FOR THE LOVE OF FASHION IN AFRICA – CREOLISATION AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO PRO-LOCAL OR PRO-GLOBAL CULTURE

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A research project submitted to the Gordon Institute of Business Science, University of Pretoria, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Business Administration.

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ABSTRACT

Unprecedented levels of globalisation have transitioned the world's fashion industry from a predominantly Euro-centric monocultural playing field to a multicultural marketplace. With an influx of international retailers entering African markets, it is essential to understand the cultural complexities on the continent in order to develop successful international marketing strategies so as to mitigate threats and maximise opportunities presented by globalisation. Within this context, creolisation provides a possible consumer cultural blending lens from which to examine this multi-layered, non-linear, culture creation process.

This study explores how creolisation manifests itself amongst consumers in Africa as an acculturation alternative to pro-local versus pro-global orientations towards globalisation which have been well-examined and empirically tested within current international marketing literature. Since the concept of creolisation has not been clearly defined or well explored within this literature, a qualitative study using semi-structured interviews, with a sample of nine professional consumers and 11 fashion experts in Africa, was utilised.

The findings show that culture creation is more complex than the binary view suggested by pro-local versus pro-global consumer dispositions towards global culture. Instead creolisation manifests in numerous ways whereby local culture is infused into global culture (or vice versa) or through multiple cultural exchanges to create something new. Cultural blending is also tied to African consumers’ desire for agency in creating their own unique identities through fashion.

KEYWORDS

Creolisation, Acculturation, International Marketing, Globalisation, Multicultural Contexts, Pro-local Consumer Culture, Pro-global Consumer Culture, Identity
DECLARATION

I declare that this research project is my own work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Business Administration at the Gordon Institute of Business Science, University of Pretoria. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University. I further declare that I have obtained the necessary authorisation and consent to carry out this research.

Leanne Emery
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1. CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

"The world seems to be fascinated by African culture and design. So why isn't the fashion industry on the continent blowing Paris out of the water? The issue is as complex as the patterns of African prints." (Brown, 2016)

1.1. Introduction

With intercultural adaption becoming an increasingly common phenomenon, making sense of consumer preferences and cultural influences is important in order to develop successful international marketing strategies (Barker, 2014; Demangeot, Broderick & Craig, 2015; Cleveland & Laroche, 2007). This relies on examining acculturation which is described as the process by which individuals adapt to foreign cultures (Barker, 2014). The integration of global markets accelerated by technology, politics, economics and society presents enormous opportunities as well as unprecedented threats to organisations operating across borders (Alden, Steenkamp & Batra, 1999; Carpenter, Moore, Alexander & Doherty, 2013). Central to this is (1) the challenge that international marketing managers face in identifying and appropriately targeting market segments in different countries as well as (2) understanding consumer preferences for local, global and foreign products and brands (Riefler, Diamantopoulos & Siguaw, 2012; Steenkamp & Hofstede, 2002; Bartsch, Riefler & Diamantopoulos, 2016).

1.2. Research context

Unprecedented levels of globalisation have transitioned the world’s fashion industry from a predominantly Euro-centric monocultural playing field to an eclectic and colourful weave of diversity (Brown, 2016). Developing economies such as India, South America, China and Russia have changed the cultural make-up of the world’s fashion industry (Young, 2015). Although Africa has remained on the periphery of the world fashion stage until recently, international fashion retailers have recognised the potential of Africa as a market with brands such as Topshop, H&M, Zara, Cotton On and Forever 21 all entering South Africa, Africa’s most developed retail economy in the last five years (Delonno, 2014).

Correspondingly, marketing research and brands from emerging markets are growing in power, with studies focusing on Asia, India, Turkey and Latin America (Cleveland,
Laroche and Papadopoulos, 2009; Eckhardt, 2005; Chan, Chan, & Leung, 2010; Guo, 2013; Khare; 2014; Kravets & Sandikci, 2014). However, Africa has not been well-explored as part of this literature despite the fact that it is one of the fastest growing consumer markets of this decade (Lyonski & Durvasula, 2013). Africa is thus becoming more competitive for both local and global brands and in order to prepare for the potential opportunities and threats that globalisation presents, marketing managers must make appropriate segmentation and positioning decisions based on valid and informed assumptions about cultural influences (Cleveland & Laroche, 2007).

According to Alexander (1990), in many cases, the main challenge facing international retailers expanding into any new market was not technical issues, but rather issues around foreign cultures (Alexander, 2006). Accordingly, with globalisation accelerating the interconnectedness and interdependence of cultures and consumers (Terasaki, 2016), practitioners and theorists have long identified the need for international marketers to appropriately segment markets while developing products and positioning strategies when operating across borders that are culturally relevant (Cleveland & Laroche, 2007; Steenkamp & Hofstede, 2002; Westjohn, Singh & Magnusson, 2012). This may be particularly pertinent for fashion brands because apparel is considered a high-involvement or culturally sensitive product (Khare, 2014). As clothing choice forms part of a person's social identity and remains a dynamic outcome of changing cultures and preferences, it has been identified as a high culture-bound product (Cleveland et al., 2009; Carpenter et al., 2013; Khare, 2014). Furthermore, Kravets and Sandikci (2014) note that middle class consumers in emerging markets use fashion to connect with people, institutions and contexts. Consequently, in the race to enter what the World Bank identifies as the second most attractive continent for investment (Diop, Li, Yong & Shide 2015), Africa poses the threat of becoming a potential cultural minefield for marketers entering the continent if they do not have a comprehensive understanding of this market’s cultural context.

1.3. Research problem

1.3.1. Creolisation within multicultural marketplaces

This study offers the emerging concept of creolisation as an important alternative to pro-local and pro-global consumer dispositions within the multicultural marketplace of Africa. Creolisation speaks to a specific blending or hybridisation form of two-way acculturation where cultures push and pull to create something new, thereby allowing
consumers to mix and meet cultural meanings as they deem appropriate (Ger & Belk, 1996). Traditionally, international marketing literature has focused on the differences in positive versus negative consumer dispositions towards global culture, without considering the fluidity of acculturation (Demangeot, Broderick, & Craig, 2015)) or conflicting simultaneous orientations (Bartsch et al., 2016). This new lens of creolisation will assist marketers in navigating possible cultural minefields on the continent, and potentially in other emerging market contexts, because much of today's consumer decision making happens within complex multicultural marketplaces. These are physical or virtual locations where brands, ideologies, consumers, institutions and organisations interact within the context of multiple cultures and are simultaneously often also connected to other cultures in different locations (Demangeot et al., 2015). With unprecedented levels of globalisation changing world markets (Lyonski & Durvasula, 2013), researchers and international marketers have shown immense interest in acculturation, consumer dispositions and orientations towards global brands (Bartsch et al., 2016).

Acculturation is the process by which consumers or individuals learn and adopt values and norms of foreign cultures (Cleveland & Laroche, 2007). Within the context of acculturation, much of the international marketing literature centres on whether cultures are becoming more (1) homogenous, thus creating one homogenous global consumer culture, or (2) heterogeneous, promoting separate pro-local cultures because of globalisation (Alden, Kelley, Riefler, Lee & Soutar, 2013; Batra, Ramaswamy, Alden, Steenkamp, & Ramachander 2000; Demangeot et al. 2015). The argument of whether cultures are becoming more homogenous or heterogeneous is well examined but does not factor in the possibility that consumers could simultaneously hold negative and positive dispositions towards global cultures (Bartsch et al., 2016). Because creolisation accounts for the two-way interaction of global and local cultures in order to create something new (Ger & Belk, 1996), it provides an alternative view to homogenisation versus homogenisation of acculturation. This study aims to revitalise the acculturation construct of creolisation, as proposed by earlier anthropological researchers such as Appadurai (1990) and Ger and Belk (1996), to explore how it manifests itself within today's modern multicultural marketplaces.

Against the backdrop of these deterritorialised and multicultural contexts, where consumers are connected to cultures from all over the world, creolisation provides a possible cultural blending or hybridisation lens (Alden, Steenkamp & Batra, 2006) from which to examine a multi-layered, non-linear culture creation process. Creolisation
speaks to the blending of cultures whereby foreign and local cultures are integrated and new cultural forms emerge (Appadurai 1990; Ger & Belk 1996). This study contributes to the international marketing literature focusing on acculturation and consumer dispositions towards global culture by exploring the concept of creolisation within the multicultural context of fashion in Africa’s growing market.

1.3.2. Creolisation as an alternative view to pro-local and pro-global views of acculturation

Creolisation, whereby multiple cultures push and pull to create new subcultures and meanings permeating physical confines (Ger & Belk, 1996), offers an alternative view for international marketing scholars who have, up until this point, focused primarily on constructs examining either positive or negative consumer orientations towards globalisation and global culture (Bartsch et al., 2016). Consequently, literature examining negative consumer dispositions towards global culture, such as ethnocentrism and global brand animosity (Alden et al., 2013; Cleveland & Laroche, 2007; Cleveland, Laroche & Papadopoulos, 2009; Shimp & Sharma, 1987), and positive orientations, such as world-mindedness or cosmopolitanism (Alden et al., 2006; Cleveland & Laroche, 2007; Cleveland et al., 2009; Nijssen and Douglas, 2011; Riefler et al., 2012; Terasaki, 2016), are well developed. However, many of these studies do not focus on the complexities and blending nature of culture creation (Demangeot et al., 2015).

It has been identified that acculturation literature needs to move from examining differences between consumer orientations to understanding the dynamic and fluid nature of culture creation within multicultural contexts (Broderick et al., 2011; Demangeot et al., 2015; Kipnis, Broderick, Demangeot, 2013). This paves the way for international marketing theorists and practitioners to examine the conflicting influences of both positive and negative dispositions towards global cultures and brands through the lens of creolisation (Bartsch et al. 2016). The purpose of this research is to question the assumption of literature proposing that consumers are either influenced by a negative or positive disposition towards global brands and to re-examine the concept of creolisation.
1.3.3. Positioning creolisation

For the most part, modern international marketing literature has focused on the positive (pro-global) and negative (pro-local) continuum of dispositions towards globalisation and global consumer culture (Bartsch et al., 2016). Similarly, international marketing positioning strategies focus on Global Consumer Culture Positioning (GCCP), Local Consumer Culture Positioning (LCCP) and Foreign Consumer Culture Positioning (FCCP) as originally proposed by Alden et al. (1999). However, these strategies do not take into account the possibility that consumers could simultaneously display both positive and negative associations towards globalisation or exhibit cultural blending. Instead, they either promote a brand’s global, local or foreign nature but do not comprehensively examine the possibility of hybridised or blended culture creation. These positioning strategies also assume that consumers will automatically prefer brands that match the personal or cultural identities that they possess or aspire to emulate. They focus specifically on cultural-identity positioning and do not factor in consumers’ potential need for agency in creating their own identity and self-expression through consumption (Bhattacharjee, Berger & Menon, 2014).

1.3.4. Glocalisation, creolisation and hybridisation

Some multinationals such as Disney and McDonalds have historically addressed this cultural blending through the use of “glocalisation” positioning strategies where they have adapted their global offerings and positioning strategies to suit local cultures (Crawford, Humphries & Geddy, 2015; Matusitz, 2010). Glocalisation is a strategy defined by the multinational and does not account for the two-way playful creolisation process whereby the local consumer indigenises what suits them and often something new is created (Appadurai, 1990; Ger and Belk, 1996). Thompson and Arsel (2004) go as far as to describe glocalisation strategies used by certain multinationals like Starbucks, as “hegemonic brandscapes” (p. 631) because these brands excerpt a hegemonic influence on sociology and culture. As such, perhaps marketers need to look beyond hegemonic glocalisation as a positioning strategy for dealing with complex multicultural marketplaces. With this in mind, it becomes important to explore the manifestation of cultural blending, so as to provide useful frameworks for marketing managers that define creolisation more clearly and examine the differences between glocalisation and creolisation.
Alden et al. (2006) state that consumer attitudes towards globalisation and consumption run along a global-local-hybridisation scale and use the terms *glocalisation*, *creolisation* and *hybridisation* interchangeably. They state that *hybridisation* is the least well-defined concept within marketing literature and that it seems to reflect the widely discussed, but not well defined, glocalisation construct (Alden et al., 2006). Similarly, Jackson, Thomas and Dwyer (2007) began to find evidence of creolisation in consumer culture, but also concluded that this construct needs further exploration.

What is clear is that the concept of hybridisation, in general, and creolisation, specifically, is not well defined or well explored within current international marketing literature. As such, this study aims to further explore the concept of creolisation as originally proposed by earlier authors such as Appadurai (1990) and Ger and Belk (1996), as an alternative to pro-local and pro-global consumer dispositions within the context of today's deterritorialised multicultural marketplaces. The study aims to better understand and define the concept of creolisation and explore how it manifests itself within the multicultural and culture-bound context of fashion in Africa. This will assist marketers on the continent, whether global or local, by providing a creolisation model to navigate complex multicultural playing fields, specifically within emerging market contexts.

1.1. Research objectives

Against the backdrop of fluid acculturation within multicultural markets, the aim of the study is threefold: (1) to explore whether creolisation exists amongst consumers in Africa and if so, how this manifests amongst consumers of fashion in Africa. So as not to discount the pro-local and pro-global constructs within this new context, the research will also (2) explore whether constructs of local orientation and (3) global orientation are present amongst consumers of fashion in Africa. In doing these three things, creolisation is further defined so as to create a model of creolisation manifestation. Marketing managers will be able to use this model as a valuable lens to gain a better understanding of acculturation and the effect of cultural influences on consumer decision making, as well as preferences within multicultural contexts.
First though, an outline of the current acculturation literature is provided, focusing on creolisation as an alternative to positive and negative consumer dispositions towards global culture within the against the backdrop of multicultural marketplaces.

1.2. Research report structure

The research context, problem and objectives were highlighted in Chapter One so as to establish the academic and practical importance of the study. Chapter Two will provide an overview of the current international marketing literature with the aim to revive and further define the concept of creolisation as proposed by earlier anthropological researchers such as Appadurai (1990) and Ger and Belk (1996), within the context of today’s multicultural marketplaces. Chapter Three will clarify the research questions and Chapter Four will provide justification for the qualitative research design as well as detail around the approach used. Chapter Five will provide a comprehensive presentation of the research findings using the research questions as detailed in Chapter One and Three. Chapter Six discusses the findings from Chapter Five, with supporting evidence from the literature review (see Chapter Two). The concluding chapter, Chapter Seven, will discuss the main findings of the research, offer managerial implications, state the limitations of the research and provide recommendations for future research.
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

Alden et al. (2006) provide initial evidence that consumer attitudes towards globalisation and global culture can be organised along a global–hybrid–local continuum, but acknowledged that hybridisation or creolisation is the least well defined of the orientations. Since then, literature has tended to focus on the positive and negative disposition sides of the continuum (Bartsch et al., 2016), with less attention been paid to the blended hybrid orientations Jackson et al. (2007) also touch on the idea of creolisation and hybridisation in their 2007 study. However, they too make mention of the fact that these constructs require further definition and exploration. Thus, somewhere in between positive and negative dispositions towards globalisation and global culture, creolisation, as a specific form of hybrid acculturation, will be interrogated in more detail against the background of multicultural contexts. This will provide marketers with an additional framework from which to view acculturation.

Much literary debate has raged around whether globalisation leads to more heterogeneous cultures or one homogenous global culture (Alden et al., 2006; Carpenter et al., 2013; Cleveland et al., 2009). These studies do not adequately acknowledge that acculturation research within multicultural contexts, where cultural boundaries are being permeated by deterritorialisation, technology and mass media, should also begin to focus on the fluidity in instead of differences in cultural exchanges (Broderick et al., 2011; Demangeot et al., 2015; Kipnis et al., 2013). As such, international marketers have begun to focus on understanding these complex cultural exchanges, which brings the emerging concept of creolisation to the fore, in order to appropriately segment markets through understanding how consumer decision making is influenced by their attitudes towards global and local cultures (Alden et al., 2006; Guo, 2013; Riefler et al., 2012).

Creolisation provides one such alternative lens to the homogenisation versus heteroginisation of culture, as it accounts for the more complex, two-direction and fluid nature of culture creation (Ger & Belk, 1996). Furthermore, it distinguishes between the oft-discussed, but also not clearly defined, hybridisation strategy of “glocalisation” whereby multinational organisations tailor global offerings to local markets (Alden et al., 2006). Glocalisation places the power of culture formation in the hands of the global hegemonic multinational (Thompson & Arsel, 2004). Creolisation, on the other hand, emphasises the playful push-and-pull between cultures and allows for

Fashion is closely tied to culture and identity creation, thus it was selected as an ideal backdrop from which to studying acculturation (Carpenter et al., 2013; Cleveland et al., 2009; Jackson et al., 2007). The multicultural marketplace of Africa was selected as context, due to the fact that it has largely been in international marketing literature as part of the emerging market world (Lyonski & Durvasula, 2013).

2.1.1. Marketing challenges in deterritorialised marketplaces

The urgent need to identify and explore more complex alternative acculturation manifestations than the binary of pro-local versus pro-global cultural dispositions is necessitated by changing cultural landscapes precipitated by technological advancements and globalisation. Before the invention of the internet and mass media, cultural intermingling was confined to nations that exchanged goods and services via trade routes (Demangeot et al., 2015). Advances in technology, infrastructure and mobility have allowed people from multiple cultural backgrounds to converge and exchange meaning, creating multicultural marketplaces (Broderick et al., 2011; Demangeot et al., 2015; Kipnis et al., 2013). As these cultural and economic boundaries become increasingly blurred between nations due to rapid deterritorialisation, so the modern marketing manager is faced with a complex playing field (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012; Cleveland & Laroche, 2007).

These complex multicultural playing fields have focused international marketing literature's attention on understanding consumers' global consumption orientations or the degree to which consumers prefer local, global or hybridised brands (Alden et al., 2006; Guo, 2013; Riefler et al., 2012). Deterritorialisation, whereby ethnic groups behave in ways that transcend territorial boundaries, has allowed for remote acculturation or culture exchange to take place (Appadurai, 1990; Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012). Consumers exist and make decisions in these multicultural, deterritorialised worlds where they are connected to multiple cultures and contexts (Demangeot et al., 2015). Consequently, determining a specific consumer’s global consumption orientation becomes extremely complex.

2.1.2. Imagined worlds and changing scapes

The complexity in determining a consumer’s global consumption orientation is heightened by the fact that many people live in both physical and imagined worlds as
well as communities (Appadurai, 1990). As such, the environment in which they create meaning is constantly shifting and moving. This is consistent with the Demangeot et al. (2015) study identifying multicultural marketplaces as being able to manifest as "imagined communities" (p. 119). Appadurai (1990) describes multiple worlds, both real and imagined, through the ideas of "scapes" (p. 297) that influence how a consumer or individual views the world and consumption. He named these scapes as ethnoscapes (shifting landscapes through immigration, tourism, and refugees), technoscapes (technology enabled boundaries permeation), finanscapes (spread of global capital), mediascapes (the ability to create and disseminate information) and ideoscapes (the configuration of images, often political or ideological in nature). Ger and Belk (1996) identify another scape in the form of "consumptionscapes" (p. 274) which speak to the idea that the very concept of consumption is a globalised, and in this case, Western concept that emerging economies try to emulate. Appadurai (1990) also identifies that the growing disjunctures between these scapes is where culture formation happens, suggesting that culture creation is a complex non-linear process.

Appadurai (1990) notes that global culture flows are complex, overlapping and disjunctive. He states that people live in a world of multiple realisms and that imagination, accelerated by mass media, plays a powerful role in presenting people with a wider set of "possible lives" (Appadurai, 1991, p. 197). With imagination and deterritorialised scapes at the core of culture creation, the binary of juxtaposing positive versus negative consumer dispositions does not seem comprehensive enough to account for the playful nature of culture creation which incorporates imagination and possible lives, as described by Appadurai (1990, 1991). Creolisation becomes a more realistic modern form of acculturation when viewed against these overlapping disjunctures (Ger & Belk, 1996), as it allows for the incorporation of imagination and possible lives in culture creation. The pushing and pulling, as Ger and Belk (1996) state, between disjunctures and overlapping scapes, fuelled by imagination and a sense of play (Appadurai, 1990), create something new that allows consumers to feel connected to physical or imagined worlds that they can identify with.

2.1.3. Media and technology changing acculturation landscapes

Although this modern remote acculturation is fuelled by technology and media, and also associated with contact between geographically separate groups, it does not rely on physical contact between groups (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012). This supports Appadurai's (1991) earlier observation that mass media provides consumers with a rich
and ever-changing image of possible realities. The idea of remote acculturation has fuelled the debate amongst theorists as to whether globalisation has resulted in less commonality amongst local consumers and more cohesion amongst certain global consumer groups resulting in a homogenous global consumer culture (Alden et al., 2006; Carpenter et al., 2013; Cleveland et al., 2009). As early as 1991, Appadurai (1991) highlighted the need for scholars and practitioners to focus on this idea of deterritorialisation. This was before the attack against the American hegemon during the 2001 twin towers terrorist attack, the economic crisis of 2008, and the recent 2015 European refugee crisis. Numerous and recent studies identify technology and mass media as accelerators of global consumer culture and globalisation (Bartsch et al., 2016; Cleveland & Laroche, 2007; Guo, 2013; Demangeot et al., 2015). Demangeot et al. (2015) note that technology has facilitated the rapid spread of ideas and consumption symbols allowing individuals to be simultaneously connected to multiple virtual, physical, local and global networks.

Ferguson and Bornstein (2012) highlight that if globalisation signals the point at which acculturation begins to take place, then modern forms of globalisation, such as rapidly advancing new media technologies, should lead to modern forms of acculturation. New media technologies, such as social media, voice over internet protocol (VOIP) and internet chat rooms, have allowed individuals to create social bonds and allow for meaningful cultural contact with people all around the world, without the need for physical interaction (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012). They speak of the idea of "expanding the social neighbourhood" through interactions with peers and also imagined intimacies with personalities on television, radio and the internet (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012, p. 168). Creolisation provides such a form of modern acculturation within these complex territorialised markets, disjunctive scapes and expanding social neighbourhoods.

Academics and theorists have exhausted the question of whether marketing managers should standardise marketing strategies when operating across-borders or whether strategies should be adapted to local markets (Alden et al., 2006; Carpenter et al., 2013; Cleveland et al., 2009). Thus, should marketers assume that markets are becoming more homogenous and standardise strategies, or heterogeneous, necessitating local adaptation strategies (Carpenter et al., 2013). Demangeot et al. (2015) highlight the danger of this long-debated argument because, if we view consumers as living in a multicultural marketplace, then national boundaries lose
importance, and the homogenisation versus heteroginisation debate becomes more complex. Mobility and technology allows for international communication to be specifically tailored, and therefore localised or ‘glocalised’, to one target group to be accessed by numerous other groups in different countries inferring that, in targeting one location, marketers may still alienate others (Demangeot et al., 2015).

Cleveland and Laroche (2007) stated that globalisation has focused international marketers’ attention on two contrasting, yet concurrent, acculturation movements: the homogenisation and heteroginisation of cultures. Reflecting on these theoretical developments, earlier work such as that of Appadurai (1990) and Ger and Belk (1996), demonstrate that the homogenisation and heteroginisation debate sidestepped a key element of culture creation and assimilation within the context of globalisation in multicultural contexts. There are a number of assumptions in later works which need to be interrogated.

Firstly, the fact that acculturation is neither static, nor linear and as such, homogenisation and heteroginisation are not comprehensive enough to cover the complexities and fluidity of cultural identity within the complex contexts of today's multicultural marketplaces (Demangeot et al., 2015). Also, only examining acculturation through the lenses of homogenisation versus heteroginisation simplifies the complex nature of culture creation and does not account for the fact that consumers may simultaneously display positive and negative dispositions towards global and local cultures (Bartsch et al., 2016).

Furthermore, within the homogenisation and heteroginisation discussion, Demangeot et al. (2015) stated that marketers tend to delineate markets using three main lenses. The lenses proposed by Demangeot et al. (2015; p. 121) include national lenses (focussing on differences between cultures), global lenses (primarily focused on the firm), and “homogeneous regionalising” lenses (with a focus on consumer cultural homogeneity). These lenses neglect to take into account the fluidity of culture creation and the fact that mobility should be viewed from the vantage point of consumers as opposed to marketers alone (Demangeot, et al., 2015). Finally, in neglecting the vantage point of the consumer, marketers do not factor in the idea of ‘imagined communities’ which could cross physical or cultural boundaries (Demangeot et al., 2015) and allow for cultural blending through creolisation (Appadurai, 1990).
2.2. Creolisation

2.2.1. Creolisation in earlier literature

Creolisation’s emerging challenge to current conceptualisations of global consumer change and adaptation warrants a closer view. First it needs to be understood in terms of early conceptualisations of cultural change and adaptation, namely the concept of acculturation. As early as 1989, Mendoza (1989) stated that acculturation can be defined in two ways. The first definition being "the process of acquiring the customs of an alternative" and the second as "a process of incorporating the customs from alternative and native societies" (Mendoza, 1989, p. 372). He described the first as monocultural and the second as multicultural (Mendoza, 1989). Complex multicultural marketplaces, where people are both physically and virtually connected to numerous cultures and are able to create their own imagined or possible worlds (Appadurai, 1990; Demangeot et al., 2015), alter the perception of ‘alternative’ and ‘native’. In these deterritorialised contexts, worlds or scapes often overlap and the disjunctures between native and alternative can in fact stimulate culture creation, thereby inferring that the lines between alternative and native are blurring (Appadurai, 1990).

The idea of the alternative and native was explored in John Berry’s (2005) acculturation studies. John Berry, who established himself as a leading acculturation theorist (Ward & Kus, 2012), examined acculturation from the point of view of individuals, or groups of people, experiencing intercultural contact which produces a conflict and the need for negotiation and adaptation (Ward & Kus, 2012; Berry, 2005). Berry (2005) established the four acculturation attitudes examining the ideas of the native and the alternative. These four attitudes include integration, assimilation, separation and marginalisation, but his work largely focused on acculturation within the context of colonisation, migration, tourism and military invasion (Berry, 2005).

