Exploring Circularity in Clothing Resale: A New Materialism and Value Perspective

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"If you look at the science about what is happening on earth and you aren't pessimistic, you don't understand the data. If you meet the people who are working to restore the earth and the lives of the poor and you aren't optimistic, you don't have a pulse."

Paul Hawken – The Ecology of Commerce (1994)

Abstract

The mainstreaming of alternative or circular business models is considered key for increased sustainability in clothing consumption. One such business model, clothing resale, is a growing but under-researched market. Clothing resale is a way to maintain value beyond an initial purchase. Previous research considers value key to sustainability but provides limited insight into what value means in this context. The role of the consumer is overlooked in circular business models, with assumptions made that they will engage with businesses' offerings without challenge. This research explores circularity and value, considering retailer and consumer behaviours and how these relate to value maintenance, values and longevity in clothing resale.

The research used new materialism as a theoretical lens to consider circularity in clothing resale in relation to sustainability and value. Over a 12-month fieldwork period, this research used a multi-method qualitative approach. This approach included in-depth interviews and visual methods to collect data from a purposive sample of nine retailer participants and thirteen consumer participants. All participants were actively engaged in clothing resale behaviours. The data was analysed thematically. The findings of the study mapped a value regime for clothing resale to outline the value outcomes that underpinned behaviours, including economic, aesthetic, and experiential value. The formal and informal practices of retailers and consumers in clothing resale and the conflict between mainstream and alternative market logic limited the maintenance and longevity of value in clothing resale. In some cases, this caused value disruption and loss.

This research makes a theoretical contribution to knowledge by going beyond new materialism's singular focus on material value to uncover the multiple value outcomes that motivate clothing resale behaviours. A further contribution to the value literature comes from extending a value regime's object pathway to recognise the need to understand value in other related object pathways to outline a clear value regime for sustainability. Finally, the study's findings suggest that value is not always maintained but rather disrupted through the conflict of mainstream and alternative market logic and the value and values of consumers and retailers. This finding extends knowledge on the proposed sustainability of circular business models, such as resale.

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Author's declaration

"I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution."

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1 Introduction

1.1 Overview

This doctoral study explores clothing resale, a growing but under-researched market (Newbold, 2018; Hvass, 2015; Niinimaki et al., 2020; Thred-Up, 2021). This study understands clothing resale as second-hand clothing sold for profit at an agreed percentage split between retailer and consumer (Friedman, 2018). Of particular interest is how these practices may relate to sustainability in terms of consumer and retailer behaviour (Hvass, 2015). In exploring both the retailer and consumer perspectives, this study contributes to understanding resale behaviour and whether this retail model encourages consumers and retailers to engage in more sustainable practices. In doing so, a core theoretical contribution is made to the value and new materialism literatures. The new materialism literature focuses on material value (Schor et al., 2010, 2013; Scott et al., 2014). This research extends that understanding by investigating the value and values that underpin clothing resale using new materialism as a theoretical lens. Further contributions were made to the value literature through the consideration of the complexities of longevity and durability in relation to value maintenance and loss by identifying the enablers and disrupters of value in clothing resale (Schor, 2010, Schor and Thompson, 2014 Scott et al., 2014; Aakko and Niinimaki, 2021). The final contribution came from the extension of the value regime concept to broaden the understanding of object pathways in relation to sustainability (Gollnhofer et al., 2019).

This chapter provides the rationale for the thesis. Firstly, the chapter explains that, although the growing clothing resale market is under-researched, the growth of circular business models such as resale is considered vital for increased sustainability in clothing consumption. Secondly, the chapter explains how the role of value in understanding sustainability through a new materialism lens has not been adequately understood. Thirdly the chapter outlines the aims and objectives of the study, which include understanding value and higher-order values in clothing resale and the behaviours that relate to longevity, durability and value maintenance and loss underpinned by these value and values. The chapter concludes with the thesis summary. This summary provides an overview of the details of each chapter, mapping the thesis in its entirety.

1.2 Clothing Resale

The negative humanitarian and environmental impact of clothing consumption is well documented in academic literature, policy and in the public domain (Henninger et al., 2016; Pedersen and Andersen, 2015; Niinimaki, 2015; WRAP, 2017; Goworek et al., 2017; Niinimaki et al., 2020; Brydges, 2021). Increased demand for low cost, fast turnover clothing has led to a huge rise in textile waste and subsequently a negative environmental impact (Hvass, 2014). There has also been widespread media coverage of humanitarian crises, such as the factory collapse at Rana Plaza, which led to a public outcry and calls for changes in clothing production and consumption (Strange, 2019). These environmental and humanitarian issues have led scholars to conclude that the way clothing is produced and consumed requires systemic change (Henninger et al., 2016; Pedersen, 2015; Niinimaki, 2015). It has been suggested that such a shift in business and consumer behaviour will have to come from moving from linear to more circular practices through business model innovation and disruption. (Hvass, 2014, Pedersen et al., 2016). Circular practices will require moving away from the current linear 'take-make-use-dispose' model where clothing is made new from virgin materials, bought and used by consumers and disposed of, often in landfills (Bocken et al., 2016). Instead, innovative business models would encourage reuse, recycling, sharing and leasing to disrupt the linear take-make-dispose economy (Hvass, 2015; Niinimaki and Hassi, 2011; Pedersen et al., 2016). This change would bring systemic change to clothing production and consumption and retain value by keeping items in use for longer(Murray et al., 2017). This study will explore how clothing resale may further the potential to mainstream sustainability as part of a circular economy. This has implications for future potential sustainable and circular business models in practice and important potential environmental impacts.

Resale is a burgeoning market, with recent figures estimating it is growing at 11 times the mainstream retail market worldwide and will be valued at $77 billion by 2025 (Thred-Up 2021; Roshitsh, 2021). Resale is considered a driver of existing efforts to put circularity into action in the fashion industry (Amed, 2021). Much of this growth takes place across online consumer-to-consumer platforms such as Depop, Poshmark and Vestiaire Collective (Lieber, 2020). Clothing resale, however, has existed in the UK at a niche level for many years. In this niche resale model, small independent retailers often called 'dress agencies' or 'consignment stores', sell clothing on behalf of their consumers for an agreed percentage split of the sale price (Ryding et al., 2017). It is on this niche, micro level that this study focuses. This resale context provides an opportunity to access and understand the consumer and retailer perspectives and offers a rich context in which to explore resale as it relates to sustainability, to investigate the intersection of sustainability, circularity, and value.

Value is a key tenet of new materialism, the lens through which this study considers the context of clothing resale. The study recognises that previously, value in new materialism literature focused on material value and subsequently excluded a large body of socio-cultural value work (Schor, 2010; 2013; Scott et al., 2014; Karababa and Kjeldgaard, 2014; Gollnhofer et al., 2019). By investigating clothing resale through a new materialism lens, the study explores the types of value beyond new materialism's focus on material value, exploring how other value types such as economic, aesthetic, experiential and brand value underpin the clothing resale business model. Higher-order values are the determining values by which consumers live their lives (Gollnhofer et al., 2019). The current research considers how these value types are mobilised, mapping the value regime of clothing resale.

Value longevity and the durability of garments through maintenance and care are key concepts in value maintenance that promotes circularity (Cooper, 2005; Davies et al., 2020). Longevity, durability and value maintenance and loss are also considered in this study to understand value within clothing resale. All of these elements of value in clothing resale are considered within the framework of the circular economy. This is in order to understand how the potential for circularity in alternative business models, such as resale, relates to consumer and retailer behaviour in practice.

1.3 Research aims and methodology

This research aimed to understand the extent to which clothing resale demonstrates circularity by considering the buying, selling and maintenance behaviours of both consumer and retailer. Through the lens of new materialism (Schor, 2010; Scott et al., 2014), this research explored how understandings of value and values underpin clothing resale with the following objectives:

- To explore the value that underpins consumer and retailer clothing resale behaviours.
- To explore how consumers and retailers perceive value in relation to their values when engaging in clothing resale behaviours.
- To explore longevity and durability in clothing resale behaviours of consumers and retailers.
- To explore how consumer and retailer behaviours impact value maintenance in clothing resale

In order to explore these aims and objectives, this study adopts a multi-method ethnographic approach. (Belk et al., 2013). The study uses methods including in-depth interviews, observations, wardrobe audits and visual methods to meet the aims and objectives of the study.

1.4 THESIS SUMMARY

This thesis is presented in six chapters. Having introduced the rationale for the thesis in this chapter, Chapter two reviews the literature on sustainability in clothing consumption and the positioning of the study within the circular economy context. The literature on sustainability in clothing consumption is focused on a whole systems approach, an approach that considers the micro, meso and macro level implications. However, current literature on the circular economy often neglects the social aspect of sustainability. It fails to consider the impact on human wellbeing and human rights and the potential for radical social change that could come from more circular consumption. Chapter two also discusses how the circular economy literature overlooks the role of the consumer or micro level. Although focused on value maintenance and longevity, how these concepts translate to consumer behaviours and retailer practices is not clear in the existing literature. Understanding the role of the consumer is crucial to the successful implementation of circularity and increased sustainability in clothing consumption.

Chapter three reviews the literature on new materialism, the lens of the study. New materialism is an understanding of the human relationship with the material world as one of connection and respect. Materialism in the literature is largely portrayed as a destructive relationship where the symbolic and social value of the brand is rated above the material value of the item. This destructive relationship is considered to negatively impact sustainability and well-being. The chapter considers how new materialism contrasts with the dominant understanding of materialism. New materialism's focus on a more positive relationship between humans and material aligns positively with sustainability and wellbeing. The literature review also identifies the relationship between new materialism and value and goes on to explore the large body of literature on value in marketing. The value literature is explored in relation to consumer behaviour, sustainability and the socio-cultural material turn, which best relate to the new materialism lens and sustainability focus of the study. The lack of exploration of value in new materialism, and value's significance in sustainability and consumer behaviour are emphasised. Finally, the chapter identifies the proposed contribution and outlines the objectives of the study including exploring circularity in clothing resale, value and values that underpin clothing resale behaviours and longevity, durability and value maintenance and loss.

Chapter four explains the rationale for the multi-method qualitative approach the study takes. The chapter outlines the in-depth interviews and visual methods used to collect data from a purposive sample of seven retailers and thirteen consumer participants, all of whom were actively participating in clothing resale behaviours. Chapter four goes on to outline the thematic analysis the study undertook to address its aims.

Chapter five discusses the findings of the empirical study. The chapter finds that clothing resale behaviours were motivated by economic, aesthetic and experiential value outcomes. Chapter five explains how the formal and informal practices of retailers and consumers in clothing resale limited the maintenance of value in clothing resale and in some cases, led to value destruction. The chapter explores how, by considering temporality in clothing resale, understandings of value changed and moved throughout the resale object pathway and affected value maintenance and loss. Further, the chapter reports that the conflict between mainstream and alternative market logic also affected value maintenance and disruption.

Chapter six concludes the thesis, outlining how the study explored value in new materialism within the context of clothing resale. This final chapter demonstrates how the study makes a theoretical contribution to knowledge by exploring the intersection of sustainability, new materialism and value in clothing resale. The study's contribution extends knowledge in relation to new materialism, value regimes and value longevity and durability. Chapter six also outlines the implications of these findings for mainstreaming sustainable clothing consumption and alternative, circular business models for sustainability. Finally, the limitations of the study are outlined, and directions for further research into value in sustainability and the alternative, circular business models, are detailed.

2 Clothing Resale, Sustainability and Circularity

2.1 Introduction

This chapter positions the subject of the study, clothing resale, in the wider context of relevant literature. The chapter reviews the literature on sustainability in clothing consumption and the circular economy. The first section outlines the problematic and unsustainable nature of clothing consumption. The second section introduces the circular economy, its origins and claims in addressing sustainability issues in consumption. The third section considers the alternative business models that have the potential to facilitate circularity in practice. The final section details the context of this study, clothing resale, as a business model with the potential to be part of the circular economy. Clothing resale in this context is an under-researched topic. Clothing resale offers a context in which to understand better the potential complexities of implementing circular business models and the potential impact on consumer and retailer behaviour to promote more sustainable consumption behaviours.

