doesn't it remind you of a shirt? Isn't it a shirt style? 138  CLIVE Sort of 139		Gmt 3	Gmt 5
Gmt 1	DENZIL Ya with jackets its nice if you can wear it open and closed or vice versa but with this one here you've got to have it closed most of the time 140  I Which, No. 3? 141  DENZIL No 3 ja. 142		
Gmt 3	I OK 143  I And as we've said the other one, the last one what No was it 5, that's got a retro connotation but you think it should be real leather 144  DENZIL appeals to a lot of people anyway 145		

I So will it pull down the image of the guy, No 5? 146

Continued/...



Gmt 1	Gmt 3	<p>GREG I think it depends on how he wore it 147</p> <p>BRIAN Ja 148</p> <p>GREG Ja, that can have a retro connotation and it can also just have that like heavy metal all black or it can have a retro connotation 149</p> <p>BRIAN or it could just look cheesy 150</p> <p>DENZIL I think it's the way he dresses himself to fit the jacket as well 151</p> <p>I OK. How would it look cheesy if you put it together 152</p> <p>GREG Done up, like zipped up 153</p>
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I If it was worn with a white T Shirt and denims? 154

Gmt 1	Gmt 3	<p>BRIAN Blue denims and a white T-shirt - Sixties throw-back ja, it would be 'grease' 155</p> <p>I 'Grease'? 156</p> <p>BRIAN Ja 157</p> <p>GREG Those black glasses with no lenses in them? 158</p> <p>Rs (General laughter) 159</p> <p>BRIAN Yellow lenses! then you'd be trendy! then you'd be trendy! (general laughter) You have to ACCESSORISE correctly. 160</p> <p>THEMBA I think No 5 will suit you well if you have a motor bike 161</p> <p>DENZIL Sorry they've got those cuffs there which I think is a bit outdated as well 162</p> <p>GREG the cuffs are kind of a give away 163</p> <p>DENZIL it's nice if its just like loose 164</p> <p>BRIAN Just straight 165</p> <p>I Just straight on the edge? 166</p>
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I So what would be the pants and the shoes for No 3 that the guy would wear? 167

Continued/...



Gmt 1	<p>BRIAN I'd say proper slacks 168  DENZIL And a nice Florsheim or something like that 169  BRIAN Ja. Not as smart as that but like proper pants. 170  I Could it be cords? 171  DENZIL You can't wear jeans with that 172  I If I give you a choice between jeans, chinos, you know what chinos are? (sR Nope)  Those Khaki pants (Rs oh, ja, OK) 173  I Jeans, chinos and maybe a tweed trouser or a suit trouser what do you think would be worn with No 3? 174</p> <p>Rs The chino, the Khaki 175</p> <p>I And the shoes? 176</p> <p>Rs Brown leather shoes, leather shoes 177  I Brogues, Jarmans? 178  DENZIL The hard leather shoes you know 179</p> <p>I OK 180</p> <p>Rs Slip-ons, Ja slip-ons, That sort of thing 181</p> <p>I Right. OK, and the outfit, the rest of the outfit? For this guy that's Wearing No 1? 182</p>	Gmt 5
	<p>GREG Pyjama pants! (general laughter) 183  DENZIL Anything! I would say like jeans, probably jeans. 184  I And for footwear, I'll give you a choice:Takkies, boots, Kickers, sneakers (DENZIL Takkies or boots, probably boots). 185</p> <p>I Can we change and get another 3 garments? (To respondents) That's just going great. No problem! OK another 3 jackets. 186</p>	Gmt 3

DENZIL For a fire brigade! 187

I OK so we've got no. 4, there's No 8, there's No 7. So what we're first looking for is a basic description of what kind of garment is it? What do you say when you look at this here? (Shows No 4) 188

#### GARMENTS 4, No, 8 and 7'

No. 4 189	Gmt 8	Gmt 7
<p>DENZIL Fire Brigade 190</p> <p>I What type of garment is it? (DENZIL for fire brigades) What do you say when you look at this? It's a what? Fire Brigade? (General laughter) 191  GREG I say like a rapper with the baggy jeans, crutch by your knees (general laughter) 192  Rs Ja, ja (laughter), A real 'mutha' (I' Gangsta'?) Ja, Ja 193  DENZIL A skinny guy in a big pants 194  BRIAN Snoop doggy dog 195  GREG he'd drive a huge car 196  THEMBA American I reckon 197  I OK so this is very American? Everybody agree with that? 198  Rs Ja, ja. 199</p>		

Continued/...



No. 8 200

I OK, No 8? Let me tell you something about No 8. That's a WAXED finish. Do you want me to show it to you more closely? 201

Gmt 4	<p>WAYNE I've seen them worn overseas 202</p> <p>MIKE That you'd wear in CAPE TOWN 203</p> <p>I A Cape Town garment? 204</p> <p>GREG Waterproof 205</p> <p>BRIAN Duck hunting. That's a very like I would say the rest are like stylish or wearing that's got a Purpose 206</p> <p>sR Practical 207</p> <p>Ja that's really practical 208</p> <p>BRIAN Will keep you warm and dry. 209</p> <p>GREG Trout fishing. 210</p> <p>DENZIL If you're walking to a friend's house and it's cold you'll put that jacket on you'll feel fine put your hands in The pockets 211</p> <p>MIKE You don't care about looking good, you just . . . . 212</p> <p>I Wayne what do you think about that one? Do you like it? 213</p> <p>WAYNE No 8 is nice. It's for an older person I would say for someone to go fishing..... 214</p> <p>BRIAN If you were colder I would say 215</p> <p>I What's the car that goes with No 8? 216</p> <p>Rs Landrover, Jeep,Old landrover 217</p> <p>I OK, right. Is there any nationality that you'd say.. .. remember we said now this was American, so for that one? 218</p> <p>Rs English, English 219</p> <p>Pommies 220</p> <p>British 221</p>	Gmt 7
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I British. OK and the last one is No? 222 Rs 7 224

No 7 223

Continued/...



Gmt 4	Gmt 8	<p>sR 7 224</p> <p>Rs Football, Football hey, No rugby player, Rugby supporter 225</p> <p>MIKE It looks like more sportswear 226</p> <p>sR Sportsperson, sport 227</p> <p>I Sportswear hey? 228</p> <p>BRIAN But that No 7 is - is strange because it's got a - a British football feel to it like football neo nazi punk but it's got the American look to it as well. It's got like a mixture, (chuckles) you got to be like be bald 229</p> <p>DENZIL skinhead type 230</p> <p>I Do you want to feel it? Which one? 231</p> <p>MIKE No 7 232</p> <p>GREG It's got that like um nylon - looks like a nylon thing 233</p> <p>DENZIL More like a 234</p> <p>WAYNE (feels it) ah OK 235</p> <p>I It's got a nylon - you know what this reminds me of is a soccer jersey 236</p> <p>DENZIL Like a tracksuit or something 237</p>	
Gmt 4	<p>I Could be. OK. Anybody want to feel No 8? 238</p> <p>BRIAN I've had one of those on so I know how warm they are. They actually do work. 239</p> <p>I OK 240</p> <p>I Is there any name that you would associate with this garment? 242</p> <p>GREG Dri-Mac 243</p> <p>DENZIL mainly for the rainy weather 244</p> <p>I Dri-mac? OK 245</p> <p>GREG Tumble dry 246</p> <p>BRIAN Gore-Tex 247</p> <p>No.'s 4,8,7 248</p> <p>I So of the three garments which is the most traditional? 249</p> <p>sR No 8 250</p>		Gmt 7
<p>I OK Which one would be the most 'image' garment? Person who's more concerned with 251</p> <p>Rs No 4 252</p> <p>DENZIL Fire brigades 253</p> <p>I OK and um in terms of the kinds of place the person would go to for entertainment in the evening night time entertainment?</p> <p>If we go through 4, 8 and 254</p> <p>DENZIL No 4's more of a - how can we say - nightclub sort of thing, disco 255</p> <p>MIKE Ja 256</p>		Gmt 7	Gmt 8

Continued/ ...



Gmt 4	DENZIL No 3's more like - sorry, No 8 shit sorry excuse my French - is more like in the area, in the neighbourhood sort of 257  I O K so it's a homey kind of domestic sort of thing 258	Gmt 7
Gmt 8	DENZIL No 7 is just - if you're going to a sports game or something like that 259	
	BRIAN I don't know about no 8 because these would be like fashion conscious, you could wear it somewhere but No 8 is definitely like a practical jacket, it wouldn't be determined by where you were going. If you live somewhere cold honestly you'd rather wear No 8. 260	Gmt 7
	Brian You could still go to the club No 4 goes to but you'd wear that on the way there (general laughter) and when you got there you'd change into No 4 260	Gmt 8
Gmt 4	DENZIL Its more of a community sort of a jacket you wear it round the area when you visit your friend or something, when it's raining you put it on, you won't get wet 261 GREG Driving in your Volvo (general laughter) 262 BRIAN In the 'burbs 263 I Any more associations with these three garments? 264 BRIAN With your gun rack (laughs) 265	
	I OK we've said No 8 is actually very establishment hey? and we've said No 4 (DENZIL and no. 4 as well) No 4 is as well? Establishment? 266	
	Rs It's a new establishment, (I a new establishment?) 267 a new establishment 268	

Continued/...



Where we come from that there would run a man amok. Oke's packing a gun that's wearing No 4 (general laughter) 269	Gmt 8	Gmt 7
BRIAN Ja, don't mess with him because he's got at least 8 friends dressed in the same jacket 270		
GREG Space in there for a couple of guns as well 271		
BRIAN Ja I reckon No 4 associates you with um (DENZIL gangsta rap) a group, its like I don't know how it'd be hard to be an individual because everyone would be wearing it (DENZIL More like thugs) 272		
I OK so 273		
DENZIL It's more for how can I say where we stay like young guys will wear that there specially when they go out to nightclubs 274		
DENZIL And it's hot but it's still comfortable 275		
I Because he MUST look cool? 276		
DENZIL Ja and maybe he's packing hand grenades or whatever (general laughter) and there could be a search at the door but he still gets in 277		

No.'s 1,3,4,5,7,8, 278

I OK of the six that you can see there's three that side and three there who's the most individual person here? The person who cares the least about what other people think? 279

GARMENTS 1,3,4,5,7,8'

Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 7	Rs No 1 and No 5 I think, No 1, No 5,1 and 5 280	Gmt 8
			I No 1 and No 5 281	
			DENZIL Because those you can wear it even OPENED as well (I OK) when you wear that jacket you can wear it open and closed 282	

I Alright so if we think about then the opposite of individual - which is conformist who is the person who is toeing the line here? Wants to blend into the crowd? 283

Continued/...



Gmt 1	Gmt 3	CLIVE 4 284 BRIAN That's a difficult question because 4 won't want to but he actually is. 285  GREG It depends on like who the crowd members are 286  I He's not conforming for some groups but he's very much in the uniform for another (DENZIL he likes to look at the name as well and say now this is L A Gear now this is the top quality stuff and that's IT) 287  I O K 288  DENZIL You can get it round the corner for ten rands but you rather go buy it for six hundred rands at 289			Gmt 5	Gmt 7	Gmt 8		
Gmt 1	Gmt 3	Gmt 5	Gmt 7	GREG If the person that wears no 4 is wearing no 8 then he's not conforming 290					
I OK so that's how we distinguish those two groups. 291									
Gmt 1	Gmt 3	Gmt 5	MIKE Brand conscious 292  BRIAN Ja, that's true. The person who wears No 4 and No 8 would be brand conscious. 293				Gmt 7		
			DENZIL You have to have the hood as well 294 CLIVE For No 4 you have to have the hood 295  MIKE Got to have the hood 296				Gmt 5	Gmt 7	Gmt 8

I OK you know the drill first of all though what I'd really like to do is I want to see if you've got any specific description that describes what kind of a jacket that is or what kind of a T -Shirt this is or what kind of a top that is you know, if you were going into a shop and you couldn't see anything and you were saying I want to buy a pair of Levis or I want to buy a baggy pair of Levis would you have a name for these three, 9, 2 and 6 297

#### GARMENTS 9,2 AND 6'

No. 9 298  DENZIL Well No 9 is more of a like a sweatshirt 299 Rs Ja a sweatshirt, A sweatshirt, Ja 300 DENZIL Or a jogger or something like that 301	Gmt 2	Gmt 6
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Continued/...



Gmt 9	<p>No. 2 302</p> <p>GREG Hurricane jacket, No 2. I would call it a hurricane jacket (DENZIL That's more a status jacket) if I was Looking for something 303</p> <p>WAYNE That's a bomber jacket 304</p> <p>Rs Ja 305</p> <p>DENZIL A status sort of thing eh 306</p> <p>BRIAN I would say that's like (DENZIL a status sort of thing hey) I want to buy a jacket that's like my old matric jacket that they gave me (general laughter) just different colours, it must say '92 on the back 307</p> <p>DENZIL It's more of a status sort of jacket, status - 308</p>		Gmt 6
Gmt 9	Gmt 2	<p>No 6 309</p> <p>I And No 6? 310</p> <p>GREG Superman 311</p> <p>BRIAN It's just a cool shirt, I don't think it's a jacket 312</p> <p>I No it's not a jacket, obviously (DENZIL It's more I think for -) is it a shirt? 313</p> <p>CLIVE Sleepshirt! 314</p> <p>GREG Sweatshirt, fashion sweatshirt 315</p> <p>DENZIL It's more I think for - it's called sportswear as well, most of them are very sportswear 316</p> <p>GREG I wouldn't say for No. 6, that's a (sR like a 'trendy'-) 317</p> <p>BRIAN I'D wear No 6, I dig No 6! 318</p> <p>CLIVE 6 you'd get at raves as well 319</p> <p>WAYNE my friends would laugh at me if I wore No 6 320 321</p> <p>BRIAN People will see you (general laughter) 322</p>	

I O K so between 6 and 7 is there a difference in the fashionability of those two garments? 323

Continued/...



GARMENTS 9, 2, 6, 7, 5,

Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	<p>Rs nope, no 324</p> <p>GREG Big time! 325</p> <p>BRIAN I'd say totally different 326</p> <p>Really? 327</p>				
			<p>MIKE I wouldn't wear 6 328</p> <p>I You wouldn't wear 6? Why not? 329</p> <p>MIKE Not in that RED colour 330</p> <p>I What do you associate with the red colour? 331</p>				Gmt 7
			<p>GREG Rs No 5 and No 6 (I Ja?) go well together 332</p> <p>BRIAN Ja, you could have no. 5 over no. 6 333</p> <p>Rs Ja, it's lekker 334</p>				
<p>I OK and you said that No. 3 was a bit older. Is there any other garment which you think is a bit older along with No 3? 335</p>							
BRIAN No 9 I think 336			Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt7	
BRIAN out of these 3? 337							

All Garments 338

I out of all of them 339

ALL GARMENTS NO: 8, 9, 2, 5, 6, 7, 3, 4, 1' 338

sR 8, no. 8 340					Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
Gmt 8	Rs No 9 341  BRIAN 9 is very unisex as well 342  I OK 343											
	Gmt 9	DENZIL Even No 2 344  DENZIL no. 5 as well 345										
I Now we said that 6 and 7 might have similarities in terms of fashionability but they're different groups do you agree with that 346												

Continued/...



Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	DENZIL they're more sports orientated 347 BRIAN It's got that European feel to them 348 I Which one is that? (BRIAN 6 and 7) both are European? 349		Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
			Gmt 6	BRIAN I would say 7 looks European but it's also got that American 'cos it's L A Gear it's got that American feel to it as well but just the stripes and the colour scheme it's got that um European 350				
	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 4	GREG No 3 and No 9 same neighbourhood, different age groups 351 CLIVE Ja 352		
	Gmt 5	DENZIL 9, 2, 6 and 7 you can wear it all with jeans as well 353						Gmt 4

I Right. And 4, does 4 distinguish itself from any of the others in any way? 354

Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	BRIAN From all of them, I reckon 355  GREG Ja 356						Gmt 1			
BRIAN No 9 you can wear at home as well, you'd wear that around the house 357							Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4				
I Right so we've identified one classy type of jacket here, No 3. Is that the most classy jacket?358  BRIAN And No 8 I reckon but for different reasons 359							Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7					
I Right. If you think about masculinity - a guy who's very determined to make sure that everybody realises that he IS A MAN OK,is there any garment here that would let him down on that score? 360																
Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	sR 6. 361  MIKE 6 will let him down badly (general laughter) 362							Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1		
		Gmt 5	GREG 2 and 6 363													
		Gmt 2	Gmt 5	I Will he not be able to pull chicks in 6? 364  BRIAN (voice raised) Hey he'll pull chicks - he'll just pull different TYPES of chicks! Chicks that aren't like - you don't have to be - they WANT you to be sensitive 365												

I Sensitive new man type?... Of these garments is there anything that you associate with high achiever yuppie people? 366

Continued/...