These four attitudes proposed by Berry (2005), are based on the assumptions that immigrants will either have a preference for maintaining their heritage and cultural identity or alternatively, preferring to have contact with and participating in other groups. He did not touch on the possibility that local groups may impact or influence the host nation culture or that acculturation may take the form of creolisation or blending, perhaps because his work focused on acculturation within the context of physical contact and immigrants, not a host culture. At the very core, his work centralised on the concept of immigration which does not fully account for the modern...
complexities of acculturation. Peñaloza (1994) also studied acculturation from the viewpoint of Mexican immigrants residing in America. Her study found that immigrants do not fully assimilate or differentiate their cultural identities from the mainstream during acculturation and rather engage in "culture swapping". Oswald (1999), extending on Peñaloza’s (1994) work, described culture swapping as a process by which consumers move between multiple worlds instead of blending these worlds into one homogeneous identity. In today’s globalised world, where technology and mass media accelerates the interconnectedness of cultures, cultural contact is no longer confined to immigrants, as described in Berry’s (2005) and Peñaloza’s (1994) work, and thus acculturation does not rely on physical contact between cultures (Demangeot et al., 2015; Guo, 2013).

When comparing Mendoza (1989) and Berry (2005), it can be noted that acculturation theory builds on the concepts of separation versus integration. Peñaloza’s (1994) work also extends on this theme and she found that consumers do not fully separate or integrate cultures, but rather engage in culture swapping. Appadurai (1990; 1991), in his anthropological studies in the social sciences’ field, goes one step further and begins to build on Mendoza’s idea of multicultural acculturation, or transmutation, within the context of deterritorialisation. Appadurai (1990) speaks of creolisation, whereby culture creation involved a simultaneous push-and-pull between local and global accelerated by deterritorialised scapes, resulting in something new.

Fittingly, although it has changed meaning over time, the term creolisation comes from the word Creole, derived from the Latin creare, meaning to create (Nafafé, 2012). Deterritorialisation has expanded contact beyond the native and the alternative, as described by Mendoza (1989), and rather manifests in complex networks of multiple cultures and virtual social neighbourhoods (Ferguson and Bornstein, 2012). Consequently, Ger and Belk (1996) could be viewed as paving the way in describing creolisation as perhaps being the most realistic alternative to global consumer culture and it accounts for the "meeting and mingling of meanings" (p. 290).

As discussed, creolisation is a playful process incorporating imagination (Appadurai, 1990). It corresponds with the idea that culture creation within a multicultural world is fluid and two-directional, with multiple simultaneous cultural influences (Demangeot et al., 2015). As quickly as a country is exposed to a new culture, so societies adapt and indigenise these new influences to suit their own purposes and meanings (Appadurai,
1990). This idea of creolisation contrasts with acculturation contexts in earlier literature, which focused on cultural change amongst immigrants and the idea of the native and the alternative (Berry, 2005). Creolisation, on the other hand, allows for a playful cultural creation process and accommodates the meeting and mingling of multiple simultaneous cultural influences (Appadurai, 1990; Ger & Belk, 1996), blurring the lines between native and alternative. Consequently, creolisation could be viewed as a more realistic modern form of acculturation than the acceptance or rejection of global culture in today's deterritorialised worlds, where cultural exchanges permeate physical boundaries. However, creolisation has yet to be explored or used in much detail in the current international marketing literature that focuses on acculturation influencing consumer consumption orientations.

2.2.2. Positioning – where does creolisation fit in?

International marketing positioning strategies have also focused on whether or not consumer groups are becoming more homogenous, thereby creating one global consumer culture within an increasingly globalised world (Alden et al., 2006; Huang, 2016). Again, these positioning strategies do not provide room for two-way cultural fusing, as proposed by creolisation, and thus call for further examination.

Huang (2016) states that global consumer culture does not in fact mean a homogenisation of culture, but rather (1) an integration of global consumption signals for brands that have a similar meaning to consumers around the world, and (2) that consumers may purchase particular brands to enhance their membership to a certain global group or elevate their status in society. This aligns with Appadurai's (1991) idea that consumers interact in imagined worlds and try to manifest their possible lives through consumption. Thus it seems fitting that the three positioning strategies to be used in globalised contexts, as discussed by Alden et al. (1999) and Huang (2016), incorporate the idea of imagined global communities through (Global Consumer Culture Positioning) GCCP. Huang (2016) extends the work of Alden et al. (1999), who proposed GCCP as an alternative to Local Consumer Culture Positioning (LCCP) and Foreign Consumer Culture Positioning (FCCP). GCCP highlights the global nature or global image of a brand, thereby aiming to appeal to consumers who see themselves as part of global imagined worlds. In contrast, LCCP focuses on local consumer culture (Budweiser appealing to small-town American culture in advertising) and FCCP associates a brand with a specific foreign culture (Singapore Airlines). It is important to
note that GCCP is different to a standardised advertising or positioning strategy because it emphasises the global nature of a brand to specifically appeal to globally orientated consumers who see themselves as a part of a global community (Alden et al., 1999).

Huang (2016) created a framework for these global, local and foreign positioning strategies, but did not incorporate the idea that consumers could simultaneously identify with a number of these strategies. Kipnis et al. (2013) concur that the local–global-foreign culture debate does not adequately address the complexities of cultural exchanges as a part of identity creation within modern contexts. These strategies also assume that consumers will purchase brands that match their personal or cultural identities or aspirant identities. They focus specifically on cultural-identity positioning, which does not provide space for a consumer's potential need for agency in creating their own sociocultural identity and self-expression (Bhattacharjee et al., 2014).

In their consumer attitude study, Alden et al. (2006) found initial evidence that attitudes towards globalisation cluster along a global–hybrid–local continuum. Since this study by Alden et al., (2006), more recent international marketing literature seems to focus on the positioning strategy of glocalisation in order to deal with the hybrid section of the continuum (Crawford et al., 2015; Chang, 2014; Matusitz, 2010; Matusitz, 2011). Literature identifies glocalisation as a positioning strategy employed by multinational organisations whereby global strategies are adapted to suit preferences of local cultures and as such, is examined in contrast to the more complex notion of creolisation (Crawford et al., 2015; Matusitz, 2010).

A creolised positioning model, which (1) caters to the complex nature of culture creation from the perspective of the consumer and (2) addresses the fluidity of culture creation as opposed to the differences between positive, negative or global homogenisation, could be considered as an alternative viewpoint (Bartsch et al., 2016). Because creolisation includes the vantage point of the consumer, and not just the multinational, it provides consumers with the agency to playfully engage with cultures and freely express themselves through culture.

2.2.3. Assumptions of academic work on acculturation

Creolisation requires a shift in acculturation focus from the traditional Western or Americanisation lens, to the perspective of the consumer and the interplay between
cultures. This challenges some assumptions in previous international marketing studies and empowers emerging market cultures within the cultural change process.

Historically, literature around acculturation focuses on the influence of the West on the rest of the world, specifically because of the powerful impact that mass media has on cultural norms and understandings (Cleveland & Laroche, 2007; Cleveland et al. 2009; Carpenter et al., 2013). Appadurai (1990) comments that most arguments about a homogenous global culture relate to the Americanisation or commoditisation of culture. Furthermore, much of the older international marketing literature views globalisation as an emerging market phenomenon – thus the influence of the West on developing world (Alden et al. 1999; Batra et al., 2000; Ger & Belk, 1996). Wang (2015), who writes from the perspective of the Chinese market, highlights that the very concept of globalisation is a Western concept and as such, Chinese scholars are grappling with how globalisation has been localised within the Chinese contexts.

With the rise of developing nations, as well as international brands from emerging markets, it is no longer sufficient for researchers to just focus on the impact of the West on emerging economies (Guo, 2013), which is where glocalisation is primarily situated (Crawford et al., 2015; Chang, 2014; Matusitz, 2010; Matusitz, 2011). Developing countries are emerging as key investment destinations resulting in lower labour costs as well as the increased importance of particular powerful economies such as Brazil, China, India and Russia (Guo, 2013).

As far back as 1996, when the rise of BRICS was far from apparent, Ger and Belk (1996) noted that developing economies will not simply replicate Western consumer culture, thereby giving multinational corporations, and more affluent countries, the power in exporting and dictating consumerism to the emerging world. They proposed that the interplay and opposing forces between globalisation and localisation is likely to create diverse consumption landscape and multiple global consumer cultures. Nafafé (2012) highlights that creolisation challenges the notion of Western or European dominance when it comes to cultural exchange and says that's "creolization emphasizes the cultural plan rather than cultural superiority between nations and ethnic groupings, be they Europeans or Africans" (p. 53).

This is relevant when looking through the lens of two-way culture creation proposed by creolisation, as there is some evidence that emerging market consumers also have the power to change, and even determine, global brand meaning (Eckhardt, 2005). In addition, with the influx of global brands from developing countries, marketers are
paying more attention to understanding how consumers in developing economies view global brands from other emerging economies (Guo, 2013).

Emerging economies are rising in power within the context of international marketing and are able to influence brand meanings and cultural exchanges (Eckhardt, 2005; Guo, 2013). As such, Demangeot et al. (2015) describe modern marketplaces as combining consumers, brands and cultures to foster dynamic and fluid cultural exchanges, thus making acculturation more complex than the linear influence of developed on developing worlds. If culture creation is fluid and two-directional (Appadurai, 1991), then perhaps it becomes important to explore modern terms describing cultural blending as much of the literature use the terms glocalisation, creolisation and hybridisation interchangeably (Alden et al., 2006; Crawford et al., 2015; Ritzer, 2003).

2.2.4. Hybridisation, creolisation and glocalisation

Culture exchanges in multicultural contexts are beginning to incorporate fluidity and hybridity or fusing. Svennse (2001) argues that organisations have to adapt their strategies in some way if they are to be successful. However, a lack of conceptual clarity regarding the constructs given to the meeting and mingling of cultures has been noted amongst theorists (Alden et al., 2006; Jackson et al., 2004) which can make navigating international strategies difficult. Alden et al. (2006) use the terms hybridisation, glocalisation and creolisation interchangeably which may lead to confusion amongst marketing managers when trying to understand cultural influences on brand preferences and consumer decision making.

Hybridisation refers to the process by which consumers integrate global culture, in some way, into local culture. Creolisation speaks to the fluid, two-directional cultural exchange process resulting in a new cultural outcome (Ger & Belk, 1996). Glocalisation, which has been well promoted as a corporate strategy to respond to cultural differences for some time, refers to multinationals tailoring their global strategies to local markets (Alden et al., 2006; Thompson & Arsel, 2004). Hybridisation, creolisation and glocalisation will be discussed so as to provide a better understanding of constructs in the middle of the continuum.

First we turn to hybridisation. Alden et al. (2006) describe hybridisation as the process of consumers' integrating global culture into local culture and state that it is the least
A well-defined concept within marketing literature. They discussed that hybridisation could take on the form of (1) a consumer separating local and global frameworks, depending on the occasion. Another form (2) could manifest through the consumer integrating global elements into the local (or vice versa) and another (3) relies on consumers fusing local and global to create elements that are atypical of either culture (Alden et al., 2006). Such a definition has overlaps with the work of Usunier & Sbizzera (2013) whose conceptualisation of creolisation reconstructs the global both into and by the local, thereby rebuilding meanings through a process whereby consumers find meaning that may have been previously lost due to globalisation.

The concept of creolisation is not well developed within modern marketing literature. The creolisation research conducted by Nafafé (2012) centred on the field of social sciences and social identity as opposed to international marketing. However, if using the above three manifestation forms as indicated by Alden et al. (2006), creolisation, as a form of hybridisation, manifests if something new emerges and there is interplay between cultures. Furthermore, both hybridisation and creolisation assume the agency of the consumer in the acculturation process.

Alden et al. (2006) stated that hybridisation often reflects the widely discussed, but not well defined, glocalisation construct. However, there is one key differentiator between hybridisation and glocalisation: glocalisation assumes the power of the multinational in culture creation as opposed to the consumer (Thompson & Arsel, 2004). This brings into question whether glocalisation is the answer to navigating transnational waters, or whether it is perhaps an outdated approach within today's multicultural marketplaces. Alden et al. (2006) cite Ritzer's (2003) definition of glocalisation where "glocalisation is the interpenetration of the global and the local, resulting in unique outcomes in different geographic areas" (p. 193). When examining glocalisation examples in literature however, this idea of 'unique outcomes' may be brought into question, because glocalisation is a strategy defined by the multinational and does not account for consumers' role in culture creation. On the contrary, Thompson and Arsel (2004) assert that multinationals structure the interactions and create what they term to be a "hegemonic brandscape."

America's McDonald's is often hailed as an example of a brand that successfully used the strategy of glocalisation, even after experiencing initial challenges when entering foreign markets (Alden et al.; Crawford et al.; Ritzer, 2013). Crawford et al. (2015) provide numerous examples of how the brand successfully localised their product.
offering and communications methods. For example, they offered a Greek burger with tzatziki and wrapped it in a pita while sponsoring specific national sporting celebrities to build local appeal, knowing that 65% of their market came from their international businesses (Crawford et al., 2015). They describe this strategy as thinking global while acting local. In the same way, Disneyland Paris (Euro Disney when it first opened) and Disneyland Hong Kong were not initially successful due to their original strategy of forcing their American model onto new markets (Matusitz, 2010; Matusitz, 2011). Disney quickly had to adapt its strategy to tailor their global offerings to local markets. This was done by adapting to local consumers’ customs through changing décor, themes, food, pricing and labour practices so as to increase profits (Matusitz, 2011). All of these interactions are dictated by the multinational rather than the consumer and predicated on a process of adaptation rather than the creation of something new.

Moreover, these multinationals are overwhelmingly viewed as coming from the West. Thus glocalisation is a strategy employed by (mostly Western) multi-national organisations to tailor their global strategies to local markets and therefore the strategy is determined by the multinational organisation. Matusitz (2010) states that while globalisation assumes a universal blanket strategy world-wide, and thus cultural homogeneity, glocalisation uses a global theme and particularises products, services or offerings based on local market cultural differences. Glocalisation strategies have gained popularity amongst multinationals because globalisation efforts appear more likely to succeed if this strategy is employed (Ramona 2010). However, there is evidence that this strategy can backfire in that it can create anti-corporate identity sentiments amongst consumers (Thompson & Arsel, 2004). Thompson and Arsel (2004) used Starbucks as an example of a hegemonic brandscape that resulted in some consumers developing anti-corporate identities in relation to aesthetics and political views.

In contrast to glocalisation or hegemonic brandscapes, creolisation is more complex as it does not assume the power of the local or the foreign, but rather a synthesis process whereby consumers indigenise what suits them, create new meanings and new subcultures emerge (Appadurai, 1990; Nafafé, 2012). While glocalisation assumes the power of the multinational, creolisation proposes that multiple cultures push and pull to create new subcultures and meanings; permeating physical confines and thus both the local and the global have equal power (Ger & Belk, 1996). This contradicts the one-directional glocalisation process, as defined by the multinational that thinks global and acts local (Crawford et al., 2015). Glocalisation still favours the perspective of the
global organisation and is often utilised as a reaction to loss of profits due to original failed global homogenous strategies, such as those initially employed by McDonald's and Disney (Crawford et al., 2015; Matusitz, 2010, 2011).

In discussing hybridisation, creolisation and glocalisation, it is clear that while international marketers have shown interest in these constructs, they require further exploration (Alden et al., 2006; Jackson et al., 2007). This is specifically because modern theorists and practitioners seem to have focused on the glocalisation blending construct which favours the perspective of the multinational (Crawford et al., 2015; Matusitz, 2010, 2011; Thompson & Arsel, 2004). In contrast to hybridisation, creolisation and glocalisation which aim to address the middle of the positive-hybrid-negative consumer attitude continuum (Alden et al., 2006), positive and negative consumer dispositions are well researched, as evidenced in the following section.

2.3. Constructs examining negative and positive consumer dispositions towards global brands

Constructs such as hybridisation, creolisation and glocalisation speak to an interaction between and fusing of cultures, without unpacking consumer attitudes towards local or foreign cultures. When looking at the aforementioned positive-hybrid-negative consumer attitude continuum described by Alden et al. (2006), the literature has dealt both positive and negative dispositions for a considerable amount of time. First we turn to negative dispositions.

Negative consumer global brand orientations or dispositions, such as ethnocentrism and consumer animosity, have been examined and empirically tested (Alden et al., 2013; Cleveland & Laroche, 2007). Ethnocentrism refers to a consumer’s tendency to support local products and to reject global brands in general, while animosity speaks more to a consumer’s dislike towards a specific country of origin brand (Carpenter et al., 2013; Chan et al. 2010). While country of origin effect can result in consumer animosity towards a product or brand, reducing the likelihood of purchase, it can also be related to positive associations (Batra et al., 2000). Ethnocentrism stems from a consumer’s cultural outlook whereby such individuals’ purchasing decisions are guided by their tendency to support local brands that carry cultural meanings matching their own self-identity and even their belief that they have a moral obligation to purchase local products as it is good for the country (Carpenter et al., 2013; Chan et al., 2010). Animosity can relate to a generalised global brand animosity or animosity towards
brands or companies from specific countries of origin (Alden et al., 2013; Chan et al., 2010).

Shimp and Sharma (1987) first coined the term consumer ethnocentrism and developed a scale which aimed to measure consumers' ethnocentric tendencies related to purchasing foreign- versus American-made products Consumer Ethnocentrism Tendencies Scale (CETSCALE). This measured American consumers' attitudes towards foreign products. Other authors, (see Alden et al., 2013; Chan et al., 2010) have used the CETSCALE as a basis for further empirical testing and investigations within markets outside of America and to investigate antecedents and moderators of ethnocentrism (Sharma, Shimp, & Shin, 1995). According to Guo (2013), ethnocentrism is driven by a local orientation whereby an individual values the uniqueness of the indigenous and perceives global to be more commoditised. However, Alden et al. (2013) found that ethnocentrism is often as a result of a national protectionist attitude. Thus ethnocentrism seems to be driven by a pro-local disposition, a protectionist attitude and/or an anti-global disposition while animosity is driven by an anti-global attitude targeted at a specific country of origin.

Our second focus is positive dispositions which describe an openness to new cultures and the consumption of brands from foreign countries such as cosmopolitanism (describing cultural integration and openness) and world-mindedness (Cleveland et al., 2009; Bartsch et al. 2016). A high global orientation is described as a shared consciousness of living in an interconnected global world while a high global identity is described as identifying self as part of a global community (Guo, 2013). Terms such as cultural and global openness (which describe the desire by consumers to experience or imitate global culture) or global cosmopolitanism and world-mindedness (which describe the predisposition of a consumer to be willing to try unfamiliar foreign products and openness to foreign cultures) are interrelated and often used interchangeably (Bartsch et al., 2016).

Numerous studies have identified the consumption of nonlocal products as providing a halo of quality in certain categories and/or signalling status (Batra et al., 2000; Cleveland et al., 2009; Echardt 2005). Guo (2013) stated that consumers often purchase foreign products to serve as a status-enhancement tool, to achieve social conformity or as an expression of wealth. This could be attributed to the fact that foreign products are often seen as novel or exotic and that the ability to afford the perceived expense of foreign products serves as an indication of wealth or status
(Echardt, 2005). According to Batra et al. (2000), this need for status enhancement is even more pronounced in developing economies because periods of economic development increase the importance of positional values, often manifesting through conspicuous consumption so as to display status in society. Kravets and Sandikci (2014) also examined how middle class consumers in emerging markets use consumption to signal social mobility and conformity to the global middle class. They found that these consumers use consumption to navigate between global possibilities and sometimes disappointing local realities so as to elevate their own social status (Kravets & Sandikci, 2014). Batra et al. (2000) go on to say that consumers from developing economies can often be viewed as less affluent than those in developed countries. As such, this could cause a sense of insecurity and/or inferiority, thereby causing these consumers to want to emulate the glamorous Western lifestyles or brands that they are exposed to through mass media in order to attain social recognition (Batra et al., 2000; Thompson, 2014).

In their comprehensive taxonomy of positive dispositions, Bartsch et al. (2016) identified 19 constructs that aim to capture positive dispositions towards foreign cultures and/or globalisation. These positive dispositions, and the concept of a homogenous global consumer culture, have been well developed and empirically tested using numerous scales (Alden et al., 2006). Many of these scales have been adapted from established ones, namely the Global Consumption Orientation Scale and the Acculturation to the Global Consumer Culture Scale (Alden et al., 2006; Cleveland & Laroche, 2007; Cleveland et al., 2009).

Overall, Bartsch et al. (2016) identify that literature detailing constructs relating to either negative or positive consumer dispositions towards global culture are well developed, but do not account for the possible simultaneous conflicting attitudes that consumers may experience. They also identify that literature relating to positive dispositions is well developed but occasionally fragmented, overlapping and lacking in cohesion (Cleveland et. al., 2009; Bartsch et al, 2016). This could have potentially disguised the fact that the cultural blending portion of the continuum has not been thoroughly explored. The below table provides a snapshot view of the current acculturation literature as explored in this literature review.

It is clear that much of the international marketing research focuses on positive or negative dispositions resulting in consumers either rejecting or adopting global culture (Bartsch et al., 2016). By only differentiating consumers into having ethnocentric
tendencies or global orientations, the concept of cultural blending and dynamic interactions is often overlooked (Demangeot et al., 2015). This literature review shows that many of these studies ignore the complexities and blending nature of culture creation (Demangeot et al., 2015; Oswald, 1999). Demangeot et al. (2015) go on to identify that the acculturation literature needs to move from examining differences between consumer orientations towards a better understanding of the dynamic and fluid nature of culture creation within multicultural contexts.

Table 1, provides a broad outline of the current acculturation literature as outlined in the literature review, so as to further demonstrate the need for deeper exploration into the concept of cultural blending, outside of glocalisation, with a specific focus on the two-way cultural interplay of creolisation (Ger & Belk, 1996).
**Table 1: A broad overview of key supporting acculturation literature**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negative Dispositions</th>
<th>Authors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Ethnocentrism** (Consumer's tendency to support local products and to reject global brands in general) | Shimp and Sharma, 1987  
Shimp, Sharma and Shin, 1995  
Cleveland and Laroche, 2007  
Cleveland, Laroche and Papadopoulos, 2009  
Lwin, Stanaland and Williams, 2010  
Chan, Chan and Leung, 2012  
Carpenter, Moore, Alexander, Lancaster, and Doherty, 2013  
Guo, 2013  
Bartsch, Riefler and Diamantopoulos, 2016 |
| **Consumer Animosity** (Consumer's dislike towards a specific country of origin brand) | Batra, Ramaswamy, Alden, Steenkamp and Ramachander, 2000  
Lwin, Stanaland and Williams, 2010  
Chan, Chan and Leung, 2012  
Alden, Kelley, Riefler, Lee, and Soutar, 2013 |
| **Blending** | **Authors** |
| **Hybridisation** (Process by which consumers incorporate global culture into local culture) | Alden, Steenkamp and Batra, 2006  
Jackson, Thomas and Dwyer, 2007 |
| **Creolisation** (Two-way acculturation process which creates something new) | Appadurai, 1990 (Social Sciences)  
Ger and Belk, 1996 (Social Sciences)  
Nafafé, 2012 (Social Sciences) |
| **Glocalisation** (Think global, act local) | Svennson, 2001  
Thompson and Arsel, 2004 (Hegemonic brandscapes)  
Hung, Li and Belk, 2006  
Matusitz, 2010  
Ramona, 2010  
Matusitz, 2011  
Chang, 2014  
Crawford, Humphries and Geddy, 2015 |
| **Positive Dispositions** | **Authors** |
| **Consumer Cosmopolitanism/World-Mindedness** (Openness to other countries and cultures) | Batra, Ramaswamy, Alden, Steenkamp and Ramachander, 2000  
Alden, Steenkamp and Batra, 2006  
Cleveland and Laroche, 2007  
Cleveland, Laroche and Papadopoulos, 2009  
Njissen and Douglas, 2011  
Riefler, Diamantopoulos and Sigauw, 2012  
Lysonski and Durvasula, 2013  
Khare, 2014  
Bartsch, Riefler and Diamantopoulos, 2016  
Terasaki, 2016 |
| **Global consumption orientation** (Degree to which consumers prefer global, local or hybridised brands) | Alden, Steenkamp and Batra, 1999  
Alden, Steenkamp and Batra, 2006  
Eckhardt, 2006  
Riefler, 2012  
Guo, 2013  
Huang, 2016 |
2.4. Creolisation as an alternative to positive and negative dispositions

This binary system, contrasting ethnocentric and cosmopolitan consumer orientations, or positive versus negative dispositions, does not define the middle of the continuum (Alden et al. 2006; Jackson et al. 2007). In light of Mendoza’s (1989) early acculturation definition, these authors, who investigate positive versus negative consumer dispositions, also focus on whether consumers acquire or reject the customs of the alternative. However, they do not comprehensively explore the idea of consumers being able to blend or acquire customs from both the local as well as the alternative. Therefore, these studies do not investigate the creolisation constructs of earlier studies discussed, namely those conducted by Appadurai (1990) and Ger and Belk (1996). Mendoza (1989) spoke of cultural transmutation, which describes adapting and altering the local and global cultural practices in order to create a unique sub-cultural identity that echoes the idea of creolisation. Ger and Belk (1996) found that the problem cannot be simply dissected into consumers that adopt and emulate global culture and those that oppose it. The reality is more complex than this and thus Ger and Belk (1966) proposed that cultures are becoming more creolised or blended.

In reality, globalisation often results in a two-way push-and-pull dynamic that results in new consumption patterns combining the local and the foreign (Ger & Belk, 1996). Similarly, Bartsch et al. (2016) identify that much of the current literature ignores the fact that consumers could simultaneously carry both positive and negative dispositions towards global brands or companies because they may identify with multiple regions and nationalities. Consumers may identify with regional cultures, national cultures and, at the same time, see themselves as global citizens. Consequently, the authors identify the need for further conceptual studies and refinement (Bartsch et al., 2016). This reinforces the view that marketers need to begin to view the world in terms of multicultural marketplaces, where culture is fluid and dynamic, instead of monocultural regions (Demangeot et al., 2015; Kipnis et al., 2013).