2.2 Issues of ethics and sustainability in clothing consumption

The increased demand for high turnover, low priced clothing has resulted in the clothing industry becoming one of the most environmentally damaging sectors globally (Conca, 2015; Brydges, 2021). At every stage of its lifecycle, clothing impacts the environment (Pedersen and Andersen, 2015; Tucker, 2019; Niinimäki et al., 2020). During production, impacts include energy and water use, pesticides and ecosystem degradation (Fletcher, 2008). The consumption or use phase where the consumer owns, wears and washes the garment is considered to have the highest impact on energy and water use. This is due to the clothing being washed more than is necessary at high temperatures, and tumble dried or dry-cleaned (Goworek et al., 2017). Finally, when the consumer disposes of clothing at the end of its life, it often ends up in landfill (Birtwistle and Moore, 2007). Clothing disposal in landfill totals around 300,000 tonnes annually in the UK (WRAP, 2017). The increased pace and volume of clothing consumption, fuelled by the increase in the number of fashion seasons, speed to market and more effective marketing, leads to more clothes than ever being discarded and ending up in a landfill site (Bhardwaj and Fairhurst, 2010; Carrigan and Bosangit, 2016; Goworek et al., 2017; Peters and Lenzen., 2021). Changes in consumer behaviour and industry practices have led to a significant rise in textile waste and a resulting negative environmental impact (Hvass, 2014). A recent UK government report from the Environmental Audit Committee on 'Fixing Fashion' found that "the way we make, use and throw away our clothes is unsustainable" (EAC, 2019 p.3). The report recommended that policy be implemented to make fashion companies responsible throughout their

supply chain to ensure that, amongst other things, less environmentally unsound clothing was produced, and the amounts of waste were significantly reduced (EAC, 2019). The government subsequently rejected the recommendations made in the report, leaving sustainability issues in clothing consumption up to the market and its consumers to resolve (Carrington, 2019).

There has also been widespread media coverage of humanitarian crises, such as the factory collapse at Rana Plaza in 2013, which led to public outcry and a call for change in clothing production and consumption (Strange, 2019). The humanitarian impact of the fashion industry first became prominent in the 1990s with the exposure of sweatshop labour in the clothing market (Egan, 1998; Klein, 2000). Despite policy interventions, the issue continues to be a problem, as the Rana Plaza disaster brought to light (Kasperkevic, 2016). Again, the increased demand for low cost, fast turnover of clothing has driven and exacerbated these humanitarian issues, despite policy interventions and increased media exposure of unacceptable working conditions. This continued disregard for the humanitarian impact of fashion is seen in the readiness of large companies to move production to wherever labour is cheapest, a trend that the media termed a 'race to the bottom' (Moulds, 2015). The Covid-19 pandemic has compounded these issues. Recent media reports claim billions of dollars have been underpaid in garment workers' wages throughout Asia due to cancellations and retracted orders (Nilsson, 2021).

Attempts to address the problems relating to the impact of clothing consumption outlined above have seen the creation of alternatives to mainstream fashion. 'Ethical fashion' is a model of producing garments considered to be both stylish and ethically sound (Kimeldorf et al., 2006; Carrigan et al., 2013). This type of response focuses on the production of clothing. By changing the materials and production processes to focus on environmental and humanitarian issues, these brands market themselves based on their ethical and sustainable business practices and products. Pioneering ethical fashion companies, such as People Tree, have developed alternative fashion business models. They use cooperatives in production and alternative fabrics, such as organic cotton, to produce their clothing (Fletcher, 2008). Alternatives to the mainstream fashion industry tend to be niche businesses (Arnold, 2009; Moulds, 2015; Young, 2013) with premium pricing and limited availability, making them inaccessible to most consumers (Goworek et al., 2012).

Further, attempts to take such practices into the mainstream have often been problematic. More prominent high street brands and retailers frequently offer confused messaging, with ethical fashion collections provided alongside the existing fast fashion offering (Thomasson, 2014). For example, fast-fashion retailer H&M's 'conscious collection' faced backlash after a Norwegian consumer authority investigation found its sustainability credentials were not as advertised (Whiting, 2019). This unclear

messaging by brands leaves customers confused about the authenticity of retailers' sustainability claims and leads to accusations that the company is "greenwashing" (Crumbie, 2021). In other words, that they are using their sustainability credentials to cover their less sustainable business practices (Du, 2015).

Furthermore, existing ethical fashion alternatives only modify consumption rather than reduce overall consumption levels, which is critical to sustainability (Hvass, 2014). This failure to reduce overall consumption is partly attributed to consumers' familiarity with the regular availability of new styles and low-priced clothing. Customers prefer to continue to satisfy their preference for new items and shorter cycles (Siegle, 2019). Consequently, despite consumers' increased awareness of fashion's environmental and humanitarian impact, there has not been a marked shift in consumption practices. This lack of change indicates that most consumers continue to face barriers to purchasing more sustainable fashion (Harris et al., 2015). These barriers include lack of information, the high cost of alternatives and limitations in choice (Goworek et al., 2017).

Environmental and humanitarian issues associated with the fast fashion industry have led scholars to conclude that the way clothing is currently produced, consumed and viewed needs systemic change (Henninger et al., 2016; Pedersen, 2015; Niinimaki, 2015). This shift would intend to disrupt mainstream markets, moving away from the current linear take-make-use-dispose model where clothing is made new from virgin materials, bought and used by consumers and disposed of, often in landfill. (Bocken et al., 2016; Brydges, 2021). Scholars assert that the shift to more circular practices is made possible by business model innovation and disruption, which may enable change in consumer behaviour (Hvass, 2014, Pedersen et al., 2016; Niinimaki et al., 2020).

2.3 Systemic change through the Circular Economy

2.3.1 Circular economy origins and principles

The current global system of consumption commands a rate of resource depletion that is no longer sustainable. Moving from a linear to a circular economy is considered a way to address this problem (Murray et al., 2017; Ghisellini et al., 2016). The circular economy is a concept that has been developed over many years and in several disciplines. The origin is credited to several authors from the fields of economics (Boulding, 1966), engineering (Stahel 1976; McDonough and Braungart, 2002) and industrial ecology (Robert, 1991), amongst others. The rise in the appeal of circular economy thinking to prevent further resource depletion while maintaining current growth in the economy is reflected in policy, industry and latterly in academia (Sauvé et al., 2016). An approach that has since

become a criticism of the circular economy, as recent research has condemned the suggestion that growth can be maintained alongside sustainability (e.g. Corvellec et al., 2021).

A definition of circular economy is not widely agreed upon in the academic literature. However, certain underlying principles are drawn from the ideas of 'cradle to cradle', closed-loop and life cycle thinking and repeatedly referenced across circular economy literature (Stahel, 1976; McDonough and Braungart 2002; Murray et al., 2017). The umbrella term "the circular economy" describes a shift to non-linear, systemic production and consumption. The term brings threads from all of this previous work together to reflect any form of circularity, nature-based business process (Blomsma and Brennan, 2017). The current understanding of the circular economy is at the intersection of these different schools of thought (Geissdoerfer et al., 2017; Corvellec et al., 2021). The main principle of the circular economy is the disruption of the linear take-make–use-dispose model of production and consumption in favour of:

> "a regenerative system in which resource input and waste emission and energy leakage are minimised by slowing, closing and narrowing material and energy loops….achieved through long-lasting design, maintenance, repair, reuse, remanufacturing, refurbishing and recycling" (Geissdoerfer et al., 2017, p.759).

The 'cradle to cradle' concept focuses on changing the whole system of production and consumption rather than making elements "less bad" and reframing waste as resources (McDonough and Braungart, 2002). In a 'cradle to cradle' approach, unlike the more traditional linear process where items become waste and are disposed of at the end of their useful life, most often in landfill, 'cradle to cradle' endorses the reclassification of waste as "food" (MacDonough and Braungart, 2002, p.92). When adopting this approach, what was previously considered 'waste' becomes resources through processes such as recycling and reusing, "revaluing or revalorising," or reclassifying waste (Gregson et al., 2015, p.219).

Similarly, in 'closed-loop production', developed within engineering, goods are not disposed of but are dismantled and reused or recycled (Stahel, 1976, 1998). Stahel (1976) describes what could be conceptualised as the circular economy concept using the analogy of a 'river vs lake economy'. Interpreting the linear use and disposal of resources as a river economy, they are used, consumed and flow out as waste. In his lake analogy, Stahel describes the retention of resources in a series of loops with actions. These actions include reuse, repair, reconditioning and upgrading of goods in the first loop, then recycling in the second. Rather than seeing waste as food as described above, Stahel discusses waste retaining value. In his closed-loop lake analogy, value is retained in the lake as

"utilisation over time", rather than exchanging value at the time of the sale (Stahel, 1998). In the concept of 'life cycle thinking,' the item is designed with disposal and reuse in mind. It is made using recyclable materials and components that can be taken apart and reused or remanufactured (Cooper, 1999). This "life cycle thinking" is the antithesis of the throwaway culture and aims to keep products in circulation for longer to extract their maximum value (Cooper, 2005). Within a circular economy, longevity and durability are considered necessary factors in production to prolong the product's lifetime before it reaches the waste stage. In encouraging longevity and durability, through design for reuse and recycling, products will last longer, reducing the replacement rate and its associated resource use (Murray et al., 2017).

A focus of much of the circular economy literature is around the principle of 'resource decoupling'. That is, continued growth while protecting the environment by avoiding resource depletion (Ghisellini et al., 2016). Rather than using virgin resources for production, reused and/or recycled materials are used as substitutes (Sauvé et al., 2016). Resource decoupling can be absolute, where production uses no virgin materials, or "relative decoupling", where a mix of reused and new materials are used (Ghissellini et al., 2016). Resource decoupling generates new business opportunities due to these resources, previously disposed of or wasted, becoming valued once more (Boken et al., 2016). The key perceived benefit to industry from resource decoupling is the potential to move towards environmental sustainability while maintaining continued economic growth (Kjaer et al., 2018). This focus has been criticized in recent literature (e.g. Corvellec et al., 2021). Further discussion on this and other lines of critique of the circular economy are developed in section 2.3.3 of this chapter.

2.3.2 Circular economy in policy and practice

In academia, empirical research and critical consideration of the circular economy is not well developed (Murray et al., 2017; Corvellac et al., 2021). Additionally, the implementation of circular economy thinking in policy and industry is scant. 'The Circular Economy Promotion Laws' were implemented in China in 2008 to encourage 'Reduction, Reuse, and Recycling' (the '3Rs') across business practice (Ghisellini et al., 2016). Policy in Japan and the EU also focuses on waste management rather than the system-wide change promoted by the idea of a circular economy (Winans et al., 2017). An EU directive to reduce waste and keep products in use for longer was followed by a report in the UK from Chatham House outlining how policy could be shaped in the UK towards a circular economy (Chatham House, 2012). The report has yet to lead to policy change and action, such as incentives for businesses to change to more circular practices (Murray et al., 2017).

One of the most significant influences within circular economy thinking is the much-cited report from the Ellen MacArthur Foundation (EMF) think tank, "Towards the Circular Economy" (EMF, 2013). This report has formed the basis for the policy agenda in the UK and EU on circular economy. It has also been cited across academic literature, especially where there is a lack of empirical academic research. The report's promise of environmental sustainability coupled with business opportunity and economic growth prompted a recent surge in interest from business, policymakers and academics (Sauvé et al., 2016; Murray et al., 2017; Kirchherr et al., 2017; Geissdoerfer et al., 2020). The report's significance is evident in its prominent citations across the multi-disciplinary academic literature on the circular economy (Ghisellini et al., 2016; Murray et al., 2017; Geissdoerfer et al., 2017; 2020). The EMF continues to set a precedent for the circular economy in policy, industry and academia, not only through the original 2013 report, but through the production of continually updated industry-specific blueprints and policy recommendations. For example, the "Vision of a circular economy for fashion", published in 2020 (EMF, 2020). The EMF produced the report in collaboration with many large global fashion retailers such as Burberry and Gap and government organisations such as The Waste and Resources Action Programme (WRAP) and Department for the Environment Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA), highlighting the authority that the EMF continues to hold in the development of circular economy thinking.

In industry, the circular economy in practice has been on a small, arguably tokenistic scale. Businesses with entirely circular business models are in the minority, such as Mud Jeans circular denim, where consumers can rent their jeans for a year. After a year, customers receive a new pair of jeans, and the old pair is recycled (Costello and Reddy, 2020). High-street retailers such as H&M and Marks and Spencer's have implemented take-back schemes (Balch, 2013). These schemes offer a voucher incentive for participating consumers to bring clothing back to store to be recycled or resold, often through a charity partner (Smithers, 2020). Outside of the UK, examples of circular economy in practice include a specially developed shopping centre in Sweden only selling recycled goods, making circular business practices more widely accessible (Savage, 2018). However, a recent industry report suggested that these examples are still the exception stating, "An industry-wide circular business model is a lofty ambition — and is a long way from being realised" (Amed, 2021, p.63). Therefore, scholars agree there is still a great deal of work to implement a circular economy in clothing consumption.

2.3.3 Critiques of the circular economy literature

The principles outlined above are all ways to move the current resource-dependent economy towards a more sustainable and restorative alternative. There is an ongoing inference within circular economy literature that circular economy and sustainability go hand in hand. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development defines sustainability as, "the consumption of goods and services that meet basic needs and quality of life without jeopardising the needs of future generations" (OECD 2002, p.9). Sustainability is achieved through triple-bottom-line-thinking, or the three pillars of sustainability. That is, considering economic, social and environmental goals in business models, or in other words, people, planet and profit (Elkington, 1998).