GMT 8	GMT 9	GMT 2	GMT 6	GMT 7	GREG 3 367 sR 3 definitely 368	GMT 4	GMT 1
	GMT 2	GMT 5			BRIAN 3 and No 9 that his wife or girlfriend shares with him on the weekends 369		

I Has that got something to do with that word called schlooming? (DENZIL Is that German?) Like 'couch potato'? 370

GMT 8	BRIAN That's No 9 - 'schloomper' 371	GMT 9	GMT 2	GMT 5	GMT 6	GMT 3	GMT 4	GMT 1
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I OK so the conventional people who don't want to stand out in a crowd what would they choose here? 372

Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	BRIAN Depends what crowd I s'pose - you know if I wanted to stand out in a crowd I'd wear No 4 because my crowd is not a No 4 crowd 373					Gmt 1
GREG I'd say if you weren't fashion conscious, if you weren't .... cause 9 and 2 are a bit outdated 374  Rs Ja, mmm 375  BRIAN old school 376							Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3
Gmt 9	CLIVE actually where I come from or where we come from No 2 is quite 'in' now but in full black 377  BRIAN That same feel, that same fabric feel? 379  CLIVE No no no, no. 4 material 380						Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	DENZIL Most of these garments are actually 'in' but I mean like No 3 is like way back hey if it took a train it still won't get there (general laughter) 381							
				Gmt 3	Gmt 4	BRIAN No. 1 you'd fit in to a crowd 382						

I OK. Do you know that there are some kinds of people who like to wear second hand clothes? Sometimes one garment will be new and the other garment will be second hand, like second hand jeans can be very much a cool statement (GREG a pair of levi's R200) are there any garments here that would go with that second hand, thrift shop recycled 383

Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	BRIAN No.1, No 6 384  DENZIL I think it actually depends on how you dress yourself as well you know from the bottom up whatever jacket or top you're wearing 385						
			GREG but now No 5 'cos that's like kind of almost 70's just coming back now (I so that retro -) (No 5's actually always been in fashion No 5) 386  BRIAN It hasn't really gone out 387				Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1		
DENZIL Even that No 9 as well the sports top (I uh- huh) you'd always wear it round the house 388						Gmt 2	Gmt 5						

Continued/...



I Let's contrast in terms of fashionability No 9, No 6 and No 7. Which one is more fashionable of those? 389

Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	MIKE I think it's 7 390				Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
				BRIAN 6. 391					Gmt 7		

I OK so that's got the most limited appeal. What would have the broadest appeal then would you say? Out of those three that we've just said 392

Gmt 8	Rs No 9 393				Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
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I Any further associations or 394

Gmt 8	Gmt 2	GREG I think that No 9 and 7 are associating more with sports and No 6 looks a bit like sporty but it's not, that's just trendy 395				Gmt 5	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
		BRIAN No 9 is something your Mom would buy for you (laughs) and you'd be stoked, you'd be like cool, I'll wear this 396				Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7
		MIKE It's something you'd wear 5 days a week. You get home you'd change into No 9 397							
		DENZIL You could hardly wash it (THEMBA you won't wash it) wash it like once a week and it's fine 398							
		I So No 9 doesn't make a big personal statement, it doesn't separate you off, it's like everybody 399							
		DENZIL Ja whatever he just puts it on and that's it and he cares min400							
		I OK 401							
		GREG If your buddy rocks up, you take that off quickly! 402							
		(general laughter) 403							

I OK, let's see of all of the garments which do you think is the most new looking in terms of fashion new to arrive on the scene 404

Continued/...



Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	<p>CLIVE I would say No 4. We don't have snow here but the snowjackets are here (I OK) and a lot of people are going out and (I so you associate that with snowboarding?)I would think so yes 405</p> <p>I Ja, OK 406</p> <p>BRIAN Could be ja, ja 407</p> <p>I Adventure sports? 408</p> <p>CLIVE Ja 409</p> <p>DENZIL But even at night when it's hot as well, the guys will still wear a big jacket 410</p> <p>BRIAN Also a big jacket makes you look like you got muscles (general laughter) 411</p> <p>(DENZIL The okes that wear No 4 you could push them over if you wanted to - but chicks who see you're a skinny man say no forget about it) 412</p> <p>CLIVE To tell you the truth a lot of Indian people wear these jackets no colour bar or anything but Indians are people that love these jackets, wherever you go you look for a crowd of them you'll see them wearing these jackets in different colours bright colours especially. (DENZIL Rainbownation) 413</p> <p>I Not white people or black people? 414</p> <p>BRIAN That's not a white person's jacket 415</p> <p>GREG A white person MIGHT wear that in the snow. 416</p>	Gmt 1
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I can you make racial associations here with these jackets? (CLIVE yes you can) 417

Gmt 8	DENZIL No 9 is more like every type of person 418					Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
	MIKE Anyone would wear that 419											
	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	<p>DENZIL No 3 how far you get in life 420</p> <p>MIKE Getting ready to play golf 421</p> <p>BRIAN I would say no. 3 is the least colour bound one. I Would say No 3 is financially bound and (Rs ja and class) it's a class thing it would have nothing to do with your with your colour financially where you are 422</p>						
				GREG No 6 is a skinny white boy thing 423					Gmt 7	Gmt 3		

I I'm glad you mentioned that because that was what my next question was going to be, is the skinny guy and the sort of (DENZIL obese) gym workout guy (DENZIL what about the obese guy who's got a pair of jeans on it doesn't suit him at all hey which of these garments are for skinny guys you know sort of not the jock kind of push weights kind of guy? 424

Continued/...



Gmt 8	Gmt 9	DENZIL No 2 425					Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
		Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	CLIVE 2, 4 426 I OK 427						
		Gmt 2	Gmt 5			Gmt 4 BRIAN 1, 6 428						
		Gmt 5	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	CLIVE 2, 4 and 6 429							Gmt 1
		Gmt 2	BRIAN 5 430					Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	

I Right and the rest of them they'd be quite beefy? 431

Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	BRIAN No 7 is a gym boy's - a gym boy's 432 Rs Ja 433					Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
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I Alright so now we've talked about attractiveness to women only with a couple of garments how do you think women see some of the rest of these garments? 434

GREG depends on what she's looking for (general laughter) 435

BRIAN once again, how rich are you? 436

Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	I OK.... Respectable? 437 GREG No 3 438  BRIAN No 3. If a girl saw you wearing No 3 she'd go Jeez he's got a nice job, he's stable. . . . 439					Gmt 4	Gmt 1
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I OK ... Independence from opinion a person who doesn't care what other people think 440

Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Rs 1 441 Rs No 1 442				
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I OK so that's the most independent one of all of them hey? Do we all agree about that? 443

Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 6	Gmt 5	Gmt 7	BRIAN 1 or 5. . . . 8 too (GREG no No 2, No 2 he thinks he's cool) (general laughter) Ja, when I was in matric...back to the future, that's all that says to me, that movie 444							
Gmt 8	Gmt 9	GREG Michael J Fox 445  BRIAN Exactly! A Michael J Fox jacket (GREG '80's') Ja 80's but the UNCOOL part of the 80's (laughing, in very high spirits) 446					Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
		Gmt 2	Gmt 5	DENZIL No 7 and 6 more Pommie, very much Pommie 447  BRIAN Ja definitely British feel ja 448								
		DENZIL 9 is very Americanised as well but it came here now and every one swallowed it 449					Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7		

I Progressive sort of people, people who are moving forward in their fashion? I know I'm asking the same sorts of questions but I want to get a different take on it 450

Continued/...



DENZIL How rich are they? 451

I Let's not bring money into it, because we haven't mentioned prices at all 452

DENZIL No we've got to bring money into it as well (I Alright) I wouldn't buy a jacket that's R600 and then suddenly I turn round the corner and it's R200 around the corner 453

I OK lets say every jacket here is the same price which is the most progressive (BRIAN And you could afford them all, put it that way) or every top rather 454

Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	THEMBA 6 and 1 455
			Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1		BRIAN I would say 1 is progressive..... I would say 6 and 5 457

I What I'm really looking for is people who are not only aware of what goes on in Durban, but maybe internationally, overseas 458

Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Rs 6 459						Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1	
				Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	BRIAN and for a total different reason, 4 for a total different group it would be 4 - the rapper, American look 460							
Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1	GREG (pointing to two garments 8,9) British, American 461							
Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	BRIAN No 1 is very like neutral 462						
								Rs Ja 463						
OK is there a sophisticated jacket here? 464														
Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	DENZIL No 3 465							Gmt 4	Gmt 1
Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	GREG 3 and 8 466 MIKE Ja 467 I 3 and 8 again? 468									
DENZIL Actually No 8 is because of the inner coat as well 469 Rs Ja 470  DENZIL that's what makes it very sophisticated, but if you actually look at it you can wear it any time as well, if it's cold at night, if it's raining you can still put it on 471  BRIAN Ja it's very purposeful 472  THEMBA Can I just open it up? 473								Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	

I looking at all the jackets now, I have no more questions, anything else to say that could help me with this? 474  
DENZIL It all depends on the way he dresses from the bottom up 475

I From the bottom up? 476

DENZIL From there you decide what jacket you're wearing 477

I Do you think it could be possible to wear the wrong shoes with the right jacket? 478

DENZIL Where we stay takkies and boots are in, we don't wear nothing else 479

Continued/...



I Alright, I'll tell you what, let me phrase one more question. Which are the garments that go with trainers here? 481

DENZIL Gym shoes OK 482															
Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6		MIKE 6 483					Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1		
	GREG 6 484													Gmt 7	
	DENZIL and 9 as well 485														
	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	BRIAN 1 486							
CLIVE 2 as well 487										Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
I OK. You know those little shoes with little tassels on the front - mocassins - OK, which garments go with those 488															
Gmt 8	Gmt 9	BRIAN No 2 would wear them because he still hasn't realised that it's 1997 (general laughter) 489							Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1	
		Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Rs and also No 3 as well, No 3 490 DENZIL Maybe No 3 like there's trendy shoes (BRIAN leather ones) ja, like you'd pay something like R600 for them or something? No 3 491									
I Yup and caterpillars? 492															
Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Rs 5,1,4 493  DENZIL and No 8 as well (BRIAN even 8 ja) 494										

Gmt 8	MIKE 9 497					Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	GREG 3 comes close 498							
Rs 9! 499 DENZIL You can actually wear jeans with that (CLIVE no you can't) 500 MIKE A good pair of jeans! 501 DENZIL I could wear jeans with that there, but it depends on whether it's fluffed or not, you know if you're a skinny guy wearing big jeans 502						Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3		

Gmt 8	THEMBA No 9 504						Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 7	Gmt 1	Rs 4,1, 6,No 4 505							
I How about 1? 506													
Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	BRIAN No you couldn't 507					
			(GREG and 5) 5 you could 507						Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
			MIKE Could wear it with a tie 508										
			DENZIL You can wear that jacket with almost anything 509										
			BRIAN If you put that with like a wide - collared 70's shirt with flowers and that you'd look trendy 510										
			DENZIL very versatile No 5 511										
			GREG If you wore a black shirt underneath 512										
I tell me how do you feel about track suit pants 513													
GREG Hideous 514													

52



Gmt 8	DENZIL No 9, No 9. You have to wear them at home 515						Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1	
GREG 9 and 2 516														
MIKE Home - gym , home - gym (BRIAN I SLEEP in track suit pants) 517														
I Mike's very fit - but Themba's even fitter! 518														
(laughter) OK so track suit pants with these? 519														
Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	CLIVE No 4 520						Gmt 1	
sR 9 and 2 521							Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4			
CLIVE It has to be black (BRIAN he still doesn't have a clue) (GREG track - suit pants are like also, if you wear them out you're..522														
I If you did wear tracksuit pants, what are the shoes you would have to wear with them? 523														
Rs Takkies, Stokies (contemptuously),Or maybe slippers! 524														
Stokies! stokies! 525														
MIKE Branded takkies (BRIAN Hi-tops, like Reebok or.....) 526														
I Is there any connotation of gay and straight here? 527														
Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Rs No 6, Ja 6, 6! (general laughter) (GREG sorry Brian!) 528						Gmt 7	Gmt 4	Gmt 3	Gmt 1	
				Ya 6,6 I think 529										
				GREG I hate to admit it but like I'd wear 6 but I could associate it, you know 530										
				BRIAN 6, maybe not gay but you could be bi if you wear - (general laughter) 531										
				THEMBA I'll be scared to wear 6 actually 532										
				BRIAN No, I wouldn't be scared 533										
				DENZIL Are we actually looking at these colours or at various colours? (BRIAN (vehement) uh uh) 534										
				DENZIL are we looking at various colours too? 535										
				Gmt 6	BRIAN No 7 too 536									
I we can look at the colours we can look at any aspect 537														
DENZIL depends on what colour you got hey what colour you've got of the garment 538														
Rs Ja,Ja 539														
I so are there colours here that you think are more masculine or less masculine? 540														

Continued/...



Gmt 8	Gmt 9	<p>BRIAN No 2 you need to come out of the closet - you just haven't come to terms with the fact (general laughter) 541</p> <p>I No 2 Brian? 542</p> <p>BRIAN I don't like no 2 hey jus....I reckon you gay if you .... (general laughter)....haven't come to terms with it yet 543</p> <p>I But now is grey and black - what connotation does grey and black have 544?</p> <p>DENZIL Very fashionable among non whites, very fashionable, No 2, No 2, ja. 545</p>	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
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I How do you like the colour split in No 4? That sort of yellow lime green 546

Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	DENZIL Ja if you went to a fire.....exhibition 547	Gmt 1
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I How do you like the colour split in no 7? 548

Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	<p>DENZIL Ah that's OK (BRIAN ja, that's cool) 549</p> <p>I Acceptable? Not going to challenge anybody? 550</p> <p>DENZIL Most times black and white is very acceptable 551</p> <p>GREG It's the green though that gives it that like 'sporty' feel. Maybe if it didn't have the green line it would almost be trendy 552</p> <p>DENZIL very casual 553</p> <p>BRIAN And if it didn't have the badge as well, the L A Gear badge (DENZIL Most people would buy it then) - it would be lot more trendy 554</p> <p>DENZIL Because of the name and all, you think ay! LA Gear forget about it, too expensive 555</p>	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
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I So there's definitely brandedness there 556

Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	DENZIL And also with the name and all it counts a lot hey, you know you pay more for it as well 557	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
			Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	BRIAN But you see the person who's wearing no1 or No 6, No 5 wouldn't care about name anyway. You wouldn't wear No 1 if you're bothered about name you'd probably worry about the brand name of your shoes (DENZIL Ja) but you'd want them to look old but still have the right brand on them 558		

I See this jacket No 4 has a lot more structural details on it than No 5 has got, it's got a lot more happening, there's more 'things' on it 559

Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	CLIVE Too many zips, too many 560	Gmt 1
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Continued/...



I Zips, panel lines, all kinds of things (BRIAN Gun space) (General laughter and comments) (MIKE for the Car radio and grenades and all that) (THEMBA Car radio on one side and spare beer on the other side) 561											
Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	DENZIL Ya more thug like (MIKE Ya more thug like) (Rs Ya mmnn)562				Gmt 1
I But now No 6 the one that we've talked about a lot is also very plain hey? 563											
Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	DENZIL Ja plain is more like for people who don't care much about anything 564				Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
I OK so they are able to make their own personal statement 565											
Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	DENZIL Ja. And with plain you can wear anything with plain jeans, whatever then it's fine the minute you put a sticker on it people will back off (I uh-huh) 566  MIKE Going back to your going out, if you going to a rave you going to wear No 6 you going to dance the whole night anyway (WAYNE and you'd be on drugs) 567				Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
				Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	- if you're going to go out in No 4 you're not going to dance that much (BRIAN You're standing around, looking cool) (WAYNE because you sweat too much) 567				
I I'll show you for the last now - all of them on a dummy (photographed on a dummy) so you can see how they fit, pass them around if you like 568											
Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	WAYNE Sportscafe (BRIAN ja sportscafe-goer, No 7) 569				Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
I OK, any other comments? 570											
Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	BRIAN Oh, has No 6 got stripes down its sleeves? (sR I didn't see that, oh!) ah that makes a whole world of difference! Now it's very British . 571				Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
I It's British? Why? 572											
Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	BRIAN It's got that 'Oasis' look ( DENZIL oasis kind of) 573  MIKE Very soccer, (BRIAN Blur ) 574				Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
I So the stripe means Oasis, is that what you'd associate it with that group (BRIAN well like Britpop) 575											
I Britpop? 576											

Continued/...



Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	MIKE That's not gay now 577 Rs No 578 DENZIL Very Peter Gallagher sort of thing 579	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
I OK, so I'll bring them all close to you now 580								
Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	CLIVE Tennis court, (I tennis court?) tennis court, BMW 581 DENZIL Martina Navratilova 582 I so we're finished with this one, we've said everything we can say about this one hey? How's about the V neck? 583 sR Cool, Oh Ja, That's quite nice 584 If you look at the photo here you can see it fits quite snugly 585  BRIAN Medium build, I would say if you were too skinny it would look 586  I Mr Active or Mr skinny kind of grungy 587  Rs Active,Ja 588  I Active, not skinny grungy 589  BRIAN Skinny grungy could pull it off 590  DENZIL Dietwise, very diet wise kind of person 591	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1

I OK we're done with this guy. And this guy, (shows No 2) we've said 592

Gmt 8	Gmt 9	DENZIL He's an everyday kind of guy that guy (I Everyday?) Ja Everyday 593  BRIAN Weekend ja, relaxing at home) (GREG Accountant) (general laughter) 594					Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
I This one I'm not even going to show you because I know this is - 595												
Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Rs Drive-by, Fire Brigade Gangsta 596 BRIAN Doesn't actually have to be a gangster, but just 597 GREG no no no, snowboarder. (MIKE It's not a physical action) If he's not in snow, if he's in the city and he's wearing that he's a gangster but if he's in the snow he's (BRIAN if he's got a snowboard -) 598 I Where's there snow in South Africa? 599 Rs Tiffendales! 600 In Cape Town on the mountain top 601 In Johannesburg 602 Lesotho 603					Gmt 1

I You know this is interesting because you're talking about snowboarding and there's no snow sports in this country, but you know about snowboarding 604

DENZIL But they say there's snow in Cape Town 605

WAYNE Snow boarding at Tiffendales, my friend's an instructor there 606

I But the fact that there's snow in Cape Town didn't help you to know about the snowboarding influence here did it? 607

DENZIL But they say L A gear but in L A there's no - 608

GREG But my first association is not snowboarding (BRIAN no) 609

I It's not? (GREG - It's gangster-) 610

Continued/...



Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	<p>BRIAN If I saw a guy going down a mountain with one of those on (I can we mention the number please?) (Rs 4) 611</p> <p>CLIVE Wait a second, wait a second, if you go to Alpine valley or wherever they have snow, don't they have them more puffed up? But this is more thin as well 612</p> <p>BRIAN This is for the city 613</p> <p>THEMBA It's just for the gangsters 614</p>	Gmt 1
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I OK this now? (shows no 8) 615

<p>DENZIL Ja that guy, any time of day (Rs Fishing, fishing) 616</p> <p>BRIAN I still say - this is no 8 hey- this is such a purpose orientated - doesn't matter if you are trendy or what if you live somewhere cold - you'd wear that 617</p>							Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	<p>DENZIL I think maybe even if it's raining - normally like if you buy No 1 and it's raining you'll get wet but this here 618</p>						

I The rain will wash off? There's no class association here? 619

Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	<p>Rs No no, nothing, no no 620</p> <p>GREG I think there's quite a big class association 621</p> <p>THEMBA I'd buy it 622</p>
I You'd buy it? 623								
Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	<p>MIKE If you live in the Cape 624</p> <p>BRIAN I wouldn't say so - it depends where you are 625</p> <p>DENZIL I don't think you'll go out to a nightclub with that there on 626</p> <p>BRIAN Ja but you'd GO to a nightclub, you wouldn't wear it inside the nightclub 627</p> <p>DENZIL You'd have to carry it in your hand all the time (BRIAN You'd leave it in the car) but maybe you're walking to wherever you're supposed to go or something, what happens then? 628</p>

I this guy - your last chance (shows No 5) 629

Continued/...



Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	<p>DENZIL anytime, anytime 630</p> <p>I Anytime, any guy? 631</p> <p>GREG It's got a wide application 632</p> <p>I Now I'm going to ask you again about this imitation leather is it going to say something about the guy? 633</p> <p>Rs No, No 634</p> <p>DENZIL No, the thing is whether it's imitation or not as long as it's got that leather look on it (MIKE Oh, whoah whoah, feeling the fabric of the jacket) (CLIVE Ay it's soft man) (MIKE Mmm mmm) 635</p> <p>I Do you think it's quite a good imitation? 636</p> <p>GREG the way it is it's almost sewn 637</p> <p>DENZIL Only problem is it's got a cuff on it which actually makes it more boring, little bit ja 638</p> <p>GREG the cuff puts it in a bit of a class 639</p> <p>DENZIL If it has a zip, fine, ja 640</p>	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4
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I OK this guy? (shows No 2) 641

Gmt 8	Gmt 9	BRIAN He's stuck in the 80's 642				Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
		sR (Many indistinct responses including something about nerds) 643									
I Nerds? We haven't talked about the nerds! There are nerds aren't there? 644											
Gmt 8	Gmt 9	BRIAN No 2's favourite TV show is family ties - he still wants the SABC to bring that back! He's in love with Mallory ! (DENZIL I'd wear it all the time) (Brian does voice imitation) Mal - lor - yyy 645				Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
		Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	GREG I would associate 1 with 2 646				
		CLIVE Pockets the pockets 647				Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
		DENZIL Philippa? I think the pockets sometime maybe spoil everything as well 648									
		Rs Ja,Ja 649									
		BRIAN No the pockets make it a jacket not a shirt 650									

Continued/...



Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 1	<p>BRIAN You'd put 1 and 2 together? no ways! 651</p> <p>GREG No 2 tried to be trendy and that's what happened - No 1 652</p>
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I But now what I hear about this, this is a shirt jacket, it's supposed to be like half half shirt/ jacket, you get that out of this? 653

Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Rs Yes, Ja 654
				Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	<p>BRIAN No 1's the only one you could wear besides No 6 (DENZIL put that on most times on the weekends) you could wear this without a shirt underneath (DENZIL actually to a gig as well) 655</p>	

I Ok, alright, last two (shows 3 and 7) 656

Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 4	<p>DENZIL No leave them for lawyers, leave them (a reference to Themba who prior to the start of the interview shared with the group the fact that he had just obtained his law degree) 657</p>	Gmt 1
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I Leave them for lawyers? (general laughter) Themba the lawyer? 658

Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	<p>THEMBA No no I don't want No 3 659</p> <p>GREG No 3's in the country 660</p> <p>DENZIL Philippa, the way I look at it I can't wear a jacket that's got a little cuff, a little belt underneath, at the end I can't wear that 661</p>	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
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I Clive, what do you say? 662

Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	<p>CLIVE I don't agree. I would wear that because I'm a very sporty person I would wear that but the colours - no. 663</p> <p>I OK what colours would you like? 664</p> <p>CLIVE A full black fine 665</p> <p>I Full black? 666</p> <p>CLIVE Ja, perfect. 667</p> <p>GREG Its the green, the green and the label as well. 668</p>	Gmt 7	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
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I Is the green a problem here? 669

Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	<p>DENZIL The problem with that No 3 is the bottom trim (I uh huh) spoilt it. Now maybe I'm being biased about it but that alone - very uncomfortable, very uncomfortable 670</p>	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
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I (Shows no3 and No 4) Can you see the difference between these two jackets, the one is pulled in at the bottom, the other is straight at the bottom. Does that make a difference to the image? 671

Continued/...



Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Rs big difference, ja, yes 672				Gmt 1
						DENZIL Ja you see when it's straight at the bottom you can still wear your shirt or your T-shirt OPEN or out 673			Gmt 4	
			CLIVE But with No 5 as well, if it was a leather jacket I wouldn't wear it so long, slightly shorter 674			Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3		
			GREG If it was shorter it would take away the retros feel 675							
			BRIAN If the leather jacket was shorter it would be a biker jacket 676							
			Rs Ja 677							
			I Chris if you put this on we can see the length 678							
			(Chris, research assistant, puts on jacket) 679							
			DENZIL Now you see the problem with the cuffs now 680							
			I You see this detail - do you like it? (shows hem tab) 681							
			BRIAN That's a little bit biker as well 682							
			GREG Maybe lose the detail 683							
			MIKE I do see that now 684							
			GREG But just straight at the bottom the way it comes down there's no hem or anything I think it makes the jacket the way it just come down and ends (BRIAN Its cool, ja its cool) 685							

I Themba, do you feel like putting on 3? 686

Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	THEMBA Oh ja sure 687			Gmt 4	Gmt 1
						BRIAN he quite likes 3(DENZIL it suits 'legalwise' huh) 688				
						CLIVE that is definitely YOU 689				
						DENZIL just tie it up please man? 690				

I Brian, you can put this one on (gives Brian No 6 to put on) 691

Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	BRIAN I'll take that home, I like that one 692			Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
				Gmt 6	Gmt 7	DENZIL (looking at 3 on THEMBA) See what happens, see what happens now you actually get curling in 693 MIKE Ya it will curl in hey 694 GREG It's also a bit short for him 695				
I Is that a different image now that pulled in look? 696										
Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	MIKE pockets are a bit low 697 CLIVE should be a little tighter 698 I So where can he go now, dressed like that? 699 sR Somewhere cold, To watch a golf game, California Hotel? To watch a nice walk (I - Are we talking about Gentlemanly leisure?) 700 BRIAN You buy that at Markhams, or at Woolworths 701			Gmt 4	Gmt 1

Continued/...



I OK Themba what about putting on this English job here (Themba puts on No 8) 702

DENZIL You know what Brian, this is a lot of Blacks as well 703					Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
MIKE Ah 704												
DENZIL You see now, more excellent, that's excellent (responding to No 8) 705												
I Ah so now you see it on, do you like it? 706												
Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	GREG Same class as No 3 707						Gmt 4	Gmt 1
DENZIL You see how perfect it is 708					Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7		
CLIVE It's almost a belvedere 709												
MIKE Take a look at the buttons 710												
I what do you say now, about the image of this 711												
DENZIL That's excellent, that jacket 712					Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
BEVAN The guy's got quite a big house with quite a lot of cars (I can we mention what number it is, it's No 8) and it's raining and he's driving his landrover somewhere (I and he's wearing gumboots?) -Ja 713												
BRIAN And he's a farmer (GREG with shorts on) exactly ja -I still say it's a purpose jacket, you'd wear it if you were cold and it was raining (DENZIL You know Brian, Brian I've got a jacket like that there one, if you're going with a friend and it's quite cold, a little nippy you wear a jacket like that it's fine) 714												
CLIVE I think it's the material that spoils it, that you can't wear it as 7 15												
Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	(Brian puts on No 6.) GREG You need to take the lenses out of your glasses (BRIAN ja ja ja I must look like that oke in 'Famous Curtain Trick') 716								
I OK , how about that? 717 (Themba puts on No 1)												
Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	GREG very smart 718 MIKE that's actually not too bad 719 I You like it? what do you say now? 720 MIKE Still wouldn't buy it, but 721				
I Say you've never met him before this and now you meet him and he's wearing this jacket 722												

Continued/...



Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	BRIAN Doesn't suit what he's wearing underneath 723  I pretend that's not there, say he's got a black T- shirt on. Isn't it true that when we meet people we make judgements about who they are and what they are? 724  GREG Untidy 725  BRIAN What number's that? 726  Rs No 1 727  WAYNE I'd say he's gay (general laughter)- seriously 728 GREG I'd say he's untidy, you know, take it off, chuck it on the ground 729 BRIAN I'd say he still lives at home 730					
I OK thanks Themba, let's see now, Bruce in No 6 731													
Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	DENZIL Hey Hey! 732 THEMBA Now that's HIM 733 DENZIL Gauteng Lions eh 734 BRIAN This you could go to like a jol, or like you could go to a neo - nazi meeting. I think this is cool the sleeves are a bit short 735				Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1		
I Let's pretend you haven't met Brian in your life before and he's coming down the street what's your impression of him 736													
Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	GREG Trendy, young trendy 737 MIKE On his way to rave 738				Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1		
I Can we mention the no. - no. 6 739													
Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	GREG I think of Ecstasy drugs (general laughter) 740				Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1		
I OK Denzil in No 9 - what do you say? He's got it on with Jeans, and look now he's wearing caterpillar boots 741													
Gmt 8	Rs Cuddly, I'd say 742						Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
I Do you think the shoes are right with the jacket? 743													
Gmt 8	sR Ja, it's cool,It actually goes with the, Jacket 744  MIKE but it's like in the neighbourhood, you know it's just 745  GREG Not for going out 746  CLIVE I don't think it appeals to anyone 747  WAYNE I don't like the zip, it's too like finicky. It's too big and too like bulky. 748						Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
I There's another jacket for somebody to try on, that grey and black. (Greg puts on No 2). 749													
Gmt 8	Gmt 9	CLIVE That's definitely you, that 750 GREG Hey hey hey (objecting) 751 (General commotion and interjections of a mocking nature) 752 BRIAN Come out of the closet jacket! 753						Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Fmt 4	Gmt 1

Continued/...



I (to Greg) How do you feel about that? 754											
Gmt 8	Gmt 9	GREG Puffy 755				Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
I Do you want to go out? 756											
Gmt 8	Gmt 9	GREG No definitely not. 757 DENZIL Now you see he looks more like a bouncer now at the moment. 758				Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1

I What about the 'gangster'? Will you put on the 'gangster'? (No 4) 759

Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 3	<p>GREG OK but like - this is not a white boy thing - it's definitely a black guy who would wear this. 760</p> <p>BRIAN You look like a fireman. If you're white and you wear that you look like a fireman! Fireman Bill! You need a hose. (general laughter) 761</p> <p>DENZIL Can I try it on as well? Can I try it on as well? 762</p> <p>BRIAN Ja it'll suit you much better. (Denzil is coloured). 763</p> <p>(Denzil puts on No 4) 764</p> <p>GREG That thing has to be oversized. For the person who wears it it has to be too big. (DENZIL It looks nice if it's big hey) (BRIAN That's what we're saying - it has to be too big) Like what ever you are it has to be bigger than you. 765</p> <p>MIKE ah yeah Denzil baby! (Many inaudible interjections respondents all speak together. Much laughter) 766</p> <p>DENZIL Too much of details you see 767</p> <p>MIKE That's not necessary, that's too much detail. 768</p> <p>GREG Black car, black windows - oke gets out in that- 769</p>	Gmt 1
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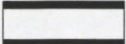
I Does it make you feel bigger and stronger? 770

Gmt 8	Gmt 9	Gmt 2	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	<p>DENZIL Nope. I'll see the soccer player now 771</p> <p>BRIAN Soccer or Westville - just finished gym. No 7. 772</p> <p>I What are your associations with these two now? (Clive has put on No 7) 773</p> <p>CLIVE Got a nice feel to it though 774</p> <p>I Where would you go in that? 775</p> <p>MIKE Saturday afternoon 776</p> <p>Rs Chiefs and Pirates 777</p> <p>CLIVE Anywhere actually 778</p> <p>GREG Daywear. 779</p>			Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 1
END OF INTERVIEW 780										

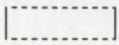


Group Interview 2

7 male participants ranging from eighteen to thirty-four years of age.  
Black, Coloured, and White race groups represented by at least 1 participant.  
Interviewer: P. Kethro  
29th of August 1997.  
Durban.

**KEY:** Transcriptions show which garments were presented any one time, by the placement of dialogue within solid  table borders.

Interviewer questions are shown in purple, preceded by the letter 'I'.

Interviewer questions not relating to participants' immediately preceding dialogue are placed outside of dotted table  borders.

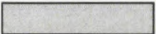
When several participants respond in the same way simultaneously 'Rs' is used, and text is represented in red.

When several participants respond variously but simultaneously 'sR' is used, and text is represented in green.

Interjections are recorded where they have occurred, in parentheses.

Single spacing of transcription indicates **involvement** in the issue under discussion.

Laughter is represented by **laughter**.

Where meaning is attributed to more than one garment the table cell in which these garments are mentioned is  shaded.

'Gmt' is an abbreviation for garment.

Participants names have been changed to preserve anonymity and are shown in UPPERCASE.

Text unit numbers follow each question and response fro cross referencing purposes.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS used in this interview

ja - yes  
Midmar - watersports leisure resort  
Joh'burg - Johannesburg, a city in South Africa  
Hluhluwe - remote village in Northern Kwa-Zulu Natal  
L A Gear - clothing Brand  
takkies - rubber soled white canvas shoes  
Clamdiggers - three-quarter length trousers  
crosstrainers - athletic shoes distinguished by high lacing  
Docmartens - heavy-soled shoe, usually black with round toe  
ruched - gathered



I (shows garment No 2) OK it's a sort of felted fabric, and it's got rib here, on the collar, and here at the end of the garment, and popper buttons and a lining, what sort of a - is that a usual kind of garment do you think?