2.5. Fashion in Africa as a backdrop to the study

As discussed, creolisation incorporates the influence of and interplay between both Western and emerging market cultures in the process of cultural change and adaptation (Ger & Belk, 1996). Similarly, the rise of developing nations and multinational brands, stemming from developed economies, has resulted in international marketers beginning to focus more on emerging markets (Guo, 2013;
Due to the emergence of developing countries as investment destinations for transnational companies, many researchers are turning to the developing world to investigate interactions between emerging and developed nation brands and consumers (Guo, 2013). Marketing research and brands from emerging markets are growing in power, with studies focusing on Asia, India and Latin America (Cleveland et al., 2009; Eckhardt, 2005; Chan et al., 2010; Guo, 2013; Khare, 2014). Africa has remained on the periphery of this international marketing literature, despite the fact that it is one of the fastest growing consumer markets of this decade (Lysonski & Durvasula, 2013). Diop, Li, Yong & Shide (2015) are attached to the World Bank and identify Africa as the second most attractive investment destinations in the world, just behind North America, with Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) reaching $60 billion in 2015, which is five times higher than in 2000. While there certainly is a presence of African studies related to acculturation and consumer behaviour, these do not focus on acculturation within an international marketing context. Related studies focus on optimum stimulation levels in the context of consumer behaviour (Steenkamp & Burgess, 2002), acculturation of Kenyan immigrants in America (Wamwara-Mbugua, Cornwell & Boller, 2006) and fashion consumption related to status-enhancement (Cronje, Jacobs & Retief, 2016). Thus Africa, while featuring in terms of individual influences, status consumption and acculturation of the African diaspora in Western environments, as a modern acculturation context in itself, in international marketing literature, warrants further exploration and understanding.

Acculturation is particularly relevant within the context of fashion as studies identify clothing as high culture-bound products (Carpenter et al., 2013; Cleveland et al., 2009; Jackson et al., 2007; Khare, 2014). Peñaloza (1994) describes clothing as a form of cultural expression as consumers literally wear their culture to signal social class, identity and style. Attire is an indicator of cultural membership and assists consumers in fulfilling the need to conform and can also serve as a status-enhancing symbol that indicates style and social class (Cleveland et al., 2009).

Kravets and Sandikci (2014) studied brand identity within the context of fashion consumption in Turkey and found that consumers use fashion to actively regulate their sense of self in relation to people, institutions and contexts. This suggests an active creation of identity in relation to the world around them and seems to align with Bhattacharjee et al.’s (2014) study which proposed that consumers desire a certain
sense of freedom in creating their own identities. Kravets and Sandikci (2014) described this as "formulaic creativity" (p. 125) whereby consumers individualise their identities through fashion but within a specific set of rules. They stated that emerging middle class consumers work within a set of rules and products to individualise identity, while at the same time signalling being "competently ordinary” or a part of the "middle" (Kravets & Sandikci, 2014, p. 136).

Broderick et al. (2011) state that identity negotiations within multicultural contexts may make consumers feel vulnerable and powerless. This could heighten the need for agency in self-expression as described by Bhattacharjee et al.'s (2014) or even, conformity. The idea of conformity, or being competently ordinary, is often as a result of either navigating between individualisation and alignment to the middle or between feeling a part of the middle while facing a differing socio-economic reality (Kravets & Sandikci, 2014). Jackson et al. (2007) study transnational fashion in Mumbai and London and argue against "authenticity" or "locality" as being fixed (p. 908). Instead they suggest that consumers create meaning out of their contexts, permeating cultural boundaries and challenging the notion of traditional versus modern or East versus West. Bhattacharjee et al. (2014), Kravets and Sandikci (2014), and Jackson et al. (2007) concurred that identity creation, which incorporates cultural adaptation, is neither static nor passive.

Similarly, cultural change, which forms a part of identity, is fluid and multi-dimensional (Demangeot et al., 2015). Thus it is not surprising that Jackson et al. (2007) found evidence of cultural hybridisation both through traditional versus modern dressing, dependent on occasion and also a complex intermingling of cultures by consumers, which is suggestive of creolisation. They identify creolisation and hybridity as emerging complex concepts in opposition to previous linear Western-dominated constructs around acculturation that warrant further exploration.

2.6. Conclusion

This literature review has shown that creolisation warrants further exploration and definition as an alternative lens for pro-global or pro-local consumer attitudes towards globalisation and global consumer culture through which to view acculturation in an increasingly globalised world.
Table 1 visually depicts the literature based on Alden et al.'s (2006) continuum between positive, negative and hybrid dispositions in order to show the need for further exploration and definition around the construct of creolisation in modern international marketing literature. Although Alden et al. (2006) use the terms hybridisation, creolisation and glocalisation interchangeably, the literature review has established that there are some clear differences between the constructs. Hybridisation refers to the incorporation of the global into the local by the consumer (Alden et al., 2006). Glocalisation has been offered as a strategy employed by multinational organisations in order to tailor global offerings to global markets, but still assumes the power of the multinational within the cultural adaptation process (Matusitz, 2011; Ramona, 2010). Creolisation, on the other hand, as initially proposed by authors such as Appadurai (1990) and Ger and Belk (1996), offers a view whereby the local and the foreign simultaneously push and pull in order to create new meaning and subcultures. Thereby the foreign, and often Western, culture is no longer assumed to be dominant as local market consumers have the power to change brand meanings to suit their needs and preferences (Khare, 2014).

Technology and deterritorialisation has accelerated the disjuncture between scapes in multicultural marketplaces which is where Appadurai (1990) states that culture is created. The increase in globalisation is continuing to change world economies (Lysonski & Durvasula, 2013) and has created multicultural marketplaces whereby consumers are connected physically and virtually to multiple cultures and imagined communities or imagined worlds (Demangeot et al., 2015). International marketers have extensively and empirically tested negative and positive consumer dispositions towards global culture (Bartsch et al., 2016). However, cultural blending is less well defined and warrants further exploration in order to be useful to marketing managers (Alden et al. 2006; Jackson et al., 2007).

As such, creolisation, as a form of cultural blending, is not as clearly defined or well examined as positive and negative consumer acculturation dispositions. Consequently, it warrants further exploration, particularly within today's multicultural contexts where technology has accelerated a new form of globalisation and thereby, potentially new complex forms of acculturation (Ferguson and Bornstein, 2012). As a result, fashion, as a high culture-bound and identity-bound product in the emerging economy of Africa, is offered as a backdrop to explore whether cultural creolisation exists and how it manifests in this dynamic multicultural world.
3. CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH QUESTIONS

3.1. Introduction

The literature review has outlined and identified the need for further research within the field of acculturation, which focuses less on positive versus negative consumer dispositions towards global culture and brands and rather seeks to understand whether consumers blend cultures through a creolisation process within the context of today's multicultural marketplaces. The study aims to revive the constructs of creolisation identified by earlier acculturation literature by authors such as Ger and Belk (1996) and Appadurai (1990), who have not been sufficiently explored or defined in recent international marketing literature (Alden et al., 2006).

As a result, the nature of this research is exploratory. The aim is to better understand the dimensions of the problem and explore the three research questions outlined in this chapter in order to gain insight to further analyse the phenomena (Zikmund, 2003). The research questions were based on concepts that emerged from the literature review in Chapter Two, together with the problem identified in modern international literature outlined in Chapter One. This chapter will clarify the research questions so as to define the research focus.

3.2. Research question 1:

*Do consumers blend/creolise cultures through retail fashion in Africa?*

*If so, how is this manifesting?*

3.3. Research question 2:

*Is there evidence of pro-local culture or global culture rejection orientations amongst consumers of retail fashion in Africa?*

3.4. Research question 3:

*Is there evidence of pro-global culture orientations amongst consumers of retail fashion in Africa?*
The aim of the study was to first determine whether evidence of creolisation amongst consumers of retail fashion in Africa exists and secondly, to gain deeper insight into how consumers blend cultures through fashion. In order to gain a deeper understanding of how creolisation is experienced and manifested within the context of retail fashion in Africa, the research could not ignore the constructs of pro-local and pro-global consumer culture.

Even though the binary of these dispositions has been well-explored within current marketing literature the interplay between these acculturation orientations has not been well-explored in order to provide a deeper understanding of creolisation. African research, while featuring in terms of individual influences (Steenkamp & Burgess, 2002), status consumption (Cronje et al., 2016) and acculturation of the African diaspora in Western environments (Wamwara-Mbugua et al., 2006), as a modern acculturation context in itself, warrants further exploration and understanding in international marketing literature. In order to bring to light additional constructs or interplays between cultures related to this binary, this research seeks to provide a deeper understanding of the phenomena at hand. Consequently, the research questions also focused on global and local orientations amongst African consumers in order to paint a richer picture of how consumers blend or creolise cultures through retail fashion in Africa.
4. CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

This chapter will discuss the research methodology used in this study. The literature review established that the concept of creolisation has not been thoroughly explored and lacks both definition and clarification in recent international marketing studies. Due to the fact that this report examines nascent theory and as such, the research questions are exploratory in nature, a qualitative research design was selected in order to gain a deeper understanding of the construct of creolisation amongst consumers of retail fashion in Africa (Edmondson & McManus, 2007). The qualitative nature of the study supported the research methodology, sampling and data collection techniques as well as the analysis procedures adopted.

4.2. Research methodology

As this study aimed to revive the concept of creolisation, which has not been examined in business research in detail since the 1990s, an exploratory research design was employed. Saunders and Lewis (2012) state that an exploratory study is conducted when the researcher hopes to gain insights and focuses on relatively unexplored phenomena. Consequently, an exploratory design was considered the most appropriate for this study as it deals with a relatively ambiguous problem (Zikmund, 2003). It questions assumptions around current acculturation literature and addresses gaps in the theory in order to explore how creolisation manifests itself in modern multicultural marketplaces. Neither a descriptive study, which aims to describe or produce accurate representative of phenomena, nor an explanatory study (causal research), which seeks to identify cause-and-effect relationships between variables (Saunders & Lewis, 2012), would have been appropriate for the rich and deep interpretation that was required to develop nascent theory for further research in this study (Edmondson & McManus, 2007). The exploratory methodology served two main functions: firstly it allowed for the exploration of previously unexplored phenomena (Saunders & Lewis, 2012) and secondly, this methodology allowed for deeper insight into the previously unexplored African consumer, as outlined in Chapter One.

A qualitative, exploratory study, promoting open-ended inquiry, was considered to be the most suitable methodological fit for understanding this human phenomenon (Cresswell, 2013). One-on-one interviews with participants were conducted in order to
derive rich insights from open-ended questions (Edmondson & McManus, 2007). The
goal of the data analysis was to identify patterns through thematic content analysis
coding so as to investigate whether evidence of creolisation exists and how this
manifests amongst African consumers. The purpose of the study was to provide
suggestive theory so as to open up creolisation as a research construct for further
robust investigation based on insights and themes extrapolated from the data
(Edmondson & McManus, 2007).

4.3. Population and sampling

4.3.1. Population
The selection of an appropriate target population is imperative in all research studies to
ensure that the data collected is from the correct source in order to answer the
research questions (Zikmund, 2013).

Consequently, two populations for this study were identified:

- **Consumers:**
  This population is made up of all adult middle class urban consumers of retail fashion
  in African markets. The age range is thus between 18 and 50 years and includes both
  Development Bank's definition of African middle class as individuals spending between
  US$2 and US$20 a day. This can be further segmented into upper middle class
  consumers, referring to those spending between US$10 and US$20 a day, while the
  lower middle class equates to those spending US$4 and US$10 a day.

- **Experts:**
  This population includes African and international fashion industry experts who
  currently work in the fashion industry and as such, are able to offer deep insights into
  the industry. McCracken (1988) identifies the need to select a sample that has a
  special knowledge of the subject matter at hand in qualitative research and as such,
  this population includes African fashion industry experts. These experts currently work
  in the fashion industry as fashion buyers, fashion trend analysts, fashion designers,
  fashion week coordinators or any such occupation that allows them to offer deep
  expert insights into the fashion industry as a result of their personal experiences.
4.3.2. Sample unit

The sampling unit determines who or what should provide the data and at what level of aggregation (Zikmund, 2003). Thus, in order to glean insights into the creolisation forces influencing African consumers’ acculturation in the retail fashion industry, the study focused on two specific sampling units:

- **Consumers:**
  This sample unit is the individual consumers who were interviewed in the study. Thus, an individual of African nationality, who currently lives in an African country, has an interest in retail fashion and actually consumes retail fashion (thus someone else does not purchase clothes for them).

- **Experts:**
  This sample unit is the fashion industry experts who were interviewed in the study and have worked in the fashion industry for at least five years and can offer insights into the industry.

Combined insights from consumers and experts assisted in painting a richer and more vivid picture of the phenomena and a deeper understanding of the forces driving acculturation within the retail fashion industry.

4.3.3. Sampling method and size

The sampling frame employed for the consumer group was professionals living and working in Africa that were connected to a prominent South African business school. This included African expats living in other African countries or African consumers living in their country of origin. This sampling frame was selected because it reflected a multitude of African countries, making it particularly relevant for the study at hand. Because this is a qualitative study, relevance takes precedence over representatively, as the sample needed to be appropriate or consist of participants that are best placed to have knowledge on the phenomena at hand (Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson, & Spiers, 2002). Consequently, the sampling frame was chosen so as to easily identify professionals with maximum variation in terms of cultural backgrounds. Professionals, or individuals employed by professional organisations or companies, were selected due to the fact that they were assumed to have the disposable income necessary to purchase fashion items. Therefore the sample included male and female professionals between the ages of 25 and 45. Due to the fact that these individuals work within a
fairly conservative professional environment, it was assumed that they would be more
likely to represent the mainstream consumer, or even be slightly more conservative, as
opposed to the avant-garde outlier.

The proposed sampling frame used for the expert group was fashion industry experts tied to South African Fashion Week. These included designers, trend analysts, buyers and the heads of fashion weeks, as well as other industry experts who were able to offer insight into the industry.

Data saturation refers to the point at which additional data collection will offer little or no significant new insights into the research questions (Saunders & Lewis, 2012, p. 158). Saunders and Lewis (2012) identify between 15 and 20 individuals as being an ideal number for a heterogeneous sample to reach this point. Although this was difficult to plan for, the researcher interviewed nine consumers and 11 experts to make up 20 participants. McCracken (1998) identifies eight people as the ideal number of participants in such a study. However, since some of the respondents were not able to set aside a full hour for an interview, more respondents were selected so as to improve the likelihood of data saturation. This was no guarantee of saturation but it did provide an adequate guideline within the time constraints of the study.

Non-probability sampling was used in this study, including purposive, and snowball sampling methods. Saunders and Lewis (2012) describe purposive sampling as the most commonly used non-probability method, whereby a small select group is chosen by the researcher. The researcher uses their judgement to determine who would be best able to answer the questions posed in order to meet the research objectives. Purposive and snowball sampling was used for the consumer group because they were urban professionals who were be able to provide insight into a variety of African jurisdictions and represented a multitude of African nationalities. Purposive sampling was employed as consumers who were identified through the South African business school network as urban professionals between the ages of 25 and 45, who purchase retail fashion and represents a multitude of African jurisdictions, because they were well placed to provide insight into the phenomena. This formed the basis for further snowball sampling as these individuals were able to identify other African professionals through their professional networks.

Snowball sampling is a non-probability sampling method which, after the first sample member, uses earlier sample members to identify subsequent participants (Saunders & Lewis, 2012). A mix of purposive and snowball sampling was selected for the expert
group because these informants had richer insights into the phenomena due to their experience within the industry. Experts identified through the South African Fashion Week network for their experience within the industry, made them able to offer insights into the phenomena and identify other African designers, buyers, trend analysts or other sample members. The initial experts were chosen based on the fact that they have either worked in the fashion industry for five years or more, while the South African Fashion Week was identified as the initial frame, due to the researchers own network within the fashion week.

4.4. Data gathering process

The researcher collected primary data using in-depth qualitative semi-structured interviews because there is no appropriate secondary data available.

4.4.1. Instrument design

Saunders and Lewis (2012) describe an interview as a purposeful discussion between two or more people. Because this research is exploratory in nature with the intention of gaining insights into the theme of creolisation, semi-structured interviews were identified as an appropriate data gathering technique. This research aimed to analyse themes within the data and as such, the long interview method was utilised as a guide in order to try and experience the phenomena from the perspective of the participants (McCracken, 1988). The long interview technique was also appropriate as the study undertook to understand cultural categories and shared meanings as opposed to an individual's feelings and emotions. The interviewer aimed to maintain the correct obtrusive/unobtrusive balance by actively listening and asking probing questions.

An interview guide was developed in order to ensure that all the necessary topics were consistently covered while also allowing for a certain distance to be maintained between the interviewer and participant (McCracken, 1988). McCracken (1988) suggests that qualitative interviews should follow a design that incorporates grand tour overview questions. These allow respondents to tell their own story as well as floating prompts, which provide the interviewer with more information if needed (McCracken, 1998). Importantly, the interview guide included biological questions, grand tour questions and floating prompts which as McCracken (1988) suggests, provided the interviewer with the flexibility to omit questions or probe further if needed. This study
utilised this questionnaire design guideline and examples of the final two interview
guides (consumer and expert) for this research are attached in Appendix 1.

Saunders and Lewis (2012) suggest that researchers review their discussion guide
after each interview and adapt the questions based on the previous outcomes if
required. Most of the adaptation to guides occurred post the pre-test interview phase.
The interviewer conducted two pre-test interviews with consumers and one pre-test
interview with an expert. This served two functions: firstly, it allowed the researcher to
hone their interview skills and secondly, allowed for the required adaptation, as
suggested by Saunders and Lewis (2012).

4.4.2. Data Collection
Interview length varied due to participants’ time availability as well as nature of
respondent. Most interviews lasted between 40 and 50 minutes, with some interviews
lasting an hour and a few 30 minutes. Each interview that took place where the
interviewer and interviewee were in the same city, was conducted face-to-face with
individual participants so as to ensure that the interviewer could ask probing questions
and also take queues from and record the participants' body language (Saunders &
Lewis, 2012). Some interviews were conducted in the experts’ shops (designers) or
place of work (CEO of a fashion week), while others were conducted at coffee shops or
other convenient locations. The interviews were recorded and transcribed post-
interview for accuracy. The interviewer also took note of non-verbal cues which added
depth to the data collection. Interviews with participants that resided outside of the
interviewer’s place of residence were conducted via Skype or Facetime and also audio
recorded.

4.5. Ethical considerations
Protecting the interest of participants in a research study by adhering to ethical
considerations in any research project is important (Saunders & Lewis, 2012). As such,
all interviewees were asked permission to audio record their interviews prior to the
commencement of the recording. Interviewees were also asked to sign an interview
consent form (see Appendix 2) which stated that their participation was voluntary and
they were given the option to withdraw at any time. Participants’ names were removed
from transcriptions and replaced with non-identifying labels, such as Consumer 1 or
Expert 1, before coding. These, along with the interview audio recordings, were stored
on the interviewer’s password protected cloud server so as to ensure confidentiality. The ethical clearance approval notification for this study is attached in Appendix 3.

4.6. Data Analysis

4.6.1. Analysis tool
The software analysis tool used in this qualitative study was the computer-aided data analysis software, Atlas.ti, in order to identify themes and constructs within the data.

4.6.2. Transcript preparation
All interviews were transcribed by a transcription service and validated against the original audio recordings to ensure accuracy.

4.6.3. Analysis approach
Because this research was exploratory in nature and literature on the phenomena is relatively limited, an inductive process, whereby codes flowed from the data, was employed (Hsieh & Shannon, 2008). The transcriptions were initially read so as to allow the researcher to immerse herself in the data and to gain a greater sense of the whole (Hsieh & Shannon, 2008). Thereafter, the coding was developed using an inductive approach whereby codes and then categories emerged as the analysis progressed. The researcher coded the first transcript as the codes emerged from the data. The researcher went back to the data and continued preliminary coding, then sorted and cleaned these codes by merging overlapping codes before sorting these into categories based on common themes.

Due to the fact that this research aimed to provide a thematic analysis, certain unexpected themes emerged from the data using the inductive approach and these are included as subthemes in Chapter Five. More detail on the actual coding process will be provided in Chapter Five.

4.7. Research limitations
Qualitative research is limited by its exploratory nature and as such will need to be further pursued by more robust quantitative research to test hypotheses and identify cause and effect relationships (Saunders and Lewis, 2012).
4.7.1. Researcher bias

It is important for qualitative researchers to state their bias because this type of research relies on a degree of subjectivity and as such, researcher bias may affect how they interpret research (Saunders & Lewis, 2012). It should be noted that, before commencing this research study, the researcher worked in the fashion industry for five years as a supplier to South African Fashion Week, providing sponsorship and eventing assistance. It is therefore possible that the researcher has greater local fashion designer knowledge than the average consumer and may have inadvertently placed too much emphasis on local designers.

4.7.2. Sampling bias

As mentioned, a mixture of purposive and snowball sampling was utilised for this study. Therefore, four of the nine consumers and nine of the 11 expert participants were of South African nationality. This may limit the transferability of some of the findings to some African countries. It did however seem appropriate to use South Africa as the starting point for the sample because, at the time that the research was undertaken, it was considered the most developed retail market in Africa (Delonno, 2014).

In addition, due to the sampling frame selected for consumers, the youth segment of 18-25 year old fashion consumers has not been included. Although the sampling frame was selected because urban professionals were assumed to have the disposable income needed to purchase retail fashion, some of the findings may not be transferable to the youth market segment.

4.8. Research validity and reliability

4.8.1. Validity

Cresswell and Miller (2000) state that it is important for qualitative researchers to establish the creditability of their findings and define validity as how "accurately the account represents the participants' realities of the social phenomena and is credible to them" (p. 124). They also establish that qualitative validity refers to the interferences drawn from data as opposed to the data itself, as in the case of quantitative research techniques. Similarly, Maxwell (1992) states that it is important for a researcher to ensure generalisability/transferability (can the findings be transferred beyond the scope
of the study), descriptive validity (factual accuracy of account), interpretive validity (participants’ perspective accurately described) and theoretical validity (theoretical constructs that the researcher develops during the study).

Generalisability was addressed by using a purposive sampling technique that included both consumer as well as expert sample groups within the study. Descriptive validity was addressed through recording all interviews and then having these transcribed by an objective external transcription service provider. Quotations were also provided as close to the original interview as possible in Chapter Five, so as to ensure that the interpretive validity of the data is maintained and that the interviewees’ tone of voice and meanings were not altered. Theoretical validity was dealt with by utilising Cresswell and Miller's (2000) nine lenses.

Cresswell and Miller (2000) provide nine lenses that can be used to ensure validity of a study. The lens of the researcher can be used to ensure credibility in that the researcher decides how long to remain in the field, whether data saturation has been reached, and if the data evolves into a persuasive narrative (Cresswell & Miller, 2000).

Chapter Five provides a detailed account of how the researcher coded the data and refined the data codes so as to establish data saturation. Furthermore, the researcher returned to the data continuously during the sense-making process to ensure validity-as-reflexive-accounting (Cresswell & Miller, 2000). To establish theoretical and interpretative validity, this study primarily made use of reflexivity, triangulation, thick description and, to a lesser extent, disconfirming evidence as validation tools outlined in Table 2.
Table 2: Validation tools used in research report

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Validation Tool</th>
<th>Research Report</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theoretical validity through triangulation</td>
<td>Triangulation is the process by which the researcher searches for convergences in the data to form themes or categories (Cresswell &amp; Miller, 2000). After creating codes and refining the codes using Atlas.ti software, the researcher then grouped these into categories and broader themes and eliminated overlapping codes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theoretical validity through disconfirming evidence</td>
<td>The researchers coded the data inductively and then cleaned the data by merging codes and eventually categorising these codes according to themes. Once this had been done, the researcher went back to the codes to establish whether any of these disconfirmed a theme or category (Cresswell &amp; Miller, 2000). Evidence that goes against the primary construct of creolisation was included as a subtheme in Chapter Five in the section addressing research question 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theoretical validity through thick, rich description</td>
<td>This establishes credibility by describing the setting, participants and themes of the data in rich descriptive detail. Chapter Five opens with a detailed account of the participants and the findings aim to provide a vivid picture of the participants’ accounts of the phenomena.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpretative validity through researcher reflexivity</td>
<td>This requires that the researcher discloses any assumptions or biases before the reader reaches the findings section of the research (Cresswell &amp; Miller, 2000). Researcher biases were disclosed in section 4.7.1 earlier in Chapter 4 so as to make known any researcher assumptions that may affect the interpretive validity of the study.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.8.2. Reliability
Reliability refers to the consistency of the research methodology (Saunders & Lewis, 2012). To ensure reliability, the interview guides for the experts and consumers were standardised as far as possible, with only minor language adjustments during interviews if required. In addition, the systematic inductive coding method utilised through Atlas.ti, whereby codes were developed, cleaned, organised and finally, categorised according to themes, aimed to ensure the reliability of the data analysis.

4.9. Conclusion
The design of the research and the methodology selected aimed to answer the research questions detailed in Chapter Three so as to meet the objectives of the study (see outlined in Chapter One). This research report served to explore the nascent theory of creolisation within the multicultural context of fashion in Africa. This study was...
undertaken so as to develop a greater understanding of the phenomena and develop propositions for further testing. In addition, pro-local and pro-global consumer cultural dispositions were explored within the new context of fashion in Africa, with the purpose of building on previous acculturation literature.
5. CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS

5.1. Introduction

This chapter serves to present findings through insights gained into consumer acculturation within the fashion industry in Africa against the backdrop of a globalised multicultural world. As outlined in Chapter One and Chapter Three, the research sought to answer three questions, namely (1) to explore whether creolisation exists amongst consumers in Africa and if so, how this manifests itself. Then, so as not to discount the pro-local and pro-global constructs within this context, the research also (2) explored whether constructs of local orientation and (3) global orientation are present amongst consumers of fashion in Africa.

A summary of the interview and coding processes which aimed to ensure accuracy and validity of the data, as well as a description of the sample, will open the chapter. Thereafter a comprehensive discussion of the themes that emerged, primarily through inductive analysis using Atlas.ti software, will be discussed in order to answer the research questions as stated in Chapter Three.

5.2. Summary of interview process and sample description

5.2.1. Summary of interview process

As discussed in Chapter Four, eight consumers and 11 experts were selected for contextual variation and for their ability to provide unique insights into the phenomena. The consumer interviews lasted for a median and average length of 40 minutes with the longest being 45 minutes and the shortest being 35 minutes. The shortest interview was a Skype interview between South Africa and Ghana where the poor internet connection resulted in a shorter interview. The expert interviews lasted for a median and average of 44 minutes with the shortest interview lasting 30 minutes (due to interviewee's time scarcity) and the longest lasting 60 minutes. Interviews that took place at the interviewee's place of work, such as shops or offices, lasted longer than the above mentioned interview times as the interviewer used the opportunity to browse the stores or spaces and establish a rapport with the participants by discussing their designs and design spaces.
5.2.2. Summary of the sample group

The consumer sample, made up of four men and five women between the ages of 25 and 42 years, included a mix of cultures and nationalities to ensure maximum contextual and cultural variation. The sample included six nationalities and five members of the sample were expats while four lived in their African country of origin. Four different race groups made up the sample. The below table provides a summary of the consumer sample group.