Literature on the circular economy often neglects the social considerations of sustainability and focuses heavily on how the circular economy would allow economic growth while reducing environmental impact (Sauve et al., 2016; Geissdoerfer et al., 2017; Moreau et al., 2017; Hobson and Lynch 2016; Murray et al., 2017). This focus fails to consider social and cultural implications such as human welfare, human wellbeing and human rights (Murray et al., 2017; Hobson and Lynch 2016; Pitkänen et al., 2020). In ignoring the social factors around systems change, the circular economy literature fails to consider the social and systemic shift that could positively impact sustainability (Briceno and Stagl, 2006). If radical and innovative approaches were considered, social and human capital gains from the circular economy could change society for the better (Hobson and Lynch, 2016), providing opportunities for employment and improved wellbeing. These alternative approaches put the impact on human wellbeing above the impact on sustainability and require consideration to develop an informed understanding of the impacts of a circular economy.

Instead, existing literature suggests that social sustainability will automatically follow if circularity is implemented with environmental and economic sustainability in mind (Sauvé et al., 2016). The circular economy literature focuses on resources and processes, such as reducing and reusing waste (Lazell et al., 2018). This focus fails to consider human wellbeing and societal issues around equality and social opportunities (Lazell et al., 2018).

Wellbeing, however, is a concept with varied definitions across literature and policy. Some definitions of wellbeing at a basic level are when fundamental human needs are being met (Harper and Price, 2011). Other definitions consider factors such as life satisfaction, happiness and levels of anxiety and depression when assessing wellbeing (Seyfang, 2011). The wellbeing literature aligns with authors in economics, such as Kate Raworth (2017) and Katherine Trebeck (2019). These authors advocate a "wellbeing economy" measured not purely in classical economic terms such as GDP, which measures

the money generated by the economy annually. Instead, they assert that when defining wellbeing one must consider other factors, such as human wellbeing over economic growth. This thinking further supports a need to consider social sustainability in the circular economy.

The lack of focus on social sustainability in circular economy literature is also problematic in its assumption that a continued need for production and consumption is both unavoidable and necessary (Hobson and Lynch, 2016). This assumption highlights the issue of modified versus reduced consumption in the circular economy. Little consideration is given to alternatives, such as community and social enterprises, that may facilitate the reuse of waste without consumption (Hobson and Lynch, 2016).

The circular economy literature often focuses on empirical examples where the system can reprocess materials rather than keeping things in use for longer in their current form (Murray et al., 2017; Merli et al., 2018; Camacho-Otero et al., 2020). This focus on reprocessing puts less emphasis on how the circular economy might reduce consumption overall (Geissdoerfer et al., 2020; Hobson, 2020). This reflects a tendency within this literature to focus on "green growth" and resource decoupling rather than overall reduced resource use through consuming less. (Corvellec et al., 2021). In doing so the literature becomes focused on the systems of industry that rely on consumption rather than the environmental sustainability it intends to address (Corvellec et al., 2021).

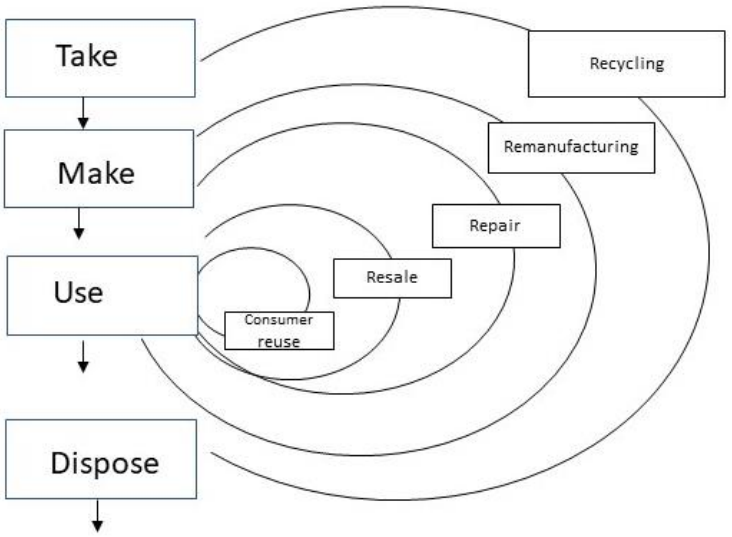
These debates around the focus on resource decoupling in moving circular economy principles forward have extended into the policy agenda. A recent report for Zero Wast Scotland has recommended looking beyond green growth and "reducing Scotland's consumption of goods and materials absolutely, rapidly, permanently and fairly" (Figus et al., 2020 p.2). This is recommended in order to achieve wellbeing and environmental sustainability for the future of the economy while embedding circular economy in economy and policy (ZWS, 2021). This report highlights approaches to increased circularity moving away from the focus on decoupling and continued growth.

2.3.4 Circular economy and consumers

The impacts of a circular economy approach are inextricably linked with sustainable consumption at an individual consumer level, particularly concerning human wellbeing (Hobson and Lynch, 2016; Murray et al., 2017; Corvellec et al., 2021). The process of creating social meaning and structures increasingly revolves around consumption activities (Briceno and Stagl, 2006). In addition, the role of the consumer in accepting circular systems and in making them work means it is, essential to consider the consumer within sustainable consumption, the circular economy and the broader social system (Camacho-Otero et al., 2020).

The circular economy exists on several levels. Riisgard and others have conceptualised these levels as outer and inner circles (Riisgard et al., 2016). They are also conceptualised as macro, meso and micro levels (Merli et al., 2018). These different concepts are illustrated by diagram 2.1 below, which shows the different levels, or circles, of the circular economy.

Figure 2.1 adapted from Riisgaard (2016), inspired by EMF (2011).



These conceptualisations place the consumer and individual businesses at the micro level, or inner circle. The outer circles are the macro level industry, and the meso the national level of adoption of the circular economy (Riisgard et al., 2016; Merli et al., 2018). These levels are considered of equal importance. The inner circle, or consumer level, is vital for implementing a functioning circular economy. Without consumer participation in activities of the circular economy, the system could not function because the consumer is considered key to the implementation of more sustainable consumption (Seyfang, 2011).

In a circular economy model, consumers buy products and have a role in providing products by returning used items when they are no longer of use. The success of the circular economy relies on the assumption that consumers will be happy to return and resell items as well as accept items that have been preowned or remanufactured. Current circular economy research has not widely considered these changes to consumers' behaviour in the circular economy (Repo and Anttonen, 2017; Hobson, 2020). Existing studies of consumers and the circular economy tend to look from a business point of view at circular business practices and consider how consumption will fit into the systems change of the circular economy (e.g., Morana and Seuring, 2007; Mont, 2008; Ferdousi and

Qjang, 2016; Merli et al., 2018). Fewer studies examine the individual level behaviours of the consumer, how accepting they would be of the business model change or how existing consumer behaviour would need to adapt to facilitate a circular economy in practice.

Further, these limited studies most often consider consumer attitudes rather than investigating behaviour, particularly the acceptance of goods that are not brand new or have recovered parts (e.g., Lakatos et al., 2016; Wang and Hazen, 2016). Although most of the studies to date found consumers' attitudes towards remanufactured items to be positive, there has been no investigation into how this might translate to behaviour change (Antikainen et al., 2015; Wang and Hazen, 2016). This research gap is significant because positive attitudes towards remanufactured items may not necessarily translate into concrete action, particularly concerning sustainable consumption (Carrington et al., 2010; Hassan et al., 2016; Carrigan, 2017). Nevertheless, some insight is gained by studies considering consumer's behaviour concerning food waste (Mylan et al. 2016; Borrello et al., 2017), where the existing norms and behaviours of consumers reflected the principles of the circular economy without the term 'the circular economy' being imposed on the consumer. In particular, Mylan et al. (2016) gained insight into the day-to-day practices of a group of consumers concerning reusing, sharing and recycling food waste. The consumers studied engaged in practices such as incorporating leftover food into meals for the next day, taking leftovers round to neighbour's houses and composting what was not reusable. However, Mylan et al.'s (2016) study reinforces the need for more research on the social aspects of the circular economy. It suggests that, in this particular context, the social elements of family life and the practices and norms associated with it are more important in circularities and in the reality of encouraging consumer behaviour changes. The complexity of the consumer's role in the circular economy is further reflected in the proposition that the role is a 'user' rather than a consumer (Urbinati, 2017). In this thinking, consumers would relinquish ownership to become a user within access or service models, returning used items for recycling or resale, and reducing overall consumption (Tukker, 2015; Hobson and Lynch, 2016; Hobson, 2016; Mylan et al., 2016; Winans et al., 2017).

This role as a user contrasts with the consumer role in a linear economy, where the consumer engages only in the acquisition, use and disposal parts of the process. In a circular economy consumers can also play the role of producer and have shared responsibility with the business (Ghisellini et al., 2016). Consumers are expected to recycle or dispose of goods responsibly and buy remanufactured goods when they are producers—bringing back their used goods to become resources once more in reuse or remanufacturing processes for the business to sell on (Camacho-Otero et al., 2018). To this end, Hobson and Lynch (2016) describe the expectations of the behaviour of the "consumer citizen" who

is aware and engaged in the ideas and ideals of the circular economy and is willing and cooperative in engaging in this behaviour. They argue that to engage beyond consumption as a citizen requires alternative approaches to circularity. Rather than top-down business led, circularity needs alternative consumer-driven initiatives such as non-market based sharing and non-monetary community initiatives (Hobson and Lynch, 2016). A lack of critical consideration of this role in the literature is considered problematic by Hobson and Lynch (2016). They argue that the expectation of change in consumers' behaviour, which is deeply embedded in their everyday practices, may not be as straightforward as is portrayed in the existing few studies of the consumer and circular economy (Hobson and Lynch, 2016).

The circular economy is framed in existing literature as being driven by ecology, economics and technology and neglects to consider how consumers' daily behaviours impact consumption in reality (Hobson and Lynch, 2016). Within their different roles, the consumer will influence the circular economy, shaping how the circular economy might look in practice (Hobson and Lynch, 2016). Building on this, Hobson (2021) argues that the circular economy proposes macro-level transformation whilst ignoring the micro sociological issues of the consumers' everyday experiences. Hobson considers this focus on the macro-level a significant oversight in current circular economy thinking and recognises the "consumption work" expected of consumers to transform their everyday consumption to be more circular (Hobson, 2021, p. 173). This oversight is particularly significant for behaviours that may be new to consumers, in terms of maintenance or repair. These expectations of behaviour change make a move to a circular economy, "nothing short of a recalibration of our socio-material lives" (Hobson, 2021, p. 173). Thus, a socio-material approach to future circular economy research is needed to understand the realities of consumers' role in a circular economy.

Empirical research that focuses on the consumer in the circular economy concentrates on consumers' perceived ideas and attitudes, positive or negative, towards the circular economy rather than their behaviours (Lakatos et al., 2016; Wang and Hazen, 2016). Further, many circular economy consumer studies focus on technology and white goods rather than high turnover consumer goods, such as clothing (Antikainen et al., 2016; Wang and Hazen 2015). The role of the consumer as part of a social and cultural understanding of consumer behaviour in the circular economy is overlooked (Hobson, 2020). These oversights in current literature present an opportunity to gain insight into the changes in behaviour required to implement more circular systems and to understand better the role of the circular economy. That is to understand the role of the consumer beyond the assumption that a change of system would inevitably result in more sustainable behaviour alongside broader social impacts.

2.3.5 Business models and the circular economy

Despite assertions that the circular economy is the solution for future progress in sustainability, the realities of its implementation and the possible difficulties for consumer adoption are not as well understood (Gregson et al., 2015). Much of the academic literature in this developing field is conceptual (Geissdoerfer et al., 2020). Few empirical studies of the circular economy demonstrate how business models must shift and develop to support this new thinking in practice (Murray et al., 2017). Further, debate continues as to whether the circular economy should be considered wholly conceptual or seen as a framework that can bring about concrete action (Sauvé et al., 2016; Corvellec et al., 2021). Implementation of the circular economy outside of policy and theory is currently limited. The circular economy presents forward-facing, future-thinking ideas and ideals, an "orientation to what is yet to become" (Lazarevic and Valve, 2017, p.60). It presents ideas for change rather than examples of this change in action.

The circular economy is a systems approach, and changes in business models are considered the way to move it from theory to practice (Boken et al., 2016; Rizos et al., 2016; Urbinati et al., 2017). Circular business models, "introduce change at the core of the business model…rather than as an add-on to counteract negative outcomes to business" (Boken et al., 2014, p. 44). Therefore, adopting disruptive non-linear business models is a holistic approach, making changes across the business. This change contrasts with many previously proposed solutions for sustainable consumption, which have simply made tweaks to business as usual (Lewandowski, 2016).

Innovative business model approaches that have been considered to enable circularity include, product-service systems, sharing economy, reuse, recycling and remanufacturing (Tukker, 2015; Geissdoerfer et al., 2020; Elzinga et al., 2020). Product service systems (PSS) are heralded as the business models to meet all the main principles of the circular economy. These access-based consumption models, such as lease and hire, encourage resource decoupling by focusing on the final user's needs rather than the product that fulfils that need. Thus, moving away from product orientated business models (Tukker, 2015).