Have you seen it before? 4

## GARMENT 2

Rs Yes, ja, mm 5

I OK, what do you associate it with? 6

Rs Winter, Cold, ja 7

DAVE Casualwear 8

I What sort of casual wear, here might it be worn? 9

JEFF To the disco 10

SCOTT Yuppies relaxing, or homeboys 11

I For homeboys? 12

SCOTT Yuppies or homeboys relaxing 13

I OK (MITCH I've seen it around the pavilion) as against the other homeboy alright 14

Anything else to say about this number? In terms of its basic meaning I mean, how do you see that? (No response) Who wears it? 15

ROD I'd wear it 16

I You'd wear it? OK (ROD Ja) do you think it's across the board - everybody would wear it? 17

Rs It's common, it's become common 18

DAVE It's become quite a fashion thing nowadays to wear a jacket you see people wearing it even in our type of climate 19

I Do you think it's quite a fashion statement this one, or not so much? 20

DAVE I think it's quite a in thing 21

Rs It is, Mm, ya 22

I Would you say it's a classic? 23

Rs Don't think so, not a classic, uh uh, no 24

I Not a classic? 25

sR Its OK, Average, Disco. 26

JEFF To keep you warm if you're going out in the evening or something and it looks cool you going to wear it 27

I So would it be more and evening thing? Or would it be a day thing? 28

JEFF Ay it depends like what the weather's like 29

I In the day time 30

DAVE The type of thing you'd wear to the movies (Rs Ja, ja) 31

I So it's a movies kind of jacket - more than night club? 32

DAVE You take it off when you get there 33

ROD The guy would take it off as soon as they get there, because when you dance then you get hot 34

I Ja, ja you couldn't dance in that hey. Do you think all kinds guys, all kinds of builds or athletic type guys would wear it? Is there anything easy to see about this garment that you would associate with lifestyle? Anything like that? 35

Athletic? (Rs Mmn mmn) OK, right 36

DAVE It's just for everyday casual wear 37

I So would you say it's typical? Or not really? 38

JEFF It is 39

Continued/...



I If I give you these two things to think about, typical or more fashionable, what would you say? 40

Rs Typical, 41

Rs more typical, probably more typical 42

I More typical than fashionable 43

DAVE I think its more borderline thing, it could swing either way 44

I so the person wearing this is not necessarily blending in with the crowd and he's not standing out either 45

JEFF But some people look for that jacket and this is the 'in thing', he's going to go for something like that himself 46

I Is it the 'in thing'? 47

JEFF At the moment, (ROD Actually it is) 48

MITCH I don't know. I'd say if somebody walked past me wearing that I wouldn't really notice it (I You wouldn't really notice it) no I wouldn't go into the next shop and look for it 49

JEFF It's not eye catching 50

I So it's not a big statement (a respondent chuckles) can we have the next one? 51,52

#### GARMENT 1

(General chuckles from respondents, sotto voce exclamations) 53

I Now, why are you laughing? 54

ROD Hey hey - it's not nice (chuckles and titters) 55

I (Garment is displayed) OK it's got a collar, and it's got a zip, it's got no cuffs here, it's no. is No 1, and the fabric is corduroy - how 'bout this one? 56

ROD the colour is too bright first of all 57

Rs Ja, mmn 58

I The colour's too bright? 59

ROD You wouldn't know what to wear it with (general laughter) 60

I You'd have a problem with matching would you? 61

DAVE It's quite a popular colour -but it's not something that I would wear 62

JABU Well, as you said it suits women (general laughter) 63

I So you wouldn't wear it who do you think would wear it? 64

JEFF Models 65

MITCH Arty people 66

I Arty people, high fashion kinds of people? 67

Rs Yes, Ja 68

MITCH Somebody who's fashion conscious 69

ROD I won't be seen in that 70

MITCH someone who's trendy 71



I So for this one you say fashion conscious. (Rs Mmn) OK. Does it remind you of a shirt? Or is it like a jacket? 72

Rs More like a shirt, Like a shirt 73

I A shirt jacket 74

DAVE It reminds me of the sixties era. Specially the corduroy (I Ja) it was quite a in thing in those days 75

MITCH It's more of a jacket than a shirt 76

I OK um, let's see any particular grouping of people who would wear this would you say, apart from models or arty people? 77

(No response. Respondents laugh and titter) 78

I Is it something which you would find quite masculine or not? 79

Rs Ay! no. It's not masculine at all 80

JEFF Ay I would think not, no. Girlish boys would wear that. (SCOTT laughs) 81

I Girlish boys would? Is that because of the fabric, or because of the (JEFF No, you do get nice corduroy jackets ((MITCH Mmmn)) but Ay!) (ROD the colour) the colour is it, so its, if this was in navy (ROD like if you get a Khaki colour) then you wouldn't say it's girlish, it depends on the colours and all that there) OK so it's the colour (Rs yes, ja) right, that helps quite a lot - let's have the next one 82

83

I What's the sort of basic idea behind this? 84

#### GARMENT 4'

SCOTT (indistinct....sounds like 'fireman') (general laughter) 85

DAVE Maybe if I was in the middle of the Antarctic I would wear it 86

SCOTT Or Midmar or somewhere 87

I So both of you are saying protective hey? 88

ROD I think it's nice for fashion (I Right) like a gangster type of - 89

MITCH It's quite grungy 90

SCOTT I think it's fashion victim unless it's out at sea 91

(general laughter) 92

I So you're saying there are places where it's going to look functional and places where it's going to look fashionable? (MITCH That's right, ja) Depends where you find it? OK anything else to say about this? If you look over here we've got zip pockets, we've got contrast here and you know this sort of fabric this is like nylon fabric (SCOTT Perhaps you could use it as a sleeping bag) oh right you could use it as a sleeping bag 93

I Anything else to say about anything it reminds you of relax, enjoy your drink, have a look at it 94

DAVE It's something I wouldn't wear because of fashion - I'd just wear it you know if it's really cold, I won't wear it for Any other reason (Rs ja, mm) 95

MITCH It reminds me of a walk in the berg or something hell of a lot of mist 96

DAVE Hiking type of jacket 97



I Anybody else? 98

ROD It's more like a homeboy style (Rs ja, ja) you see the American (DAVE Gangster kind of jacket) you get people that likes it 99

I What does homeboy mean? (General laughter) 100

ROD Ay it's I think that's a bit derogatory saying this guy's a homeboy meaning you're referring to him as a thug or something like that thugish (DAVE Gangster related, mmnn mmmnn. Not involved with crime but the whole image. Like you get surfers (SCOTT street boys) (TSEPO Ja, ja) 101

I Street? OK so there's a street connotation here? 102

Rs Ja 103

ROD Thug. You get a certain group who prefer this than another jacket. 104

I And what group is that? 105

ROD (laughs a little) Well I wouldn't like to say 106

I (laughing) why not? 107

SCOTT It makes you very big as well 108

I Makes you big looking? 109

DAVE Macho 110

I Do you think that big guys would wear it? Or would skinny guys wear it to look big? 111

SCOTT Big guys and small guys - not in between guys 112

JEFF Skinny homeboys 113

I Anybody got anything else? How many of you would actually buy it? 114

ROD Me 115

JABU I would buy it (DAVE if there was nothing else on the shelf) (General laughter) 116

I OK! Well that says it all 117

DAVE I suppose it's got quite a nice design but only for (JEFF when it's cold) only in cold weather conditions 118

I Only for function to keep either the fire or the snow out 119

DAVE That's the only reason why I would buy it (I OK) 120



121

What's the sort of commonplace idea about this one? (shows No 3) 122

### GARMENT 3

JEFF Classy 123

I Classy? oh, OK - and what makes it classy? 124

MITCH the collar 125

sR the colour, the colour and the make 126

MITCH It feels too much like work to me (Rs Ya) 127

I So it's got a work wear - so it feels a bit work like? 128

MITCH I wouldn't wear that if I was not at work I dress like this all the time 129

I So you reckon this could go work or casual (Rs Ja, yes) OK and somebody said classy too? What's that related to - what about it? 130

ROD You could have like a sports not a sportscoat or something but like a formal jacket if you were going to like a dance or something you would wear this or you'd put on a coat or something but I prefer this because it's more -more . . . . 131

JEFF It's more cool 132

I So is it the colour that makes it classy? 133

JEFF Not that, the design 134

ROD I like the design of the jacket. 135

Rs the design, Ja the design 136

I How about the fabric? (JEFF Ja that it looks from here it looks a bit quality) Do you want to see it close up? 137

Continued/...



JABU Ja ja bring it 138

MITCH I think it's actually the collar 139

I We haven't been talking about the numbers! what number is this? What we're talking about (General laughter) and the one we were talking about before, the orange one was No 1, (Rs followed by No 4) good, guys please remind me if I forget the numbers because forgetting the numbers is a problem! Ok this one do you want to feel it? 140

SCOTT It reminds me of kind of 'father' fabric 141

I 'Father' fabric? right, so, not only class but you're saying older? 142

SCOTT Definitely 143

ROD It looks expensive 144

SCOTT It's very Woolworths 145

I Expensive, so affluent 146

JABU (With rising inflection Hmm!) 147

I Anything else? 148

ROD It looks warm 149

JABU You feel great if you're wearing it 150

(General laughter) 151

I You'd feel great? 152

DAVE I don't like it but that's my comment (general laughter) (I that's fine) (ROD ((playing interviewer)) "why not?") 153

I I have purposely chosen jackets that will be very different in their appeal if I had chosen bunch of jackets which were similar in their appeal I don't think we'd get very far would we let's see the sort of hobby the guy would have who wears that what do you think? 154

SCOTT Golf 155

DAVE Polo players 156

MITCH Mmm 157

I And what are the other sorts of things that are in his lifestyle? What car does he drive? 158

MITCH An old MG 159

ROD 4 x 4 160

SCOTT With a cap! (laughter) 161

I Where does he go on holiday? (DAVE Ja you need the cap to go with it) 162

Continued/ ...



SCOTT Sani Pass 163  
JEFF India (General laughter) 164  
ROD No that will be too hot for that 165  
I So do you reckon that those are the things that are easy to see about this garment here? 166  
DAVE I want to know what you wear with it 167  
I Oh right, OK, what would you wear on the bottom? 168  
ROD Jeans or something? 169  
JEFF Casual pants? 170  
I Do you reckon it would be jeans? 171  
Rs Anything 172  
SCOTT Trousers (I Trousers? like what sort of trouser?) 173  
MITCH Chinos 174  
SCOTT Grey 175  
Rs Ja chinos 176  
Rs Chinos 177  
I Could you wear like work suit trousers 178  
ROD You can go with actually anything this, it depends how you wear it 179  
I And the shoes? 180  
ROD The shoes can be tackies or it can be formal shoes 181  
MITCH Brogues 182  
TSEPO I think it can go with shoes not tackies 183  
JEFF No, not tackies 184  
Rs Can go with Tackies 185  
ROD If you going to wear jeans then you're going to wear tackies, if you're wearing a formal pants then you going to wear shoes 186  
MITCH You can wear jeans and Docs - black docs 187  
DAVE Ja, docksiders (ROD Docmartens) 188  
I Jeans and docs. So will it be a shirt underneath or a T shirt? 189  
DAVE You can use it with a T shirt 190  
SCOTT Any way, it depends 191  
JEFF I'll wear a T-Shirt with a collar perhaps 192  
JABU But you can even take a tie 193  
I Even a tie? (Rs Yes, mmmn) So, this one is quite different to the others in that sense? 194  
Rs Ja, ja, quite different, 195



(No 6 garment is displayed) 197

#### GARMENT 6

Rs Oh! ooh! Ay! 198

(general laughter and mixed comments inaudible) 199

ROD Looks like an imitation Adidas (laughter) 200

I Right 201

SCOTT I quite like it 202

JABU It's warm 203

I Do you know what that fabric is it's a stretch velvet 204

ROD Nice, but it doesn't look nice 205

JEFF Ja the colour's the main thing that- 206

ROD It's loud, the colour's very loud 207

I OK so what are the possible lifestyle, type of guy associations here? 208

JEFF Surfer 209

SCOTT Surfer and Raver 210

I Surfer and Raver. Anything else? 211

TSEPO Like a techno freak. 212

I Techno OK . . . . . 213

DAVE The stripes remind me too much of a soccer shirt 214

MITCH Ja 215

ROD But Soccer shirts are stylish, you can see the difference, soccer shirts are like silky or like other thing but this is like. . . . . 216

I You're right it's a different fabric to a soccer shirt this is a velours, but I think maybe they have got that soccer shirt feel in there, I'm sure you're right, it's there .OK day or night would you wear this? 217

Rs Both, Both 218

JEFF It looks like a pyjama (general laughter) 219

Continued/ ...



MITCH It would probably go quite well with sort of faded jeans, tackies or something 220

ROD old Tackies 221

I So that's like with a trainer, that sort of thing 222

DAVE I'd buy it for my girlfriend as pyjamas (general laughter) 223

MITCH You got to get her to wear it though 224

ROD This appeals to most people who enjoy going to a rave hey 225

TSEPO Ja 226

I OK 227

DAVE this is a party shirt 228

I Party? 229

ROD Ja you can spot it 230

SCOTT For surfers when they're dressing - other than surfwear 231

MITCH Ja 232

I So in terms of youth or age? 233

ROD Ay, 18 - 25 234

DAVE Ja 235

MITCH young crowd 236

I It's very much a younger one. What sort of a guy is this would he be a very athletic guy or is this going to be a high energy sort of person? 237

sR High energy (I You reckon?) (Rs Ja). 238

I OK can we have the next one? (To respondents) Is it easy this? 239

Rs Yes, ja, Mmn, Ja 240

241

Continued/...



## GARMENT 5

ROD Is that real leather? It just depends if it's synthetic then I won't wear it, only genuine leather 242

DAVE All I need now is the Harley 243

ROD It's more like if you were trying - if you don't have enough money to buy that (laughter) 244

I So you've picked up that it's imitation 245

Rs Ja, Yes 246

I the fact that it's imitation, does that have any significance to you? 247

ROD People would laugh at you 248

JEFF Where we come from people would laugh at you 249

I Really 250

SCOTT People would?

(Rs laugh at you) really? Because it's imitation? It looks like it could maybe be a rubberised (sR Ja it's like synthetic) 251

I And how do you feel about that rubberised idea? 252

SCOTT I think it looks very nice providing it - if it's trying to look like rubber it's nice but if it's trying to look like leather its a bit shit (General laughter) 253

I So it shouldn't be trying to look like what it's not you say? (Rs Mmn, ja). Are we more or less all agreed or who doesn't agree with that statement? That if it's trying to look like leather then you don't think it's great but if it's (DAVE not meant to be) not meant to be then it's alright? So imitation for imitation's sake is then acceptable? 254

Rs Ja, mmnn, I'd say so 255

SCOTT But only if it's really well done 256

I Is it going for that imitation look or is it trying to look like leather? 257

ROD It's trying to look like leather 258

DAVE No, I won't say so 259

SCOTT It's not sewn like a leather jacket would be 260

ROD From far you'll think that's a leather jacket 261

MITCH Maybe 262

I How about the style? 263

MITCH Style's excellent 264

ROD I like that style 265

JEFF Very nice 266

MITCH I think the style's good, I think it goes with a GTI 267

(general laughter) (inaudible interjections . . . . . ja with the sheepskin inside. . . . . ja the guy with the shades) 268

ROD Ay I would never buy that 269

I But then perhaps that would make it have to go more with real leather, or not? 270

SCOTT I'd like it with fake fur, red fake fur on the collar 271

I Red fake fur (chuckles from respondents) Can we have the next item? 272

JABU Well since we started to discuss about these items we haven't touched the price 273

I Ah, right now in the research we're looking for the fashion meaning as against quite apart from the price but if we think about richer looking people, or this garment makes you look like you've got a lot of money or that garment makes you look less rich that's interesting to see 274

SCOTT I would assume that I wouldn't be able to afford the last garment. (I The last garment was number?)- 5.

(JEFF You wouldn't afford it? I think it's very cheap (MITCH I think it's cheap too) (JABU If I'm staying in Jo'burg I would buy this one) 275

Continued/ ...



I And this one is No 9 276

#### GARMENT 9

THABU Very warm 278

ROD Nice material, but it's over designed 279

I Ah there's an interesting remark - over designed hey? 280

Rs Ja,Ja, too much 281

JEFF this is sporty its like going for a jog in the early morning if I'm going for a jog at six in the morning I'll put it on 282

Rs Ja, Ja 283

I So you see it's got the side entry pockets, a drawstring in the hem, it's got rib cuffs, it's got this piece across the chest with the reflective tape on it, and then it's got a zip and hood and a label on the left side and on the sleeve 284

ROD Ja it is overdesigned. I think the hood part of it appeals to me (JEFF its like a track top) when it's cold in the morning I put it on I'll wear it if I'm going for a jog but it is overdesigned. 285

MITCH I think aside from the functional aspect I think it's ugly. 286

ROD Ja it is actually. 287

I Why is it ugly? 288

ROD Not nice 289

MITCH I don't know, you just look at it and you get distracted (ROD It's old fashioned) You don't want to look at it. 290

SCOTT It doesn't look like it fits anybody nicely 291

MITCH Depends on the definition of the person in there I'm sure 292

DAVE That's a bulky shirt, it doesn't have any shape to it 293

(MITCH ja) it just makes you look clumsy and big and (laughter) I think that's the whole purpose behind it (laughter) 294

I What sort occasions is it going to get worn on then? 295

ROD If you're going to gym, going to the gym 296

JEFF makes you look slob-ish 297

I So if you're going out (JABU Well despite what criticism about it I could still say it's a good design) (laughter) 298

DAVE It's nice for our type of Durban winters you know where it's too warm to wear a jacket um but too cold to wear a shirt I think it will come in quite handy. 299

I OK. Can you tell me some places to go where you would not wear that? 300 ROD Ay! Lots of places 301

Continued/ ...