Table 3: Summary of consumers interviewed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consumer</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Residence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Consumer 1</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Nigerian</td>
<td>Living in SA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer 2</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Ugandan</td>
<td>Living in SA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer 3</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Kenyan</td>
<td>Living in Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer 4</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Malawian</td>
<td>Living in SA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer 5</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>South African</td>
<td>Living in Ghana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer 6</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>South African</td>
<td>Living in South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer 7</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Zimbabwean</td>
<td>Living in Zimbabwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer 8</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>South African</td>
<td>Living in South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer 9</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>South African</td>
<td>Living in South Africa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The expert sample group was selected for variation in experience. The sample included one Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of a fashion week in Africa, two creative directors of fashion brands, three retail buyers, three fashion designers, one owner of a fashion label, and one fashion trend analyst, with 147 years combined experience working in the African fashion industry. More experts were selected for the study than consumers due to their ability to provide unique insight into both local and global trends. Experts, as part of their occupation, were expected to keep abreast of trends locally and also have an insight into global markets or international retailers entering
the continent from a competitive point of view. The below table provides a summary of the expert sample group.

Table 4: Summary of experts interviewed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expert</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Years' experience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expert 1</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>South African</td>
<td>Living in South Africa</td>
<td>CEO of Fashion Week</td>
<td>30 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expert 2</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>South African</td>
<td>Living in South Africa</td>
<td>Creative Director for fashion brand</td>
<td>26 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expert 3</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Ghanaian</td>
<td>Living in Ghana</td>
<td>Fashion designer</td>
<td>8 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expert 4</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>South African</td>
<td>Living in South Africa</td>
<td>Retail buyer for South African retailer</td>
<td>6 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expert 5</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>South African</td>
<td>Living in South Africa</td>
<td>Retail buyer for South African retailer</td>
<td>9 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expert 6</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>South African</td>
<td>Living in South Africa</td>
<td>Owner of South African fashion label</td>
<td>13 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expert 7</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>South African</td>
<td>Living in South Africa</td>
<td>Fashion designer</td>
<td>5 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expert 8</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>South African</td>
<td>Living in South Africa</td>
<td>Fashion designer</td>
<td>10 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expert 9</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>South African</td>
<td>Living in South Africa</td>
<td>Fashion trend analyst</td>
<td>20 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expert 10</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>South African</td>
<td>Living in South Africa</td>
<td>Retail buyer for South African retailer</td>
<td>11 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expert 11</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Living in South Africa, Rwanda and Kenya</td>
<td>Creative director of fashion brand</td>
<td>9 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3. Summary of coding process

The interviewer planned to conduct a sufficient number of interviews to reach data saturation (Saunders & Lewis, 2012). The transcriptions were run through the Atlas.ti software and coded inductively as themes emerged from the data. The initial code list of approximately 280 codes used for the first six interviews transcribed is attached in Appendix 3. The researcher then began to merge codes according to overlapping themes to produce approximately 150 codes as outlined in Appendix 4. Fewer new
codes were emerging following interview nine and so the codes were further assessed and cleaned based on overlapping themes as well as research questions. This was the first point of data saturation and the final code list of 72 codes is listed in Appendix 5. Of the final 72 codes, eight new codes were added between interview nine and interview 21 demonstrating data saturation. Below is a graph which illustrates the coding process.

Figure 1: Coding process resulting in data saturation

The codes were then categorised based on themes relating to the three research questions which will be discussed in the following sections of the chapter. The process of reviewing and refining the codes, categorising these and continuously going back to the data and research questions whereby the researcher, the topic and sense-making continuously interacted so as to establish a persuasive narrative, served to ensure validity-as-reflexive-accounting (Cresswell & Miller, 2000). The inductive process also served to provide credibility or trustworthiness that the researcher was not fitting the codes to match the literature review themes initially, but rather allowing them to emerge organically from the data.

The findings provided valuable insight for international marketers around consumer acculturation and attitudes towards globalisation and global consumer culture and will
be discussed in order to answer the three research questions proposed in Chapter Three.

5.4. Results for research question 1: Creolisation in retail fashion in Africa

This research question is made up of two parts and sought to develop a deeper understanding of how consumers in Africa creolise cultures:

- *Do consumers blend/creolise cultures through retail fashion in Africa?*
- *If so, how is this manifesting?*

Evidence of creolisation or cultural blending was determined using codes attached to participants' quotes that signalled cultural mixing or blending as opposed to pro-local or pro-global cultural dispositions. These included quotations relating to mixing global and local styles of fashion or incorporating one culture into another in a single garment. The overall findings were made up of a total of 842 code-occurrences or code-quotations. Evidence was found in the data which established that cultural blending manifested in six main ways. These categories emerged from commonalities found in codes and are ranked below in order. The below table indicates the frequency of quotations coded, therefore code-quotations or code-occurrences, found in the data or how often participants spoke about cultural blending. These codes were then grouped into broader code categories which related to one theme as indicated below. Thus the below table indicates the frequency of codes mentioned in each code category or theme.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Blending Culture Code Categories</th>
<th>Consumer Sample</th>
<th>Expert Sample</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blending: Local influence blended with international styles</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blending: Local culture influencing global culture</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blending: African cultural amalgamation</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blending: True cultural amalgamation blending</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blending: Blend local and global together</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blending: Glocalisation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>29</strong></td>
<td><strong>96</strong></td>
<td><strong>125</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The findings related to these six themes will be discussed in more detail, followed by a presentation of two additional sub-themes which emerged from the data relating to this research question.

5.4.1. **Blending: Local influences blended with international styles**

The data showed a trend of designers blending local cultural influences with international or modern styles of fashion with 77 code-quotation occurrences. Thus, the category of local influences being blended with international styles was supported by a frequency of 77 codes. Many interviewees mentioned the fact that traditional wear was historically made bespoke by tailors in-country. However, there now seems to be a trend towards fusing traditional cultural influences such as fabrics, patterns, details, symbols or aesthetics with international or Western styles, suggesting a growing self confidence in African identity twinned with the benefits of modernisation.

Traditional local influences are blended with Western styles in order to create something new. Instead of a pure African aesthetic being created bespoke by tailors, these blended items are sold through retailers or boutiques and consumers can wear these garments for everyday occasions, not specifically for weddings, funerals or other culturally appropriate occasions. This form of blending allows consumers to wear both cultures every day, instead of separating garments into African versus Western, depending on occasion

“They’re quite modern but with a really ethnic print. Nice and colourful and fun. They’re statements, pieces that makes [sic] a statement, but can be worn every day.” (Consumer 5)

Expert 11, a creative director of a fashion brand, mentioned that she moved from Spain to Rwanda and started training local crafters in order to incorporate into her "Afropolitan" designs, clearly showing the move away for local tailoring or crafting to fusing traditional with modern retail interpretations of African culture.

“This was at the beginning of the project and from there we decided to start prints with a more formal workshop in Rwanda, where we basically trained, you know, people in fashion making, stitching and we had a team of up to 60 people.” (Expert 11)

For purposes of triangulation, below is an example of a South African designer that fuses South African culture with modern styles. The Xhosa culture is blended with a
modern aesthetic to create something completely unique. Patterns and fabrics used can be immediately recognised as African, however the styles of the garments are modern or international. The belted shawl on the top left image seems to be indicative of a traditional blanket but the belting and flow makes it modern. The blending even includes small details such as the top right image which shows socks with an African print, paired with Puma sandals. Western-style pencil skirts, shorts and collared shirts are paired with a vibrant Xhosa infusion to create garments with everyday appeal that are completely unique.

**Figure 2: Maxhosa by Laduma: African Fashion International Spring Summer 17 images**

(Source: Maxhosa by Laduma, 2016)
The **uniqueness** of this blended contemporary traditional wear seemed to be appealing to consumers. They noted enjoying the blending of an international aesthetic which still links to their African heritage. Some consumers spoke of **modern**, rather than global or international, which seems to suggest the best of both worlds and even something beyond just global and/or local. This lexicon did not just include the ideas of Western or international and global, but seemed to move beyond cultural confines to express **modernity as interpreted by the consumers**. Some examples of the above-described uniqueness, modernty and dual African-global citizenship are presented below.

Examples of quotes related to uniqueness or personal difference:

"People want something **different** and interesting." (Expert 3)

"So if they are walking through the street, they are wearing a very simple basic cotton sweater but it has an in-thread of African fabric on the sleeve and everybody asks where you bought the sweater so you know they **feel unique**, but in a way they feel they can wear something without looking like they are basically costume-dressed." (Expert 11)

Examples of quotes related to modernity and or being fashionable:

"The material is traditional and the tailoring is more **modern** so you have miniskirts out of them, you have your trousers and a whole lot of things out of them which it would have not been if not for the contemporary part that’s come into it." (Consumer 1)

"I really wanted an African shirt that I felt was **still very modern** so there was one that I got and now lost – it was made of leather, so it had the African woven print in the front and it was made of leather and zips on the side so the zips were sort of like my urban fashion sense but it was still very African and that was my favourite piece" (Consumer 4)

"So now we are saying how do we move with our clients? The local’s still there, but the clothes are **more fashionable**, more relaxed and also our consumers are as well." (Expert 6)

Examples of quotes relating to dual identities. Again, global culture was expressed through the terms of global, Western and modern:

"With people it’s almost like an **identity crisis** and in the mix of wanting to be African and wanting to be a **modern African** not given away from your culture." (Consumer 4)
“The aesthetic of the brand is that it has a global view and its practical pieces that she can incorporate into her wardrobe at any time but it’s also like she’s carrying a piece of Africa wherever she goes.” (Expert 3)

"Yeah it is basically a European concept or more of a Westernised look. So it is basically taking both of these worlds and taking what fashion is doing globally in conjunction with shades, trends and materials and colour and merging that with the African tradition details so it is a look that is very much international, you could wear anywhere in the world." (Expert 11)

Modern African consumers appeared to not want to let go of their African heritage but at the same time, saw themselves as global cosmopolitans. Experts stated that this type of blending through fashion, often assists in bridging these two worlds and consumers echoed the same sentiment. Also, there was an element of uniqueness and personal difference.

“What people want to do is they want to show that they’re still a part of street culture and they’re still African so you wear a dashiki, you might wear a bomber jacket over it you might wear a blazer over it but you have to have something very pronounced that’s African in what you wearing.” (Consumer 4)

5.4.2. Blending: Local culture influencing global culture

This code category included 40 code-quotation occurrences with far more prevalence within the expert sample (37) than the consumer sample (3). This may be due to the fact that experts are more likely to be more aware of this theme than consumers. Examples of Western countries or consumers taking on influences from Africa seemed to manifest in a number of ways as seen from the data, most notably from international celebrities wearing attire with African or local influences and through local culture influencing global fashion trends.

5.4.2.1. International celebrities wearing attire with local influences

Consumers did not appear to be as actively aware of local culture influencing global culture. Their comments around this theme focused on obvious examples such as international celebrities wearing clothing with local cultural relevance, demonstrating a blending whereby international fashion worn by celebrities is being influenced by local culture. For example, the fact that American singer, Beyoncé, has been known to wear dresses using Ankara (West African print) style fabric was noted by a consumer (Consumer 2). Another consumer mentioned celebrity, Jidenna, a singer and producer
who dresses in formal attire but always includes touches of African flair in his ensembles.

"He [Jidenna] wants to be suited up all the time but even though he’s suited up all the time, he will have a waistcoat that has African print on it. So he’ll be in a completely navy blue suit but the waistcoat will have African print on it with an African print bow tie." (Consumer 4)

It is interesting to note that both Beyoncé and Jidenna are African-American perhaps indicating a proclivity towards identifying with Africa as part of their heritage.

5.4.2.2. Local influencing global

According to the experts interviewed, international designers using African influences in their collections is not a new trend. This indicates a trend reversing the traditional notion of globalisation, where Western countries are adopting influences from a wider set of markets than its own. An expert mentioned that Yves Saint Laurent was one of the first international designers to use African influences and "pay homage to South Africa" as early as the 1970s and that he was "also the first designer to have a black model on the runway" (Expert 9). Expert 7 stated that many international designers have been using the Ndebele culture as inspiration in recent years with Christian Louboutin being one of the most recent examples. Expert 3 mentioned that "there is always that cross-pollination like where Western designers take inspiration from African designers. It’s always been happening so I don’t think it’s a new trend" which indicates an explicit form of hybridisation.

As much as international designers using African influences is not a new trend, what experts saw as relatively new is that African designers are no longer confining themselves to African markets and equally, there appears to be a global consumer (and particularly Western) market for African design born out of the continent. 31 code-occurrences supported the idea of local influencing global. Some examples of evidence from the data:

- Expert 7, whose design aesthetic is heavily influenced by the South African Xhosa tribe, currently stocks a boutique in Tokyo, one in London, and indicated that he would be involved in a pop-up store in Paris for two weeks. This designer did not appear to be an anomaly as indicated by the points below.
• A Ghanaian designer interviewed, who has showcased her designs at fashion weeks in Milan and Paris, stated that "in terms of trends now with regards to African fashion, there’s a new crop of designers of brands out of the continent which have a very global view and it looks like the world is responding well to it" (Expert 3). She goes on to say that the blended African infused global aesthetic coming out of the continent by African designers "crosses borders and it’s not restricted in aesthetics and you don’t have to be of African origin to wear those pieces and wear them well".

• Another designer mentioned that their brand decided to turn the well-known model of Western fashion taking influence from Africa on its head. Although she and her business partner are both originally from Spain, they made the decision to move to Africa, to use African culture as inspiration for their designs, to produce their garments on the continent using local suppliers wherever possible and "sell out in the world" (Expert 11). This indicates that emerging economies are also globalising the West.

As discussed, the above points indicate a potential trend of Western countries adopting influences from emerging markets. However, this could conversely be as a result of a push factor from local designers due to local consumers having negative perceptions of self, or local. Perhaps also because these global retailers have recognised, as Expert 9 previously mentioned, that local designers provide a similar offering to global retailers in many cases. Expert 9, a fashion trend analyst, went on to mention that there appears to be a trend that "internationals show more interest in our designers than we are showing". She highlighted the fact that local designers often put self-imposed boundaries on themselves by not thinking globally. She stated that "we don’t know of any Parisian designers that have a store in Paris and sell to Parisians, it’s just not thought of, and the idea of local is lekker is probably the biggest fault” (Expert 9).

This potential reverse-globalisation could be stimulated by technology and/or mass media in multicultural deterritorialised worlds. Expert 9 highlighted the enormous power that social media possesses in being able to take global fashion to the world when she stated that "I think they [local designers] don’t understand that such dramatic changes are taking place due to technology that you can actually run a business from your Facebook account and or your Instagram account and you become immediately global as a designer."
5.4.3. Blending: Cultural amalgamation blending

This form of cultural blending seemed to be less well developed than the previously mentioned categories with 31 code-category occurrences. This looks at consumers or designers blending numerous cultures into something entirely new, thereby suggesting a **wider influence than just local and Western**. Thus, this requires moving away from the sphere of blending global (predominantly Western) and local to a **cultural amalgamation mixing of influences from all over the world** to create something completely unique.

Expert 5 speaks of an African brand called *Milles Collines* where the designers bought fabric from Africa and then travelled internationally to find trends and inspiration from all over the world and blended these to create their brand. One consumer spoke about the fact that he would wear a contemporary dashiki-style shirt with a Hip-Hop style bomber jacket, or a suit with an African-print bow-tie but if he wanted to make a statement but for a "posh" occasion, he would typically wear a long Chinese collared style shirt with a blazer, showing the blending of numerous cultures, and not just Western and local. Expert 10 spoke about Moroccan influences being trendy for a number of seasons amongst South African retailers. Expert 11 believes that the fact that she was able to blend numerous African traditional influences, with contemporary styles and her Spanish heritage contributed to the success of their brand. She speaks about fashion trends coming from all over the world (and not just West or local) including from India, Asia, Japan and Bollywood.

Expert 8 is strongly influenced by the east and specifically, the Japanese design-aesthetic. She has been known to blend Asian styles with African prints. She stated that she finds Eastern design more conservative and calm than the Western design aesthetic but she still uses bright and bold colours which she believes is inspired by the fact that she grew up in South Africa. Expert 6 also made mention of another African designer who is adapt at fusing and blending multiple cultural influences.

"Olé has a way of mixing stuff. He can mix up a suit, I don’t know, with a kilt-type of thing, so he finds a way of being different. I remember when he was trying to mix up Arab kind of culture with a formal suit culture, or he would mix different nation’s styles together, and they seem to work, people seem to like it. Initially you might get a skrik [fright] and say, what the hell’s he doing, but once you see it on the runway and once you see him wearing it, you then start warming up to it." [Expert 6]
According to trend analyst, Expert 9, another trend or subculture coming out of poorer areas in South Africa which blends numerous cultures together to create something unique, is known as “hyper styling” or “hyper sampling”.

“Hyper sampling is almost like the remix of a song. So it might be something from the 90’s with contemporary voice remixed by a new DJ – okay – and in the same way clothes work the same way, so it might be thrift item from the 1920’s, 1950’s, 70’s or 80’s combined with contemporary fast fashion from Mr Price or H&M or Zara and then manufactured or altered by the individual in combination with accessories or shoes from other places and as a result they develop a new unique look.” (Expert 9)

5.4.4. Blending: African cultural amalgamation

The next theme that developed through the data analysis was that of an African cultural amalgamation or growing regional identity whereby consumers appear to be identifying themselves as African and are not confined to a specific country of origin. There were 28 code-quotations supporting this category. This primarily manifested in two ways, firstly by African design appealing to other African country consumers and secondly, through local designers or retailers blending influences from other African cultures.

5.4.4.1. African design appealing to other African countries

Many of the designers interviewed, whose garments took influence from their specific country of origin, mentioned that they were exporting to or had stores in other African countries. Some also showcased at other African Fashion Weeks. This surge of African expansion by Africans perhaps signals a growing regional identity and rise of continental identity and confidence in Africa.

Ghanaian designer, Expert 3, mentioned that their brand was also stocked in stores in Cape Town, South Africa and reaches numerous markets through their online store. She estimates that 40% of their consumer base is not Ghanaian, but still lives on the African continent. She has showcased her collections in South African and Lagos Fashion Weeks (as well as Milan and Paris). Expert 11, whose label uses strong African influences from multiple African cultures, has stores in Rwanda, Kenya and will soon be opening a flagship store in South Africa. After realising that the Rwandan market was limited in terms of growth, she stated that,
"we opened a total of 4 stores in Nairobi and now we recently moved, my business partner and I, to South Africa to look for further production sources so as to expand the line of product we have in Kenya. From there we jumped into a more ambitious project of opening a flagship store in South Africa" (Expert 11).

Expert 2, a South African designer, has previously been invited to showcase his collections in Niger, Rwanda, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Nigeria.

Many of the expats mentioned that they enjoyed taking clothing with cultural relevance from their country of residence back as gifts for friends and family in their home countries and vice versa and that this was well received by the recipients. This signals an appreciation of and identification with a wider African identity, while at the same time, also an element of uniqueness.

"It has a traditional [Nigerian] look. You will not go into any retail shop and pick them out right, however in Nigeria you could pick them up in the retail shops so it has its general appeal because I realised whenever I put in on people [South Africans] want me to when I go home, to get it and I've bought it for a whole lot of my South African friends." (Consumer 1)

"I have a few Nigerian friends so [they bring me] just something that you get to see and you like and they bring you from their country. And that's nice." (Consumer 3)

"When we have South African visiting [Ghana] for the first time, they always try to have something made before they go back home." (Consumer 5)

5.4.4.2. Designers or retailers borrowing influences from other African cultures

Many of the designers described being inspired by or using influences from other African cultures. Expert 11 highlighted a collection inspired by the Taureg culture and another paying homage to African curios sold in markets. Expert 2 mentioned taking inspiration from the Ethiopian culture using "the lion, the stripe and the cross" and also that they "did a collection from Nigeria and the inspiration was the great legendary Fela Kuti, who is the godfather of Afro Funk". Expert 8 mentioned that the pattern on her fabric used in one collection was inspired by crabs on the beaches of Mozambique.

Most prominently though, it seems that both experts and consumers are moving towards a sense of African amalgamation or African fusion whereby consumers are
responding to the idea of being a part of one African culture. Consumers have an emotional connection to Africa which is expressed through fashion.

“There’s a lot of tailors around (Zimbabwe) that are doing the African attires [sic] but its bits and pieces from everywhere. You’ll see something that’s very South African and maybe when I say South African I mean what? Maybe a lot of colours mixed together and you’ll probably see something that looks very Nigerian with the head gear, the wrap arounds.” (Consumer 7)

“It’s definitely a Nigerian thing but as I said, because Africans, even if it’s not your African, it just looks African-pronounced, you’ll wear it” and “it looks African and that’s what matters.” (Consumer 4)

Expert 11 states that their label aims to create a very "Afropolitan" look that could be worn by anyone. She goes on to say when speaking about her customers:

“The most important [sic], I would say, is a common attraction and a connection with Africa either because they like Africa and they have never been, either because they live in Africa or because they do not live in Africa and miss Africa - so Africa is always their emotional connection.”

5.4.5. Blending: Local and global blended together

This category contained 22 code-quotation occurrences in the data. This type of cultural blending manifested through consumers wearing local and global brands together to create a unique look. This category differs from section 5.4.1 where local influences were incorporated with global or modern styles into one garment. This category speaks to consumers mixing local and global brands or whole items of clothing coming from different places together. Thus a garment is not altered to fuse local and global, but consumers rather mix local and global styled whole items together to create a unique look. Consumers mentioned wearing traditional items with modern styles such as jeans or wearing local and global brands together in one outfit to create a unique look. Many examples were provided in the data:

"We have what you call Ishi Ago which is a very traditional wear now that you can mix up because it’s always a top so you can always pick up a trouser that you bought from Woolworths like a chino or even a pant trouser to go with that." (Consumer 1)

"Yeah every so often probably to be nice to wear an African shirt with jeans." (Consumer 3)

"All the time, every day. They [consumers] might wear a Marks & Spencer shirt with a Kristy Brown skirt [Ghanaian designer] and a Chanel jacket." (Expert 3)
"He'll [a consumer] walk into Sandton and he'll have R2000 cash on him and he'll go and get his sneakers from SportScene or Shesha, his denim at TopShop because they've got such a great variety, he'll go to Markhams because all the guys in my hood are in Markhams. They cross-shop a lot and they're aware of what they can get for their buck." (Expert 4)

"So those kinds of things are important and you have to mix it with other stuff. I mean you can't only wear one thing – yes – like I mix different designers, I've got a lot of like local and international clothing and I didn't see anything wrong with it." (Expert 8)

Similar to the first blending category, where African and global influences are mixed together into a garment, this type of blending seemed to highlight that consumers want to portray themselves as both global and local citizens.

"Yes, local consumers like to mix, definitely they want to—they often want to get brands that match the international ones that they purchase. Like for instance if someone buys a Gucci loafer they want to get a nice pair of shorts from me and a good shirt from a tailor, Zano Sithetho to actually make a good set that is like, it stands out basically." (Expert 8)

5.4.6. Blending: Glocalisation

This was the one category in the data that was introduced deductively due to the fact that literature made mention of it as the main strategy employed by international marketers to tailor their offerings to suit local cultures.

As expected, evidence of glocalisation was found within the data. However, of all the categories of cultural blending that emerged, this was the least well-developed category. The code-quotation occurrence was only two from the consumer sample and three from the expert sample. It is not surprising that the expert sample made more mention of this, as they would be expected to be more consciously aware of the practice whereas the consumer group may be less actively aware of the strategy.

Two consumers made mention of the fact that brands tailoring items to local markets in fact elevate the brand or item.

"Where H&M get it right for the South African market is they will take something that looks quite local and add it to a piece, like an item. Like a few weeks ago I bought a little jacket, a very cheap little jacket, it was R229. It definitely doesn't keep you warm but on the side it's got a beautiful African print which makes it looks so much more expensive than it actually is." (Consumer 9)
“Topman I think are the first guys I saw like – they were selling the African shirts like formal shirts that had a very sleek look but with African print and design. I mean people have been doing it for ages but they modernise it very nicely I think.” (Consumer 4)

The cultural blending process indicated above is dictated by the multinational. These consumers made the assumption that these items were tailored or glocalised for their market and were not pieces sold in other markets as well. Seemingly in line with the consumers' assumptions, an expert highlighted the fact that international retailers are more in tune with local markets than local retailers and are approaching trend analysts to do store visits and see if their offerings are appropriate for local markets. The expert intimated that local retailers are also lacking in local consumer understanding when she said that "we get approached from international before we get approached by local and it hasn't been as a lack of us attempting to support them" (Expert 9) which suggests a certain level of complacency on the part of the local retailers. The expert further suggests that garnering a better understanding of local consumers will assist retailers in being successful on the continent.

“It’s not a shame for us because we continue to do the work that we do irrespective of who we work with. We respect the fact that they [international retailers] want to understand Africa and if you [local retailers] are too slow for the market, that’s your business and you have to learn to deal with consequences of that.” (Expert 9).

5.4.7. Subtheme: Active creation of own identity
A sub-theme of consumers actively creating their own identities using fashion was evidenced in the data with 90 code-quotation occurrences, thereby underscoring the choice of category for the study. This spoke to the fact that many consumers are moving away from specific trends or brand-dependent identity creation, and consumers are now concerned with creating a unique look that reflects their own personal identity. Expert 2 stated that "people used to look forward to the next trend but it’s not like that anymore. Now it’s about you and what works for you." He went on to say that people need to "wear who they are." Expert 6 similarly stated that "there’s this colab [collaboration] looking style that’s coming, so people wear what they want to wear, how they feel, what talks to them." Expert 7 goes so far as to say that a consumer's own unique look becomes a "brand positioning for them." Consumers seem to echo the same sentiment and speak to the idea of a unique non-social identity rather than a local or global one.
"I just want to be different. Me. Just me." (Consumer 3)

Specifically related to the theme of blending/creolisation, codes such as unique look, self-identification and brand-independent identity creation were run against blending-related codes in order to determine whether co-occurrences were present. 56 co-occurrences were present in the data as highlighted in the below table. This suggests that blending creates a space for consumers to create their own interpretation of self and/or cultural identity.

**Table 6: Blending and active creation of own identity co-occurrences**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active creation of own identity</th>
<th>Co-occurrences with blending codes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brand-independent identity creation</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-identification</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unique look</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>56</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The specific co-occurrences between codes can be viewed in Figure 3 where it is apparent that the greatest overlap between blending and active creation of own identity was present in the "blending local and global trends" blending form. As mentioned in section 5.4.1, blending was described by consumers as fusing local influences with Western and/or modern styles. Western seems more specifically tied to culture while the idea of modernity seems to transcend culture as it indicates the consumers interpretation of the idea of being modern.
Figure 3: Co-occurrences: Blending and active creation of own identity

The data indicated that in many cases, cultural blending through fashion is tied to an individual's desire to actively create their own identity by allowing them to build a unique look that ties to their own identity, and often this manifests in a manner that is independent of brands which speaks to a rise of individualism.