Access-based consumption is defined as, "transactions that may be market mediated in which no transfer of ownership takes place" (Bardhi and Eckhardt, 2012, p.881). Originally proposed as an alternative business model to encourage product differentiation, the focus in the literature on PSS shifted to its relationship with sustainability in the early 2000s (Tukker, 2015). Car-sharing schemes, tool hire and washing services are examples of PSS in action, focusing on using rather than owning. PSS reduces resource depletion by using one shared resource, such as a car between many people,

rather than producing many new cars (Bardhi and Eckhardt, 2012; Tukker, 2015). Similarly, the sharing economy, or collaborative consumption (Botsman and Rogers, 2010), enables the benefits of use without the burden of ownership (Lang and Armstrong, 2018; Carrigan et al., 2020).

Recycling, reusing, and remanufacturing models all involve keeping items in use for longer (Urbaniti, 2017). Reusing sees items used again for the same purpose or repurposed. In recycling and remanufacturing, products are returned to the supplier and used as resources to make another product. In clothing resale, the item is sold in its original state and kept in use for longer, increasing the item's longevity (Buttle et al., 2013).

Adopting alternative business models, such as reuse, resale, leasing and swapping, is critical for promoting a circular economy. Currently, these alternatives to the linear economy do not exist widely in practice in the context of clothing consumption (Hvass, 2015). Literature on alternative business models most often focuses on clothing production, design and clothing recycling with little critical review, particularly around the role of the consumer (Earley and Goldsworthy, 2015; Murray et al., 2017; Brydges, 2021). Although it is pertinent, very little academic literature exists on the circular economy and clothing consumption.

2.4 CLOTHING RESALE

In considering alternative business models for clothing consumption, the UK Government, Department for Environment (DEFRA) backed think tank, 'WRAP', encourages "valuing our product differently" through a more circular approach as part of their 'Love Your Clothes' campaign. This campaign promotes the circular economy to consumers and industry (WRAP, 2017). A circular approach to clothing consumption advocates that the used item is not disposed of, but is instead used again to, "extract the maximum value…whilst in use. Then, the products and materials are recovered and regenerated at the end of each service life" (WRAP 2017). The extraction of the maximum value is achieved through business model innovation. WRAP's recent Textiles 2030 roadmap proposes to "get more value from existing products through resale and service-based business models". (WRAP, 2021). When applied to clothing consumption, these business models include reselling, sharing and leasing. Business model innovation can bring about the systemic change towards sustainability discussed in both the policy examples above and in academia (Hvass, 2015; Niinimaki and Hassi, 2011; Pedersen et al., 2016; Hvass and Pedersen, 2019; Mukendi et al., 2020; WRAP, 2021). However, currently, little empirical research has been carried out on existing examples of these models in practice.

One such innovative business model, clothing resale, represents a growing but under-researched approach (Newbold, 2018; Hvass, 2015). Currently, clothing resale is prevalent in the not-for-profit sector but less prominent in a commercial setting (Hvass, 2015). Further, the 2017 'Circular Fibres Initiative' (CFI) report from Ellen MacArthur Foundation's on circularity in clothing more generally suggests that clothing resale provides both a commercial opportunity for businesses whilst supporting sustainable development. The CFI report presents resale as an opportunity for brands. Opportunities include offering resale to consumers in a more attractive way and taking control of selling their items through resale rather than the existing market of third parties already engaging in the resale of brands (Ellen MacArthur Foundation, 2017).

Recent industry reports provide the most relevant information on clothing resale. For example, a recent thredUP (2021) report describes a rapidly growing resale market set to double in size over the next five years. Consumers who are becoming more conscious of fashion sustainability issues, but still desire to be seen in new styles, have fuelled this growth (thredUP.com, 2021). These insights help understand the opportunities for clothing resale and emphasise the importance of this context in further empirical research. However, these industry reports do not discuss implementation or examine some of the more complex issues around the role of the consumer in the circular economy, including the broader social implications that, as discussed above, are missing from the wider discussion on circular economy. These reports are also unclear if this growing resale market is feeding further consumption and have come under criticism that they adopt a fast fashion mentality.

Clothing resale in the context of this study is second-hand clothing sold for profit at an agreed percentage split between retailer and consumer (Friedman, 2018). Therefore, this study does not consider not-for-profit, online consumer-to-consumer selling platforms or informal reselling, such as community buy and sells, car boots etc. Instead, the study focuses on niche retailers and their consumers; this context gives access to both consumer and retailer perspectives. Both are actively engaged in clothing resale behaviours that have the potential to be circular and contribute to sustainability through the reuse of clothing and the associated maintenance of value through longevity.

Although resale is considered an alternative or innovative business model, existing literature does not often examine resale's details, practices, and behaviours. There is also a paucity of work specifically focused on clothing resale within the academic literature on clothing consumption. However, some specific cases exist, such as Hvass' (2015) research on the resale business model in Filippa K in Sweden. Hvass investigated how Filippa K resell their clothing, giving customers 50% of the resale price. She found that customers were encouraged to engage with the brand through a high-end store fit and

stylish store ambience which reflected the brand's values as a luxury retailer in both the resale model and with their current collections. Hvass' study found resale afforded several benefits to the Filippa K brand. Benefits included the fact that they could use the resale shop as an outlet for their samples and end of line items.

Further benefits came from the added value resale gave to their new items. Resale led customers to see the value of purchasing and enjoying wearing the new item initially, and the value that the item retained if it became suitable for resale. In this way, the consumer was a co-producer of value (Hvass, 2015). The resale shop also brought value to the brand because it could use the outlet to engage with key stakeholders. Firstly, with their customers through their engagement in the resale process and events they organised for customers around repairing and up-cycling garments. Secondly, through partnerships with charities, the local community, recycling companies and local distributors (Hvass, 2015). Hvass does not consider whether these added values encouraged more consumption as consumers who recoup the value from their items could be urged to buy again.

Some consideration is given in the literature to innovative business models for sustainability in clothing consumption more generally. For example, a report for WRAP (Buttle et al., 2013) considered the commercial and sustainable viability of different innovative business models in fashion through financial modelling and interviews with key experts with experience in innovative fashion business models. This research concluded that the most viable models were leasing, hire and resale. They reached this conclusion based on each model's financial viability combined with the level of savings of garments that would otherwise go to landfill.

A recent study of the circular business models in the Swedish fashion industry found that circularity was being introduced into current linear models, rather than a more holistic approach introducing new circular models (Brydges, 2021). Barriers to increased circularity included the lack of technology available for reprocessing clothing, and a lack of clarity on responsibility for end of life processing within the industry, despite a willingness from the Swedish clothing companies to implement more circularity in future (Brydges, 2021).

Further, some investigatory work has been carried out on the clothing library model as a circular business model in clothing consumption. In the clothing library model, consumers become members for a fee and can borrow clothing from a stock of second-hand items (Pedersen and Netter, 2015; Niinimäki, 2015; Zamani et al., 2017). After looking at several libraries set up across Scandinavia, Peterson and Netter (2015) found that the libraries were appealing to younger consumers with a mixture of interest in the social, environmental and economic benefits of consuming through this

model. The research also found that the business collaborated with several stakeholders to compile the stock available for members to borrow, including local designers and retailers. They were also accepting donations from members themselves, who are described as being both upstream and downstream partners. In other words, the members engaged in compiling the stock and buying the stock (Petersons and Netter, 2015).

Additionally, Armstrong et al. (2016) found that by satisfying a consumer's need for change and identity creation with resale or swapped items, consumption could still have the same effect for customers if delivered with an aesthetic flair. Niinimaki and Hassi (2011) reached a similar conclusion that these alternative business models could continue to fulfil consumers' needs and dematerialise consumption with high-quality items where consumers could see the investment potential. Henninger et al., (2019) found that clothing swaps created a fluidity of roles for consumers as both supplier and consumer. This gave the consumers more ownership over their fashion consumption and created a community around the swaps. However, the study concluded that although this worked well at a small scale, mainstreaming clothing swaps would be difficult as the required resource flow and standard of clothing were not guaranteed. (Henninger et al., 2019)

Arguably the idea of reselling clothing is not new or innovative because second-hand clothing has been bought and sold historically (Schor and Fitzmaurice, 2015). The existing literature on second-hand clothing consumption is also relevant to consumers and retailers in the resale context. For many consumers, used clothing is seen as an outlet for self-expression, whether in terms of uniqueness and differentiation from the masses, (Roux, 2006) or as a subversive action against the market and its associated expectations (Shaw and Newholm, 2002). Issues such as previous bodily associations, perceived contamination, and the associated social stigma of second-hand consumption can be crucial in consumers' acceptance of second-hand or used clothing (Gregson and Crewe, 2003; Roux, 2006). Some consumers hold the perception that clothing should only ever have one owner, making an item, "unfit for subsequent use" (Roux, 2006, p.33). For consumers with this attitude, used clothing was considered contaminated in terms of hygiene and the previous owner's identity. Thus, wearing these second-hand items might somehow threaten these consumers' personal value and identity.

The other factor that impacts consumers' acceptance of second-hand items is the ongoing preference for new over old. This is key to the acceptance of circular business models as consumers need to be willing to purchase used and reprocessed goods. Considering consumers "neophiliacs", some argue that they will choose to spend most of their resources on 'fresh' products (Campbell, 1992). Therefore, a shift in attitude is required to implement circularity where consumers would be expected to eschew their desire for new and purchase used or remanufactured goods. It has been suggested that circular

business models, such as clothing resale, can meet consumers' desire for regular change and newness that fast fashion promotes (Laitala and Boks, 2012). At the same time, these business models prolong the usage phase and promote revaluing and potentially more sustainable behaviours through their circular approach (Fletcher, 2008). New products aligned with fashion, youth, change and dynamism are considered to have a higher symbolic value for consumers compared to products aligned with durability (Kostecki, 1998).

In highlighting some of the barriers to buying used or second-hand clothes, the studies discussed above illustrate the need to explore how accepting consumers are of circular business models such as clothing resale. This exploration is essential in understanding the extent to which these barriers may exist in resale.

The existing literature also fails to understand the extent to which consumer attitudes may mean resale offers an opportunity to buy more. The current clothing resale market has grown organically outside of the mainstream. This growth is a result of the overconsumption of clothing which provides a wealth of resources (Schor, 2013). Although resale keeps clothing in use for longer, what is not considered is the role of buyers, who may not be the same as resale sellers. It is unclear who is engaging more sustainably. Perhaps the resale seller is disposing more sustainably but buying more items new; if consumers are selling and not buying, then resale loses its circularity. The clothing resale context is particularly pertinent as a growing body of literature has suggested that the circular economy could bring about systemic change within what is currently considered an unsustainable industry (Hu et al., 2014; Hvass, 2014; Niinimaki, 2017; Pedersen et al., 2016). Understanding the barriers and nuances in clothing resale is pertinent to informing efforts to mainstream circular business models, but is currently missing from the sustainable clothing consumption literature.

Traditionally, resale or second-hand markets were seen as removed from the mainstream market and actively distanced from mainstream marketing and advertising approaches to selling (Parsons 2007, Crewe et al., 2003). It is important to understand how these traditionally alternative markets may become part of the mainstream to make the appeal of sustainable consumption more widespread. Currently, working examples of the circular economy in practice in clothing consumption come from a niche group of small businesses that lead the innovation within the sector (Arnold, 2009; Moulds 2015, Young 2013; Oxborrow, 2016). The broader circular economy literature focuses heavily on entire large organisations becoming circular with their products following a 'cradle-to-cradle' approach. This focus ignores existing niche circular practices that do not all take place within one organisation. Instead, there are multiple actors and stakeholders, including small businesses, consumers, media and social enterprises, who all interact and have a part to play in

the disruption of linear consumption. Braungaut (2009), in an update of his seminal work on the circular economy "Cradle to Cradle" (MacDonough and Braungart, 2002), specifies the importance of "small inspired" companies bringing the circular economy into their business models as much as big-company relationships. These innovative practices can be implemented more easily in small businesses free from the burden of scale. Small businesses can make changes more quickly than larger businesses. These changes can then be scaled up to the mainstream by larger organisations (Hockerts and Wustenhagen, 2010). It is important to understand how traditionally secondary or alternative markets may enter the mainstream by becoming more accepted by consumers to promote sustainable consumption.

Considering the behaviours of both retailers and consumers will provide insight currently unavailable at this level. This insight could then serve to inform how circular economy practices might be adopted for the mainstream. Furthermore, the change in the nature of the interactions between consumer and business affected by the non-linear business model makes the relationship between consumer and retailer more significant in a clothing resale setting. Since consumers are expected to return and resell items, the relationship between consumers and retailers changes. The consumer not only buys the retailer's stock, but also may have a role in providing it, as the retailer is reselling clothing for members of the public. It is also important to examine both parties' perceptions of what is happening within the clothing resale stores to recognise these models as innovative or different from the mainstream.