SCOTT Most places 302

ROD Public places - just say that in public you won't wear that 303

I Does this mean you can only wear this at home? This is at home or in the gym? 304

SCOTT In a bar, but definitely not a nightclub 305

I A bar but not a nightclub. So what's the difference between being in a bar and in a nightclub in terms of one's appearance? 306

ROD In a bar you don't give a damn, you're just there to drink 307

DAVE It's just casualwear, I won't wear it if I'm going out to supper 308

I Is it a question of being seen? 309

ROD No one will take notice of a person wearing that 310

SCOTT I think it's quite 40-something 311

JABU I think it depends on places you visit - in some places you'd be treated well 312

I What sort of places would those be? 313

JABU Well in my area where I come from in Hluhluwe when I come with something like that - they will see that Oh well this guy is great (general laughter) 314

I Can we have the next one please? That's number . . (Rs 7) 315  
316

#### GARMENT 7

JEFF Good for an ice hockey game 317

I Do you know what that fabric is? Is this fabric more similar to that soccer jersey you were talking about? 318

sR Ja, Nylon like, Ja 319

I OK so have you seen something like this before? (Rs Ja) What sort of thing? 320

sR This is a bit better than the other one, like a similar function 321

I Which one is it better than? 322

ROD Than No 7 323

I Can you tell me why it's much better? 324

ROD First the whole design is much better (JEFF It's a darker colour, it's not so loud) 325

ROD And the zip - it's just, it's plain, nice and plain 326

I So No 7 is nice and plain and in terms of the kind of guy who would wear it? 327

Continued/ ...



ROD Sports 328

MITCH Student. 329

I Student? So it's a young look 330

SCOTT Raver 331

MITCH Ja 332

DAVE I could put it more towards sports 333

Rs Mmn, Hmm 334

ROD I wouldn't say raver 335

DAVE It's not something that I'd wear if I was going out raving 336

I This is for sports watching or sports doing? 337

Rs Both watching and doing 338

Rs Ja, ja 339

SCOTT A skater (giggles) 340

I Skateboard? 341

DAVE Ja that's how all the baggy (inaudible) (MITCH Ja) 342

I anything else? You can see it's got that knit collar with a stripe on the edge and it's got a lime green stripe with black and white - is there any particular sport that it reminds you of? 343

ROD It reminds me of Rugby (I Rugby?) it looks like it's a Natal shirt 344

SCOTT Ice Hockey 345

I Ice Hockey? (SCOTT Ja) OK. If a person's wearing it, are they going to make a big statement about themselves or less so? 346

DAVE No 347

ROD Oh just you won't really take notice 348

sR Normal you just stick in the crowd 349

SCOTT I think the black and white is quite strong 350

I So you're making some sort of a fashion statement? 351

JEFF Black and white is very appealing (I is it) Yes it's very appealing 352

ROD But it's a common colour so you won't really take note of it 353

JEFF I'll go for it 354

ROD Ja I'll also go for it 355

SCOTT I think the label also affects it 356

I What do you feel about that? 357

SCOTT I don't like it 358

ROD LA Gear - is all these clothes LA Gear? 359

I No there's only one - no there's actually two. OK let's have the next one - which is No 8 360

Continued/ ...



## GARMENT 8

JABU Oh, very strong ( general laughter) very strong, very warm. Can go to (inaudible) with this one 362

I Do you know what's on the outside of that garment it's like a waxed finish 363

JEFF It's like a raincoat 364

ROD It's like a bomber 365

JEFF It's for rain 366

TSEPO Winter, it's for winter 367

ROD Is that jacket reversible? (respondent refers to checked flannel lining) 368

I No I don't think so 369

JABU But you could reverse it and then 370

I Well we can try it if you like tell me about No 8? 371

JEFF I'll wear it in the rain 372

Rs Ja, ja, mmn 373

JABU If it's cold you can wear it because it's warm inside 374

I So what I'm hearing about this one is that it's for protection (sR Ja for winter, ja definitely) and it's going to have a utility value. OK. Is there any image value to it? 375

Rs Not actually, Not really 376

ROD Only time I'm going to wear this is in the rain, not if I'm going somewhere, I wouldn't put it on 377

MITCH I think the only time it will have any image value is if you climb out of your 4 wheel drive (general laughter) if you want to look that sort of image but 378

I So would you associate it with those kinds of guys who have 4 wheel drive vehicles and go out in the country trout fishing 379

Rs Ja, Ja 380

DAVE A macho image 381

Rs Ja, ja 382

MITCH Not so much MACHO 383

I So you say it's macho (DAVE Mmn if you have a 4x4 and everything else to go with it) 384

I OK I think what we're going to do now is this is - No 8 but we have actually had all 9 we're going to put them all up together and see whether we can distinguish different kinds of feel, different associations when they're all displayed together. (Sotto voce discussion among respondents while drinks are refreshed. One respondent hums softly) 385

Let's look at these 3 here and see if we can make any comparison between the kinds of person 386

Continued/ ...



GARMENTS 6,7 AND 1

JABU 6, 7 and 1 (ROD 6, 7 and 1.) 387

Maybe let's first think about what they're worn with - the difference in the footwear you know with menswear footwear is really a big thing isn't it? (Rs Yes, ja, mmn) you know trainers, loafers, caterpillars, sneakers 388

Gmt 6	sR Sneakers! Sneakers, Sneakers or tackies. 389 I with which one? 390 Rs With 7 391	Gmt 1
ROD 6! Ay 6 you can never wear shoes with that there 392 TSEPO Not shoes, tackies 393		Gmt 7

I OK Which one's the more fashionable? 394

sR 7, 6, 1 (general laughter) (DAVE I'D SAY 1) 395

I Can I ask you to say why if you said whatever particular number? 396

SCOTT Because of the fabric (I OK which one's that?) No 6 397	Gmt 7	Gmt 1
---	-------	-------

I No 6 you feel is more fashionable because of the fabric how's about the fit on the body? 398

SCOTT Ja and it does look like it would hang more tightly to the body even if it's quite loose 399 I yes it is a tighter fit - so now how do you feel about tight garments? 400 ROD Ay, faggot (some laughter) 401	Gmt 7	Gmt 1
--	-------	-------

I Let's go for No 7 then, what do you wear it with? 402

Gmt 6	ROD Short pants (laughter) 403 I those 'clamdiggers'? which ones do you mean? (ROD no, you know like soccer shorts or something) (JEFF it's loose) 404 ROD And with like cross trainers or something 405	Gmt 1
I Crosstrainers? OK, and No 1 what would that be worn with? 406		
Gmt 6	Gmt 7	ROD I won't buy that and I won't wear that 407 JEFF With a old jeans 408 MITCH Bellbottoms 409
I Ah old jeans you mean like second hand ones? 410		

Continued/ ...



ROD No faded jeans, faded jeans 411 JEFF Something that's been lying in your wardrobe for quite a LONG time 412	Gmt 6	Gmt 7
--	-------	-------

I And the shoe there with No 1? 413

Gmt 6	Gmt 7	ROD Ay! ay! 414  SCOTT Old tackies or old shoes 415  ROD Shoes that you don't ever wear - Sandals. 416
-------	-------	--

I What are we saying then about the difference between No 1 and No 7 in terms of the kind of image of the person that they are?  
417

Gmt 6	ROD Ay! 418  SCOTT I think they're both kind of quite trendy but uh one's more kind of arty 419  Rs Mmn,Ja 420
-------	--

I Is there a difference between more relaxed or not? 421

Gmt 6	Gmt 7	ROD That No 1 there should be a different colour 422  SCOTT I'd say No 1 is more relaxed 423
-------	-------	--

I That's cool - as many different ideas as possible. OK what's the difference then between No 6 and No 1? 424

ROD (Softly) 6 is not nice - 6! 425  DAVE I'd say 6 is a rave shirt (general laughter) 426	Gmt 7	Gmt 1
--	-------	-------

I OK if 6 is a rave shirt then what's 1? 427

DAVE I see 1 as something smart. (JEFF If you look at the design) The kind of fabric I would wear with chinos and smart shoes No 7 I see something very casual as the guys said just with shorts and sneakers (I OK) 6 and I would wear with a pair of old jeans and that will be purely rave. 428
---

I Can everybody see those hanging on the bookcase over there? Can anyone offer me a particular kind of guy that you can see there how they can be compared with each other.

429

Continued/ ...



ALL 9 GARMENTS'

ROD 5 is a biker, person who rides a motorbike 430				Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9
Rs Ja 431											
Gmt 1	ROD 2 is cool 432				Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5				
	Gmt 2	JEFF No 3 is 433 ROD No 3 is a bit classy, you wear that with a chino, casual pants 434 Rs Ja,ja 435									
I What do you wear No 2 with? 436											
Gmt 1	ROD Ay that's casual 437 Rs Jeans 438 I Only jeans 439 ROD You can wear it with a casual pants 440 I What do you think Jabu? 441 JABU A T-Shirt with a collar 442 I A collar T-shirt - which is different to the one with the rib round the neck. Right, and the shoes with 2? 443 JEFF Caterpillars 444  ROD No I think cross trainers 445				Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9
I What's the pants for 9? 446											
Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Rs Track suit pants(I and trainers?) 447  Rs Ja, mmn 448  I Nothing else 449  JABU I can take it with jeans 450				Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8
Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	MITCH That's doing it a favour (general laughter) (ROD That's OUT) 451				Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8

I What do we put with 5? 452

Continued/ ...



Rs Jeans as well, jeans ja. 453					Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9
JEFF Can also be worn with a pants. 454												
SCOTT Black jeans 455												
DAVE I think it will go nice with a polo neck, white polo neck 456												
I Right. And then the shoes? 457												
ROD Imitation shoes! (General laughter) 458												
I Well now we've said there with 5 some people said (ROD Docmartens (Rs Ja, ja) smarter trousers, (JEFF Or caterpillars) and other people said jeans 459												
I What colour's the T shirt then, or you said a polo-neck? 460												
DAVE white polo-neck 461												
I And if it was a T-shirt? 462												
ROD White or Black (I White or black, no other colour?) 463												
Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	ROD A lighter colour - you don't wear that with -(SCOTT (points to 6) I think that will look nice 464					Gmt 5	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9
				ROD No, 6 will never go (general laughter) 465								
I What's the difference between wearing a coloured T-shirt and a white or a black T shirt with 5? 466												
sR Colour T-shirts are (Inaudible) 467					Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9
MITCH White is much more striking, it's much more trendy 468												
I So white and black you think are more trendy than red or green, blue (ROD Shocking orange!) those kinds of colours? 469												
I So does the same apply then for 4 there? 470												
Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Rs No, no 471					Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9
					MITCH You not going to see it 472							
					I You're not going to see it 473							
					ROD I'll just wear a T shirt, (JEFF any casual-) any T- shirt 474							
					JEFF You not going to see it cause once you zip up then you not going to see what you're wearing underneath 475							
I And with 8? 476												

Continued/...



Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	JEFF I'd say a jersey underneath 477  ROD That's to cover you, that's protection ja 478  JEFF Protection ja 479 MITCH Mmn 480 SCOTT Whatever you're wearing underneath 481 ROD Ja whatever you happened to be wearing when the storm came up 482	Gmt 7	Gmt 9			
I So there's only one jacket here that you've mentioned has to do with class and that was No.-? 483											
Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Rs 3, definitely 484				Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9

I Is there any other jacket that has a classy connotation to you? 485

Gmt 1	JEFF Rs No 3 and 2 486					Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9	
MITCH No 5 487					Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4				
I 5, 3, 2. 488												
Gmt 1	ROD 5 is almost classy but not quite (general laughter) that's the whole thing once you find out it's fake you won't even (DAVE -I think 3 will go more for the older crowd I don't think youngsters will wear that type of jacket) 489						Gmt 2	Gmt 4	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9
Gmt 2	I Which number are you talking about? (DAVE No 3) OK so that's older? 490  ROD I think it's younger 491  I You feel it's younger? Let's talk about younger and older in terms of all of the tops here some of them are tops, some of them are jackets. Which ones are older and which ones are younger? 492  JEFF No 3 definitely a middle age group (Rs ja, ja) for a more mature crowd (laughter) 493  I Ok so you say No 3 is the oldest jacket here? (ROD If your taste in clothing-) 494  Rs Ja ja 495						Gmt 4	Gmt 5				
I Alright so what's the second oldest. 496												
Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	JEFF No 9 497					Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8
			Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	ROD 8 498						Gmt 9
DAVE 5 499						Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8
Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	ROD Second oldest? No 1 (laughs) 500					
Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	JABU 8 and 9 501					Gmt 7	
I 8 and 9? 502												
Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	MITCH Ja definitely 8 503 DAVE 8 is something my Dad would wear 504 JEFF No 8 can be both old and young it just depends on the weather 505					Gmt 7	Gmt 9

I The person who likes to be high profile? 506

Continued/ ...



Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 8	Gmt 9	ROD No 6 and 7 507
							I No 6 and 7? 508
							ROD Very outgoing, very outspoken, making a statement about themselves 509

I A personal statement (Rs Ja) The person who wants to blend in, who doesn't really want to stick out (ROD fashion conscious?) which jackets or tops would you say for that? 510

Gmt 1	MITCH No 2 511					Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9
	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	SCOTT 9, 2 512						Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8
	ROD Fashion conscious No 2 513					Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9
	Rs Definitely No 2, ja No 2,ja. 514											

I Would you agree anybody have a difference of opinion there for 9 and 2 being very blending in conventional kinds of garments? 515

Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	ROD Not No 9 516				Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	
TSEPO No 2 for sure 517						Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9
Gmt 2	Gmt 3	ROD No 9 is a - ay! it's too much of a designer. I'll wear that to the gym, probably going jogging or something but to say you are making a statement about yourself - no that's you're not making no statement 518					Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	

I Now as you're looking at the 9 jackets are there any of them that you feel uncertain this way/that way about that you've got 2 feelings instead of one 519

ROD Either way it could go? 520

I Ja I mean some of them you might feel definite about, some of them you may feel you know a little bit ambivalent -undecided in your feeling? 521

Rs 5 522						Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9
I No 5. Why No 5? 523													
JEFF It has got a classy look to If you buy something that's of quality then - it but the syntheticcness about it, it just puts you down again. 524													
I Anybody else who's got some jackets they feel two ways about? 525													
DAVE Mine are definite yesses or definite nos (SCOTT No 7) (laughter)													
526													
I OK. No 7? What are your feelings about that? 527													

Continued/...



Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 8	Gmt 9	SCOTT I almost like it but there's something that's just a little too . . . . bit too ravey about it (I bit too ravey?) ja trying a bit too hard. 528 I Is it macho ravey rather? 529 SCOTT I don't really think so (ROD I don't think so it's got a sporty look to it) (I Ja ) 530 SCOTT Also I think it's the label 531 I Is it more athletic then? 532 ROD Ja it is sportwear 533
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I OK. Which of these do you think move away from old fashioned and go more towards the progressive, fashion leader type garment? 534

Gmt 1	Gmt 2	ROD No 3 535				Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9
		Gmt 3	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	MITCH No 4 536						
		Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	I No 4 and you say? (JABU No 3) they go away from the past and more towards the future? 537						
		Gmt 4	Gmt 5	ROD No 3 is like WAS in the past, now it's coming back (laughter) (SCOTT No 6) 538						Gmt 7	
		Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 8	ROD If it's going towards the future I'd definitely say 6 and 7 (MITCH ja) And no 4for the jacket 539  ROD Looks like it's like this thing - what's this thing - the year 2,000 540					

I Now we've said about some of these that the way they will mean or how you'll feel about them depends on in what situation you'll find them, is that right? Which ones are those? 541

Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	JEFF No 8 542			Gmt 7	Gmt 9
I OK so (ROD When you're caught in a storm you'll cover yourself up for protection wherever you're going) 543										

I And then it'll look good? is there some situation in which it won't look good? 544

Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	ROD If you're going to a formal occasion (laughter) (JEFF Definitely not) 545			Gmt 7	Gmt 9
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I Is there any kind of group that you feel you would not like to be a member of that you feel that suits that group? Are there particular groups of people which perhaps might be associated with No 5 or No 8 that you feel remind you of that group? 546

Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	JABU Well No 8 for the elderly persons 547			Gmt 7	Gmt 9
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Continued/ ...