"So I think instead of verses [global versus local] it’s looking for the right blend so you still want to have the entire cool that comes with it but you still want to have your own identity and that identity then comes across with the African style that you put in there." (Consumer 4)

"People do it [blend or mix] unconsciously and according to what they identify with and can afford." (Expert 1)

"You might find a beautiful pair of leather pants from Zara but then again you might find a printed fabric from a local designer and it works together and a clutch bag from another designer. We’ve got a fun and fresh outlook on style and putting outfits together and people draw inspiration from looks and not brands." (Expert 5)

"I think people now use clothing to really express themselves, and you can’t limit someone on the issue of culture, because that's how I see myself that's how actually I express me, so allow me to be myself." (Expert 6)
"And I myself I would mix as well, I don’t have a problem with that and I think that we live in a digital age now where we are not only exposed what’s happening in South Africa, we know what’s happening internationally and people should have the freedom of pulling in whatever culture that defines them and mix it all together." (Expert 7)

“So basically they [consumers] are walking into stores and they are looking at a product and thinking, I want to live this kind of lifestyle, I want to be this kind of person right, so I think that kind of lifestyle obviously means mixing because people travel more and more and people are exposed to many things.” (Expert 11)

Expert 9 spoke to the fact that blending global and international styles or garments forms part of a consumer's personal identity or self-expression when she states that "fashion for me, as with anybody else, is a form of personal expression." She goes on to mention that this blending for personal expression may be a conscious or unconscious decision but it still speaks to the image that a consumer wants to portray to the rest of the world.

5.4.8. Subtheme: Cultural misappropriation
In order to demonstrate validity through presenting disconfirming evidence of creolisation within the data, it becomes important to address a subtheme that emerged within the context of cultural blending. This is the subtheme of cultural misappropriation that some consumers and experts addressed with eight code-occurrences. Thus, although the subtheme was not as well supported as some of the other categories in the data, it was still a notable emergent trend. When asked whether they have ever worn traditional wear from other cultures or traditions, some respondents expressed their uneasiness around cultural misappropriation.

"No I do not. I just do not wear things just because I think there is a certain degree of authenticity that I cannot embody because that is not my culture. I respect it but it is not who I am and I feel maybe you cannot insert yourself into someone else’s culture if it is not yours. You can respect it from a distance but do not try and capture it." (Consumer 6)

"I do think I feel too white wearing something too ethnic like that." (Consumer 9)

Expert 9 spoke about the fact that designers need to be wary of cultural misappropriation when adopting influences from other cultures.
"We have and it’s a very fine line in South Africa to be treading on right now, I mean Marc Jacobs’ recent show where he had pastel coloured dreadlocks on white girls you know, especially around this kind of political environment, economic environment, the rise of feminism, the rise of black feminism, black consciousness, black lives matter, black girl magic. It’s highly inappropriate for white designers to appropriate black culture and we are finding more respect from young designers who have been fed fashion theories and understand cultural appropriation and understand heritage and the idea that cultures, when you do appropriate culture differences, you must be ready to face the questions about how and why? So they are a little bit more sensitive around that." (Expert 9)

Similarly, Expert 7 also spoke about the dangers of cultural misappropriation when he said "there’s often negative talks [sic] around that, because some designers, some brand houses don’t delegate or don’t respect the culture enough, by using the traditional artefact as just fashion accessories which often upsets people from the culture." Although this may seem to indicate that some things cannot be globalised, he went on to make another point that cultural appropriation can also be positive and empowering when taken from a historical African perspective. Thus, the perspective of the consumer becomes important.

"However, I think the positive side of it should be looked at in an optimistic way for a sense that, for instance, in my 2016-2017 spring-summer collection, the name of my theme is appropriation, where I celebrate appropriation in a sense that we as South Africans wear Western clothes, specifically the Xhosa when the Xhosa people used to wear traditional outfits, their clothes didn’t have sleeves or seams. But nowadays we wear Western clothes and I see that as a form of appropriation but as a designer I infuse traditional aesthetic into those clothes to make them more relevant, you know, so that I celebrate the classic fit but make it traditional by the aesthetics that I design them with so that I actually negotiate the two meeting points. But for me it’s just a communication way of saying that, at the end of the day, cardigans where not invented by Xhosa people, but their patterns where invented—I took the pattern from the Xhosa tradition." (Expert 7).
5.4.9. *Summary of findings for research question 1*

The data indicated that evidence of creolisation or cultural blending does exist amongst consumers of fashion in Africa, with 125 code-occurrences found. Blending can take the form of (1) **Western brand culture retaining dominance**, (2) **emerging economies influencing blending within developed and emerging economies** and (3) **the meeting and mingling of cultural meanings**. Cultural blending can be occasion-based and/or related to identity-formation. Oftentimes this creation of a unique identity or self-expression through blending, takes place independent of brands or transcending brands. The very idea of 'Western' versus 'local' has been replaced by 'modern' by many consumers. The emergent subtheme of cultural misappropriation also highlights the importance of the perspective of the consumer in acculturation.

In short, cultural blending manifests in six primary ways:

- Blending: Local cultural influences blended with international styles
- Blending: Local culture influencing global culture
- Blending: African cultural amalgamation
- Blending: Cultural amalgamation blending
- Blending: Local and global culture blended together
- Blending: Glocalisation

In addition, two subthemes emerged relating to the category of cultural blending:

- Active creation of own identity and a sense of uniqueness
- Cultural misappropriation
5.5. **Results for research question 2: Pro-local consumer culture**

Against the backdrop of the previous subtheme of cultural misappropriation, which speaks to a protection of local culture, the research paper will now turn to local culture. This research question sought to understand whether there is evidence of pro-local/global rejection dispositions amongst consumers of retail fashion in Africa. Pro-local consumer culture seemed to manifest in a number of ways as indicated and ranked by the below table.

**Table 7: Pro local/anti-global consumer dispositions in ranked order**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pro-Local Culture Code Categories</th>
<th>Consumer Family</th>
<th>Expert Family</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pro-local culture</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural influence on dress</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer animosity towards country of origin</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-foreign brands</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The categories can be split into two sections:

- Pro-local/ethnocentrism (pro-local culture and cultural influence on dress)
- Rejection of global (consumer animosity towards specific country of origin and anti-foreign brands)

5.5.1. **Pro-local/ Ethnocentrism**

5.5.1.1. **Pro-local culture**

The pro-local culture category was made up of the codes ranked in order depicted in Table 8.

The seven most prominent themes (with code-occurrences over 10) in the data related to the fact that local design is seen as unique or as a differentiator and consumers are pro-local brands or buy from local retailers. The idea of an overarching pro-local sentiment also emerged where a sense of pride seemed to arise out of supporting local designers or brands and also supporting locally made products. There was also the strong sense that an African brand story resonated with many consumers. Quotations related to these themes are provided in Table 9.
Table 8: Ranking of pro-local code-occurrences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Code-Occurrence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local design is unique</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro-local brands</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buy local retailers</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro local/national pride</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro locally made products</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African brand story resonates with consumer</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro local social media or peer fashion inspiration</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local fashion grows the economy</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buy into local community upliftment</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local retailers provide value/quality</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro local celebrity style</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase in number of African retailers and brands</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro local music fashion inspiration</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local retailers are affordable</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9: Examples of pro-local code-quotations in the data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Quotation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local Design is unique/a differentiator</td>
<td>&quot;If I’m going to a concert or I’m going to a nice VIP type event you definitely want to wear what I refer to as the signature pieces, so you want to stand out. I think that’s why people wear dashikis to these types of events.&quot; (Consumer 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;I think most South African designers know what’s happening world-wide but try to draw inspiration from Africa to make their product unique.&quot; (Expert 5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"100% is inspired by our culture. The brand is based here. We source locally and about a good 80% is sourced locally." (Expert 3)

"I have seen that people with more disposable income generally are more aware of supporting the local market." (Expert 10)

"You looking [sic] for something that speaks to you and speaks to your origin and that basically talks to you further to the aspiration more about a story behind the brand." (Expert 11)

"Rwanda has been a very key, you know, part of our history and I think everybody that thinks about Mille Collines they link it to Rwanda so it is a part of our story that makes us who we are, where we developed the product and the original look of Mille Collines." (Expert – number removed for confidentiality)

"Where I’ve been fortunate is actually the fact that [local] influencers come into the store to buy and out of courtesy I give them 10% or 5% discount because I know for a fact that they will bring in value to what I do." (Expert 7)

In addition to the codes mentioned, the researcher coded every mention of a local or global brand separately by name with the pre-fix "local" or "global" attached. Then each time the interviewees spoke positively or negatively about that brand an additional code "positive" or "negative" was assigned to that particular brand. For this section, the positive local brand associations are presented in the below figure as extrapolated from a co-occurrence table using Atlas.ti (the other associations will be dealt with in relevant sections). These local brands included local retail and local designer brands. Also to note is that only the consumer sample group was included in the below figure. The expert sample group was removed as they were assumed to potentially be more pro-local culture.

Figure 4: Local brands with positive consumer associations
Positive associations with **local retailers** included quality, accessibility, affordability and functionality (Consumer 1; Consumer 8; Consumer 9) and many consumers mentioned getting their "basics" (Consumer 1; Consumer 9) from retailers such as *Woolworths*. Positive associations with **local designers** seemed to relate more to uniqueness or "statement pieces" (Consumer 9). This coincides with Expert 9's observation that local design is seen as unique and could be used by retailers, both local and global, as a point of differentiation. In addition, local retailers seem to be missing the differentiating power of design using a localised flavour, but still at an attainable price point, which global brands understand.

"But what we have been trying to do for many years, is to approach retailers or local retailers and manufactures and explain to them the point of differentiation [local design], because if they don't start developing a point of differentiation they cannot compete with the TopShops, the Zaras and anyone else that's coming in that's got fast fashion. So what we have been explaining to them is how are your consumers going to align to a Woolworths if you are offering exactly the same trend as all the other stores, global stores that are entering Africa but they are using a better agency like WGSN that offers the same information to 7000 retailers across the world who can do it faster and cheaper than you could do, so how do you survive if you are not tapping into the consumer, African consumer or African designers." (Expert 9)

### 5.5.1.2. **Cultural influences on dress**

Participants made mention of cultural influences on dress. Certain cultures (Ugandan, Kenyan and Zimbabwean) appear to be more conservative and many African consumers made mention of the idea of "decency" (Consumer 2; Consumer 3; Consumer 7). Consumer 1 made mention of the fact that his Nigerian heritage influences his choice of clothing, as he is conscious of dressing in a "manly" or masculine way which is typical of Nigerian men.

The most prominent codes in the category of cultural influence on dress were that **traditional wear is occasional or occasion-based** (17 code-occurrences) and that **traditional wear is made bespoke** (15 code-occurrences). When asked when they would wear their traditional wear, interviewees indicated that this type of dress was normally reserved for specific occasions such as weddings, prayers, funerals, church or specific religious celebrations.
"If you have one of those cultural functions. I’ll have to wear something that is more traditional. So probably if I’m going for [sic] a wedding. Or it makes more sense to get something that is more traditional." (Consumer 3)

“So usually being a Muslim normally you would wear a Kurta, which descriptively looks like a very long dress (laughs). I normally would wear those if I am attending a funeral or a religious event and also celebrating religious things like this Monday is Eid. I will probably wear one in the morning when I go for the prayer but then there are times when I would not wear it.” (Consumer 6).

“For weddings, Diwali, any prayer that we might have.” (Consumer 8)

Dressing in traditional wear also seems to reflect a cultural sense of belonging as well as a respect for culture, tradition or elders. Because most of these garments are handmade by a tailor, they are also expensive relative to other clothing items. This seems to further solidify this sense of belonging and even status.

“I only wear them for instance if I’m going to church; on weekends if I’m going to meet up with friends especially where you know there are lots of Nigerians because they are not readily available and they can be quite expensive you know, so it gives you that sense of belonging, that sense of accomplishment if you can afford them and go with them [sic].” (Consumer 1)

“So that’s what my dad will wear to these chiefs council or the council meetings so for someone as long [sic] as I am or as old as I am, to wear it means that you kind of relating very well to the culture.” (Consumer 1).

When asked whether they would wear their more traditional wear for everyday wear or for non-traditional events, most participants indicted that they would not and demonstrated that they were concerned with dressing in a culturally appropriate manner for the specific occasion or peers. This again indicated that traditional wear is often occasion-based. One expert mentioned that he wanted to attend his graduation in a Basotho cap but was dissuaded by his wife as she felt it was disrespectful to the University. Another consumer mentioned that because graduation is a "Western thing" he would wear a suit so as to feel appropriately dressed (Consumer 3).

If consumers did wear clothing from other cultures or traditions, this also seemed to be related to specific occasions. These occasions needed to be culturally appropriate and there was a strong sense that if these items were worn, it was to show respect for the alternative culture. One participant mentioned that when he got married, he had to wear the traditional dress of his bride’s culture or tribe as his wife is Sotho (Consumer 1). This seemed to also carry to wedding guests. One consumer described a Gomesi
which is the traditional Ugandan dress, but said that her tribe tends to wear another traditional dress which is closer to the Rwandan culture, called a Mushanana. She indicated that if she did wear the Gomesi, it would normally be out of respect for another tribe.

"My culture doesn’t wear it [Gomesi], but if I’m going to a traditional ceremony for a Ugandan lady and I’m on the side of the gentleman, I need to wear the traditional dress because the gentleman is going to ask for the lady and he has to do whatever her culture wants, so if I’m part of his entourage and I arrive in something different he could be fined." (Consumer 2).

One consumer suggested that Africans separate their lives between traditional and non-traditional which could be seen perhaps having separate Western and African personas and switching or swapping between these two roles or cultures as required.

"I can only really say I have a blend of you know general wardrobe that every other person will have, with a mixture of traditional clothings [sic] and then your formal wear based on the occasions and the different lives that we have." (Consumer 1)

5.5.2. Rejection of global culture
As per Table 7, the rejection of global culture category was made up of the following codes:

- Consumer animosity towards specific country of origin
- Anti-foreign brands

5.5.2.1. Consumer animosity towards specific country of origin
The data indicated a clear consumer animosity towards one country of origin in particular. 25 of the 27 code-occurrences that related to the theme of consumer animosity towards global, made mention of experts’ and consumers’ animosity towards Chinese manufactured products. This animosity manifested through the fact that Chinese manufacturing is associated with low quality, imitation or mass manufactured products and that it is seen to have destroyed the local manufacturing industry.

"You know that we have a lot of things coming from China so it’s not of the best quality and whichever [sic] thing you buy that is from China is mass produced." (Consumer 1)

"I don’t want clothes from China." (Consumer 2)
“There’s really cheap stuff that the Chinese bring into Zimbabwe.” (Consumer 7)

“If I’m paying R3000 for something and it’s made in China that would kind of throw me off a bit because of the perception of the Chinese market because it’s so mass produced.” (Consumer 9)

“China came around and basically massacred [local] markets.” (Expert 2)

“There’s this whole thing about being made in China where it’s mass produced and not authentic or unique.” (Expert 5)

“We’ve had issues with the Chinese copying stuff. So even my dress that I have been doing since I can remember. My friend that was here now said she saw it in a China Mall.” (Expert 8)

5.5.2.2. Anti-foreign brands
This category seemed to be strongly related to consumers being opposed to the global fast fashion trend (14 code-occurrences) in general, as opposed to being particularly aimed at a specific country of origin.

“It’s [fast fashion has] corrupted too many people and people need to realise that.” (Expert 2)

As described in section 5.5.1, the global brands were also coded individually in the data and for this section, run for negative co-occurrences in an Atlas.ti co-occurrence table using only the consumer sample group. The results can be seen in Figure 5 below.

**Figure 5: Global brands with negative associations**

![Negative Associations](image-url)
These negative co-occurrences primarily related to 8 code-occurrences where global brands were associated with conformity and/or conspicuous consumption. Examples of quotes from the data:

"You know I've got a problem with buying brands and my issue with that is I always prefer to look different and most times the brands you know, create a kind of uniformity in dressing which I don't really like, that's one of my reasons why." (Consumer 1)

"Just you know it is an ostentatious opinion you have about you know when you put something like that on and it is very distinctive in their handbag range but you know I do not want to be draped in Louis Vuitton insignia from head to toe. I do not think it is to me, it does not seem to me you got style. It looks like you just want everyone to know you got money and also the amount of replicas around sometimes is very tacky as well." (Consumer 6)

"Like there's some girls who love Michael Kors. I can't look at that because it's just sometimes very overdone. The same to me with Louis Vuitton." (Consumer 9)

"A lot of brands, international brands look the same." (Expert 4)
5.5.3. **Summary of findings for research question 2**

The data indicated that evidence of pro-local culture/ global rejection amongst consumers of retail fashion in Africa does exist and primarily manifested in the following ways:

- **Pro-local culture:** local design is seen as unique and/or a differentiator and supporting local brands or manufacturing provides consumers with a sense of pride and belonging. An African brand story resonates with consumers and consumers' dress is influenced by their culture as well as cultural occasions which also creates a sense of belonging and even status.

- **Anti-foreign brands:** consumers and experts showed a strong consumer animosity towards Chinese products which were associated with inferior quality, mass production and even imitation products as well as with destroying the local manufacturing industry. A more generic anti-global sentiment was focused on the global fast fashion trend and global brands that signal conspicuous consumption and homogeneity or sameness.

5.6. **Results for research question 3: Pro-global consumer culture**

This research question seeks to understand whether there is evidence of pro-global culture dispositions amongst consumers of fashion in Africa. Pro-global consumer culture dispositions seemed to manifest in two primary ways as indicated and ranked in the below table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pro-Global Culture Code Categories</th>
<th>Consumer Family</th>
<th>Expert Family</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pro-global culture</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of trust in local</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>155</strong></td>
<td><strong>107</strong></td>
<td><strong>262</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.6.1. **Pro-global culture**

The pro-local culture category was made up of the following codes ranked in order:
Table 11: Ranking of pro-global culture code-occurrences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Code-Occurrence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Buy international brands</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro-global brands</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International brands provide status</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro-global lifestyle</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro-international celebrity style</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopping overseas</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International brands associated with high quality</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International brands are unique</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International brands provide sense of belonging</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust in Western brands through generational knowledge</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International brands are affordable</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase in global retailers or brands entering Africa</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro-global social media and online influences</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro-global music fashion inspiration</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro-Eastern influences</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro-global marketing</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, the ten most prominent themes (with code-occurrences over 10) in the data related to consumers purchasing or being pro-global brands as well as wanting to emulate a global lifestyle and looking up to international celebrity style. Positive global brand associations included uniqueness, high quality, status and a sense of belonging. Examples of quotations from the data are provided in Table 12.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 12: Examples of code-quotations for pro-global culture in the data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Buy international brands</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I probably have about 8 or 9 pairs of Nikes.&quot; (Consumer 6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I actually generally buy my jackets from Mango.&quot; (Consumer 8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;So the shops I go to now, probably more recently H&amp;M, Zara, every now and then I might find something at Mango.&quot; (Consumer 9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pro-global brands</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Current trends would be very pro-global as opposed to local because global markets are a lot more efficient and expediting marketing in a totally different way than we do.&quot; (Expert 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Yeah locally I have a budget, Internationally I do not.&quot; (Consumer 6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I really like Mango, Forever New.&quot; (Consumer 8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>International brands provide status</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;If you talk retailers then there’s always a snob value to international brands all over the world.&quot; (Expert 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;So they [Swankers] would leave their labels on their their jackets and they would show off everything aspect, the lining, the socks, the shoes, you name it - so you know we just seeing more and more generations of this kind of peacocking happening and that’s really the affiliations with international brands, it’s that kind of, you know, we still have value and we can buy expensive things, it may take us longer to purchase them but we still can.&quot; (Expert 9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I think it is international [brands] more than local to be honest. The more well-known name brands will obviously be international brands and will be what people will want to wear for status.&quot; (Expert 10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pro-global lifestyle</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;It’s an urban event where typically you have a bit of House [music], but it’s mostly Hip-Hop and it’s a lot of Hip-Hop heads which means the sneaker culture is involved and as the name says, “Pop Bottles” it’s also very like I would say USA exorbitant-living geared.&quot; (Consumer 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pro-international celebrity style</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I also think the Royal Family you know, like Kate the British Royal family, they are smart, they always look nice, they always keep [sic] the conservative, decent look.&quot; (Consumer 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shopping overseas</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I find that a lot of my friends either studied abroad or their parents travel or they have friends that travel so it’s almost like everyone submits orders when they know people are travelling.&quot; (Consumer 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I actually tend to do all my own clothing shopping overseas.&quot; (Consumer 6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>International brands associated with high quality</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I love going to Zara also because of their quality.&quot; (Consumer 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I like Italian shoes but I also like shoes that are made in the South Americas so if I see Brazil, I think that’s good quality.&quot; (Consumer 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;From the UK so the quality is good.&quot; (Consumer 5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>International brands are unique</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I think the most attractive thing is that it’s different, I don’t see anyone else wearing it.&quot; (Consumer 5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;If you go back to being unique, Woolworths is in every corner all over the country. Whereas H&amp;M is more region-specific, like it’s just Johannesburg and Cape Town.&quot; (Consumer 8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>International brands provide sense of belonging</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;They also feel socially more accepted when they buy into big market luxury brands.&quot; (Expert 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Delayed buying was a massive thing. Where a guy would put a side a pair of Carducci brogues and come in every month with 5 and 10 cent pieces to pay off and wait a year until they purchased it and when they do they take great care of it and they value it, value what it means to them in the community.&quot; (Expert 9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trust in Western brands through generational knowledge</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;We trust our things that come from the West as Nigerians.&quot; (Consumer 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;The youths grew up trying to align their life to the American lifestyle.&quot; (Consumer 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;No, Italy, definitely. I think it is, it’s kind of a weird thing and maybe that’s just how I’ve been brought up, with Italian quality goods.&quot; (Consumer 9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As described in section 5.5.1, the co-occurrence table was also run for global brands mentioned with positive associations by consumers. The below figure showing a great number of positive consumer associations with global brands, coincides with the fact that pro-global culture was the code category with the most code-occurrences in the data (209 code-co-occurrences).

**Figure 6: Global brands with positive associations**

![Positive Associations](chart)

### 5.6.2. Lack of confidence in local

Aligned to the pro-global culture theme, was the category with 53 code-occurrences related to a lack of confidence in the local fashion industry. Three main themes emerged:

- Anti-local retailers
- Local fashion lags behind international trends
- Lack of confidence in local manufacturing

#### 5.6.2.1. Anti-local retailers

The data shows some lack of confidence in local South African retailers such as *Edgars, Foschini, Mr Price, Truworths* and *Young Designers Emporium* (with the exception of *Woolworths*). This in contrast to Figure 4 in section 5.5.1 with primarily positive associations related to local designers. When contrasting local retailers and local designers in Figure 7, it becomes clear that while consumers have positive
associations towards local designers, the sentiment is not always shared with local retailers (with the notable exception of Woolworths).

**Figure 7: Positive and negative associations towards local brands**

Local designers seemed to show more positive associations than local retailers. Woolworths was the only obvious exception in terms of retailers with more positive than negative associations. While section 5.5.1 had the code "local design is unique" ranked at the top of pro-local culture theme with 35 code-occurrences, a strong sentiment that local retailers do not offer uniqueness came through in the data indicated in the above figure. This may tie into Expert 9's previous observation in section 5.5.1.1 that local retailers are offering similar products to global retailers but global retailers are able to deliver more quickly and at a better price point. However local retailers seem more readily accessible which reduces their uniqueness. Consumer 5 and Consumer 8 both mentioned the fear of bumping into someone they knew in a public space wearing the same outfit as them if they were to shop at "the regular retailers" (Consumer 5). Consumer 8 went on to say that she would shop at Woolworths for certain items such as work wear because it would be more "embarrassing" to bump into someone while out on the weekend in the same outfit as opposed to at the office where it would be acceptable. Three consumers mentioned that they used to shop at Young Designers Emporium but that they had recently stopped shopping there because of the lack of uniqueness.
“Their stuff wasn’t as appealing after some time or it kind of lost its uniqueness. That’s really what matters to me about shopping and clothing, it’s just getting stuff that’s unique.” (Consumer 8)

“So I shopped there when I was younger and the young designers were actually very cool designers and they used to come up with very nice stuff but now everything kind of looks the same and the same items live on the shelves for a very long time. (Consumer 9)

In general, there seemed to be a lack of trust when it comes to the quality of many local retailers. Consumer 8 stated that “Edgars is falling apart” when asked whether she would prefer to shop at H&M or Edgars. Consumer 9 stated that “Foschini and Truworths, their biggest problem is they’ve gone straight to China, they’re buying for the masses but they’re buying bad quality stuff and it’s bad. That’s not fashion. South Africans don’t look like that.” Consumer 4 mentioned that there was a low quality or imitation element to local retailers like Mr Price when he said, “there’s almost like this stigma where I can see that that’s a Mr. Price version of a bomber jacket, that’s a Mr. Price version of like Fly Net shoes.”

5.6.2.2. Local fashion lags behind international trends
The perception that the local fashion industry lags behind international retailers was also present in the data.

“In South Africa, some of those trends trickle down but because the designers are not linked and cannot put their fingers on that trends because it’s too expensive to get it from there to them. In South Africa, we’re always a few seasons behind. (Expert 1)

“We build the designers and they’d become these top designers but they’re actually nothing. They can’t compete, they can’t get the fabric, they don’t have the education, and they don’t have the manufacturing or the outlets or the marketing.” (Expert 1)

5.6.2.3. Local manufacturing capability lacking
In addition, consumers and experts agree that in many cases, the local manufacturing capability lag behind global, bringing into question the quality of local fashion.