2.5 Conclusion

There is a consensus in the literature that the current level of clothing consumption is unsustainable and requires systemic change (Bhardwaj and Fairhurst, 2010; Hvass, 2014; Pedersen and Andersen, 2015; Goworek et al., 2017; Islam et al., 2020). The literature suggests change should come from adopting a circular approach to production and consumption (Murray et al., 2017; Ghisellini et al., 2016). Alternative, innovative or circular business models, such as resale, implement circular economy principles in practice (Buttle et al., 2013; Boken et al., 2016; Urbinati et al., 2017).

Upon reviewing the existing consumer behaviour research on the circular economy, however, it is apparent that the literature fails to investigate the realities of how the consumer might engage with circular business models, despite the continued confirmation that the role of the consumer is important. There are also many assumptions in existing literature, not least the assumption that if these business models are put into place, the consumer will change their behaviour according to the principles of circular economy (Sauvé et al., 2016). This lack of existing research and critical

engagement presents an opportunity for this study to investigate alternative business models for circularity concerning the consumer.

Therefore, this study will explore one of those business models, clothing resale, as a context in which to understand better how these non-linear models may work towards sustainable consumption in practice within the macro context of the circular economy. Clothing resale in the UK currently exists within niche independent businesses and boutiques. This context of niche clothing resale businesses is valuable to the study as it provides access to the multi-actor relationships of consumer-seller, retailer-seller and consumer-buyer. This access allows exploration of how these actors may engage quite differently, which is also currently missing from the existing sustainable clothing consumption literature.

This research proposes to explore clothing resale from both a business and consumer perspective to understand a business model with the potential for circularity. The study will explore the relationships, behaviours, norms and attitudes of those engaging in clothing resale. In doing so, this study proposes to make a contribution to consumer behaviour and sustainability in clothing consumption literature. Furthermore, studying the potentially circular context of clothing resale will provide insight that may help to inform and understand other innovative business models for sustainability. Studying the circular context of clothing resale is also crucial in understanding how engagement with circularity through alternative business models may be mainstreamed in the future.

3 Materialism, new materialism and value

3.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature on new materialism, the theoretical lens of the study, and the related value literature to outline the proposed theoretical contribution of the study. The first section introduces new materialism, as understood in consumer behaviour literature. It then considers the relationship between new materialism, sustainability and wellbeing. The second section outlines the large body of literature on value in marketing and consumer behaviour. It then goes on to examine the relationship between new materialism and value, highlighting the limited exploration of value in new materialism and its significance in sustainability and consumer behaviour research. The final section outlines the two proposed contributions of the study. Firstly, the study will make a contribution by unpacking value in the new materialism literature. Understanding the value that underpins consumer and retailer behaviours in clothing resale extends the work in new materialism beyond the current focus on material value. Secondly, the study will explore longevity and durability. Maintenance of value through longevity and durability is key in achieving more sustainable consumption through new materialism. Exploring these concepts in relation to value maintenance and the tensions of mainstream clothing consumption behaviours and sustainability will make a contribution to the new materialism and sustainability literatures.

3.2 Our relationship with the material world

> *"It is often said that our society is too materialist….But it seems to me that….our society is quite evidently not materialist enough, and that this, paradoxically is the result of a failure in social meaning, values and ideals."* Raymond Williams (1961, p.27)

Materialism has been the subject of significant research in consumer behaviour and commands a large body of literature (Belk, 1985; Richins and Dawson, 1992; Buroughs and Rindfleisch, 2002; Richins, 2004; Kasser, 2002, 2009; Kilbourne et al., 2018). The term, which was first understood in philosophy as the relationship between people and the material world (Novack, 1965), has become closely aligned with consumerism and an associated negative impact on human wellbeing and the environment (Scott et al., 2014). As suggested by the introductory quote from critical theorist Raymond Williams (1961), understanding our relationship with the material world is much more complex than the dichotomy created by the dominant narrative in consumer behaviour literature, where materialism is inherently problematic for wellbeing and sustainability. This section considers the divergence of the term materialism and the impact on understanding materialism in the marketing and consumer behaviour

literature. It then explores how materialism may be understood more positively as "new materialism" and how it may be harnessed to benefit sustainability and wellbeing (Scott et al., 2014).

3.2.1 Materialism and materiality

Consumer behaviour literature defines materialism as both a personality trait (Belk, 1982,1983, 1984) and a value (Richins and Dawson, 1992). Materialism has long been defined as, "the importance a person places on possessions and their acquisition as a necessary or desirable form of conduct to reach desired end states" (Richins and Dawson 1992, p307; Richins, 2017, p.480). This definition highlights the evolution of materialism into a term linked negatively with consumer culture and consequentially a negative impact on sustainability and wellbeing (Kasser, 2002). This understanding moves away from the root of materialism as simply relating "[hu]man to matter" (Novack, 1965 in Scott et al., 2014, p. 283). The evolution of the understanding of the term 'materialism' is influenced by several streams of literature that seek to understand the relationship between humans and the material world. These often parallel and interconnected streams consider the connection between the material world and humans differently, and are explored below.

3.2.1.1 Materiality

Materiality considers the philosophy of how we understand the material world (Miller, 2010). This stream of literature explores our relationship with the material world more holistically, considering the impact of humans on material and vice versa. Materiality describes a less politicised understanding of this relationship than that of materialism. Seeking to remove dualisms and the privilege that humans often have over the material world allows for a better understanding of the plurality of human and material and how the two work together (Miller, 2005). Much work on materiality, and material culture theory investigating this relationship, exists in anthropology (e.g. Appadurai, 1988). Materiality is often drawn on in the consumer behaviour literature through this anthropological work such as Appadurai's 'The social life of things' (1988). In linking the commodification and value of things to their materiality, Appadurai popularised a stream of research investigating the link between materiality and consumption (e.g. Miller 2005; 2010; Arsel, 2015). Appadurai's work examined the understanding and changing nature of value as an object moved through the phases of consumption. His work focused on material and commodification value as they relate to materiality and consumption. That is, considering how an object's value relates to the changing nature of how it's perceived as a gift, commodity, junk or heirloom based on the interaction of its inherent material qualities and the relevant social relations of the situation. (Appadurai, 1988).

In identifying the differences between materiality and materialism, Borgerson (2014) describes an ideological difference. In Borgerson's thinking, materiality focuses on both the human and material and their interaction, whereas materialism concentrates solely on the human. Considering the, "role of material objects in affecting terminal goals such as life satisfaction, happiness and social progress" is ignoring, Borgerson argues, the interaction and co-creation elements understood by materiality (Borgerson 2014). Materiality, therefore, provides an alternative understanding of the human relationship with the material world, considering a more neutral view, which appears to be absent in advancing the materialism literature (Kilbourne and Pickett, 2008; Kilbourne et al., 2018).

3.2.1.2 Materialism

The ideology of materialism represents our desire for material possessions. A focus on consumption as ownership and acquisition underpins the materialism literature in consumer behaviour. In Belk's large body of work on materialism, envy, possessiveness and non-generosity are explored and found to be common personality traits in those who are materialistic (Belk 1982; 1983; 1984). Belk bases his study on previous works on materialism from a psychological perspective such as Csikszentmihalyi and Halton (1978, 1981) and from a sociological perspective, for example, Campbell (1969). These works highlight Belk's dimensions of materialism. Belk acknowledges, however, that these may not provide a comprehensive understanding of the features of materialism (Belk, 1984). Despite their acknowledged shortcomings, these dimensions are continuously built upon in the subsequent materialism work in the consumer behaviour literature and accepted as a definitive understanding of materialism in consumer behaviour (Richins and Dawson, 1992; Banjeree and McKeage, 1994). Belk (1982; 1983; 1984) arguably laid the foundation for these negative connotations and considerations of materialism by only studying the prevalence of character traits, such as envy, greed and possessiveness in subjects. Belk's work on the extended self further links materialism to identity (Belk, 1988); he argues that the material world is possessed by humans and used to further their sense of identity. This human dominance over the material world is prevalent in the existing understandings of materialism within consumer behaviour literature (Richins and Dawson, 1992; Burroughs and Rindfleisch, 2002; Rindfleisch et al., 1997, 2009; Kilbourne et al., 2018).

In a recent review of materialism in marketing literature, Kilbourne et al. (2018) defined materialism as the, "consumer preoccupation with material possessions" (Kilbourne et al., 2018, p. 57). This definition closely aligns materialism with consumerism, and the two terms have become almost interchangeable and thought of as similarly negative concepts (Kasser, 2004). Indeed, materialism and consumerism are both reported as having the same negative impacts concerning environmental sustainability and wellbeing (Kilbourne et al., 2018; Richins and Dawson, 1992; Kasser, 2002).

Conflating consumerism and materialistic values leads to materialism being understood as the antithesis of sustainability and wellbeing (Scott et al., 2014).

Authors such as Kasser (2002) painted a picture of humanity as either moralistic and non-materialist, or materialistic and without morals; with wellbeing and the future of the planet suffering. More recent work on materialism further highlights this dichotomy, suggesting ways to move humanity away from materialistic tendencies and work towards a non-materialist society (Kilbourne et al., 2018). Recent thinking does not consider a more nuanced view of materialism, examining possible positive connotations. Additionally, current thinking has not further explored the historical traits associated with materiality. Doing so suggests that materialism is an extrinsic value that focuses on self-enhancement without considering a more holistic understanding of materialism (Burroughs, 2010). The literature suggests that materialism and concern for the environment or social issues are competing values (Banjeree and McKeage, 1994). Scholars argue that those who display materialistic values will be driven by their desire to acquire and consume alone and describes a rather one-dimensional representation of those who possess materialistic values (Burroughs, 2010; Kilbourne et al., 2018). This thinking suggests that sustainability, wellbeing and materialism are all mutually exclusive. However, this view ignores materiality and the consideration of how we interact with the material world more positively, creating tensions, particularly in attempts to implement sustainable consumption and improved wellbeing.

Authors such as Daniel Miller consider a more positive relationship between consumer and material possessions. This is reflected in his seminal works "The comfort of things" (2008a) and "Stuff" (2010). Miller explores how a deep relationship with material things can illustrate the deep relationships that can form between people and their material possessions. This runs counter to the dominant stream of literature in consumer behaviour that suggests materialism produces negative values (Miller, 2010). Miller (2005, 2008a, 2010) suggests that the relationship between humans and their things, has a symbiotic and often positive nature.

Miller (2005, 2008a, 2010)'s approaches align with historical understandings of materialism as a life philosophy. This can be seen, for example in William Morris' insistence that we should only keep things that are beautiful or useful (Morris, 1887). This is also reflected in the deep-seated materialism in iconic objects such as Solomon's (1986) study of Levi 501s as an item beyond a material possession, but rather an item with "extraordinary symbolic significance to consumers" (Solomon, 1986, p. 619). More recently materialism has been studied among those who eschew consumption as a lifestyle choice (Atanasova and Eckhardht, 2021). In their study in the context of digital nomads who lead a minimalist lifestyle, Atanasova and Eckhardt (2021) found materialism can also manifest in the

absence of ownership, highlighting materialism as an evolving phenomenon. This serves to move thinking from materialism as having an individualistic focus linked to the acquisition of possessions. Similarly, in considering collective orientated cultures in Asia, Awanis et al. (2017) found that materialism and collectivism could co-exist, contrasting with previous thinking that collectivism and materialism were opposing views (e.g. Burroughs and Rindfleisch, 2002). In their study, Awanis et al. found that collective orientated materialists' consumption behaviour was motivated by social rather than brand or price factors, suggesting that materialism and collectivism could be harnessed to achieve prosocial consumption goals.

These studies emphasise the need to consider materialism from different perspectives, beyond the dominant consideration of materialism as focused on envy, greed and possessiveness with resultant detrimental implications for consumption behaviour (Belk, 1985; Richins and Dawson, 1992; Kilbourne et al., 2018).

3.2.1.2.1 Materialism and sustainability

In drawing links between unsustainable behaviour and the prevailing materialistic culture, materialism is often regarded as the antithesis of sustainability and the underlying cause of the issues preventing more sustainable consumption (Scott et al., 2014). As discussed in the previous chapter, section 2.3.3, sustainable consumption derives from the three pillars of sustainability, or triple bottom line: consumption that continues to permit environmental, social and economic sustainability (Elkington, 1998). Assuming that consumers are driven to consume as part of their identity and as a symbol of their wealth with no regard for how the resulting resource use is detrimental to the environment, materialism is negatively linked to sustainability (Kilbourne and Pickett, 2008). Kilbourne and Pickett (2008, p.886) consider consumers who lead a materialistic lifestyle to seek “more than instrumental value from the goods they acquire”. The same consumers have a low concern for environmental sustainability (Kilbourne and Pickett, 2008). This stream of literature progresses the thinking that consumers are sold an attitude that values buying, whilst the significant resource depletion associated with this increased consumption is largely ignored (Kilbourne and Pickett, 2008). The implication that the acquisition of possessions is the solution to making people feel better about themselves and succeeding in society is sometimes given the term ‘magical thinking’ in the marketing literature (Williams, 1961, 2005; Miles, 2013). ‘Magical thinking’ suggests that a transformative magic power imbues consumer goods resulting in a change in consumers’ status, fortunes or wellbeing upon purchase (Kilbourne and Picket, 2008; Williams, 2005). This school of thought implies that consumers are buying the meaning rather than the material, that they are not as concerned with the usefulness of the product as they are its associated status and how it makes them feel (Williams, 2005). This

thinking considers materialism and consumerism the leading causes of resource depletion and pollution that degrades environmental sustainability at a systemic level (Kilbourne and Pickett, 2008). To this end, sustainability must go beyond addressing pollution and waste, and manage the consumerist value systems that underly consumption (Davies et al., 2020).