I Elderly? So we're saying no 3 and no 8 have got that feel? (Rs ja) OK 548																	
SCOTT You can actually see the pockets are kind of similar as well 549										Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 9	
I Is there anything here that you think is something from the past that now has become fashionable again? 550																	
Gmt 2	Gmt 4	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9	sR 3,1, 6, 3 and 1, 3 and 5 as well 551												
ROD 5 has always been there (MITCH - Ja it's timeless) 552										Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9
I So can you explain why - what about it - what past part of the past - anything that you can think of? 553																	
Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	DAVE 1 in corduroy used to be very popular 554						Gmt 9				
										TSEPO 1 looks like the 60's and 70's (laughter) 555							
I I didn't get - you all said different numbers in response to my question about styles from the past, can you explain, can anybody else say which numbers they feel might be a re-interpretation of the past? 556																	
Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	SCOTT No 6 is obviously a redone cycle shirt from the 70's 557							Gmt 5	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9			
				I OK so you feel this has a 70's feel (SCOTT But new fabric as well) OK so that's what's new about it? 558													
				SCOTT And maybe the cut as well I'm not sure, but also the people who are going to wear it are going to be different. 559													
I Right. OK, um we've said about meanings from the past and meanings which come to the present time which was an old fashioned reference now becoming fashionable again. Which one of these jackets do you think has the most different meanings in it? In other words it would be then meaningful to so many different people. The one that's probably going to be across the board (DAVE To people who are looking for occasions as well?) Ja. Which is the most accessible jacket here. 560																	
Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	ROD No 8 561						Gmt 7	Gmt 8				
		MITCH No 3 562							Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9			
I No 8 and No 3? 563																	
Gmt 1	Gmt 2	JEFF 3 and 5 564							Gmt 4	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9				
I OK why? for what reason? Is it to do with the way the garment is the fabric, the style. Look at No 3 it's pulled in at the bottom there it's ruched, whereas if you look at No 5 it's straight at the bottom. 565																	
Gmt 1	Gmt 2	JABU Well No 3 I think it's (ROD 5 has a leather look) 566							Gmt 4	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9				
ROD As Mitch said leather has got a timeless look, it's classic 567							Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 4	Gmt 5							
SCOTT Ja it's definitely trying to be more fashionable 568																	
I Guys, I think we've more or less done it now, that's great is there anything else, any comment that comes off the top of your head that you'd like to make? 569																	
Gmt 1	Gmt 2	ROD I'll make a last statement (I Ja?) I think No 3 is more affluent, it's more for a person who enjoys a formal occasion 570							Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9			
		JEFF No 2 and 3 I'll buy 571															

Continued/ ...



I You would buy them? And the most comfortable garments here, for the person who really wants to be comfortable? 572

Gmt 1	Rs 2 573							Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9
Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9	ROD Most comfortable to lounge back and (SCOTT 1 and 6) 574							
Gmt 1	Gmt 2	JABU Well 3 and 9 for me 575							Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8		

I How about nationality in other words what's American, what's British can you see anything here 576

Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	ROD No 4's Swedish (general laughter) 577							Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9		
			Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 8	Gmt 9	JABU I would say no 7 - it's more American (Rs Hmm) 578								
			Gmt 5	Gmt 6	MITCH I think No 4's American 579							Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9		
	Rs No, No 2's American 580							Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6					
	Gmt 2	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	JEFF No 6 is Mexican (I No 6 is Mexican? (general laughter) (DAVE 3 I would put as British as well) 581												
				Gmt 3	DAVE Brazilian (laughter) 582						Gmt 4				Gmt 5	
		ROD South American ( I tell me, what nationality's No 9) 583  (DAVE 5 can also be British) 583							Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 7				Gmt 8	
										Gmt 7	Gmt 8				Gmt 9	
	ROD No 9 ? No 9 is South African (general laughter) (DAVE Homeboy!) (general laughter) 584							Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7				Gmt 8	

I And 8? 585

Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Rs Canadian, Ja Canadian 586						Gmt 7	Gmt 9
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I And . . . . .no 5? 587

ROD Ayyy! That's (JABU all over) that must be (DAVE British) (ROD That must be Durban) (general laughter) 588								Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9
--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------

I Is there any rebel jacket non conformist jacket naughty boy jacket here? 589

SCOTT The closest is No 5 - maybe No 6 590		Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9
ROD No 5 591	Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 6			
I So No 5, do you say that it's naughty boy or not really? 592								
ROD Ay 593								
DAVE I don't think so 594								
MITCH Depends on who he is 595								

I Well let's say you don't know the person and you're meeting him for the first time and you actually have to make a quick assessment because he's going to take your sister out (DAVE What's he wearing with it?) (MITCH I'd say no 1) 596

Continued/ ...

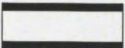


I What's he wearing with it? He's wearing it with jeans and a white T shirt 597													
Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	sR (mixed responses, inaudible. . . .No 4. . . chase you away 598					Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9	
I Ja he likes the idea he's flirting with the idea but he's not really 599													
Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	MITCH Pretend rebel not really. No 1 would worry me the most if he was taking out my sister 600					Gmt 9	
I Oh really . No 8 has been associated in my previous interviews with the same sort of things that you said utility, keeping the rain out (DAVE ja it's mainly protection) 601													
I Money!. What about money? 602													
JABU Attached to the items? 603													
I No in terms of LOOKING expensive 604													
Gmt 1	Gmt 2	ROD No 3 looks expensive 605					Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt8	Gmt 9	
		Gmt 3	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	SCOTT No 4 606								
I No 4 looks expensive? 607													
ROD No 5 looks very cheap (general laughter) 608						Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9
JABU Well you have a grudge against that one 609													
ROD Actually no I've actually seen that in the shops and I can tell you the price is R99.(Not true - price is R220). A real leather jacket will be about R700 or R800. 610													
MITCH How much is that? R99? (ROD R99. Near our work they sell them. . . (inaudible))(general laughter) 611													
I Is there any top here that certain people won't like - any group that won't like a top here? 612													
Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	SCOTT Well no.1 obviously makes people think of faggots 613					Gmt 9	
Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	JABU No 6 614					Gmt 5	Gmt 7	Gmt 8		
				SCOTT Also No 6 615									
				I Why No 6? 616									
				ROD It's bright (SCOTT and it's tight) 617									
				I Because it's bright and tight fitting? 618									
				Rs Hmm, mmm. 619									
				I Who wouldn't like it then? Who's going to be against that? 620									
				SCOTT More conservative people. Parents 621									
I Conservative people? (MITCH Ja older people) Older? Authoritarian? (ROD Religious people) Religious people? OK. Who is Mr Stable, responsible, respectable over here? 622													
Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Rs No3, (laughter) ja No 3 for sure. 623					Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9	
I OK. I think that's fine now. Well done, that's absolutely marvellous everybody. 624													




Group Interview 3

7 male participants ranging from eighteen to thirty-four years of age.  
Black, Coloured, Indian and White race groups represented by at least 1 participant.  
Interviewer: P.Kethro  
5<sup>th</sup> September 1997.  
Durban.

KEY: Transcriptions show which garments were presented any one time, by the placement of dialogue within solid table  borders.

Interviewer questions are shown in purple, preceded by the letter 'I'.

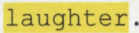
Interviewer questions *not* relating to participants' immediately preceding dialogue are placed outside of dotted  table borders.


When several participants respond in the same way simultaneously 'Rs' is used, and text is represented in red.

When several participants respond variously but simultaneously 'sR' is used, and text is represented in green.

Interjections are recorded where they have occurred, in parentheses.

Single spacing of transcription indicates involvement in the issue under discussion.

Laughter is represented by .

Where meaning is attributed to more than one garment the table cell in which these garments are mentioned  is shaded.

'Gmt' is an a abbreviation for Garment.

Participants' names have been changed to preserve anonymity and are shown in UPPERCASE.

Text Unit numbers follow each question and response for cross referencing purposes.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS used in this interview

Braai - barbecue  
Free State - province in South Africa  
Gauteng - province in South Africa  
Ja - yes  
Joh'burg - Johannesburg, a city in South Africa  
Jol - social occasion  
Kak - equivalent of shit, meaning bad, horrible  
Maritzburg - small town in Kwa-Zulu Natal, South Africa  
Midlands - farming district in in Kwa-Zulu Natal, South Africa  
Mooi River - small town in Midlands disrict  
Nelspruit - small town in the Northern Province of South Africa  
Okes - blokes, fellows  
Pretoria - a city in South Africa  
Skraal - thin



No. 7

I This garment is no 7. So I'm going to ask you what sort of guy and what sort of lifestyle does this garment remind you of?  
Who'd wear it? 4

#### GARMENT 7

LUCAS A raver. 5

I A raver? OK. So then if he's a raver, raves are held at night you think it's more of a night time garment? 6

RAJ This is a night owl's garment. 7

DONALD So when they go into the nightclub and they've got those lasers on them you know all the colours will you know all the colours will light up the green and the white and everything, ja 8

I Ja that would stand out (RAJ Ultraviolet) 9

ROB Ja the white would pop up 10

RAJ This is strictly for places like 330 11

ROB Like 330? No, no I wouldn't go so far as to say that that would go down well in 330 (general laughter) 12

I What would go down well in 330? 13

ROB No but the thing is like with places like 330 you find that people try to avoid labels (I Uh huh, do they) for some reason or another 14

LUCAS This is more for COMMERCIALISED raves 15

Rs Ja 16

RAJ Ja it's not so particular on the label, it's not about that 17

ROB Ja, that's a 330 thing but that's 18

RAJ Except for like Adidas maybe 19

ROB That's the thing, with Adidas you never see 'Adidas' written 20

RAJ Ja it's like basic 21

ROB You've got the 3 stripes. (DONALD The stripes Ja) That stands for Adidas. That you turn around and you find people 22  
(softly to indicate that this is what people are thinking) "what're you wearing there? L A? Oh. Oh OK." 23

I So are you saying that the label wouldn't be as trendy then? 24

ROB You find a lot of people tend to go out and buy, um clothing, shoes, jeans because they've got a label on them (I Ja)  
um . . . 25

I I thought I picked up a bit earlier that you're saying that a 330-goer wouldn't do that 26

ROB They wouldn't go out with writing, like a written speech. They might go out with a logo on 27

I Right. (ROB Um) Does it matter which logo? Are there particular - like you said with Adidas, you don't necessarily see Adidas, you see the three stripes 28

RAJ You see basically if you look at it on the whole this garment as it stands is very SPORTY (I Ja) it's got a sport out look, and that's what the system is all about, it's all about fast paced - person that's fast paced (I Right)

I mean moving with it

(I So that's a high energy kind of garment would you say?) Yes that's what this garment is predominantly for it's for a person who is fast paced . (I OK. A MOVER) You won't get like someone who plays golf now. 29

(general laughter) (I So you think it's not for like a gentlemanly kind of) no it's definitely hip, yuppie. That's it. 30

ROB It's probably aimed at an age group of say between 16 and 25 31

Continued/ ...



DONALD Specially with that label too it will target people who are very image conscious 32

ROB Yes, ja 3

DONALD And they won't like you said if it's got L A or whatever brand logo it's got on it they will buy it cause it's got L A on it and you can wear it out and people will see it 34

ALAN There're also people though who wouldn't wear it because it's got a label on it (DONALD That's right) a lot of people'd think gee I might go out in this and people don't like the label or might think gee that's a stupid thing to wear they prefer not to have labels on (ROB that's why the 330 guy doesn't wear it) (DONALD Ja) (ROB It's such an IMAGE CONSCIOUS society) 35  
I So I'm hearing that there're kinds of people who like labels and kinds of people who don't. (ALAN who don't ja. They might have THAT, but without the label). 36

DONALD But it also depends on the age and of the person too (ALAN Ja) That you're probably looking at from 15 years or maybe even 14 up to about 18 or 19, people that aren't really going to be going to places like 330, where they are going to the rave places and where they want to be seen seen wearing the LA label garment (ALAN Ja) or Adidas (ALAN Where other people are quite happy just to be seen in that without the logo) exactly (ALAN in case what other people think they're brand conscious) they're a little bit older and they've gone through that stage maybe of having everything brand conscious, Nike shoes, Adidas shoes, whatever it is 37

LUCAS that's the point that's the COMMERCIALISED garment 38

I So some people would prefer to avoid being seen in a commercialised image type garment (ALAN They'd have their own image) 39

LUCAS They buy the same garment from a store like maybe Idols, without the label, maybe with a logo or something 40

I That's very interesting. Vusi, you haven't said anything. What do you think? 41

VUSI Ja the reason why I didn't say anything is to a certain extent I don't totally agree with everything (I Oh I'd like to hear what you say) well with my exposure, in terms of where I come from I don't know if it's necessary for me to raise that, I mean I come from Jo'burg (I No but that's exactly what I want to hear about, I want to get a different perspective here) you see Jo'burg has got a totally different market when it comes to clothing, in Joh'burg this type of garment is the type of garment that the college boys would wear (I College boys?) Ja you know these 16 year teenagers that are coming up they're into basketball and they're sporty you know that's the kind of image take a guy that they'd like to portray but you has just started working, well maybe leisurely, you know at times maybe when he wakes up in the morning he'll just go for a stroll, yes he could like have that on but it's not something that he can wear like going out to some function at night or going to a nightclub (I OK) You know he'd be more of a fabric conscious in terms of as to who the designer is maybe (I Very interesting) 42

RAJ But you see at the end of the day, the environment that you go into is obviously different. Let's go back to the discotheques - you get your hip hop system, you get your reggae system (VUSI But the clientele there?) but this type of system is basically 'techno' and trance (DONALD He's got a good point) (VUSI It depends, you see if you gonna talk about 320 (sic) I mean yes maybe OK I'll say I'll speak for instance in Durban the popular club in Durban for say for dominantly black folks it's it's 'Gossips' and you hardly find guys wearing it) 43

RAJ What type of music does Gossips play? 44

VUSI They play rhythm and blues and they play - R&B 45

I I think you've made some very interesting comments there Vusi. That's actually a different perspective that not everybody's aware of 46

ROB Now that he mentions that you look at that again and it looks - it's more Americanised) 47

ALAN Ja it does 48

VUSI The age group that - 49

I You mentioned basketball 50

VUSI I mean the age group that tend to sort of want to associate with that image, I mean in the black society is the sixteen eighteen (sR during the day, Ja) you understand I mean like when they walk around down the beachfront 51

Continued/ ...



I So look there are different meanings there I think that's definitely true 52

ALAN Different cultures I think (Rs Ja, definitely, very definitely) 53

I Can we have the next one? 54

DONALD Sorry, just quickly what it also boils down to is your social group, it's your social group really, I understand what you're saying, but it boils down to the social group, your upbringing not really your upbringing but your circle of friends, what night club you go to, (ALAN Peer group) that's right peer group pressure, what you're going to wear (ALAN Ja) and what you aren't going to wear and where you're going out to, that will also determine exactly what brand you're going to wear, whether it's going to have LA Gear or not on it. 55

I Ja. Can you then distinguish groups who would like to wear the label and wouldn't - I mean would you be able to describe what kind of people they are that WOULD like to? 56

DONALD Whew I mean 57

RAJ That's like very hard (I Hard to describe? OK, don't worry) there are some garments that I'd like to wear a logo on but there are some at the same time where I wouldn't want any 58

\*No. 8 59

I Alright, fine, let's look at the next one. That's great. This one's got a waxed finish on it, and it's No 8. 60

DONALD No 7, was that like a nylon (I 100% Polyester, it hasn't got a shred of cotton in it) 61

I And this one you said is? (I a waxed fabric, and it's got a check lining, and it's No 8.) OK, this guy, is he a different guy to the one before? 62

Rs Ja, very different, completely different 63

#### GARMENT NO 8

I Aha. 64

ALAN He's a lot more upmarket, because that sort of garment is completely different to other sorts that you get in that range, but it's still stylish it's more for like a, I don't know like a 25 year old going out to (DONALD Rugby) rugby or a braai at somebody's house (I so, different place, different guy) Ja but then you can go back to (ROB now you look at that, you put a logo on that and that'll sell to - say you put an Instinct logo on it - ) yes Ja it will, it will (ROB or an MCD logo on that and it will sell to surfers guaranteed that's the kind of thing you know) because it's different to what they can normally get, ja because it's got their logo on it they'll wear it even though it's not meant for what they're wearing it in they'll wear that during the day and whatever) (RAJ and anyway eventually make its way to a jacket this will be like European logos 65

I Really 66

Rs Ja, ja 67

RAJ It'll be American 68

I Italian? 69

RAJ ja that type of 70

ALAN Ja it'll be more upmarket people who go outdoors and whatever 71

RAJ You can actually wear (I but here it is now without the logo, who do you think it appeals to if we can try and rack our brains for some Names of kinds of people?) 72

Continued/ ...