“I wish we probably we had, for lack of a better word, more competent tailors in Kenya. Because that’s the challenge at times when wearing African wear. Because at times it just doesn’t fit right and probably some of the international brands are quite good and especially some of them actually use a mechanised
process to make clothes. So if that would change it would be a lot easier to have more African attire." (Consumer 3)

“It’s interesting to see how things work in the world and where we shortfall in design from a manufacturing space and how unavailable manufacturing is for smaller designers.” (Expert 2)

“So if young designers wanted to manufacture by mass manufacturing we just don’t have the capabilities in South Africa.” (Expert 9)

5.6.3. Summary of findings for research question 3

The data indicated evidence of pro-global culture amongst consumers of fashion in Africa. Global brands were revered for their uniqueness, often relating to the fact that global brands were not as easily accessible or attainable. Nevertheless, when the market gets flooded and these brands become more accessible, they lose their unique appeal. Perhaps counter-intuitively, local design was also positively associated with providing uniqueness or differentiation in the previous section of the research report, but uniqueness was also seen as lacking in local retail. While local designers were seen as unique, local retailers were negatively associated with homogeneity. The data indicated mistrust in the quality of local retailers, their offerings, and local manufacturing capabilities. If global associations with local retailers were mentioned, it pertained to them lagging behind international trends or the negative connotation of using cheap Chinese manufacturing.

In summary, pro-global culture manifested in two main themes:

- **Pro-global culture**: global brands were seen as unique, provide a sense of belonging as well as accomplishment or status and many consumers wanted to emulate a global lifestyle.
- **Lack of confidence in local**: while local design was seen as unique in section 5.4.1, local retailers were seen as not being unique due to their global sourcing practices. Many consumers lacked confidence in local retailers. Furthermore, participants believed that local fashion lagged behind international trends and lacked confidence in local quality.
5.7. Conclusion

This chapter served to present the results of the interviews in order to answer the three research questions. From the results, it is clear that cultural blending or creolisation was evident amongst consumers of fashion in Africa. Blending manifested through local influences being blended with international styles, local culture influencing global culture, African cultural amalgamation blending, true cultural amalgamation blending, blending local and global together and finally, glocalisation. Thus blending can take the form of (1) Western brand culture retaining dominance, (2) emerging economies influencing blending within developed and emerging economies and (3) the meeting and mingling of cultural meanings. Cultural blending can be occasion-based and it was also determined that consumers may use cultural blending as a means of actively creating their own unique identities, independent of brands. Blending was also evidenced as creating a rise of regional African identity through African cultural amalgamations. The findings can be depicted visually using the below figure and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Six.

Figure 8: Creolisation manifestation model

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Creolisation themes</th>
<th>Blending levels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blending: Global brand/culture retains dominance</td>
<td>Level 1: Globalisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blending: Emerging economies influencing blending within developing and emerging economies</td>
<td>Level 2 Blending: Local culture influencing global culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Level 2: African cultural amalgamation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blending: Meeting and mingling of Meanings</td>
<td>Level 3 Blending: Cultural amalgamation blending</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Level 2 Blending: Local and global blended together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Level 2 Blending: Local and global blended together</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Evidence of pro-local and pro-global cultural dispositions was also discovered in the data. Pro-local culture related to national pride, uniqueness and a sense of belonging. Global brands also signalled negatively associated fast fashion and/or conspicuous consumption to some consumers, while many showed an animosity towards China and Chinese products. Pro-global culture also manifested through consumers believing that global brands were unique, high quality, status-enhancing and created a sense of belonging. In addition, sentiments related to lack of confidence in local were discovered, specifically in relation to local retailers. Interestingly, positive associations related to uniqueness were mentioned in both the pro-local and pro-global categories. Furthermore, in contrast to local designers that were seen as unique, local retailers were negatively associated with heterogeneity.

The next chapter will link the results discussed to the literature review and research objectives.
6. CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

6.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the results found in Chapter Five as explored using in-depth interviews with eight consumers and 11 experts, against the research questions proposed in Chapter Three. The results will be examined against the literature discussed in Chapter Two in order to provide insight into the problem identified in Chapter One and answer the research questions stipulated.

The discussion aims to answer the three research questions outlined in Chapter Three, by discussing themes and categories that unfolded through the data analysis and coding which refined and aggregated the data. These results will be discussed using the context of acculturation in current international marketing literature so as to contribute to a greater understanding of how creolisation manifests itself against the backdrop of a modern multicultural marketplace. Furthermore, the chapter also discusses findings related to pro-local and pro-global consumer dispositions amongst consumers of fashion in Africa, in conjunction with acculturation theories in current literature. This serves to contribute to an enhanced understanding of the phenomena within this new context. Because the discussion centred on the complex interplay between cultures, certain themes within the discussion overlap and intersect.

Table 13 provides a broad guideline for the discussion.
Table 13: Structure of discussion of results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Questions</th>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Do consumers blend/creolise cultures through retail fashion in Africa? If so, how is this manifesting?</strong></td>
<td>Blending: Global brand/culture retains dominance</td>
<td>Level 1: Glocalisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Blending: Emerging economies influencing blending within developed and emerging economies</td>
<td>Level 2 Blending: Local culture influencing global culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Level 2 Blending: Local influence blended with international styles</td>
<td>Level 2: African cultural amalgamation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Blending: Meeting and mingling of meanings</td>
<td>Level 2: African cultural amalgamation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subtheme: Blending and active creation of own identity</td>
<td>Level 3 Blending: Cultural amalgamation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cultural misappropriation</td>
<td>Blending</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cultural influence on dress</td>
<td>Consumer animosity towards country of origin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anti-foreign brands</td>
<td>Anti-local retailers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pro-local culture orientations</td>
<td>Local fashion lags behind international trends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pro-global culture orientations</td>
<td>Lack of local manufacturing capability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2. Is there evidence of pro-local / rejection of global culture amongst consumers of retail fashion in Africa?</strong></td>
<td>Pro-local culture orientations</td>
<td>Pro-local culture/ethnocentrism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Consumer animosity towards country of origin</td>
<td>Anti-foreign brands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3. Is there evidence of pro-global culture amongst consumers of retail fashion in Africa?</strong></td>
<td>Pro-global culture orientations</td>
<td>Pro-global culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anti-local retailers</td>
<td>Local fashion lags behind international trends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Local fashion lags behind international trends</td>
<td>Lack of local manufacturing capability</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.2. Discussion of results for research question 1

6.2.1. Discussion: Blending themes

The data showed evidence of six forms of cultural blending with 125 code-occurrences in total (see section 5.4, Table 5):

- Glocalisation
- Local culture influencing global culture
- African cultural amalgamation
- Local influence blended with international styles
- Blend local and global cultures together
- Cultural amalgamation blending

Alden et al. (2006) stated that blending or creolisation could take on the form of (1) a consumer separating local and global frameworks, depending on the occasion. Another form (2) could manifest through the consumer integrating global elements into the local (or vice versa) and a further form (3) relies on consumers fusing local and global to create elements that are atypical of either culture (Alden et al., 2006). Thus the evidence of cultural blending found in the data supports the second and third manifestations discussed by Alden et al. (2006), fusing local into global (or vice versa) and blending local and global elements to create something new. These can be dissected into levels (see below) based on the complexities of blending and on the themes expressed in Table 13 above:

1. Blending: Global culture retains dominance
   - Level 1 Blending: Glocalisation

2. Blending: Emerging economies influencing cultural blending within developed and emerging economies
   - Level 2 Blending: Local culture influencing global culture
   - Level 2 Blending: African cultural amalgamation

3. Blending: Meeting and mingling of meanings
   - Level 2 Blending: Local cultural influence blended with international styles
   - Level 2 Blending: Blend local and global cultures together
   - Level 3 Blending: Cultural Amalgamation blending
These levels mentioned above signal the complexity of the cultural fusion category and are discussed in the following sections of the chapter. While Chapter Five presented the fusion categories in order of ranked code-occurrences within the data, Chapter Six will discuss these as they relate to the broader themes discussed above, as well as subthemes of active creation of own identity and to a lesser extent, cultural misappropriation so as to compare and contrast with the literature.

6.2.2. Discussion of Theme: Global culture retains dominance

Glocalisation is fittingly placed in the theme of global culture retaining dominance and also referred to as Level One blending because it describes blending whereby the multinational holds the power in terms of how cultural cues will be adapted per region. Thus, agency resides with the multinational and not the consumer, making it the least culturally complex form of blending. This is supported by literature which states that glocalisation is a positioning strategy employed by multinational organisations whereby organisations adapt their global strategies to suit local cultural preferences and tastes (Crawford et al., 2015; Matusitz, 2010) and even as hegemonic brandscapes (Thompson & Arsel, 2004). However, while glocalisation fuses the local into the global, which Alden et al. (2006) state indicates hybridisation, this fusion is not controlled by the consumer and there is no complex cultural push and pull between cultures, as Ger and Belk (1996) indicated in their description of creolisation. Thus, while glocalisation does indicate hybridity, it does not match the idea of creolisation.

This was the least well-developed blending category in the data with only five code-occurrences identified (see section 5.4.6). The lack of support for this category within the data opposes the literature that states that the concept of hybridisation seems to widely reflect the construct of glocalisation (Alden et al., 2006). This demonstrates that either global fashion retailers are not making much use of this strategy or that if they are, African consumers are not taking much notice. Alternatively, this could indicate a growing middle class confidence in creation of own identities in a more multipolar world, through blending, as evidenced by the subtheme of active creation of own identity (see section 5.4.7). It could also be indicative of the blending trend of an African cultural amalgamation (see section 5.4.4), whereby Africans seek to assert their own African identity on their own terms. Consumers also made the assumption that this strategy was being employed specifically for African markets and was not an African trend that international retailers were introducing globally. Thus, with the influx
of brand from emerging markets (Guo, 2013), the question looms as to whether these brands are drawing inspiration from Africa, for African consumers, or from a wider set of non-Western geographies in their overall strategy.

The consumers who did make mention of the strategy, were positive in their responses and felt that the strategy elevated the international brands and garments (Consumer 4; Consumer 9). This indicates a sense of creating a unique identity through fashion, as well as a level of ethnocentrism, as local is seen to elevate or enhance a global brand. This seems to be a contradiction to Batra et al.’s (2000) and Thompson’s (2014) studies that found that emerging market consumers often experience a sense of inferiority when comparing themselves to the West. Equally, Kravets and Sandikci (2014) found that middle class consumers in emerging markets aim to elevate their status and move to the middle, by conforming to global rules. The fact that local influences are seen as positive, and even elevating brands, seemed to signal the opposite, that local consumers have a sense of pride in local region and use it as a point of differentiation from the norm.

Glocalisation is often used as a reaction to loss of profits to original failed global homogenous strategies originally employed when entering new markets (Crawford et al., 2015; Matusitz, 2010, 2011). H&M recently received backlash from media and consumers when entering the South African market. They were publically criticised via social media for their lack of diversity in their model selection for their in-store posters (Stansfield, 2016). H&M responded that their model choice served to be “inspiring” and promoted a “positive image,” insinuating that models of colour were neither inspiring nor created a positive image, which provided fuel to the social media outrage around their cultural insensitivity (Stansfield, 2016). Perhaps this is why H&M decided to introduce a glocalisation strategy in Africa (mentioned positively by Consumer 9 above). Equally, this cultural blunder demonstrates the hostile response that consumers can display if brands dictate image creation, as described by Arsel and Thompson (2004) and Bhattacharjee et al. (2014). In this case, H&M did not account for the rise in regional African pride, as indicated in the data (see section 5.4.4) and in force-feeding consumers a Western projection of positivity and inspirational imagery, they faced a fierce counterattack.

Furthermore, international retailers such as Topshop, H&M, Zara, Cotton On and Forever 21 have all entered South Africa, Africa’s most developed retail economy, in
the last five years (DeIonno, 2014). This increase in competition amongst retailers may account for why Expert 9 made mention of the fact that international retailers were starting to approach her business to assist them in garnering a better understanding of the South African consumer, so as to aid them in tailoring their offerings to local markets if needed. These efforts by multinationals within an increasingly competitive environment, supports literature highlighting that glocalisation strategies have gained popularity amongst multinationals, because globalisation efforts appear more likely to succeed if this strategy is employed (Ramona, 2010). Perhaps efforts to understand local consumers also aims to cultural faux pas as mentioned in the case of H&M above, or to avoid anticorporate attitudes arising out of hegemonic brandscapes as discussed by Thompson and Arsel (2004).

6.2.3. Discussion of Theme: Emerging economies influencing blending within developed and emerging economies

This theme differs to the theme mentioned above, as the agency in acculturation no longer resides with the multinational. The agency in cultural adaptation resides within the emerging economy culture and influences developed or other emerging economy cultures. This manifested in two main ways:

- Level 2 Blending: Local culture influencing global culture
- Level 2 Blending: African cultural amalgamation

Level Two blending speaks to the more complex notion of creolisation, whereby culture creation is a two-way push and pull process to create something new (Ger & Belk, 1996). The category of local culture influencing global culture was evidenced by 40 code-quotation occurrences, while the African cultural amalgamation category was supported by 28 code-quotation occurrences in the data (see section 5.4.2 and 5.4.4 respectively).

As discussed in Chapter Two (see section 2.2.3), much of the older international marketing literature views globalisation in light of the West’s influence on the developing world, or even as Americanisation (Alden et al. 1999; Appadurai, 1990; Batra et al., 2000; Ger & Belk, 1996). This category supports Guo’s (2013) argument that the rise of developing nations, as well as international brands from emerging markets, has made it insufficient for researchers to just focus on the impact of the West
on emerging economies. Guo (2013) mentioned that marketers are paying more attention to understanding how consumers in developing economies view brands from other emerging economies (Guo, 2013). The African cultural amalgamation blending category provides evidence that African consumers are blending cultural influences from other African countries (Consumer 4; Consumer 7; Expert 2; Expert 11), resulting a rise of regional cultural identity and not simply replicating Western consumer culture (Ger & Belk; 1996).

Furthermore, the fact that local culture is influencing global culture opposes the notion that multinational corporations, and more affluent countries, have all the power in exporting and dictating consumerism to the emerging world, as proposed by glocalisation. Thompson and Arsel (2004) discussed that hegemonic brandscapes, developed by multinational glocalisation strategies, could lead to consumer anticorporate attitudes. This brings to the fore the urgency required for international marketers to develop cultural blending strategies beyond just those of glocalisation if they are to harness the opportunities of globalisation and mitigate the threat of these anticorporate consumer identities.

Bhattacharjee et al. (2014) stated the importance of the agency of the consumer in creating their own identities. As identified in section 5.4.7, many consumers are using cultural blending to actively create their own identities, signalling their desire for agency within identity creation. This agency allows them to formulate their own identities and perhaps even push back against hegemonic brandscapes by formulating their own meaning through consumption that is not dictated by the West. As culture forms a part of identity-creation, this theme suggests that consumer agency is gaining in importance because consumers are no longer satisfied with being fed global culture by multinational organisations. Creolisation allows for this agency in identity creation. It focuses the lens of acculturation on the consumer, as opposed to the multi-national, and the interplay and opposing forces between globalisation and localisation is likely to create a diverse consumption landscape and multiple global consumer cultures (Ger and Belk, 1996). Nafafé (2012) supported this when stating that creolisation focuses on the cultural plan of interacting cultures as opposed to the cultural superiority of one nation.

This theme supports the idea that acculturation is not a simple linear process of emerging markets taking on Western cultures, because local market consumers have
the power to change brand meanings to suit their needs and preferences (Khare, 2014). Consumers may even decide to reject the defined notion brands (Thompson & Arsel, 2014), as is evidenced in the trend of hyper sampling, where consumers become involved in the actual creation process to produce something entirely unique (Expert 9). Consumers seem to be widening the idea of local in their desire to create their own identity, independent of the West. Local is no longer country-specific but related to the broader African continent whereby people identify as African, as opposed to South African, Kenyan, Zimbabwean, Ugandan or Ghanaian, for example. Thus, there seems to be a rise of an African cultural identity which is not strictly local, or Western, but that resonates strongly with African consumers who buy into the African brand story. This African cultural amalgamation could be driven by the unifying force of previous oppression by the West and act as backlash to both hegemonic brandscapes (Thompson & Arsel, 2004) and Western identity signals (Bhattacharjee et al., 2014).

6.2.4. Discussion of Theme: Meeting and mingling of meanings
As discussed in section 6.2.3 above, Level Two blending speaks to the more complex two-way process of acculturation. While the previous theme discussed the influence of emerging economies within the cultural blending process, this theme looks at the complex interplay between cultures, whereby consumers mingle cultural interpretations so as to create their own meanings (Ger & Belk, 1996). Level Three blending accounts for when more than two cultural forces interact and fuse or when fusion takes place between two non-Western cultures. This is described as Level Three blending because it accounts for blending that transcends the traditional model of West influencing emerging economies model (Appadurai, 1990; Guo, 2013). This theme manifested in the following ways:

- Level 2 Blending: Local cultural influences blended with international styles
- Level 2 Blending: Blending local and global cultures together
- Level 3 Blending: Cultural amalgamation blending

This form of blending supports Alden et al.’s (2006) second hybridisation description whereby the consumer integrates global elements into the local (or vice versa). Furthermore, it supports the third form of hybridisation as described by Alden et al. (2006) as the end result of these blended garments is atypical of either culture. In the case of Level 3 or cultural amalgamation blending, acculturation has moved beyond
cultural adaptation between two cultures and the 'native' and 'alternative' as discussed in Berry's (2005) work. This type of blending speaks to the meetings and mingling of interactions and influences from all over the world to create something entirely unique (Nafafé, 2012). As discussed in section 5.4.1, this cultural blending seems to transcend the cultural confines of local and global to express modernity as defined by the consumer, so as to provide consumers with the agency they desire to create their own identities (Bhattacharjee et al., 2014) using the best of both worlds.

In support of this new form of modernity, whereby consumers see themselves as both African and global citizens, it is important to note is that pro-local and pro-global cultural dispositions received a similar level of support within the data. There were also no clear pro-local versus pro-global groups within the sample. This indicated that consumers could be simultaneously pro-local and pro-global culture. Equally, while local design was revered as being unique, global brands were also seen as offering uniqueness and providing a sense of belonging. Global brands indicating status was evidenced by 25 code-occurrences (see Table 11) indicating a sense of moving towards the middle or elevating own status in society using global brands (Kravets & Sandikci, 2014). This speaks to the opposing worlds of the self and the context. Kravets and Sandikci (2014) stated that formulaic identity assists consumers in aligning with the middle and navigating the self, contexts and institutions. The fact that both local and global brands were positively associated with differentiation, as well as a sense of belonging, is indicative of this struggle that consumers face in wanting to be a part of the middle, as depicted through social identity (belonging), but at the same time, want to stand out and express their own self-identity (differentiation). Creolisation provides consumers with the agency to navigate self and social identity within multicultural worlds, so as to express themselves as individuals and at the same time, as a part of their contexts.

There are also certain rules attached to the formulaic identity creation (Kravets & Sandikci, 2014) demonstrated by Consumer 8's comment that it is acceptable to bump into people in similar clothing at the office, but out of office hours, she wanted to be more unique and hated the thought of bumping into someone wearing the same outfit as her. Consumers seem to want to belong and/or align with the middle (as in the case with Consumer 8's office attire) as described by Kravets and Sandikci (2014). Conversely, while Kravets and Sandikci (2014) highlighted the importance to emerging
middle class consumers of belonging to the global idea of middle class, African consumers appear to identify with belonging in both local and global worlds.

The importance of uniqueness in both local and global categories speaks to the contrasting forces between the self and other. However, with the theme of active creation of own identity being so strongly referenced in the data (see 5.4.7), with 90 code-occurrences (out of a total of 842 code-occurrences), there seems to be a trend of less conformity and more self-expression. As Consumer 3 so eloquently summarised it, "I just want to be different. Me. Just me." Cultural expression assists consumers in aligning with contexts and environment through wanting to belong, but also wanting to express themselves as unique individuals. The disjunctions of multiple scapes are navigated through the blending of cultural identities. This blending provides consumers with the agency (Bhattacharjee et al., 2014) to express their own unique identity, while finding a place in society that transcends local or global physical bounds and aligns them to imagined worlds and/or possible lives as described by Appadurai (1990).

Level 2 blending assists consumers in bridging this space between not wanting to let go of their African heritage and even a rising African pride, but at the same time, seeing themselves as global cosmopolitans (Consumer 4; Expert 3; Expert 11). This corresponds with the study by Usunier & Sbizzera (2013) that described creolisation as the process by which consumers find meaning that may previously have been lost due to globalisation. Therefore, instead of aligning to a purely global view and identifying with one global homogenous culture, consumers may have opposing views of local and global or want to incorporate both cultures into their expression of modernity. Consumers now want the agency to navigate these globalised waters in a way that allows them to express themselves (both as individuals and as a part of a broader cultural network) as they see fit and not as identified by brands. This aligns with Bhattacharjee et al.’s (2014) study identifying that consumers do not want to be tied to brand-dependent identity prescriptions.

This cultural blending theme most strongly supports the idea that the lines between native and alternative are blurring, as discussed in section 2.3.1 of the literature review. It supports the idea that in deterritorialised contexts, worlds or scapes often overlap, and the disjunctions between native and alternative can in fact stimulate culture creation (Appadurai, 1990). There is also a sense of play in this form of

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blending, as described by Appadurai (1990). Expert 9 likens the trends of hyper sampling to a "remix of a song". This suggests a playful process, as well as a volume and variety of blending, which incorporates the consumer's imagination, as described by Appadurai (1990). Consumers become involved in the creation of the garment by mixing and even altering the garments to create a unique look. This supports the idea that, as quickly as a country is exposed to a new culture, so societies adapt and indigenise these new influences to suit their own purposes and meanings (Appadurai, 1990). What is also interesting about hyper sampling is that, once again, it appears to speak to self-expression and uniqueness, as well as belonging within a wider imagined community. There is a desire to be unique and express one's own identity, which goes so far as to personally alter garments, thereby rejecting the traditional concept of brand (Thompson & Arsel, 2014) in favour of personal identity creation that is completely original, personal and different. This form of creativity and differentiation once again demonstrates that the need for uniqueness appears to outweigh the need for conformity of becoming a part of the middle as described by Kravets and Sandikci (2014).

Social identity is closely tied to attire and culture as clothing is a high-involvement or culturally sensitive product that forms a part of a person's social identity and remains a dynamic outcome of changing cultures and preferences (Cleveland et al., 2009; Carpenter, Moore & Doherty, 2013; Khare, 2014). The findings suggest that consumers are simultaneously pro-local and pro-global culture (Bartsch et al., 2016) and that local could in fact incorporate other African countries, because this resonated with consumers' personal identity creation. This supports studies highlighting that literature needs to move beyond only examining the differences in acculturation attitudes, towards examining complex and fluid acculturation in multicultural contexts (Broderick et al., 2011; Demangeot et al., 2015; Kipnis et al., 2013). The heteroginisation versus homogenisation debate, as described in the literature (Alden, et al., 2013; Batra et al., 2000; Demangeot et al. 2015), does not account for African consumers using fashion to balance conformity and uniqueness and needing the agency to navigate global and local to create their own meanings, identities and sense of differentiation. While consumers use attire to fit into societal rules, as was evidenced by many consumers mentioning the idea of decency and wearing culturally appropriate attire at specific occasions, they also use tried to create their own unique sense of self through blending to manifest their imagined worlds and possible lives (Appadurai, 1991) and even their own sense of "Africanness". Thus, as suggested by Broderick et
al. (2011), Demangeot et al. (2015) and Kipnis et al. (2013), the positive versus negative disposition discussion does not account for this complex fluid interplay between cultures, identity and contexts within modern multicultural African marketplaces.

Possible lives seem to transcend the past and the future and speak to consumers’ own idea of modernity as it assists in helping them to navigate their personal and contextual identities, as described by Kravets and Sandikci (2014). Blending or creolisation can be seen as empowering on the part of the emerging economy consumer because the two-way cultural exchange and creation process, as described by Ger and Belk (1996), incorporates the best of both worlds. This because creolisation allows consumers to meet and mingle meanings as they deem appropriate and even rebuild meanings previously lost through globalisation (Usunier & Sbizzera, 2013), as described by Expert 7, in addressing cultural appropriation (see section 5.4.8). Thus, although cultural misappropriation is always a concern for marketers navigating cultural waters to avoid faux pas as described in the H&M case earlier, blending shifts the scales towards the consumer in identity-creation of which acculturation forms a part. Cultural misappropriation also highlights the dangers of a glocalisation strategy as the authenticity of cultural appropriation may be brought into question. Conversely, when consumers have the agency to create their own identities and these identities are not forced onto them by hegemonic brandscapes, as described by Thompson and Arsel (2014); cultural misappropriation seems far less likely. Furthermore, because consumers are provided with the agency to express themselves using or not using brands as they choose, they will be less likely to form vehemently anti-brand sentiments, as described by Arsel and Thompson's (2004) hegemonic brandscape effects.

6.2.5. Conclusive findings for research question 1

In summary, the discussion and results indicate that evidence of creolisation does exist in amongst consumers in Africa and manifests in three main themes (global culture retains dominance, emerging economies influencing cultural blending within developed and emerging economies, and meeting and mingling of meanings) and three levels which assist to sort the six blending categories identified in Chapter Five. Five of the six blending manifestations, namely local culture influencing global culture, African cultural amalgamation, local and global cultures blended together and cultural...
amalgamation blending seem to be associated with the consumer need for agency in self-identification, as described by Bhattacharjee et al. (2014). It could also be a reaction against the hegemonic brandscapes created by multinational strategies, as discussed by Thompson and Arsel (2004).

While glocalisation was identified as a blending strategy, it was the least well supported blending theme within the data, but the strategy was still able to elevate garments. This, along with the other five blending categories, seems to indicate a rise in power of emerging economy cultures and even an African cultural amalgamation that revolts against the previously Western-dominant brandscapes. Consumers do not appear to be satisfied with being fed global culture, but rather want to use cultural blending to create their own meanings and identities within multicultural contexts.

The African regional identity, which permeates country boundaries, resumes the power of the consumer and assists in helping consumers in reconstructing meanings previously lost by globalisation and even colonisation, in the case of Africa. This type of blending aligns with the meetings and mingling of interactions and influences from all over the world to create something entirely unique (Nafafé, 2012), providing consumers with the agency to express their own unique identities, independent of brands (Bhattacharjee et al. 2014). Furthermore, creolisation assist consumers in navigating between possible lives and local realities, which seem to transcend the past and the future and speak to consumers’ own idea of modernity as it assists in helping them to navigate their personal and contextual identities, as described by Kravets and Sandikci (2014). However, a trend of unique self-expression through cultural blending amongst African consumers appears to supersede the need for conformity that Kravets and Sandikci (2014) found in their study of Turkish emerging middle class consumers.