3.2.1.2.2 Materialism and wellbeing

Materialism is considered to have a negative effect on wellbeing as well as on sustainability (Kasser 2002; Lee and Ahn, 2016). Valuing the acquisition of material possessions more highly than experiences or interactions, considered a key element of materialism, is seen as detrimental to wellbeing (Kasser 2002; Kasser and Kanner, 2003; Burroughs and Rindfleisch, 2002). As discussed in the previous chapter, section 2.3.3, concrete definitions of wellbeing remain elusive. Definitions range from understanding wellbeing as job satisfaction, to linking wellbeing to mental health, or simply wellbeing as having one's basic human needs met (Forgeard et al., 2011; Harper and Price, 2011). Within the consumer behaviour literature, the term "happiness" often describes a level of personal wellbeing that can be negatively affected by materialism (Belk, 1982;1983;1984; Richins and Dawson, 1992). Writing prolifically on the negative impacts of materialism on wellbeing, Kasser discusses wellbeing measured as a combination of levels of self-actualisation, vitality and anxiety and depression (Kasser and Ryan, 1993). The body of work that Kasser has produced on how materialism affects our wellbeing at an individual and societal level is cited widely as providing the dominant understanding of this negative effect (Kasser and Ryan, 1993; 1996; Kasser, 2002; Brown and Kasser, 2005). Kasser's book, "The High Price of Materialism" (2002) is particularly widely cited (e.g., Richins et al., 1992; Rindfleisch and Burroughs, 2004). Work by Burroughs further builds on Kasser and the understanding that materialistic values or personality traits are "antithetical to wellbeing" (Burroughs and Rindfleisch, 2002, p.348). There are several ways in which wellbeing in this context requires further investigation beyond the inconsistencies in definition and understanding of the term as mentioned above. There is also a tendency when linking wellbeing and consumption together to suggest that wellbeing is linked only to the acquisition phase of consumption. For example, Richins and Dawson (1992, p.303) define materialism as, "acquisition as the pursuit of happiness" (Richins and Dawson; 1992, p.303). This focus on acquisition means that often the promotion of anti-consumption is offered as the solution to, or converse of, materialism (Lee and Ahn, 2016). This duality is not necessarily productive in changing attitudes towards more sustainable behaviours, and improved wellbeing as austerity never appeals (Scott et al., 2014).

Further, suggesting that the solution is not to consume beyond necessity requires a turnaround in the current consumer culture (Cooper, 2010). Previous efforts to change consumers' attitudes and

behaviours towards sustainability have faced many barriers to implementation, except for a small minority outside of the mainstream (Carrington et al., 2010; Carrigan, 2017). Instead, 'mainstream' consumers often have complex and conflicting values and actions and find an anti-consumption approach restrictive, unfeasible and austere (Shaw and Riach, 2011; Scott et al., 2014). The barriers faced in reducing consumption require alternative thinking beyond regarding anti-consumption as the solution to materialism. The current dichotomy of materialism as immoral, and anti-consumption as moral needs to be challenged.

The understanding of "new materialism" challenges this dichotomy. In new materialism, the previous polarisation of materialism and sustainability and wellbeing is considered inaccurate. In "new" materialism, sustainable behaviour occupies the space between overconsumption and anti-consumption (Schor and Thompson, 2014; Scott et al., 2014). New materialism focuses on connecting consumers with material goods, leading to respect for the material value of products, and removing the more common associations of materialism with overconsumption (Schor and Thompson, 2014). In contrast to materialism, "new materialism" considers relationships with 'things' in a positive way. In proposing this new approach through re-establishing a connection to the material world, new materialism harnesses materialism for the better. Through new materialism, we become more connected to material possessions via the material value of the items. By keeping things in use for longer, items maintain their value, reducing waste and being more sustainable (Scott et al., 2014).

The following section discusses the origins and definitions of new materialism in the marketing and broader literature to understand how new materialism is related to consumer behaviour and how new materialism provides a helpful lens through which to understand the context of clothing resale.

3.2.2 Matter and new materialism

At a broad level, new materialism is an interdisciplinary approach to understanding the interaction of the material world, both animate and inanimate, with the human world (Fox and Alldred, 2015; Gamble et al., 2019). Definitions and names for new materialism vary, but adopting a new materialism ontology appreciates that our understanding of the world links inextricably with matter (Fox and Alldred, 2015). Concepts under the titles of new materialism, vibrant materiality, neo-materialism and true materialism, consider the relationship between human and material worlds at the level of matter. For clarity, matter is defined as, "material substance that constitutes the observable universe and, together with energy, forms the basis of all objective phenomena…at the most fundamental level, matter is composed of elementary particles [which] in turn form the bulk matter of everyday life"

(Brittanica.com, 2021). Table 3.1 below shows the different understandings of new materialism across the academic disciplines.

Table 3.1 : Interdisciplinary definitions and terms for new materialism

Academic discipline	Term	Definition	Author
Sociology	New materialism	"Matter as lively and has agency."	Coole and Frost (2010)
Philosophy	New materialism	"Any materialist philosophy must take as its point of departure the existence of a material world that is independent of our minds."	Dolphijn and van der Tuin (2012)
Sociology	New materialism	"New materialism de-privileges human agency, focusing instead upon how assemblages of the animate and inanimate together produce the world."	Fox and Alldred (2015)
Geography	Vital materiality	"The capacity of things…to act as quasi agents or forces."	Bennett (2010; vii)
Marketing	New materialism, conscious materialism, neo-materialism	"…a meticulous, if not obsessive attention to material things, their provenance, their agency and their downstream destinations." "the tradition of materialism that prioritises matter, its movements and its transformations."	Scott et al. 2014
Economics	True materialism	"an environmentally aware approach to consumption…When we take the materiality of the world seriously…we can appreciate and preserve the resources on which spending depends."	Schor 2010; 2013

Table 3.1 illustrates how authors writing about new materialism consider 'matter' using words, such as "lively" (Coole and Frost, 2010) and exhibiting a "vibrancy" (Bennett, 2010)—suggesting that the material world can take an active role in events as much as humans. Relating to the material world in this way is not to privilege humans over the material, animate or inanimate, as is the dominant assumption (Cherrier et al., 2018). Instead, it presents a flattened ontology removing the idea of

hierarchy or dominance (Schouten et al., 2015). New materialism focuses on the interaction and subjectivity of matter and humans. It also considers how the interaction might be shaped by material as by humans (Fox and Alldred, 2015). As Table 3.1 also illustrates, the concept of agency, the ability to act independently, attributed to the material world, is also vital to a new materialism approach, particularly within a sociology lens (Coole and Frost, 2010; Bennett, 2010). Although the authors in Table 3.1 have varying definitions, they all understand matter as a force that shapes us as much as we shape it.

New materialism in consumer behaviour does not adopt this conceptual level of detail. However, it is influenced unmistakably by the authors listed in Table 3.1. New materialism forms a conceptual link between the human and material world in consumer behaviour literature, underpinned by but not focused on the concepts in Table 3.1. Thus, while providing valuable conceptual insights, this study is focused on understanding new materialism in consumer behaviour.

The concept of new materialism appears in the consumer behaviour literature through a small but developing body of literature (Schor, 2010; Schor and Thompson, 2014; Simms and Potts, 2012; Scott et al., 2014; Fletcher, 2016). The materialism literature is closely linked to sustainably. New materialism is proposed as the approach to sustainability that will improve the relationship between human and material worlds without the austerity often associated with anti-consumption (Scott et al., 2014). New materialism sits at odds with the interpretation of materialism in consumer behaviour literature. Materialism in consumer behaviour literature is focused on associations with consumerism and its related resource overconsumption (Scott et al., 2014). However, a new materialism approach to consumption bridges the dichotomy outlined in the section above, where materialism is incompatible with sustainability (Scott et al., 2014).

The terms for new materialism also vary in the consumer behaviour literature, as shown in Table 3.2 overleaf. These variations include “conscious materialism”, “neo-materialism”, “new materialism”, and “true materialism” (Scott et al., 2014; Schor 2010; Schor and Thompson, 2015; Simms and Potts, 2012). Fundamentally, these various terms and definitions are all based on improving our connection with the material world, focusing on a positive understanding of materialism as an appreciation of the material world. This study draws mainly on Schor (2010) and Scott et al. (2014) understandings of new materialism related to consumer behaviour.

Table 3.2 Differing understandings of new materialism in consumer behaviour literature			
Field of research	**Term**	**Definition**	**Author**
Consumer behaviour/ sociology/ economics	True materialism	"an environmentally aware approach to consumption……When we take the materiality of the world seriously…we can appreciate and preserve the resources on which spending depends."	Schor, 2010, 2013
Marketing/ consumer behaviour	New materialism, conscious materialism, neo-materialism	"…a meticulous, if not obsessive attention to material things, their provenance, their agency and their downstream destinations." "the tradition of materialism that prioritises matter, its movements and its transformations."	Scott et al., 2014
Consumer behaviour	New materialism	Appreciation of the material value of our items.	Simms and Potts, 2012

New materialism provides a consumer-centric lens through which to understand better the context of this study. That is not to ignore the large body of interdisciplinary literature that has shaped these understandings. The philosophical and sociological understandings of new materialism as an ontology do not directly include the role of agency in their definitions, but in investigating the origins of these authors works, these interdisciplinary understandings of new materialism shape the consumer behaviour literature (Schor, 2010; Scott et al., 2014). Scott et al. (2014) draw on the work of Dolphijn and van der Tuin (2012) to develop their definition of new materialism as, "the powerful agentic roles of materiality in social life" (Scott et al., 2014, p.282). While agency is understood as the ability of something or someone to act of their own accord, Scott et al. go on to interpret this as a, "meticulous, if not obsessive attention to material things, their provenance etc." (p.282). Therefore not considering matter's agency directly but rather the relationship to the material world through consumption.

Further, Simms and Potts (2012, p.11) also discuss this focus on matter as, "…the world was not formed of lifeless stuff, but matter in motion." The focus of new materialism in consumer behaviour

interprets this as an emphasis on the interaction between human and material and the influence the material world has on consumption decisions. Similarly, Simms and Potts (2012) outline in their work a move towards creating value with more of a "closed-loop of material use". Encouraging consumers to connect to their material goods, they suggest that collecting, renovating, and selling on loved products, will be the reality of a resource-constrained future. This focus on matter being understood as a connection with the value of the material world and value will be discussed further in section 3.3 of this chapter.

Schor (2010) understands "true materialism" as part of an overall lifestyle choice or 'plenitude approach'. This approach advocates changes in consumers' lifestyles around working hours and leisure time, balance, self-provision and a greater sense of community (Schor and Thompson, 2014). The true materialism approach outlines how true materialists emphasise longevity and reuse by respecting the materiality of goods. True materialism encourages, "rejecting the fast-fashion model" (Schor, 2010, p. 37). By removing the more common associations of materialism with overconsumption, true materialism focuses on connecting consumers with material goods to respect the material value of products. Schor and Thompson (2014, p.14) advocate that more sustainable consumer behaviours at an individual or household level will together, "achieve outcomes at a macro level". The work of Schor on 'true materialism', as she terms it, is built on a previously large body of work. This body of work has been developed based on her work in sociology and economics, considering the mechanics of consumption and the greater societal, political, and environmental impacts (Schor, 1999, 2008). For Schor, consumption is considered within a more significant body of work considering lifestyle, work-life balance, wellbeing and economy (e.g. Schor, 1999, 2008).

Schor's understanding of how consumers relate to the material world, or true materialism, is influenced by the work of Raymond Williams on materialism and consumer behaviour (Williams, 1961). As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, section 3.2, Williams focused on understanding materialism by taking a more critical approach. He defines materialism by examining our relationship to material goods, such as nature and the environment, rather than the negative connotations of materialism associated with the consumption of products (see section 3.2.1.), Williams comes to a conclusion that by being "sensibly materialist" we can strike a balance between valuing possessions and sustainable behaviour (Williams, 1961, 2005). Similarly, Schor discusses new materialism in terms of valuing the material world and connecting with material resources, reusing and keeping things in use for longer as part of a larger lifestyle approach (Schor, 2010). How these works that form the key texts for this study understand new materialism are summarised in Table 3.3 overleaf.