RAJ See, luckily for this kind of garment I would say in my opinion you can wear it with a pair of jeans and you can wear it with a pair of smart pants 73

Rs Yes, ja 74

I So, versatile? 75

RAJ Right it's a trendy thing 76

ALAN It's for your older group around 25-year olds 77

ROB Yeah ..... golf 78

I You'd say the golfer type guy? 79

ROB Yeah 80

LUCAS No, no 81

I You wouldn't say so? Lucas, let's hear from you now, do you think this kind of guy is - the sport that he plays in his spare time would be like?

(Lucas It's a boring jacket). 82

I Boring. 83

LUCAS It's uptight (ISMAIL Not really trendy hey) 84

ALAN Ja it's not it's more for somebody who doesn't want to look too cool, but they want a jacket that's going to look smart, just at like a gathering with friends (LUCAS That's it) 85

I Are you saying middle of the road 86

ALAN Ja 25 year olds with reasonable jobs that kind of thing where they don't want anything that looks cheap or anything that looks too cool they just want something that will look good on them 87

I Does this look cheap or expensive to you? 88

ALAN That's what I'm saying with the lining it looks expensive 89

ROB But that's what you would call a working jacket (RAJ It's more mature) 90

I More mature? 91

ROB Ya, you would wear that when it's cold, or when it's raining. I don't know the fabric of that - 92

I What do you think Vusi? 93

Continued/ ...



VUSI I think it's for all ages in most cases and maybe for it to sell it would also depend on the climate of a particular town, for instance if you were to sell this type of a garment in Jo'burg I know it would definitely sell, for all ages from 18 upwards (RAJ And also another thing) and I think it will also be ideal for when you go to a nightspot even it's fairly warm 94

RAJ A thing like this in Durban I don't think would sell because our climate is generally quite warm. Our winter is not really cold at all. If you go to Johannesburg there's a vast difference between their winter and our winter. This is predominantly also for a more cold place. 95

DONALD I Just find with that jacket I personally wouldn't wear it. I like the lining, but the one thing I don't like about it is the front, the pockets, (ALAN Ja, they're too big, and it's long, it's too long) if I had to buy a jacket that there's not going to be logos, anything on it I would buy myself a bomber jacket, I wouldn't buy myself a jacket like that that's long and that's got the front pockets in the front 96

I What does the length and the front pockets sort of say to you? 97

ALAN Uncomfortable 98

ROB It's too big 99

ALAN It's too bulky 100

DONALD For me personally if I had to wear that it's too long, too bulky, I wouldn't use those front pockets, 101

ALAN And if you take it off where are you going to put it, I mean if you go out to a rugby match or whatever it becomes a nuisance but it's nice to go to a friend's like if you go with a bunch of friends to (ROB Just to a braai) braai or something ja and I suppose younger people would like it as well the pockets are big enough to stash beers and that 102  
(General laughter) so you can walk around with beers stashed in your jacket 103

I Ismail, you've been a bit quiet, tell me now, did anybody say anything about more expensive/less expensive, does it have any kind of a expensive look about it? 104

ALAN Ja it does, it looks more expensive (ISMAIL Ja it looks expensive) 105

DONALD Personally from my own point of view maybe it's a bit of a naive statement, because that jacket there looks bigger than that one and you know it's a lot bigger (I that's a top) OK that's a top um it actually does look a bit more expensive specially with the lining, and also with the collar and stuff like that um, but also if you look at that jacket and you go to a rugby game for instance I was up at Nelspruit 3 weeks ago I was up at a trade show there and they had farmers that had jackets very similar to that I didn't see the lining so I don't know whether they had that type of lining but they were wearing very similar jackets to that the long jackets with the pockets and the whole thing 106

I So are you then maybe saying city\country here? 107

ALAN It could be 108

DONALD Yes ja 109

ALAN It strikes me as the kind of jacket that somebody would wear to go camping but they wouldn't camp, they'd stay in a chalet. It's used for camping but they wouldn't want to rough it too much, it's a comfortable camping jacket. 110

ROB It's a working jacket as I said Ja but It's got that element of trendy to it (DONALD Ja) 111

RAJ I've actually seen a jacket similar to this, that's also a label jacket, 'Brassy', a fisherman was wearing it (I A fisherman was wearing it?) 112

Continued/...



I So you associate this jacket with outdoors? 113  
ALAN Ja. But not too much roughing it, maybe staying in chalets - things like that. 114  
ROB I disagree with that. I think that's more of a trendy type jacket to wear. 115  
I You think it's a trendy jacket? Let's hear what Brian has to say? 116  
ROB Again going to like an American style, almost you said earlier a gangster you know the big jackets they pride themselves on the clothes that they wear 117  
I Big? 118  
ALAN That wool lining says to you straight away like outdoors and that if it didn't have that ja it would be like one of those gangster jackets that you can hide your guns underneath and stuff 119  
ROB A big jacket the bigger your jacket the bigger you look the more imposing you are (ALAN Ja) 120  
I So is that something big guys do or small guys do? 121  
ROB Small guys, guys like ME. The skraal okes wear the big jackets so they can look big 122  
VUSI But I still think that that would not be ideal for Natal but I tell you, in Free State, Gauteng where it really gets cold . And I think it's upmarket. 123  
  
(A new garment is presented) 124

I Can someone mention the number that's on there? 125  
Rs 4 126 127

I It's number 4 we're discussing now. Right! This guy. 128 No 4

#### GARMENT 4

DONALD Is it also nylon? 129  
  
I Yes, 100% nylon. Nylon's got that shiny effect . . . . . it's No 4 . . . .and it's got this at the bottom which doesn't need to be Pulled in ( shows optional drawstring) . . . . what do you think of this? 130  
  
LUCAS It's definitely hip hop 131  
  
ALAN Ja 132  
  
I Hip hop? Okay. . . . 133  
  
VUSI I think it goes with No 7. 134  
  
ROB It's in a similar class as the last one (ALAN that was No 8) 135

I Similar class Okay. .if I take these two, maybe it helps if we look at these two together. Is there a difference in these two guys? 136

Continued/ ...



ALAN Very 137

DONALD I think it's completely different 138

ROB They're a similar style of jacket but they're aimed at different people 139

I Okay, who are the different people? We're talking about 8 and 4 hey? 140

ALAN It's a very practical jacket. It's for rain and cold and that but I think (I that's 8 hey?) no, No 4 it's for rain and cold and that but I think people would wear it for image, even if it wasn't raining, just to go out at night and that, for image I think they'd wear it. 141

ROB Maybe I'm wrong but that strikes me as a rave jacket hey. (DONALD What, No 4?) Ja, but one of those outdoor raves, (ALAN yes, ja, ja you couldn't wear that inside) 142

I I'm getting lots of different views here and that's just great anybody else? 143

LUCAS It's a very American style jacket (I American?) That's why we say American Hip hop . 144

ROB Ja going back to the gangster type style 145

ALAN It's more a cruising jacket you drive around in it, you don't really go in places (I this is No 4 you say?) it's too cumbersome and big to like actually wear for a long period out 146

RAJ That's for a mature person and this is for a much younger person. (ALAN Ja) 147

I So Raj you're saying 8 is for a mature person and 4 is for younger? (RAJ ja definitely) 148

LUCAS This is more for image and No 8 is more (ALAN It's more practical) practical. 149

I In other words there's much more of a fashion connotation to 4? 150

Rs Ja 151

RAJ 4 actually is made for the for the newer generation. (ALAN Ja) Like in the 60's you'll never get someone wearing that. (ALAN For people who don't really need a jacket like that but they'll wear it ). You'll get someone wearing No 8 152

I So it's a very 'forward' jacket? It's not - thinking about the past -153

Rs No 154

RAJ It's - it's up to date with things. 155

I Is there any difference here between um, you know earlier on we - you mentioned nationality you were saying 'European' - is there any difference now between (RAJ That's the, that's what makes this jacket all the more reason why it's so popular it's popular amongst everyone (ALAN No, I wouldn't wear it) (ROB I wouldn't wear a jacket like that, I'd rather wear no 8.) (ALAN Same as me) - Blacks, Indians. 156

I Why would you rather? 157

ALAN I don't know it just appeals to me more than wearing that it's just not my style. It's almost too forward for me 158

(ROB It's too loud.) Ja. People notice that too much, you'll draw too much attention to yourself. 159

I You'll stand out? (ALAN Ja). Oh, OK. Good. Right, anybody got anything else to say about 4? 160

Continued/...



DONALD Um also if you just look at the style on 4 you know the younger generation, they like that pocket flap at the back. If you look at the front and the back, they like that style. I've seen a number of children well not really children but kids walking round at the Pavilion with similar jackets like that obviously that's the style, the image, having the longer section at the back and the shorter in the front. 161

I When you see them what do you think about them as a group of people? Are they separate from the group that you belong to? 162

DONALD Ja. When I was that age ja. 163

ALAN They're trying to be different. They're trying to make a statement and be different. 164

I Is it age difference or is it the kind of lifestyle? (ALAN Lifestyle as well, ja). What sort of things do they do that's different to what you do? 165

ALAN uh I suppose they go to different places, far different places, they act different, they talk different, (I they're interested in -would it be music?) 166

DONALD Ja music too but also now I mean I'm 24 now and if you look at guys that are 16, 17 and are wearing jackets like that, they're all

going out to clubs more often than I was. I was only going out maybe on a Friday or Saturday when I was that age. Now these guys are going out during the week sometimes, right through the weekend (RAJ Ja but that's the future there's nothing you can do about that.) Ja I'm not criticizing I'm just saying that's how it's changed. 167

ALAN It's the kind of jacket that every time you go out you'll pull it off and put it on, that's your jacket, that's your favourite jacket, you'll put it on, whenever you walk out the door you put your jacket on. 168

ROB But then when you - it's got a hood - 169

I Vusi, do you feel the same as everybody else? 170

VUSI I still I mean that garment No 4 I still identify it with teenagers. 171

I Lucas says hip hop. 172

VUSI That's the age group for hip hop. 173

I But only Lucas has said Hip Hop do the rest of you agree? 174

Rs Yes, 175

ROB Ja I agree, raver/hiphop 176

RAJ It's more for like a faster person 177

LUCAS Americanised 178

ALAN I'd say from about 21 years old up wouldn't really wear that 179

I When we saw this one here you were talking about big pockets and hiding guns in them - which one do you think is more - 180

ROB I look at that one and it's got a hood on it and I think as soon as I see the hood I think hood pulled up, baseball cap on, White Sox written across the front here (ALAN but I don't know whether the hood would be used that much, it's more for show, ja for image 181

I OK, next garment. We're doing very well guys, that's great. 182

RAJ The pockets actually make a difference as well one's a zip, one's a button. 183

No 2 184

I Ok it's No 2. 185

Continued/ ...



## GARMENT 2

ROB 'Putrid' comes to mind. (general laughter) 186

I Can I ask you to say why? 187

ROB It doesn't appeal to me, (ALAN Grey and black wool) I'm from a surfing type culture and it just (I not right for you?) no it just, it looks like a JOHANNESBURG type thing you know like a guy who wears shorts and long socks and a jacket like that (VUSI Ah you find that type of guy anywhere) (DONALD I'll tell you in Maritzburg you find that) (ALAN ja, Maritzburg) 188

I I want to hear the contrasting opinions here! 189

ALAN That's more I think a guy wearing smart casual pants with smart shoes would wear something like that because it's not way over the top and it's not too it's not like a suit jacket but it is kind of like a smart jacket 190

VUSI I just think it's the kind of jacket for all ages that you just put in your boot and it's always in your boot and whenever you feel cold you just put it over (ALAN Nothing special) 191

DONALD Personally if I had to choose between 2 and No 7 I'll take No 2. I don't really like the colours on it but (ROB You'd wear it if you were cold) I'd wear it yes, but No 2 I mean No 7 I wouldn't wear that 192

RAJ But if for example (VUSI is 7 a top?) (I Ja, 7 is a top) (VUSI Are you comparing the jacket to the top?) (DONALD Ja with the top ja (ROB to you that's more of a practical thing (DONALD it is ja) that's all you looking for OK I'm not having a go at you but it's more of a practical thing you know you'd wear it if you're cold) (ALAN Ja exactly). 193

VUSI It's got no particular occasion, you pull it on any time. 194

ALAN No I wouldn't wear it, not at all, it doesn't appeal to me (I tell me why?) I don't know, I'm not much of a jacket person 195

I Why don't we say this why don't we talk about the guy who would wear it, rather than ourselves, what sort of a guy do you think he would be. 196

ALAN Older he's 20, 21, yuppie - 197

ROB he's more established, he's settling down - middle class 198

ALAN I think as a practical jacket 199

ROB Middle-class type person 200

VUSI I think you'd have to look beyond the jacket look at his shoes, look at his pants you cannot decide just because of the jacket (respondent giggles and apologises) 201

I No, that's fine. You'll notice that I've chosen as different things as possible hey (ALAN mm) 202

and I'm really keen to get different responses from you nobody minds if somebody else says something that they don't agree with do they? Is that true? 203

Rs Mm, yes. 204

No. 3 205

Continued/ ...



I Great. No 3. 206

### GARMENT 3

ALAN It's like a working class jacket really. That's actually the best out of all of them. 207

LUCAS With all the jackets we've seen so far I'd say that's the most expensive. 208

ROB Seriously you like that? 209

ISMAIL That's a Papa's jacket it's expensive but for a much older guy 210

RAJ This is 100% down the lane (sic) 211

ALAN Ja that's image (I really?) It's class image. 212

Rs Ja 213

DONALD It's a working class jacket in a way 214

RAJ There's nothing to it but I would say it's an upmarket jacket and that's it it's not going to fit a medium paced guy or a slow guy at all it's upmarket and that's it. 215

I OK 216

ROB It wouldn't suit a young person, it wouldn't suit a guy from about 14 to 25.(ALAN no it wouldn't) 217

ALAN You looking more 25 onwards 218

I And fashionability? 219

LUCAS It's very formal 220

RAJ It won't sell at Mr price. But it will definitely sell at Casanova. 221

ALAN I don't know what you guys think but I think that's black culture. 222

VUSI I don't think that would sell in Casanova the idea of the design yes, it's brilliant but the fabric that was used there it's -it's not right. 223

ROB It looks like a tweed jacket you know those old fashioned tweed jackets? 224

I Old fashioned hey. Vusi do you think it's old fashioned or not? 225

VUSI That style? yes. The fabric is out of fashion. 226

RAJ It's not actually a sports coat, but more of a same trend of a sports coat system. You can wear it with a formal pants or a jeans. But it's definitely upmarket. 227

ISMAIL Old fashioned and classy at the same time. (RAJ And it's got round collars). 228

I Great. No 1? 229

Continued/ ...



GARMENT 1

RAJ Unfortunately I've got just one like that (sic). (general laughter) 231

ROB The colour detracts from it. 232

I Why's that. What do you associate with the colour. 233

ROB It's wrong. (ALAN It's wrong for the jacket) What do you wear it with? You couldn't wear it with blue jeans because it's ay! it's just too bright for the kind of style it is it's too bright. That's more like a casual going out kind of shirt 234

RAJ Colours for jackets like this would be like black, navy blue, (ROB Even a white one like that would be nice) 235

I If those colours are the right colours and this is the wrong colour, what would the person who is wearing it project about themselves, what are they saying about themselves? 236

(Inaudible simultaneous responses . . . . . "attention". . . 237

I Attention? 238

ALAN Ja attention but he's not too concerned about the way he looks he uses his clothes more to grab attention to himself. (ROB He's the kind of guy who will drive a BMW you know (ALAN Ja) with his arm out the window you know and because he's wearing such a bright shirt people will notice. He gets out of his car and he like polishes it off and everyone's looking at his shirt and going what kind of - 239

VUSI I think we're talking about two different markets here. I mean the kind of market that I'm exposed to and the kind of people that I think are likely to buy these things and categorising them in terms of their income I don't think they'll go for that. 240

I Right. So who would go for it? 241

VUSI None of the people that I know. I think it would be the low income bracket. Most probably I mean it's cheap. 242

I So on the one hand we're saying BMW but on the other hand we're saying fashionable but cheap. (ALAN Ja) Has anybody else got something to say about this? 243

ALAN People will - like for myself I know a lot of people would walk into a shop and they'll see that and they'd say that's a nice jacket pity about the colour, and they'd move on and look for something else. 244

LUCAS The colour gives it like a feminine look. 245

I Is it feminine. 246

Rs Yes. 247

ISMAIL no coordination. (ALAN Ja he just buys it for the jacket, they don't really care about the colour (DONALD Ja , whatever whatever) 248

Continued/ ...