Thus, the study contributes to the international marketing and acculturation literature by extending on and further defining the concept of creolisation, as discussed by Appadurai (1990) and Ger and Belk (1996). Broderick et al. (2011), Demangeot et al. (2015) and Kipnis et al. (2013) identified the need for literature to deal with the fluid nature of acculturation in multicultural contexts, as opposed to just the differences between positive and negative dispositions. As such, creolisation was offered as a strategy to deal with this identified need and provided greater understanding of creolisation manifestations beyond the mere idea of glocalisation. Furthermore, this research extends on the identity studies of authors such as Bhattacharjee et al. (2014),
Kravets and Sandikci (2014) and Thompson and Arsel (2004), and found that creolisation provides consumers with the agency to actively create their own identities and navigate their need for self-expression and belonging to both local and global worlds.

6.3. Discussion of results for research question 2

6.3.1. Discussion of pro-local culture

While creolisation has been established as an alternative view to pro-local and pro-global cultural dispositions, it becomes important to further understand the influences of local and global cultures on consumer decision making within the new context of Africa so as to provide a deeper understanding of both perspectives and how they interact with creolisation. This research question aimed to understand whether there was evidence of pro-local/global rejection dispositions amongst consumers of retail fashion in Africa. 277 code-occurrences (see Table 7) out of 842 code-occurrences, provided evidence in support of the fact that pro-local consumer culture orientations exists within consumers of fashion in Africa and manifested in the following ways as presented in Table 13:

- Pro-local/ethnocentrism (pro-local culture and cultural influence on dress)
- Rejection of global (anti-foreign brands or global brand animosity towards specific country of origin)

The theme of pro-local/ethnocentrism as indicated above, without rejection of global included, was supported by 171 code-occurrences (see Table 7), providing strong evidence for pro-local cultural dispositions amongst African consumers. Pro-local culture dispositions related to local design being seen as unique, providing a sense of belonging as well as a sense of national pride in supporting local (see Table 8). The findings of positive locally-orientated sentiments of national pride, and the belief that buying locally-made products was good for the economy, indicated a level of ethnocentrism amongst African consumers. This because literature states that ethnocentrism is driven by a consumer belief that that they have a moral obligation to buy local brands or locally made products because it is good for the country (Carpenter et al., 2013; Chan et al., 2010).

The fact that consumers feel that local design is unique also speaks to ethnocentrism whereby a consumer’s tendency to support local products is driven by a local
orientation that values the uniqueness of local products (Chan et al., 2010; Guo, 2013). With that said, while African consumers positively associated local designers with uniqueness and quality, they associated local retailers negatively with heterogeneity and at times, even inferior quality (see Figure 7). In addition, evidence also supported the idea that consumers also found global brands to be unique and of high quality. This contrasts Chan et al.’s (2010) study that states that ethnocentrism refers to a consumer’s tendency to support local products and to reject global brands in general. Thus, although there is support for ethnocentrism amongst African consumers, this does not automatically assume a rejection of global or that they are completely pro-local.

In discussing the fact that local retailers were seen as homogenous, Expert 10 commented that local retailers that support the local design industry do so in order to demonstrate that they are at the forefront of the fashion industry. This demonstrates a pro-local culture disposition amongst local retailers in order to appeal to consumers and differentiate their offerings. Thus, instead of the glocalisation strategy as adapted by global multinationals, this refers to actually featuring collections from local designers in country in order to differentiate their overall offerings. Expert 9 also went on to say (see section 5.5.1) that local retailers need to use local design as a point of differentiation, if they want to remain competitive in an environment where international retailers continue to enter the market and are able to provide fashion faster and at a better price than many local retailers. Expert 10 made the additional observation that consumers in higher income brackets are more aware of and feel more obliged to support local products and as such, it may be assumed that this strategy may not be applicable for retailers in lower income markets.

However, H&M’s glocalisation strategy, discussed in the previous section, served to elevate the brand’s offering despite the fact that it is considered an affordable fast fashion brand by experts in the study. This seemingly contradicts with Kravets and Sandikci’s (2014) study that indicated that emerging market consumers use brands, specifically global brands, to demonstrate their social mobility (this emulates upper classes to move to the middle). However, it also aligns with Kravets and Sandikci’s (2014) study speaking to consumers’ need to balance conformity and uniqueness. Consumers’ desire for conformity is met through wearing a global brand and uniqueness through local cultural nuances. Thus, perhaps consumers in higher income brackets do not feel the same need to move to the middle through global brand
identification and rather express uniqueness through local protectionism and identification.

This particularly because there was also the strong sense that an African brand story resonated with many consumers and that consumers were pro-local social media or peer fashion inspiration. This supports the idea that such individuals’ purchasing decisions are guided by their tendency to support local brands that carry cultural meanings that match their own self-identity (Chan et al. 2010). While this supports the construct of ethnocentrism, it goes deeper to provide support for the idea of a rise of an African regional identity. Therefore, an identity that permeates African regional boundaries. This could indicate that ethnocentrism has a wider frame for Africa, beyond country borders.

Numerous consumers spoke about traditional wear that was particular to their country, tribe, religion or heritage that they would wear for specific cultural occasions such as weddings or religious celebrations. This appears to mirror Peñaloza’s (1994) notion of ‘culture swapping’ as consumers move between different cultural worlds without fully assimilating or differentiating cultures. While culture swapping in this study supports literature that indicates consumers do not homogenise into one cultural identity (Oswald, 1999), it does still indicate a level of separation of lives as opposed to blending as proposed by hybridisation. Therefore, it contradicts Alden et al.’s (2006) statement that separating traditional and Western clothes, based on occasion, is a form of hybridisation, as consumers seem to swap between cultures rather than fusing them when wearing traditional wear for specific occasions. Indeed Consumer 1 made mention of his two different lives that he navigates between.

However, it was also acceptable for African consumers to borrow, fuse and blend styles and influences from other African countries (even for everyday wear) as described by African cultural amalgamation blending in the previous section of the chapter to reflect a new sense of modernity. This indicated that cultural identity meanings could transcend regional boundaries. This could be due to a shared African history of colonisation and oppression serving as a unifying force and signalling an African, as opposed to merely national, protectionist attitude, as described by Alden et al. (2013) and Carpenter et al. (2013). Also, with African-American celebrities such as Beyoncé and Jidenna also adopting African cultural identity (see section 5.4.2.1), and this being accepted and appreciated by consumers in Africa, this racial or regional identity may in fact span continents as well as countries. Conversely, the theme of
cultural misappropriation of African cultures by the West emerged within the data, which also indicated a sense of African protectionism and perhaps even, ethnocentrism. However, blending on consumers’ terms, in order to create their own unique identity, provided a different sense of cultural unity and through this, protectionism. Additionally, cultural appropriation by African-Americans also appears to create a similar sense of unity, perhaps because of a similar shared racial identity or heritage.

The idea of national protectionism extended to consumer animosity towards specific country of origin brands or products (Carpenter et al., 2013; Chan et al. 2010) supported by 25 code-occurrences (see section 5.5.2). Animosity, as opposed to ethnocentrism, speaks more to a consumer’s dislike of a specific country of origin brand (Batra et al., 2014; Chan et al., 2010) and the data showed a specific animosity towards Chinese brands and manufacturing. China was associated with low quality, imitation or mass manufactured products and Chinese manufacturing was seen to have destroyed the local manufacturing industry. It was interesting to note that this was the best-supported category indicating rejection of global culture (see 5.5.2) and yet, it related to another emerging economy and not a Western country of origin effect. However, it was not very surprising, as Batra et al. (2014) found in their study of emerging market consumers, that the Chinese country of origin effect was also negative. Additionally, while this rejection of Chinese culture related to a protectionist attitude, because China was identified as destructive to local African economies by experts and consumers alike, it does not reflect a rejection of global culture in general. Other anti-global sentiments seemed to relate to specific brands’ signals, such as homogeneity and conspicuous consumption, which may relate more to the specific anticorporate identifications as discussed by Thompson and Arsel (2014), rather than overarching ethnocentrism.

6.3.2. Conclusive findings for research question 2

Evidence of pro-local culture consumer orientations was found supporting current literature that states ethnocentrism stems from a pro-local or national protectionist attitude and that consumers value the uniqueness of local products (Alden et al., 2013; Guo, 2013). The sense of pride and duty attached to purchasing locally made products evidenced, also supported the notion that ethnocentrism stems from a belief that African consumers have a moral obligation to purchase local products (Chan et al., 2010). The fact that the African brand story attached to local design resonated with
consumers, corroborated Chan et al.'s (2013) statement that consumers purchase local products that carry cultural meanings that match their own self-identity. It also speaks to the idea of a rising African cultural identity permeating national boundaries, perhaps as a protectionist attitude as a previously colonised continent with borders enforced by the West. Culture swapping, as described by Penãloza (1994), was evidenced through traditional wear being worn on specific occasions, indicating that African consumers navigate between multiple worlds as opposed to assimilating into one homogenous culture. Traditional wear being worn only on specific culturally-relevant occasions signals a moving between Western and traditional lives but still separating them, as opposed to hybridisation as proposed by Alden et al. (2006). While the theme of cultural misappropriation was evidenced as a concern in the previous section, blending on consumers' terms in order to create their own unique identity using local design, provided a different sense of cultural unity and through this, protectionism.

The research question assumed that pro-local culture consumer dispositions would also manifest through rejection of global brands, as indicated by literature, as a signal of ethnocentrism (Chan et al., 2010). This was not supported by the data. Although consumers showed favourable attitude towards local designers, this sentiment was often opposed in relation to local retailers. Similarly, being pro-local did not automatically assume that consumers would reject the global. Findings in the study showed the anti-foreign sentiments related primarily to an animosity stemming from protectionist attitudes against China and Chinese manufacturing due to a sense that this market had damaged local economies. Other anti-global sentiments seemed to relate to specific global brands' signals, such as homogeneity and conspicuous consumption, which may relate more to the specific anticorporate identifications, as discussed by Thompson and Arsel (2004), as opposed to being pro-local culture.

In summary, this research question supported studies on ethnocentrism and pro-local culture which related to consumer protectionism and the moral obligation to support local (Alden et al., 2013; Chan et al.; 2010; Guo, 2013) and also that country of origin can affect emerging market consumers attitudes towards other emerging market brands (Batra et al., 2000, Carpenter et al., 2013). This extended the literature however, by showing that local orientations, such as the belief that local design is unique, does not necessarily translate to ethnocentrism as many of these same consumers did not see local retailers favourably. In addition, rejection of global culture did not assume a rejection of global culture in general. Evidence related to the rejection
of global culture extended on literature relating to protectionism (Guo, 2013), in this case against Chinese culture destroying local markets, and specific anticorporate brand signals (Thompson & Arsel, 2004). Additionally, the study contributed to the ethnocentrism literature within international marketing by highlighting that ethnocentrism could extend to a regional or even continental cultural identity.

6.4. Discussion of results for research question 3

6.4.1. Discussion of pro-global culture

Against the backdrop of multicultural African contexts, creolisation is offered as an alternative lens to that of pro-local versus pro-global culture. Having discussed findings related to creolisation and pro-local culture, this research question aimed to understand whether there is evidence of pro-global culture orientations amongst consumers of retail fashion in Africa. 262 code-occurrences (see Table 10) provided evidence in support of the fact that pro-global consumer culture orientations exists within consumers of fashion in Africa and manifested in the following as presented in Table 13:

- Pro-global orientations (pro-global culture)
- Lack of confidence in local (anti-local retailers, local fashion lags behind international trends and lack of local manufacturing capability)

Pro-global culture (removing lack of confidence in local) was the code category with the most code-occurrences in the data (209 code-occurrences), signalling that many African consumers are still very pro-global culture. As presented in section 5.6.1, Table 11, pro-global culture also manifested through consumers wanting to emulate a global lifestyle, buying global brands and shopping overseas. This supports literature relating to positive dispositions, such as cosmopolitanism and world-mindedness, which describe openness to new cultures and consumption of brands from foreign countries (Cleveland et. al., 2009; Bartsch et al, 2016). Pro-global culture can manifest through consumers having a high global orientation which describes a shared consciousness of living in an interconnected global world and/or a high global identity which describes consumers' identifying as part of a global community (Guo, 2013). Global orientations and identification was evidenced through consumers wanting to emulate global lifestyles such as the American Hip-Hop culture (Consumer 4) and celebrities, such as Beyoncé and the British Royal family (Consumer 1; Consumer 2), all indicating varied values and identities.
Global brands were associated with providing status and also with high quality and uniqueness (see Table 11). This supports studies that identified the consumption of global brands as providing a halo of quality for certain products and/or providing status-enhancement (Batra et al., 2000; Cleveland et al., 2009; Echardt 2005). The status-enhancement quality of global brands could be attributed to the fact that foreign products are often seen as novel or exotic and the ability to afford the perceived expense of foreign products serves as an indication of wealth or status (Echardt, 2005). Similarly, Expert 1 mentioned that global brands provide a kind of "snob value" for consumers. Consumers also mentioned that they liked to wear global products because they were less likely to see anyone else wearing the same garment as them and that global brands were less accessible and so were more unique (Consumer 5; Consumer 8). Consumer 8 specifically mentioned that international retailers, such as *H&M*, could only be found in specific regions whereas local retailers, such as *Woolworths*, could be found more widely, which added to the desirability through uniqueness of international brands. This is in opposition to Kravets and Sandikci (2014) who found that middle class consumers in emerging markets craved conformity so as to be a part of the middle.

However, as mentioned, negative associations with global brands, such as conformity and/or conspicuous consumption, were also found in Chapter Five (section 5.5.2.2). This could also align with the study by Kravets & Sandikci (2014) which indicated consumers' need to signal their place in the middle as a result of navigating between global possibilities and local realities. Alternatively, consumers may use global brands to balance individualisation and conformity to the middle or global middle class. Thus, the fact that global brands signal uniqueness and status, but also conformity to a lesser extent, indicates this struggle between agency in self-expression. However, this is within certain boundaries so as to ensure that they are also competently ordinary, as described by Kravets and Sandikci (2014). Competently ordinary relates to consumers wanting to show that they still belong and are still a part of the middle class (ordinary) using appropriate global brands (competency). The data also showed that global brands provided a sense of belonging (13). Guo (2013) stated that consumers often purchase foreign products to demonstrate social conformity, which relates to the sense of belonging that consumers felt through purchasing global brands and the formulaic creativity used to conform to the middle.

The literature highlighted that the need for status enhancement is even more pronounced in developing economies because periods of economic development
increase the importance of positional values, which often manifests through conspicuous consumption, so as to display status in society (Batra et al., 2000). Looking at the concept of Swankers, as mentioned by Expert 9, these are individuals who "peacock" (Expert 9) every aspect of their outfit as a very obvious from of conspicuous consumption. They flaunt their ability to purchase international brands (even if it takes them longer to obtain) as a way to show that they belong, to elevate their status and to show that "we still have value" (Expert 9). It also supports literature speaking to the inferiority that certain developing economy consumers feel and the fact that they use global brands to try and emulate a more desirable global lifestyle (Batra et al., 2000).

In addition, it supports Kravets and Sandikci's (2014) study which highlighted that consumers use formulaic creativity in fashion to navigate between their possible worlds and sometimes disappointing local realities. However, these Swankers, as described by Expert 9, are often from lower-income backgrounds and thus, as described by Kravets and Sandikci (2014), use global brands to signal that they belong in the middle class. As many of the consumers in the study could be described as being in the upper middle class bracket, this may explain why their need for self-expression, or active creation of own identity, outweighed the need to conform. The sense of insecurity and/or inferiority described by Batra et al. (2000) was however, also demonstrated through the perception that the local fashion industry lags behind international fashion and that local manufacturing capability is lacking which may make consumers more likely to be pro-global culture so as to elevate themselves and demonstrate social mobility (Batra et al. 2000).

Consumers also singled out certain country of origin brands as indicating quality such as the United Kingdom (Consumer 5), America (Consumer 1) as well as Italy and Brazil (Consumer 2). Similarly international retailers such as Zara were also highlighted due to the perceived quality of garments (Consumer 1). Thus it seems that specific country of origin brands signal quality, or lack of quality in the case of China, as indicated by Batra et al. (2000). Emerging market country of origin could also signal quality, such as in the case of Brazil. While global consumer culture oft-times relates to Americanisation (Appadurai, 1990), it is notable that quality is not only attributed to American culture and also not only to the West. This may signal the increased influence of emerging economies in global acculturation due to growing powers of certain emerging economies (Guo, 2013). However, more developed economies did dominate the conversation around quality. This was further supported by Table 11,
which shows evidence that many Africans trust Western brands through generational knowledge (thus being taught from a young age that brands from certain countries signal quality or status). This corroborates Batra et al.’s (2000) and Carpenter et al.’s (2013) studies showing that country of origin affects consumers’ attitudes towards brands.

It was assumed that pro-global culture would be supported by the theme of lack of trust in local, as presented in section 5.6.2. As discussed in the preceding pro-local section 6.3.1, the data showed that while consumers have positive associations towards local designers, the sentiment is not always shared with local retailers (with the notable exception of Woolworths). The seeming disconnect between local orientations towards local designers versus local retailers supports the literature highlighting that consumers could have conflicting simultaneous positive and negative dispositions towards local and global. Consumers may identify with regional cultures, national cultures and, at the same time, see themselves as global citizens (Bartsch et al., 2016). Furthermore, this could be because local retailers are not demonstrably local in their offering as described by Expert 9.

6.4.2. Conclusive findings for research question 3
This research question sought to find out whether evidence existed of pro-global consumer culture amongst consumers of fashion in Africa. The findings, supported by 209 code-occurrences out of 842 code-occurrences (see Table 10), provided evidence for the existence of pro-global culture amongst African consumers.

While pro-global culture was the theme within a code category with the most code-occurrences in the data, demonstrating that many African consumers are still very receptive to global culture, the category of lack of confidence in local did not necessarily also automatically support a pro-global consumer orientation. Many consumers displayed simultaneous pro-local and pro-global dispositions, as proposed by Bartsch et al. (2016), such as in the case of believing that both local design and global brands could signal uniqueness and quality.

Receptiveness to global was also tempered by country of origin effects, specifically as passed on by knowledge from generations before. While positive associations, such as quality and status, were still dominated by developed world country of origin effects, developing world country of origin (such as the case of Brazil) could also signal quality. Equally, global country of origin could also provide negative connotations and even
animosity (Alden et al., 2013), such as in the case of China, as discussed in the previous research question.

Global brands and the desire to emulate global culture and/or lifestyles indicated the conflicting need for consumers to signal status and social mobility, thereby conforming to the norm or elevating themselves from their local realities, as proposed by Kravets and Sandikci (2014). Additionally it supported pro-local literature around the ideas of cosmopolitanism and world-mindedness through openness to other cultures (Cleveland et al., 2009; Bartsch et al. 2016). This was seen through consumers believing that global brands provided a sense of belonging and also status-enhancement. The category of lack of confidence in the local industry supported research highlighting that developed economy consumers often feel a sense of inferiority and so purchase global brands to emulate a more glamourous global lifestyle (Batra et al., 2000). It also relates to Kravets and Sandikci’s (2014) notion of the push and pull between associating with the norm or the middle, signalling social mobility through consumption and expressing individuality (Kravets & Sandikci, 2014). Thus the fact that consumers associated global brands with status-enhancement, belonging and uniqueness indicates that they use global brands to navigate between conformity and individualisation. Kravets and Sandikci (2014) called this formulaic creativity.

In summary, this study contributed to international marketing literature by showing that there is evidence of pro-global culture orientations amongst consumers in Africa and that this manifests through consumer dispositions aligning with cosmopolitanism and world-mindedness, whereby consumers are open to foreign cultures and admire global lifestyles (Cleveland et al., 2009; Bartsch et al. 2016). Pro-global orientations were also tempered by country of origin effects (specifically in relation to China) and a rising African regional identity. This study also contributed to identity literature showing that while consumers do use global brands to signal social status and to conform to the norm (Kravets & Sandikci, 2014), there is also a considerable desire to be unique and to have a sense of agency in creating their own identity as described by Bhattacharjee et al. (2014), using both local and global brands. Furthermore, this study showed that consumers could simultaneously display negative and positive dispositions towards global brands (Bartsch et al., 2016) and that a lack of confidence in local brands did not automatically assume a pro-global disposition.
6.5. Conclusion

The blending manifestation discussion in section 6.2 adds clarity to constructs related to hybridisation and creolisation to the literature presented in Chapter Two. The themes, levels and categories discussed serve to provide a starting point for further empirical testing and research for international marketing studies against the backdrop of multicultural marketplaces. With an enhanced understanding of creolisation manifestations over and above the widely discussed, but not clearly defined, construct of glocalisation (Alden et al., 2006), themes, levels and categories provide researchers with the opportunity to explore and test additional creolisation constructs such as:

- Local culture influencing global culture
- African cultural amalgamation
- Local influences blended with global styles
- Blending local and global cultures together
- Cultural amalgamation blending

Furthermore, constructs relating to pro-local and pro-global consumer dispositions were explored within the relatively new context of African multicultural marketplaces. This served to enhance current literature related to these constructs and understand the interplay between the rise of the need for consumer agency in identity as described by Bhattacharjee et al. (2014), so as to navigate between individualisation and the growing sense of the same described by upward social mobility (Kravets & Sandikci, 2014). This helps to explain the driving forces behind findings which suggest, as Bartsch et al. (2016) described, that consumers can simultaneously display both positive and negative dispositions towards global and local culture. Beyond just displaying conflicting dispositions, consumers use blending to fuse the best of global and local worlds to actively create a sense of identity and uniqueness. Additionally, global consumer culture receptiveness appears to be moderated by country of origin associations relating to generational knowledge, the need for social mobility and status signalling as well as quality and how these countries behave on a global stage. Thus consumers may be selectively open to global consumer culture.

The discussion provides initial evidence of potential forces driving consumer decision making related to cultural orientations within multicultural marketplaces. A model of acculturation is offered below that aims to begin to describe acculturation in relation to
self-identification and contextual interactions. As consumers interacted within a multicultural world, so they used local and global brands to navigate between the need for agency in self-expression and creating their own unique identity, with the need to signal social status so as to conform to the norm and/or elevate their position in society using consumption. Some consumers use culture swapping to navigate between very traditional and very Western occasion and lives. However, for every day occasions, they use blending as a tool to empower themselves to create their own identities and sense of self as situated within their contexts. This process, as described by creolisation, is fluid and multidirectional (Ger & Belk, 1996). The push and pull as discussed by Ger and Belk (1996) relates not only to local and global cultural forces in acculturation, but also between a consumer's identities and contexts. Thus, the need to conform to the global norm through upward social mobility, express uniqueness as well as belonging, as part of a larger African regional identity, while at the same time, expressing their unique complex multi-faceted identities. Creolisation can be used as a tool to navigate these forces and provides consumers with the agency they desire (Bhattacharjee et al., 2014) to create their own identities within multicultural contexts. Cultural blending demonstrates a unique creation of modernity that transcends decades and culture. This complex culture and identity interplay within multicultural contexts is depicted in the below Figure 9.

![Figure 9: Creolisation providing agency to create own identity and navigate contexts and forces](image-url)

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The research objectives as outlined in Chapter One through the use of three research questions discussed in Chapter Three have been met and contribute to the existing body of international marketing literature related to acculturation in multicultural marketplaces. This is specifically in relation to reviving the concept of creolisation as proposed in earlier literature by authors such as Appadurai (1990) and Ger and Belk (1996) as an alternative to pro-local and pro-global culture consumer orientations. This assists in better understanding and clarifying constructs related to this concept (Alden et al., 2006) and provides a guide for international marketing managers to use to navigate the complexities, threats and opportunities presented by globalisation.
7. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the findings from the data in relation to the literature review in Chapter Two and the research questions. This chapter aims to consolidate the discussion and results in a cohesive set of findings so as to meet the research objectives as set out in Chapter One of the report. Based on these key findings, the chapter offers implications to business and international marketing managers and finally, concludes with the limitations of the research, as well as a discussion around recommendations for future research.

7.2 Key findings

Against the backdrop of fashion in Africa, the aim was (1) to explore whether creolisation exists amongst consumers and if so, how this manifests. So as not to discount the pro-local and pro-global constructs within this new context and to examine the interplay between these orientations, the research also (2) explored how constructs of local orientation and (3) global orientation played out amongst consumers of fashion in Africa. The research, combined with the supporting literature, provided valuable insights into how consumers use cultural blending as a means of self-expression and to navigate complex multicultural worlds and identities. This provides marketing managers with alternative lenses from which to view acculturation, as opposed to the juxtaposition of pro-local against pro-global consumer culture dispositions. Identity, uniqueness, country of origin and consumer agency also came to the fore. A regional identity as well as a global identity, based on Africans and their historical diaspora, became apparent.

7.2.1 Creolisation as an alternative to pro-local and pro-global cultural dispositions

The study identified that creolisation is present amongst consumers of fashion in Africa and in corroboration with Alden et al. (2006), this blending took the form of local being blended into global culture (or vice versa), or a complex meeting and mingling of meanings to create something new. Specifically, evidence was found that cultural blending manifested in six main ways, which were sorted into three primary themes, as well as three levels, depending on cultural complexity and source of cultural influences. This provides the first contribution of the study:
1. Blending: Global culture retains dominance
   - Level 1 Blending: Glocalisation

2. Blending: Emerging economies influencing cultural blending within developed and emerging economies
   - Level 2 Blending: Local culture influencing global culture
   - Level 2 Blending: African cultural amalgamation

3. Blending: Meeting and mingling of meanings
   - Level 2 Blending: Local cultural influence blended with international styles
   - Level 2 Blending: Blend local and global cultures together
   - Level 3 Blending: Cultural Amalgamation blending

The findings also supported Alden et al.’s (2006) notion that glocalisation is a form of cultural hybridisation, but opposed the idea that the two concepts are interchangeable. While glocalisation is a form of hybridisation, because of the fact that the multinational retains the power in terms of acculturation, it was referred to as Level One blending. Glocalisation did not reflect the complex notion of a two-way creolisation process, as described by Ger and Belk (1996), and Level Two and Level Three blending.

In addressing the first research question, the second contribution of the study was to highlight the association between creolisation and consumers' active creation of own identity. This suggested that blending local and global as well as foreign cultural identities at times, as a part of social and individual identity creation, serves to assist consumers in navigating between group conformity and self-expression, as described by Kravets and Sandikci (2014). But instead of just wanting to be competently ordinary, as Kravets and Sandikci (2014) described in relation to middle class consumers, African consumers sought to find agency in self-expression (Bhattacharjee et al., 2014), through blending cultures in order to find their own meaning of modernity and a sense of uniqueness. This transcended pro-local or pro-global cultural dispositions, to provide a modern form of unique self-identification.