Table 3.3 Themes in new materialism in consumer behaviour literature

Author	Value	Longevity and durability	Role of consumer and market
Scott et al., 2014	Marketing systems operating with the neomaterialist logic would pay close attention to material (and energy) compositions and flows. Moreover, they would draw from the natural and social sciences and the humanities to create new, sustainable ways of delivering more value to more people.	"A renewed emphasis on values of quality, durability and craftsmanship." (p.286)	What is needed, not only at the consumer level but also, and perhaps primarily, at the level of marketing systems are new relations to materiality firms or whole industries may leave themselves open for new markets to be constructed in direct competition with them, even to the point of making their own industries obsolete.
Schor (2010, 2013, 2015)	"We devalue the material world by excessive acquisition and discard of products…true materialism reverses that"	"Rejecting the fast-fashion models of the 2000s true materialists emphasise the longevity of goods…" (Schor 2013).	There's still…a gap in new and used retail outlets…
Simms and Potts (2012)	Appreciation of the material value of our items. "Value is created with more of a closed-loop of material use".	"New materialism – a world in which we make things last longer and endlessly reuse them"	"It gives us real freedom to replace the illusory version promised by the market."

Each of these seminal papers considers new materialism to address issues of sustainability through connection to, and value of, the material world. They also all acknowledge that improved wellbeing will result from adopting a new materialism approach to consumption, advocating for improved human wellbeing as well as improved environmental sustainability (Scott et al., 2014; Schor 2010). These key papers on new materialism and consumption discuss the negative impact that materialistic

overconsumption is said to have on wellbeing. What is not clear are the details of the impact on wellbeing from adopting a new materialism approach.

When discussing new materialism and wellbeing, it is suggested that improved wellbeing will result from reduced consumption (Schor, 2010). However, this line of thinking fails to address previous research on the difficulties of merely stopping consuming, and ignores fresh thinking on new materialism providing a more sustainable solution without the perceived austerity of reducing consumption (Scott et al., 2014). In considering a similar viewpoint, Soper (2008) found that consuming differently can do more than reduce austerity but can in fact bring pleasure in consumption. This is achieved through 'alternative hedonism' where the pleasures of consumerist overconsumption are subverted to focus on a 'good life' combining sustainability with pleasurable experiences. Soper illustrates this hedonic value gained from taking time to cook a meal rather than opting for fast food or enjoying a walk taking in all the sights and sounds rather than taking a car (Soper, 2008).

Similarly, an investigation into the relationship between adopting a new materialism approach to consumption and its effect on wellbeing is required to diffuse this. It is also important to note that Scott et al. (2014), Schor (2010) and Simms and Potts (2012) all consider the impact of new materialism on wellbeing in the acquisition phase of consumption and fail to elaborate on how to improve wellbeing beyond reduced acquisition. Insight into how wellbeing may be impacted through use and disposal in relation to new materialism is significant but not discussed in the new materialism literature. This is particularly pertinent in the context of this study, where use and disposal play as important a role as acquisition. All three phases of consumption are part of the clothing resale process.

The disposal literature suggests that disposal of goods through certain channels can be a positive experience for consumers, gaining social and altruistic value in disposal, which could be linked to wellbeing (Hetherington, 2004; Ture, 2014; Cherrier and Ture, 2020). Further, Cherrier and Ture (2020) found that clothing disposal provided value for some by making space and maintaining order in the household. They linked disposal behaviours to improved wellbeing for consumers who are divesting their belongings (Cherrier and Ture, 2020). In their study, focused on the use of crafted and handmade clothing, McLaren and McLauchlan (2015) found improved consumer wellbeing when using an item they had handmade. However, what is not clear is whether there is a link between use, maintenance and consumer's wellbeing. Durability and longevity in clothing sustainability and a new materialism approach are key and are discussed further in this chapter's next section,3.3.6. The link between longevity and wellbeing, however, has been thus far overlooked.

New materialism recognises the importance of the relationship between people and the material world in influencing sustainability and positive wellbeing (Scott et al., 2014). This differs from materialism as it has traditionally been understood as envy, possessiveness, greed or in terms of ownership and sovereignty over the material world (Belk, 1985; Richins and Dawson, 1992; Buroughs and Rindfleisch, 2002; Richins, 2004; Kasser, 2002, 2009; Kilbourne et al., 2018). This difference presents an opportunity to consider the complexities of understanding new materialism in relation to consumer behaviour and how this relates to sustainability and wellbeing. Although the principles of adopting a new materialism perspective in consumer behaviour are theoretically discussed, they have not yet been applied in empirical studies. Related concepts such as alternative hedonism had limited empirical investigation (Caruana et al., 2020). The literature suggests that new materialism is a way to achieve more sustainable consumption; however, studies applying these principles are required to explore how this might work in practice.

3.2.2.1 New materialism in clothing consumption

Similarly, within the context of this study, clothing consumption, only a small number of studies have adopted a new materialism perspective. New materialism is applied to clothing consumption by Kate Fletcher in her book "Craft of Use" (Fletcher, 2016) in the context of how consumers engage with their clothing over time. Fletcher's wider work is considered seminal to the sustainable fashion literature, bringing issues of environmental sustainability to prominence (e.g. Fletcher, 2008, 2012). Previously, Fletcher's focus had been on the design process of clothing situated within the fashion literature, rather than consumer behaviour. However, in Craft of Use, Fletcher considers clothing use through a new materialism lens, discussing where clothing comes from with a more connected understanding of the material world. For Fletcher, this is described as "cherishing and caring" and uses Schor's true materialism as a theoretical lens (Fletcher, 2016). This true materialism lens emphasises the relevance of new materialism to clothing consumption through the use and care of clothing, rather than just the initial purchase or acquisition phase of consumption (Fletcher, 2016).

Similarly, a new materialism lens is adopted from a human geography perspective to understand clothing consumption (Crewe, 2017). In relating new materialism to clothing consumption, Crewe suggests that the new materialism understanding of clothing consumption can be developed further by crafting and making clothing to a high standard using good quality materials. These suggestions agree with Fletcher's findings that handmade clothes will be taken better care of and cherished (2016); thus, the value is prolonged, which is more sustainable (Crewe, 2017). Both Fletcher (2016) and Crewe (2017) discuss the importance of value without a clear definition or discussion of what value means.

The following section will consider why it is significant to understand different value types to inform the new materialism literature.

3.3 VALUE

When new materialism is applied to consumer behaviour to address sustainability issues, its focus is on connection to and value of the material world. Therefore, value is one of the key tenets of new materialism (Schor, 2010; Simms and Potts, 2012; Scott et al., 2014). Value, as it is understood in the new materialism literature, relates mainly to the utilitarian and functional understandings of value. For Schor (2013), the modern consumer relationship with the material world that sees excessive acquisition and discarding of products, or "fast fashion", means devaluing the material world. Schor calls this the "materiality paradox" (Schor, 2013, p.36). Discussing this concept, Schor states how in the current culture of consumption, the more material resources we use, the further detached we become from their material value. We are consuming more resources without understanding the detrimental effect this has on material resources that are finite (Schor, 2013). Further, Schor and others consider new materialism in action to come from prioritising material value over social and symbolic value from the item's brand (Schor, 2010, 2013; Fletcher, 2016). This realisation suggests that consumers should consider the material make up of an item rather than what it represents or how it contributes to their identity (Schor, 2010). This consideration is related more to the functional value of the item, seeing it as a t-shirt, or dress, for example, and it is not considering the label or brand that is attached or the subjective or social value.

For Scott et al. (2014), new materialism will "create new, sustainable ways of delivering more value to more people" by a closer consideration of the entanglement of matter and meaning (Scott et al., 2014, p.287). They relate value to alternative modes of consumption, such as the circular economy that was discussed in Chapter two, bringing together the concepts of new materialism, sustainability and value. In discussing value, however, Scott et al. (2014) do not unpack the concept. The following section aligns the various understandings of value in marketing and consumer behaviour to highlight some assumptions in the new materialism literature. The section outlines how these assumptions could be problematic when positioning new materialism within marketing and consumer behaviour, particularly the lack of exploration of value and the focus on a functional and material value. As a positive understanding of the value of products is purported as the key to new materialism, the concept of value must be clearly understood.

3.3.1 Value in marketing and consumer behaviour

Value commands a large body of literature in marketing and consumer behaviour (e.g. Holbrook, 1994; Khalifa, 2004; Sanchez-Fernandez and Iniesta-Bonillo, 2007; Riviere and Mencarelli, 2012; Karababa and Kjeldgaard, 2014). It is widely accepted that value is one of the fundamentals of marketing. For example, value creation is described as, "the ultimate goal for marketing" (Gronroos and Ravald, 2011 in Chipp et al., 2019). However, a large amount of incongruity remains in defining and understanding value in the marketing literature (Gallazara et al., 2011). The understanding that a value could be attributed to our goods or exchange value originates in economic theory (Hicks, 1969). This neo-classical understanding of value is equated with profit maximisation for the firm (Arvidsson, 2011). Building on this, Marx introduced the idea of labour value (Marx, 1962). Value was placed on each item based on the basic price and the value of the work taken to create the item. The value after these calculations reflected the utility value of the item, what it was worth to the consumer in use (Marx, 1962). The creation of a body of work on exchange value built on this further (e.g., Bagozzi, 1975), conceptualising marketing as a value exchange system. This work on exchange value focused on the business as generating value through its products (Karababa and Kjeldgaard, 2014).

Value was also studied from a customer perspective to untangle the different forms and understandings of value during acquisition and use by the consumer (Sanchez-Fernandez and Angeles Iniesta-Bonillo, 2007). With customer perceived value becoming a key research area in marketing, it is a "strategic imperative" upon which to build a competitive advantage (Sanchez-Fernandez and Angeles Iniesta-Bonillo, 2007). Value in the marketing literature draws on differing attempts to develop typologies. To assist the discussion of value and for clarity in this study, a summation of value types is outlined in Table 3.4 below. This is adapted from Hirscher et al. (2018), who reviewed the literature to synthesise the concept of value in clothing consumption. Their study found value dimensions include: functional, economic, emotional, social, altruistic, and ecological, agreeing that value is highly subjective and comes from varied perspectives (Hirscher et al., 2018). The value typology in Table 3.4 combines Hirscher et al. (2018) with the work of Gordon et al. (2018) who, through a systematic literature review of marketing and consumer behaviour literature, arrived at a typology of value. Table 3.4 presents a summary of these value types and their definitions to clarify the value types as they are discussed in this chapter.

Table 3.4. Summary of value definitions (adapted from Hirscher et al., 2018 and Gordon et al., 2018.)	
Type of Value	**Definition**
Economic or exchange Value	Generated through different types of exchange, creating monetary value. (Hirscher et al., 2018)
Brand Value	"the productive power of the social and symbolic relations that have evolved around the brand, their ability to add to or subtract from the value provided by a product or a service" (Arvidsson, 2006)
Knowledge Value	"Tacit knowledge embodied in social processes, an individual's ability to gain skills." (Ardvidsson, 2009, p.17)
Emotional Value	Personal or sentimental value (Walker and Chaplin, 1997)
Experiential Value	"Pooled experience and skills that are brought together" (vonBusch, 2008, p. 35) to enable the individual to experience collective empowerment, learning through skill-sharing and self-enhancement.
Aesthetic Value	aesthetic value is *created, accrued* and *attributed* along the network in which the object… becomes entangled. In other words, aesthetic value is not an essential quality of the object, but something assigned to it over its life course. (Entwistle, 2009 p.53)
Environmental Value	The core values in environmentalism are the protection of biodiversity and ecological systems, consideration of negative impacts on human health and the sustainable use of resources. (Paehike, 2000)
Social Value	…offering a strong potential for change towards more sustainable ways of living (Sanders and Simons, 2009)
Material Value	"a concern with the physicality of goods, such as their tactile, sensual, earthy, and other material qualities" (Carfagna et al., .pp.163-164)

There is merit in typology approaches to understanding value. However, arguments from a socio-cultural perspective suggest that measuring or classifying value is not necessary or possible (Sanchez-Fernandez and Angeles Iniesta-Bonillo, 2007; Gallarza et al., 2011; Arsel, 2015; Arnould, 2014). A more socio-cultural understanding of value has seen a move away from an economic and utilitarian understanding of how value can be attributed, and has theorised how value is created and, more recently, been co-created within consumption (Karababa and Kjeldgaard, 2014). Several review papers have considered interpretations of value and value types in the marketing literature (Gallarza et al., 2011; Arnould, 2014; Karababa and Kjeldgaard, 2014). In their much-cited review, Karababa and Kjeldgaard (2014) differentiate the utilitarian approach of the traditional economic understanding of value and build upon a Marxist understanding. In Marx's interpretations of value; cost, price and utility value are all used to quantify value (Marx, 1962). In more recent times, a socio-cultural understanding has emerged, moving away from a focus on economics and instead understanding the role of meaning in determining how we attribute value to an item (Karababa and Kjeldgaard, 2014). They consider three main conceptual understandings of value. Firstly economic value building on Marx; secondly, value as social values or, "what is considered good and valuable in human life"; and thirdly value as semiotics where value emerges from consumption as meaning from cultural interactions (Karababa and Kjeldgaard, 2014, p.120). They conclude that value is in fact a combination of all three understandings (Karababa and Kjeldgaard, 2014). In moving their socio-cultural perspective forward, Karababa and Kjeldgaard (2014) urge further research to focus on the market and its component actors and how value is created through their interactions and different perceptions of value. They suggest that value is, "a dynamic, subjective and context-dependent notion which has been constantly co-created within a network of actors" (Karababa and Kjeldgaard, 2014, p.124). This implies that not only is value a combination of meaning, economics and culture but also heavily influenced by the different actors involved in determining that value. That is to say; value is neither objective nor subjective but rather a product of interactions and perceptions of consumers.