No. 5 249

I OK and that was No 1. Right, we've got No 5. Guys I'm going to tell you right now that this is not real leather, this is imitation leather, and I've specifically chosen it to be imitation leather to see what you think about that. 250

#### GARMENT 5

ROB Big IMAGE person (ALAN ja, big image) 251

ROB Smart pants, smart shirt, and a leather jacket over the top 252

ALAN I don't know, I see that more as a young person who wants a leather jacket but can't afford it because it's not real leather (Rs ja, ja) 253

DONALD Hasn't got much discretionary income to actually go out and buy (ALAN a proper leather jacket) so they buy an imitation so they can look good and everyone says ooh gee look what he's got he's actually wearing a leather jacket - meanwhile it's imitation. 254

ROB that would go down, because it's not a like a biker jacket with buckles and what not it would go down very nicely in Retros, in like a retro environment. 255

I Is there something retro about it? 256

ROB I don't know it just seems like (ALAN it looks leather but it's plastic) it looks like leather but it's plastic and because it looks relatively long it looks like mid thighs type length on me but um I don't know it... 257

I When you say biker is biker fairly sort of rebellious? 258

ROB It's not a rebellious jacket, (ALAN No it's too plain, it's trying to be rebellious but it's not) 259

ROB They can't afford to be rebellious, because - 260

I If it was real leather would it be? (ROB Ja) 261

RAJ If it was real leather it will look 100 times better. It's actually very plain, simple, it's got no style whatsoever (ALAN It's got no style, it's got no shape whatsoever) 262

ROB If you made that real leather, exactly the same design, exactly the same everything, you'll probably find the same type of people buying it but just with a lot more money 263

I OK Vusi, you agree? 264

VUSI Ja 265

Continued/ ...



I OK next garment 266

No. 6 267

#### GARMENT 6

ROB What kind of material is that? 268

I It's velours, it's like a velvet, a stretch velvet. 269

ROB Stripes down the sleeves - raver. Ja, end of story. 270

LUCAS Surfer (I Surfer?) 271

sR No, uh uh, no way, (general laughter) it's too bright. That's a real image kind of person 272

RAJ If you put No 7 in the front, the first jacket here (I you want me to put these two together?) 273

RAJ That goes together only it's different colours 274

I You're saying these two are the same 275

ALAN Very similar but a raver would wear No 6 first, because it's very plain, it doesn't have the logos, and it's very bright. 276

ROB Well, a raver would wear No 6 when he's on the jol, when he's out and he's having a good time you know, and then when he's going home he'll maybe pull that one over the top (ALAN or during the day he'll wear) or during the day he'll wear something like that, pretty much plain you know, not keen to show off, but enough to attract - 277

ALAN No 6 I think is a very big headed person, very - they want to be noticed, they're making sure that they are going to be noticed people are going to say he is a raver 278

I Do you think it's image conscious 279

ALAN Ja very much so 280

DONALD But if you're saying that what age group are you 281

ALAN There you're looking at around 18 282

ROB You're not looking anything younger than 18 because younger than 18 you're still at school, you want to be part of a crowd, and if the guys you're with wear that jacket, you'll wear it, and if - if when you get over that age you start to become an individual, you start to go for something like that 283

I Ok 284

ROB On your own, without any - you look at that and you want to go straight for ... (VUSI I think it's very ideal for Michael Jackson's concert at night) (laughter) 285

RAJ The colour, even the texture is not for the day at all, 286

ALAN It's not practical, it's for night-time 287

RAJ Places where there's a lot of light 288

Continued/ ...



No 9 289

I OK. This is No 9 290

#### GARMENT 9

ROB I'm going to have a hack at someone here 291

I Carry on, nobody will mind 292

ALAN That's hideous 293

ROB That is ABSOLUTELY TERRIBLE, but it would be something that someone from Pretoria would wear your Afrikaans type person 294

DONALD Yes ja 295

ALAN someone from inland 296

ROB Ja he's trying to LOOK cool, 297

LUCAS Is that from Tommy Hilfiger? Is it? 298

I Well spotted it's a knockoff 299

LUCAS If it was a Tommy Hilfiger jus. . . it would be a fly jacket but 300

I What does it mean a 'fly' jacket? 301

Rs Very cool, very cool ja 302

ALAN I agree with Brian though it's the kind of jacket that like an Afrikaans guy would look at that and he'd think that's cool, because I s'pose their interpretation of cool or whatever is different to ours, so he'll have a look at that and he'll think, I'll wear that and I'll look trendy but we think he's an idiot 303

I OK, anybody else got anything else to say about this, and please, we're all friends, we can completely contradict and say something that's absolutely different if you like. 304

ROB I don't want to MILL anyone but ay it looks like um a black American jacket 305

I Black American, OK. Who agrees with that? 306

LUCAS It's - it would be - 307

ROB A person in South Africa who wants to look like an American type thing you know because it 's going to be cheaper than may be the designer outfit that's what they're going to go for. 308

ISMAIL I'd say that it's aimed more to a low class income 309

Rs Ja 310

I Low class did you say? 311

LUCAS I think it looks fake you know 312

ROB Ja it does, it looks fake 313

Continued/ ...



I Raj? 314

RAJ I actually hate it (general laughter) 315

I Tell me why Raj? 316

RAJ It's more, it's more RURAL type of wear 317

I More what? 318

Rs Rural 319

I Country not town? 320

ROB I disagree with you, that doesn't look like a - it's not a rural type wear. That big strap across the middle 321

DONALD That jacket is someone that's not very fashion conscious that's maybe not really with it, it's trying to be with it, and they think maybe that's their - (ALAN Ja but you know exactly what that jacket is, that's like a Mooi River jacket (general laughter) best jacket you can buy in Mooi River (DONALD Well put, well put) you can't buy anything else and that's the best, you'd buy that nobody else is going to see you so if you're walking round in the best jacket you can buy in that town, you're in, but if you came and some guy was wearing No 4, you'd look like 322

DONALD Ja but the reason for that is that they're probably ten years behind (ALAN Well that's it, if you can't get anything else you go for No 9) 323

Rs It's an old fashioned thing, it's an old fashioned jacket 324

VUSI I differ with all the guys here because I think that's modern, with my running shoes and my tracksuit pants I could put that on and Just laze around you know at home (ROB Ja with the track suit pants type of person) that's homely, it's very comfortable (RAJ Country type) not necessarily country (ALAN not really country) not really country 325

I Are you saying it's the difference between home and out? Is that right? 326

VUSI Ya all I'm saying is I'm home and I feel I want to take a drive and go buy a newspaper I could put that on (ALAN ja, ja) I won't mind walking out of the yard having No 6 on - no No 9 327

ALAN It' not a night time jacket, it's not something a person would wear to a bar (ROB you wouldn't let your friend see you in that jacket) 328

VUSI No it depends I mean if there's morning soccer having to go there that is not serious 329

ROB It's like a father going to watch his son play rugby in the morning (VUSI Yes, I mean you know?) 330

Continued/ ...



All Garments 331

I OK now we've got everything here together, the things that I've heard you say, and it's been amazing, I've heard you talk about night or day, (DONALD European/American) looking at everything here now, we've got the opportunity to compare against, now lets go through the things that we've already said, young/old, and see what stands out as younger and what stands out as older, and mention the number please. 332

Rs No 6 and 7, No 6, No7, No 6 333					Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 8	Gmt 9
Gmt 1	RAJ No 7 No 4 334							Gmt 5	Gmt 6		

I And older? 335

Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 4	Rs No 3, No 3 336					Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9
		Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Rs No 8, No 8 337					Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	
	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	LUCAS No 2 338					Gmt 7	Gmt 8	
	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	RAJ No 9 339					Gmt 7	Gmt 8

I OK 340

ROB How young are you looking at? 341  
I I'm not looking at any particular age group I'm just looking at your descriptions, the descriptions you already have used to describe. . . .OK 342

Gmt 1	ALAN Very young, from 14 to 18, No 7. 343					Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 8	Gmt 9
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I So you say that's the youngest? 344

Gmt 1	ALAN That would go down with the kippies, the guys who are attempting to get into a crowd, they want a label, but they also want a cool jacket, that suits their style. 345					Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 8	Gmt 9
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I Now we talked about things coming from overseas how do you feel here about what might be American 346

Gmt 1	Rs No 4, No7 347						Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 8	Gmt 9
	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	LUCAS I'd say No 9 too that's very American. 348					Gmt 7	Gmt 8
DONALD Which is the one on the top left there? 349												
Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 4	LUCAS No 8 and No 3 is British 350						Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 9

Continued/ ...



I No 8 is British and No 3 is British? 351

Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 4	Rs That's right 352				Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	
			RAJ No 3 has got a very strong British look (ALAN Ja) (LUCAS Formal) 353				Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	
		Gmt 3	Gmt 4	VUSI No 8 is British when you only go to play Polo 354 LUCAS Or fishing 355 ROB No 8 you can walk around in Piccadilly circus in No 8 356				Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8
		Gmt 4	RAJ The person that wears No 3 will wear no 8 (LUCAS yes, definitely) 357				Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9
			ALAN Ja but also I disagree I've seen a lot of black guys walking around I don't know if you guys agree with me with No 3 on - well not exactly like that but with that sort of material 358  VUSI Those are the type of guys that come from the rural areas, 359  ALAN Yes, ja they're trying to look good in the city 360 VUSI We talking low income now 361  ALAN Yes very low income types with the shiny shoes and jeans and maybe that on. When they come into the city they wear something like that, that sort of material, I'm not saying that kind of look, I'm saying that kind of material 362				Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9
		Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	VUSI That No 5 as well goes for that kind of market 363  ALAN Yes, ja 364				Gmt 9

I Low income bracket and rural did you say, or not? 365

Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	VUSI Rural I'd say because it's an imitation, it's what they can afford 366  ALAN Ja 367	Gmt 9
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I OK. What else did we talk about? We talked about rich, poor, those sorts of things any associations now that we see everything together? 368

Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	LUCAS I'd say a poor person that knows a little bit about fashion could get that Tommy 369  I That Tommy ? A poor person but who knows about fashion (LUCAS That Tommy knock off) the No 9. And anything else? 370	Gmt 7	Gmt 8
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Continued/ ...



Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9	<p>ALAN No 1 I think would be the kind of guy who just he needs something to wear, he's not the kind of guy who goes every weekend to buy clothes, he's got actually a bit of cash, he decides that he wants something different to wear, he'll go and he'll find a top like that 'cos he doesn't want something that's too elaborate or something that's not his style, he'll go and he'll just buy something like that 371</p> <p>RAJ That's not actually even a shirt, you can't wear it as a shirt, you have to wear it like just something over (ALAN Over, ja). 372</p> <p>ISMAIL what kind of guy will go shopping for No 1? 373</p> <p>ALAN No 1's your own shopping where you've got an extra bit of cash and you're walking around and you just want something different you want a new piece of clothing and you just go for something like that 374</p> <p>ROB I said it's a putrid, absolutely KAK colour (laughter) but if you open it up if it's not done up, OK, and you wear it over something else (ALAN like a white T shirt) like a white T shirt, it'll actually go very well, it will go with something (ALAN white T shirt, blue jeans or something) not even blue jeans, maybe (DONALD black jeans) will go with it um and for a Retros type jol, you know it looks like -like that straight edged - 375</p> <p>RAJ Sunday you can also regard it as Sunday wear as well something just to put on on a Sunday, shopping, take a drive somewhere 376</p> <p>ROB I still don't like it. I wouldn't wear it 377</p> <p>RAJ Cos that's what I bought it for anyway 378</p>
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I Guys we've also discussed some garments that seem to make a person stand out from the crowd, or some that make a person blend into the crowd. How do you feel now looking at the numbers? 379

RAJ No 6 will make you stand out 380						Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9
ALAN 6 will make you stand out definitely 381													
DONALD 6 and then pushing on to 7. 382							Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5		
Gmt 1	Gmt 2	LUCAS I'd say 4 too makes you stand 383						Gmt 3	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7		
		ROB Well 7 and 4 even huh? 384						Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 5	Gmt 6		

Continued/ ...



<p>ALAN No 6 you could only wear if you were in the right crowd, you couldn't wear 6 if you were in the wrong crowd, you have to wear 6 to the event. 385</p> <p>ROB Coffin kids with all those black type shirts 386</p> <p>RAJ That top you won't wear it in the day you'll have to wear it in the night 387</p> <p>ALAN That top you put it in the back of your cupboard and when the rave comes to Durban you put it on and you go out you wear it maybe only once, maybe once a month, once every two months maybe. 388</p> <p>ROB When they've got an occasion that calls for it 389</p> <p>ALAN Ya then they'll wear it 390</p>	Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9
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I And now we also mentioned at home garments and out garments going out you know you're going somewhere going to the movies, going to a club, you might be going to a braai, we've talked about all of those things 391

Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	<p>VUSI 9 is definitely homely. 392</p> <p>ROB Put it this way, if I was going out, OK, I would wear No 9 at home cos there's no ways in hell I would ever let anyone see me wearing that 393</p>	Gmt 7	Gmt 8
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I Anybody else got anything else to say about out and at home? 394

ROB Depending on the occasion, it all depends on the occasion (RAJ what you you up to really) 395

Gmt 1	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	<p>ALAN No 2 I think is the kind of jacket somebody gives you as a gift you don't buy it yourself you kind of like it but (ROB it's like a grandparent's gift) Ja you pretend that you like it (ROB You say oh this is wonderful and you put it in your cupboard and you never wear it) and when you see them once a year you wear it 396</p>	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9
					<p>DONALD OK but you say No 2 is hideous between 9 and 2 which would you choose? 397</p> <p>ROB God neither, I would go naked 398</p>	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	
	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	<p>ALAN If I had to I'd rather go for No 9 but I wouldn't wear out I'd feel a . . . . . wearing it out. 399</p> <p>ROB I'd go naked. 400</p>		

VUSI Why don't you try it on 401

Continued/ ...



I You know which 2 numbers I'm interested in that you haven't talked about is 8 and 5. 402

Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	DONALD 8 I would say that's European. 403  LUCAS 8 is European 404	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 9
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I the guy that buys that, what car does he buy? 405

Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	ALAN No 8 he drives a big double cab bakkie, he wears big hiking boots that he never uses because he never climbs anywhere he just uses it to walk to his chalet and the jacket he'll wear on a stroll around the golf course or on a walk or whatever but I don't think he'll wear it for practical use. 406	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 9
				Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	ROB Ok I'm going to speak about No 5. No 5 is a guy who's got a semi expensive car, alright, but he's put more on it he's souped it up he's put a big spoiler on it, he's tinted the windows, put a big sound system in it, you know, he wants something that the guys are going to look at. 407  ALAN He wants something that's going to go with his image but is not going to cost him a lot. 408  RAJ No 5 when someone wears that jacket he obviously ah, (ROB has no clue) doesn't know anything about clothes. That's it. 409  ROB No but he's trying, he's attempting, he's a try hard basically. 410	Gmt 9

I OK so some of these clothes try hard, and others don't try so hard ja? Is there some distinction we can make between these garments of 'I'm trying hard to be fashionable or I'm trying hard to have an image' which one would you say? 411

ALAN No 6 412							Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 8	Gmt 9
Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	Gmt 7	LUCAS Tommy 413								
I Tommy's trying hard? 414														
Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 3	Gmt 4	Gmt 5	ALAN He's trying so hard 415							Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9
					ROB He's trying hard but he's getting nowhere 416									
		Gmt 4	ALAN 3 as well I think. 3 is lower income bracket but it looks smart. 417							Gmt 5	Gmt 6			
			VUSI He's got an ambition. 418											

I He's got an ambition? (I He wants to go places). 419

ALAN he wants all the girls to notice him 420

Continued/ ...



Gmt 1	Gmt 2	Gmt 4	<p>RAJ No 3 I'll tell you now is the most expensive jacket of all of them 421</p> <p>DONALD I personally think that 3 is not a lower class, certainly not. 422</p> <p>LUCAS You know what I'd say (DONALD It's middle class) 423</p> <p>ROB If it is so expensive why does it look so tacky? 424</p> <p>RAJ That's because of the whole idea of the jacket It's simple, and at the same time elegant 425</p> <p>ROB I don't know, I'm probably the youngest guy here, and it just doesn't appeal to me 426</p> <p>ALAN Because you're not in that class 427</p> <p>DONALD Ja you're not in that class 428</p> <p>ROB Maybe I'm not in that class you know but I'm not prepared to go out and spend maybe R600 or R700 on a jacket 429</p> <p>VUSI Would you buy it for your Dad say? 430</p> <p>I If you had the money 431</p> <p>ROB If I had the cash - if I had the cash 432</p> <p>VUSI You'd consider 433</p> <p>ROB Ja I'd consider it. 434</p> <p>ALAN I wouldn't, I'd have a good look but I wouldn't. 435</p>	Gmt 5	Gmt 6	Gmt 7	Gmt 8	Gmt 9
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(End of interview) 436