Findings supported Bartsch et al.’s (2016) acknowledgement that consumers could simultaneously display conflicting positive versus negative orientations towards global culture, as the participants in the study could not be segmented into pro-local and pro-global culture groups. This study extended Bartsch et al.’s (2016) idea of simultaneous
conflicting orientations and proposed that consumers had different demands of global and local culture that were not necessarily based on openness or ethnocentrism, but on country of origin, a need for uniqueness, modernity and culture swapping. Thus, the third contribution of the research was to shed light on these complex cultural interactions between local and global. Consumers’ experience of acculturation was more complex and fluid than described in much of the current international marketing literature.

Global brands were revered as unique but also provided homogeneity. Equally, this homogeneity was seen as positive in that it assisted consumers in signalling social mobility and a sense of belonging to the norm as they tried to move to the middle (Kravets & Sandikci, 2014). Simultaneously, this homogeneity was also seen as negative in the light of conspicuous consumption and/or the idea of 'sameness' (Guo, 2013). Pro-global culture was tempered by consumer animosity towards specific country of origin products, most notably from China. Furthermore, a lack of confidence in local culture did not automatically assume a pro-global attitude. While local retailers were viewed as not being unique and lagging behind international trends, local design was seen to be unique and provided a strong sense of belonging (Chan et al., 2010).

As much as lack of confidence in local did not translate into pro-global dispositions, evidence of rejection of global culture did not assume a pro-local disposition. Rejection related specifically to a sense of animosity, as a result of protectionism, against Chinese culture. At the same time, other foreign countries of origin, including emerging markets, were viewed positively as signalling quality. Thus, global-orientations such as cosmopolitanism and openness did not only relate to a homogenous global culture (Cleveland et al., 2009; Bartsch et al. 2016), but rather related more to the idea of country of origin effects (Batra et al., 2000; Carpenter et al., 2013). Ethnocentrism, or pro-local orientations, rather manifested in consumers valuing the uniqueness of local design (Guo, 2013), feeling a sense of pride in cultural heritage and carrying cultural meanings that resonated with their self-identity (Carpenter et al., 2013). Thus, the cultural push and pull of creolisation to create something unique, as highlighted by Ger and Belk (1996), describes these interactions between local and global cultural dispositions well. Consumers in Africa seemed to identify as both African and global citizens and fashion became a way to express this dichotomy through a blending of cultural identities.
Equally, the hegemonic brandscape of Western culture influencing the emerging world (Thompson & Arsel, 2004), along with an African history of colonisation, may have resulted in the formation of the trend of a rising African regional cultural identity. This provides the fourth contribution to this study. Many consumers felt deep attachment to the African brand story which manifested through a growing sense of a regional African cultural identity, whereby cultural blending permeated country boundaries (and even continent boundaries) and provided them with the agency to express themselves as uniquely modern Africans. While it was acceptable for Africans to blend and borrow influences from other African cultures to make up this African regional identity, a protectionist attitude against cultural misappropriation emerged, which served as another potential anticorporate experience, as described by Thompson and Arsel (2004). Consumers wanted the agency to create their own unique identities, demonstrating that global organisations glocalising consumers' own cultures to feed them a Western interpretation of local culture may backfire against marketers.

The fifth contribution of this study is providing emerging evidence of potential forces driving acculturation and therefore, decision making, within multicultural marketplaces. A model of acculturation offered in Figure 9 described cultural blending in relation to self-identification and contextual interactions. The model outlined the multiple push and pull factors between local and global culture as well as between self-expression and conformity. The struggle between consumers' needing agency in self-expression and creating their own unique identity, while also wanting to signal social status so as to conform to the norm and/or elevate their position in society using consumption, was reconciled using both local and global brands. Culture swapping (Peñaloza, 1994) was used by some consumers to move between traditional and Western occasions, as opposed to accepting the idea of a homogenous global consumption orientation. However, creolisation empowered consumers with the agency, as described by Bhattacharjee et al. (2014), to create their own identities and sense of modernity within their multiple social and cultural contexts.

The model serves to provide further clarification around the concept of creolisation in modern multicultural contexts. This aims to assist managers who are encouraged to use it as a valuable lens to gain a better understanding of acculturation and the effect of cultural influences on consumer decision making and preferences within multicultural contexts. The implications of this model to international marketing managers will be discussed in the following section.
7.3 Implications for international marketing managers

Based on the results of the study and the model offered by Figure 9, there are several take-outs that can be used as implications for businesses in general, and fashion retailers specifically. This is because Jackson et al. (2007) state that fashion choice speaks to broader issues than just what consumers decide to wear. Fashion can be used as an indicator to establish the nature of contemporary transnationalism as well as acculturation and consumption commoditisation (Jackson et al., 2007). The recommendations can apply to international marketers or businesses, as well as local fashion businesses competing with international players in an increasingly globalised world.

Creolisation provides a useful tool for marketers to equip consumers with the agency to navigate between cultural identities so as express their own unique personal identities. As determined, cultural blending in current international marketing literature and practice is often assumed to be synonymous with glocalisation (Matusitz, 2011; Ramona, 2010). Because glocalisation strategies still reinforce the power and agency of multinationals in defining cultural adaptation, specifically within emerging markets, it faces the danger of creating anticorporate sentiments (Thompson & Arsel, 2004). Force-feeding emerging markets global strategies could create a severe consumer and even media backlash as a result of perceived cultural misappropriation, such as in the previously mentioned case of H&M (Stansfield, 2016). International marketers would be well served to recognise the rising power of emerging economies (Guo, 2013), as well as the mounting sense of regional cultural identification in Africa. This recognition, along with the understanding of consumers' need to empower themselves in the culture creation process, will aid marketers in helping consumers to navigate between multiple cultural contexts and identities. This struggle includes balancing the need for unique self-identification with the desire for belonging within the emerging middle classes (Kravets & Arsel, 2004).

While glocalisation still assumes the power of the hegemonic global culture (Bhattacharjee et al., 2014), the nascent forms of creolisation identified in the findings of this study (see Figure 8) are more aligned with Ger and Belk's (1996) notion that blending is complex and two-directional. As such, marketers needs to start to view acculturation from the vantage point of the consumer, as opposed to the organisation, thereby providing consumers with the agency they desire to create a wardrobe that expresses their own unique sense of identity. Marketers need to understand that
consumers can simultaneously experience pro-local and pro-global dispositions and see themselves as both African and global citizens. Creolisation, as expressed in Level Two and Level Three blending in this study, allows consumers to create their own expression of culture and modernity through fashion.

Thus, when determining positioning strategies and product offerings, marketers need to look beyond LCCP, GCCP and FCCP positioning, as discussed by Alden et al. (1999) and Huang (2016). They need to consider that consumers may respond better to a brand that offers them agency in developing their own unique identities through fashion (Bhattacharjee, Berger, & Menon, 2014). Equally, this unique identity may manifest as being a part of a modern African community which transcends country boundaries. The idea of imagined communities, exhibiting within multiple scapes created by deterritorialised multicultural marketplaces (Appadurai, 1990; Appadurai, 1991; Demangeot et al., 2015), perhaps makes marketers more likely to use the tried and tested brand positioning model of aiming to establish a brand and consumer identity or cultural fit (Bhattacharjee et al., 2014). However, marketers should take heed of the fact that this strategy can backfire if consumers feel that their sense of agency is lost.

This highlights the importance for international marketers to ensure that their positioning strategies, offerings and communications allow consumers the freedom to use fashion to create their own identities and not be defined by the brand's identity alone. The very idea of modernity transcends cultural bounds and becomes a form of self-expression. It could also signal that a post national/global time waits on the horizon where there is a quest for uniqueness, whether delivered locally or globally, rather than merely being local or global.

Equally, as local design is seen as a differentiator and oft-times tapped into consumer ethnocentric tendencies, it assists in building a unique sense of self-expression if consumers are allowed to blend this with their global sense of self. Local and global retailers should consider incorporating local design into their product offerings. Local fashion retailers seem to have become complacent, as indicated by the negative consumer associations towards these organisations in the findings. With the influx of international retailers entering the continent (Delonno, 2014), local retailers face an urgent need to differentiate their offerings from global retailers who can offer similar products faster and at a better price (Expert 9). Global retailers equally face the threat of increased global competition on the continent, which may serve to make
international retailers start to be perceived as less novel to consumers. Thus, for both local and global retailers, differentiation utilising creolisation, requires looking beyond the idea of glocalisation. Therefore, local design that is created and presented by the local and/or fused with the global. Differentiation may be created through allowing consumers to blend cultures to suit their personal preferences so as to fuse cultural identities and have the freedom to actively create their own unique identities.

7.4 Limitations of the study

The study was limited by certain methodological and conceptual confines. As stated in section 4.7, qualitative research is limited by its exploratory nature and as such will need to be followed up by more robust quantitative research to test hypotheses and identify cause and effect relationships (Saunders and Lewis, 2012).

7.4.1 Researcher bias

The researcher worked in the fashion industry for five years before the commencement of the research study as a supplier to South African Fashion Week providing sponsorship and eventing assistance. As such, the researcher may have greater local fashion designer knowledge than most consumers and consequently may have placed too much emphasis on local designers.

7.4.2 Sampling bias

Due to the sampling methods used, four of the nine consumers and nine of the 11 experts were of South African nationality. This may limit the transferability of some of the findings to some African countries. It did however, seem appropriate to use South Africa as the starting point for the sample because South Africa is Africa's most developed retail market at the moment (DeIonno, 2014).

In addition, due to the sampling frame selected for consumers, the youth segment of 18-25 year old fashion consumers was not included. Although the sampling frame was selected because urban professionals were assumed to have the disposable income needed to purchase retail fashion, some of the findings may not be transferable to the youth market segment.
7.4.3 Conceptual limitations

The study was also constrained by certain conceptual limitations. Due to the inductive nature of the study, as described in Chapter Four, codes flowed from the data which led to some unexpected themes emerging (Hsieh & Shannon, 2008). As such, the study did not focus on Afropolitanism or a rise of African regional identity as this became manifest later. Furthermore, the role of country of origin effects in cultural blending was an unexpected theme which also emerged, warranting further investigation. The idea of framing through occasion was not probed at length as clothing was reviewed predominantly from a broad overall perspective as opposed to specific occasions. The selection of the category of fashion may have caused it to be strongly rooted in identity (Cleveland et al., 2009; Carpenter, Moore & Doherty, 2013; Khare, 2014). Other categories, especially those not publically consumed, may be less closely tied to the concept of self and social identity.

7.5 Recommendations for future research

Further quantitative analysis is recommended in order to test the nascent themes and creolisation levels as identified in the findings section of the research report. Further studies could be conducted within wider African marketplaces, or other emerging market economies, so as to test the applicability of the creolisation manifestation model in broader contexts. Creolisation could be compared and contrasted between some of the dominant economies in Africa, such as Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya, SA, and Egypt, with the others such as Malawi and Sudan. Additional studies may determine ranking and importance of these creolisation levels and/or examine cause and effect relationships. This includes also further testing the relationship between agency in identity creation and creolisation. The complex interplay between local and global cultures used to reduce the struggle between agency in self-expression, as well as the need to belong or conform, specifically within the emerging middle class segment, also warrants further investigation and quantitative testing. This will assist international marketing managers to understand the rankings and/or cause and effect relationships between these multi-directional forces at play so as to be developed into an expanded model for marketing managers to utilise, based on the initial model proposed in Figure 9.
Further studies incorporating youth as well as a wider demographic pool (thus higher end and lower end consumers) would also assist in determining the transferability of the findings to other market segments not included in this study.

Research, which further investigates the role of Afropolitanism, the rising tide of black consciousness and/or the rising African cultural identity on the continent and beyond, would also assist international marketers in navigating cultural contexts in Africa and potentially, broader marketplaces. In addition, further studies examining the role of country of origin effects within the context of cultural blending would also add further depth and insight into the phenomena and potentially assist in developing cause and effect relationship with cultural blending.

This study indicated that the desire for uniqueness amongst African consumers was more prominent than studies by authors such as Kravets and Sandikci (2014), which showed emerging market consumers in Turkey as using formulaic creativity in fashion to remain competently ordinary. Further investigation into the interplay between uniqueness and conformity may assist marketing managers in understanding whether the desire for uniqueness is truly more prominent in African consumers than in Turkish markets. These studies could also assist in understanding the cultural exchange complexities within a broader context so as to see whether African consumers' desire for uniqueness is shared in other emerging and/or developed marketplaces and whether this phenomenon is likely to change over time or whether it is deeply rooted.

The role of social media in culture exchange was also hinted at as a part of multicultural contexts, but is not yet fully developed and as such, could provide a valuable avenue for further study.

7.6 Conclusion

This research has provided support for studies focusing on pro-local and pro-global consumer dispositions towards global consumer culture within the under-researched context of Africa. However, it also provided an alternative blending or creolisation lens from which to view acculturation within multicultural marketplaces, whereby culture creation is more complex than the binary of acceptance or rejection of global culture. Furthermore, creolisation offers an additional cultural blending model to the oft-cited glocalisation strategy, as utilised by multi-nationals such as McDonald's and Disney. Five additional creolisation manifestations were offered as alternatives to glocalisation.
including local culture influencing global culture, African cultural amalgamation, local cultural influence blended with international styles, local and global blended together and cultural amalgamation blending. A potential relationship between creolisation and active creation of own consumer identity was also uncovered through the research findings which suggested that marketers should consider consumer agency in identity expression when developing international marketing strategies.

The research has contributed to providing a better understanding of creolisation in the context of multicultural marketplaces. The creolisation manifestation model outlined by Figure 9 provided a more detailed description of cultural blending and the multiple forces at play, as an alternative to pro-local and pro-global dispositions towards globalisation. This serves to assist international and local marketing managers in understanding how cultural influences affected consumer decision-making, specifically within multicultural emerging market contexts. This will aid marketers and businesses in harnessing the opportunities presented by globalised multicultural contexts and also in mitigating the potential risks associated with these complex playing fields.
REFERENCES


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APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW GUIDES

INTERVIEW GUIDE 1: CONSUMERS

Preliminaries

- Thank the person for attending
- Explain the purpose of the research
- Ask for permission to record the interview

Clarify in record:

---

Today's Date: 
Place: 
Time: 
Interviewer's name: 

---

Participant's Name: 
Age: 
Sex: 
Nationality: 
Ethnicity: 
Country of residence: 
Residence pattern: 
Do you identify with any particular religion: 

---

Questions

1. Tell me about what you are wearing today? Why did you choose to wear this?
   1.1. Probe: What is it about the colour/fit/design/label that you like?
   1.2. Probe: Does it have a story behind it?

2. Do you have a favourite item or items of clothing?
   2.1. Why?
   2.2. What about this appeals to you?
   2.3. How does it make you feel when you wear it?
   2.4. Where did it come from?

3. Do you have any favourite shops or brands of clothing that you like to wear?
   3.1. What is it about these shops/brands that you like?
   3.2. Do your friends/family members also like these brands?
3.3. How do you feel when you are in these clothes/brands?

4. When you think of local designers or retailers, are there any names in particular that come to mind?
4.1. Do you like or support any of these designers?
4.1.1. Why?
4.2. What makes them stand out for you?

5. Do you take note of which country clothes that you like come from?
5.1. If so, why?
5.2. Does this influence your decision to purchase?
5.3. Can you provide an example?

6. Where do you like to shop for clothes?
6.1. What appeals to you about these brands/shops?
6.2. Do you ever shop for clothes in other countries?

7. Do you ever wear clothing that is particular to your culture, heritage or traditions?
7.1. On what occasions?
7.2. Do you ever wear these for everyday?
7.3. Do you ever mix traditional and non-traditional wear?
7.4. Please provide an example

8. Do you ever experiment with fashion borrowed from other cultures or traditions?
8.1. Please provide examples?

Floating prompts:
- What are your favourite sources of fashion or style information?
- Who are your style icons and why?
- What do you wear on important occasions?
- Do you have a personal style?
INTERVIEW GUIDE 2 – EXPERTS

Prelimaries

- Thank the person for attending
- Explain the purpose of the research
- Ask for permission to record the interview

Clarify in record:

- Today’s Date:
- Place:
- Time:
- Interviewer’s Name:

- Participant’s Name:
- Age:
- Sex:
- Nationality:
- Ethnicity:
- Country of residence:
- Residence pattern:
- Do you identify with any particular religion:
- Position/occupation:
- Number of years working in the fashion industry:

Questions

1. What are the current consumer trends in the industry that you are seeing when it comes to global versus local fashion retailers?
   1.1. What do you think is the reason for this?

2. Do you think consumers like to buy clothes from international retailers?
   2.1. If so, which retailers are popular?
   2.2. Why do you think they are popular?

3. Do you think consumers like to buy clothes from local designers or retailers?
3.1. If so, which retailers are popular?
3.2. If so, why do you think these retailers are popular?

4. Do you think consumers like to mix international and local brands when wearing clothes?
4.1. Please provide examples

5. Do you mix international and local styles when wearing clothes?
5.1. Why?
5.2. What are your feelings around mixing local and international fashion?

6. Have you noticed any designers or retailers introducing influences from other cultures or traditions into their collections?
6.1. Tell me more about this?
6.2. Why do you think this is?

7. Where do you get fashion inspiration from?
7.1. Where do you think consumers get their inspiration from?

8. What do you see the fashion scene to look like – locally / internationally over the next five years?
8.1. What do you think that will mean for local designers and/or retailers?
8.2. What do you think that will mean for international designers and/or retailers?
APPENDIX 2: LETTER OF INFORMED CONSENT

I am conducting research on globalisation and its effects on consumers' attitudes towards global and local cultures in the retail fashion industry in Africa. Our interview is expected to last about an hour, and will help us to understand whether consumers blend cultures through fashion and if so, how this manifests itself. Your participation is voluntary and you can withdraw at any time without penalty. Of course, all data will be kept confidential. If you have any concerns, please contact my supervisor or me. Our details are provided below.

Researcher name: Leanne Emery  
emeryleanne@gmail.com  
0823029460

Research Supervisor: Kerry Chipp  
chippk@gibs.co.za  
011 771 4175

Signature of participant: ________________________________
Date: __________________

Signature of researcher: ________________________________
Date: __________________
Dear Ms Leanne Emery

Protocol Number: Temp2016-01426

Title: ETHNOCENTRISM, GLOBALISATION AND CREOLISATION IN THE RETAIL FASHION INDUSTRY: AN AFRICAN PERSPECTIVE

Please be advised that your application for Ethical Clearance has been APPROVED. You are therefore allowed to continue collecting your data.

We wish you everything of the best for the rest of the project.

Kind Regards,

Adele Bekker
APPENDIX 4: FIRST CODE LIST

Initial Code list post 6 transcriptions:

A look                                    Lack of business acumen
Accelerating learning                    Lack of consumer education
Affected by international retailer entrance Lack of designer knowledge
Affordable                                Lack of local designer support
Africa                                     Less focus on trends
African and global consumer appeal        Less mass produced
African and global influences             Lifestyle story
African and global trends                 Limitless
African design                            Local and global brands together
African fabric                            Local appeal
African fabrics blended with international styles Local brands
African fabrics bought locally            Local budget constraints
African fabrics made internationally      Local consumer wear predominantly international fashion
African retail                            Local Design
Appearance drives external perception     Local designer lack of accessibility
Appropriate                                Local designers lags behind international designers
Australian retail brands                 Local fashion exported
Basics                                    Local fashion grows the economy
Bespoke tailoring                         Local fashion lags behind global trends
Beyoncé                                   Local inspiration
Blended cultural influences               Local interpretation of culture
Blogs                                      Local lack of manufacturing capability
Brand heritage                            Local manufacturing
Brand important                          Local Marketing
Brand loyalty                             Lack of local manufacturing skill
Brand name                                Local online retailers
Brand not important                       Local pride
Brand story                               Local Retailers
Brands obligated to provide quality to customers Local retailers lag behind international retailers
Brazilian brands                          Local Retailers should support local designers
Broader African appeal                    Loss of local identity
Buys international brands overseas       Lower price
Casual Friday                             Lower quality
Celebrities influence fashion             Luxury brands
Challenge                                 Made locally
Cheap                                     Magazines
China                                     Manufacturing industry not supported
Classic                                   Market for African design
Colonisation
Colour
Comfort
Commercial
Community upliftment
Conformity
Conservative
Consumer becomes a part of the creation process
Consumer inspiration
Consumers support
Contemporary traditional wear
Contextual Brand Value
Cosmopolitan
Cost is important
Create something new
Creativity
Creativity through necessity
Cultural respect
Cultural complexities
Cultural relevance
Cultural relevance for future
Culture
David Tlale
Demure
Desirability
Donna Claire
Durability
East
Eclectic
Eco-conscious
Edgars
Effortless
Elevate outfit
Europe
Everyday
Exclusivity
Expensive
Expert Inspiration
Exposure
Fabric innovation
Fabric quality
Family influence
Fashion conscious
Fashion information
Market for African influence
Marketing
Masculine culture expressed through dress
Mass media
Mass produced
Michael Moore
Milady's
Mix
Modern relevance
More competitive
More global retailers entering Africa
Move away from pure international
Moved with the times
Multi-cultural
Music influences fashion
National pride
New
Nigeria
Nigerian consumers
Nigerian men
Not loyal
Not new
Not tied to country of manufacture
Not trendy
Not unique
Occasion
Online retailing
Pay more
Peers
Polished
Positive
Positive response internationally
Practical
Prefer physical to online stores
Price is important
Pro-global
Pro-global brands
Pro-local
Quality important
Relevance to African consumer
Rooted in Africa
Santa Anzo
Seasonable
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Inspired by other cultures
Inspiring
Inter-country differences
International brand names
International brands
International exposure to fashion
International fashion
International retailers
Inventive
Italian brands
Jackets
Job creation
Kim Kardashian

Woolworths
Youthful
Zando
Zara
APPENDIX 5: SECOND CODE LIST

Code list post cleaning 1:

- **African brand story resonates with consumer** Peers
- **Anti-Chinese manufacturing** Polished
- **Anti-global fast fashion trend** Positive
- **Anti-specific country of origin brand** Positive response internationally
- **Bespoke tailored traditional wear** Practical
- **Blended African and global trends** Prefer physical to online stores
- **Blended numerous cultural influences into one garment** Price is important
- **Brand-independent identity creation** Pro-Eastern influences
- **Buy international brands** Pro-global brands
- **Buy into local community upliftment** Pro-local brands
- **Buy local retailers** Pro global brands
- **Contemporary traditional wear** Pro global music fashion inspiration
- **Culture dictates fashion forwardness** Pro international celebrity style
- **David Tlale** Pro local celebrity style
- **Dressing appropriately for occasions** Pro locally made products
- **Global brands associated with conformity** Quality important
- **H&M** Relevance to African consumer
- **Increase in number of African retailers and brands** Rooted in Africa
- **International brands associated with high quality** Santa Anzo
- **International brands provide status** Seasonable
- **International celebrities wearing African influences** Self-identification
- **Local and global brands together** Sense of belonging
- **Local and global brands worn together** Shoes
- **Local Design** Shopping
Local design with global consumer appeal

Shopping overseas

Local designer lack of accessibility

Signal quality

Local fashion appeals to other African countries

Simplicity

Local fashion exported

Social acceptance

Local fashion grows the economy

Social Media

Local fashion inspired by outside African cultures

Sold to Africans living abroad

Local fashion is unique

Sold to other African markets

Local fashion lags behind global trends

South Africa

Local lack of manufacturing capability/skills

South Africa black man

Local Retailers

South African consumer

Local retailers provide value/quality

South African man

Local Retailers should support local designers

South African white man

Loss of local identity

Spree

Lower price

Status

Lower quality

Style

Luxury brands

The internet

Made locally

Too exposed

Magazines

Traditional and modern wear separated by occasions

Manufacturing industry not supported

Traditional and modern wear together

Market for African design

Traditional fabric blended with modern styles

Market for African influence

Traditional influenced clothes and modern wear together

Marketing

Traditional wear

Masculine culture expressed through dress

Traditional wear from other cultures

Mass media

Traditional wear is occasional

Mass produced

Trend

Michael Moore

Trendy

Milady’s

Trendy South African retailers

Mix

Trust in Western brands

Modern relevance

Trust in Western brands through generational knowledge

More competitive

Turkey
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<td>Zara</td>
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</table>
APPENDIX 6: FINAL CODE LIST

Final code list:

- African brand story resonates with consumer
- African influences blended with Western or modern styles
- Anti-Chinese manufacturing
- Anti-global fast fashion trend
- Anti-local retailers
- Anti-specific country of origin brand
- Bespoke tailored traditional wear
- Blended African and global trends
- Blended numerous cultural influences
- Brand-dependent identity creation
- Brand-independent identity creation
- Brand story reflects unique culture
- Buy international brands
- Buy into local community upliftment
- Buy local retailers
- Conservative culture expressed through dress
- Contemporary traditional made bespoke
- Contemporary traditional wear
- Culture dictates fashion forwardness
- Dressing appropriately for occasions
- Hyper styling
- Increase in global retailers or brands entering Africa
- Increase in number of African retailers and brands
- International brands are affordable
- International brands are unique
- International brands associated with high quality
- International brands provide sense of belonging
- International brands provide status
- International brands using local influences for local markets
- International celebrities wearing African influences
- Local and global brands worn together
- Local design is not easily accessible
- Local fashion appeals to other African countries
- Local fashion grows the economy
- Local fashion influenced by international cultures
- Local fashion inspired by outside African cultures
- Local fashion lags behind global trends
- Local lack of manufacturing capability/skills
- Local retail brands are not unique
- Local retailers are affordable
- Local retailers entering foreign markets
- Local retailers provide value/quality
- Masculine culture expressed through dress
- Pro-Eastern influences
- Pro-global brands
- Pro-local brands
- Pro global brands
- Pro global lifestyle
- Pro global marketing
- Pro global music fashion inspiration
- Pro global social media and online influences
- Pro international celebrity style
- Pro local celebrity style
- Pro local music fashion inspiration
- Pro local social media or peer fashion inspiration
- Pro local/national pride
- Pro locally made products
- Quality
- Self-identification
- Shopping overseas
- Traditional and modern styles worn together
- Traditional wear is occasional
- Traditional wear provides a sense of belonging
- Trust in Western brands through
Local design is unique
Local design with global consumer appeal
Local designer wear perceived as expensive
Local designers are not easily accessible
generational knowledge
Understand consumer
Unique look
Wary of cultural misappropriation
West taking influence from Africa