In his seminal work 'Commodities and the politics of value', Appadurai (1988) explored and differentiated between the economic value of commodities and the social or political systems around them that he considered determined their value. Asserting that value was found not just in the moments of exchange of items, but rather was in the socio-cultural interactivity and politics that exists around the exchange. Appadurai (1988) labels these systems "regimes of value". It is the place of an item within this value regime that determines its value. Further, he purports that an item's value can change and shift as it moves from one regime to another (Appadurai, 1988).

The concept of a value regime coined by Appadurai has become a prevalent framework to, “produce models of the…relationships between things and person, material relations…and social relations.” (Arnould 2014, p.131). That is using value regimes in assessing value within certain socio-material contexts. Gollnhofer et al. (2019) highlight some authors who have criticised the value regime concept as “totalising”, arguing instead that value regimes are a much more complex concept than Appadurai suggests. Graeber (2001), for example suggests that the rigid focus on things that Appadurai purports misses the social and cultural factors that have an impact on the value regime (Graeber, 2001). Gollnhofer et al. (2019) build on these critiques and seek to move the concept forward, proposing three elements of a value regime: object pathways, governance and higher-order values. This idea builds on Appadurai's (1988) value regimes and Graeber’s (2001) seminal work to progress understandings of value for consumer behaviour and marketing scholars (Gollenhofer et al., 2019).

Graeber (2001, pp.1-2) considers three different ways that value can be considered:

1. “values” in the sociological sense: conceptions of what is ultimately good, proper, or desirable in human life.

2. “value” in the economic sense: the degree to which objects are desired, particularly, as measured by how much others are willing to give up.

3. “value” in the linguistic sense, which might be most simply glossed as “meaningful difference.”

Although these three understandings have historically often been separately used to define value, Graeber insists that the three are fundamentally considering the same thing and that one cannot be considered without the other two to wholly understand value (Graeber, 2001).

More recent work agrees that it is not possible or worthwhile to consider each separately. Rather, these are, “in constant relation with each other and corresponding network agents” (Arsel, 2015, p.35). That is to understand value as both dynamic and relational (Arsel, 2015). Taking this relational approach and building on Appadurai’s (1988) value regime concept, Gollenhofer et al. (2019) propose that a value regime occupies the intersection of Graeber’s three value approaches (Graeber, 2001, 2005). Interweaving value and values, Gollnhofer et al. propose an understanding of the makeup of a value regime comprising three elements: object pathways, governance and higher-order values. The object pathways are the socio-material structures and sequences of exchange governed by “legal or normative structures” which promote certain higher-order values (Gollnhofer et al., 2019).

3.3.2 Value and values

Gollnhofer et al. (2019) studied this relationship between values and value in the context of food waste. Their study explored the higher-order values of those who saw value in food considered rubbish by others. This served to highlight how consideration of ethics, morality or other desirable ends was governing what was considered valuable in consumption behaviours (Golnhofer et al., 2019). The determining values by which consumers live their lives or "higher-order values" (Golnhofer et al., 2019) also relate to consumers and retailers' understanding of value. That is, understanding value beyond price as personal values (Miller, 2008). Press (2007) considers how consumers use their values as a lens to view the value associated with the item. This is in contrast with previous work that suggested that people use consumption to achieve these values. Press' study suggests a less linear relationship, where these factors work together when the item is being assessed (Press, 2007).

Prominent debates around values in the marketing literature include attempts to establish a definitive list of values that affect consumption (e.g. Schwartz, 1994), the distinction between terminal and instrumental values (e.g Rokeach, 1973), individual values versus value systems (eg Rokeach, 1973; Kamakura and Novak, 1992) and the effect of cultural differences on values (Thompson and Troester, 2002). All of these debates consider how values can be used to appeal to consumers in order to have them buy more. Marketers are seeking to trigger consumption behaviour by appealing to consumers' values to market a product's attributes (e.g. Rokeach, 1973, 1976). In other words, these studies all consider the impact of values on consumption goals. Although it is important to understand the impact of higher order values on perceived value in consumption, the impact on use and disposal are neglected. How we use and dispose of products is key to sustainability (Jagel et al., 2012). Therefore, it is important to consider higher-order values in use and disposal and the previous focus on values as a way to encourage more consumption.

Similarly, the context of this study provides an opportunity to explore further how higher-order values impact the decisions around value for consumers and resellers, in this case, in the context of clothing resale. Investigating how values might influence consumer and retailer behaviour in clothing resale is important in relation to sustainability and materialism. Values such as concern for the environment, or a sense of social responsibility and moral values, such as ethics or concern for personal wellbeing, are important in this context (Black and Cherrier, 2010). The role of these values in motivating consumers to engage in clothing resale is significant, as values commonly associated with clothing consumption, such as identity building, search for newness, or novelty may be prioritised instead of those associated with sustainability.

Although higher-order values are considered significant to new materialism, higher-order values are assumed, not explored or understood, in the existing new materialism literature. Notably lacking in clarity is the impact of values in understanding value (Scott et al., 2014). It is significant to understand the role these higher-order values play in how consumers and retailers perceive value. The context of clothing resale provides an opportunity to further explore higher-order values in valuing decisions and their influence on consumer and retailer behaviours. This is imperative for a better understanding of circularity and sustainability. Better understanding the values that motivate participation in clothing resale, and how they determine value in the items they buy and sell, will be important for developing ways to encourage more sustainable behaviours. Higher-order values must also be considered in regards to wellbeing, as materialistic values are seen to be detrimental to wellbeing. The relationship between wellbeing and higher-order values is linked to social sustainability and circularity and the need to understand further the social sustainability implications of alternative business models (section 2.3.3.) Relevant literature in positive psychology defines wellbeing as living your values (Seligman, 2012). So, it is important to further investigate wellbeing in the context of clothing consumption and how some of the values that prompt consumers and resellers to engage in clothing resale might positively impact wellbeing and sustainability.

Even when consumers pertain to holding a particular higher-order value, they may not act in a way that matches the value, which poses further difficulty in investigating higher-order values. Eden's (2017) study of the online platform Freecycle where consumers can exchange goods at no cost, found that the main motivations and patterns of using Freecycle reflected the mainstream market, even though consumers conversely claimed to avoid the mainstream market by consuming second-hand goods without monetary exchange (Eden, 2017). Participants in Eden's study used language reflective of the mainstream market to request and give away goods leading Eden to conclude that the boundaries blurred between mainstream and alternative thinking (Eden, 2017). Similarly, in studying consumer's behaviour at car boot sales, Gregson et al. (2013) discovered that the local authority saw these second-hand consumption sites, where items were being resold, as part of their waste reduction plan. However, for the consumers in the study, shopping at car boot sales was a way of regaining value from their surplus consumption by selling it and reclaiming some of the original value back (Gregson et al., 2013). In this way, the values that the council hoped to uphold in selling through car boot sales were not necessarily the values that were motivating consumers to shop at the car boot sales. Consumers were attending car boot sales to re-claim the economic value in their items, rather than to contribute to the council's waste action plan. Building on how these motivating values might shift and change and affect value presents an opportunity for this study. Particularly of interest is exploring

how the higher-order values that consumers and resellers hold affect their behaviour when attributing value to clothing as part of the value regime in resale.

For Gollnhofer et al. (2019), the value regime model is a tool to explore the context of food consumption (Gollnhofer et al., 2019). However, they propose it as a model that provides a structure to investigate material dynamism in other relevant contexts. The intersection of the sustainability systems approaches through the circular economy, and the new materialism lens in this study mean exploring value beyond a static concept. Therefore a more dynamic understanding of value and values is essential.

3.3.3 Value dynamism

That value results from the recirculation of goods is a fundamental understanding of materiality studies (Arsel, 2015). Building on work by Appadurai (1988) and Arnould (2014) amongst others, Arsel (2015) suggests that in the recirculation of goods, the type of value is not as important as the materiality relating to the moment of realisation of value, as this is dynamic, not static. This is because the value is translated through different contexts, understandings and interpretations of value in circulation. Arsel describes this theory as "a chain of valuation" (2015, p.39), not considering just the moment of transaction but rather what goes before and after. In other words, valuing changes as the item continually moves through acquisition, use and disposal. Arsel (2015) also explores value and materiality, concluding that value is contextual and created in the market system rather than the object generating value (Arsel, 2015).

Many studies on consumption and value in the context of second-hand consumption have highlighted the changing and flowing nature of value, particularly in the recirculation of goods (Gregson and Crewe, 2003; Parsons, 2007; Ture, 2014). This is considered alongside the relational elements of the consumer and retailer. In second-hand selling, the trader relies on their skill to unlock an item's potential by presenting it to the consumer in a way that enables them to "see" the value (Gregson and Crewe, 2003). Building on this, Parsons (2007) uses Thompson's (1979) Rubbish Theory to explain how objects move from rubbish to durable through continuous cycles in their lifetime. This transition is a result of the way an item is understood or "seen" by the consumer. Through behaviours including "finding" or discovering objects that are "new to us", transforming, reusing and displaying, Parsons (2007, p.393) illustrates the transient nature of value. She argues that value is, "not just reduced to the moment of the economic transaction" but rather consumption is part of the "wider life of things". Parsons describes value as emerging through the way objects are seen or placed, rather than being inbuilt. Parsons argues that this conceptualisation of the journey of an object in and out of a valuable

state, highlights the importance of movement, flow and circulation. This argument further supports the assertion that the nature of value is subjective and moves the thinking away from ideas of value as fixed or belonging within an object. Instead, value is seen as intrinsic or realised to whoever is consuming; whether acquiring, using or disposing.

Relating to the subjective and changing nature of value when goods have been previously owned and used, Parsons (2007) suggests that in moving ownership, an item's value changes as one consumer discards it, and the item develops a new value as it passes through resale. Beyond this is the argument that value is not in the object but instead emerges through seeing and placing objects (Parsons, 2007). In examining consumers' interaction with second-hand goods, Parsons identified that non-tangible elements of items could be identifiers of aspects of value. In her study, Parsons cited examples of antique dealers who valued their furniture for resale based on the items' material properties and on more instinctive elements, such as a particular look, smell or feel, etc. The study found that participants had difficulty explaining these aspects of value, but they were present across many examples within the study. Gregson and Crewe's (2003) seminal work, 'Second-hand Cultures' highlights the continuous and non-linear nature of revaluing possessions when consumers purchase a second-hand item. By exploring second-hand consumers and sellers, they found that the value of the item involved was continuously changing throughout its lifetime as it passed through, "circuits of meaning or value" (Gregson and Crewe, 2003, p.142). They discuss how, in the second-hand purchase context, value is something open to constant change shaped through the, "interplay of desire, demand, knowledge and supply and shaped by personalisation" (Gregson and Crewe, 2003, p.112). Further, the recognition that valuing is a transient state is of importance to this study. Items move through various states of being, in and out of rubbish and durable states (Thompson, 1979 in Parsons, 2007). This is particularly pertinent in consuming second-hand items as they journey through different consumers' and retailers' ownership. How value is affected as clothing moves between consumer and reseller is also important to the context of this study.

The role the retailer or market plays in understanding value is important to this study, as they become a facilitator in how value is "seen" by the consumer. The retailer and consumer relationship becomes an integral part of the resale business model as the consumer provides the goods to sell and purchase from the retailer. In research on how value is seen, value changes, facilitated by the retailer engaging the consumer (Parsons, 2007). For example, in the case of antiques, an item may not appear to have value remaining, but when reassessed, certain features and attributes are considered valuable by the retailer and highlighted for the consumer (Gregson and Crewe, 2003; Parsons, 2007).

In her study of clothing resale, Botticello (2013) proposes an element of rebranding within the revaluing process when clothing is resold. She outlines how items taken from waste clothing outlets, such as clothing recycling plants, are presented as seconds or returns to consumers. The items are given a new life and new possibilities through rebranding to communicate their value to potential consumers. This process is significant in rebranding the item as something of value when it had previously been categorised as 'waste' by its prior owner. When the retailer attaches their brand, they recategorise the item to change consumers' views and make it appealing (Botticello, 2013). Further, there is a moment in time of revaluing when the item, seller and consumer come together, and the consumer is shown the value by the seller (Botticello, 2013). In the context of clothing resale, this moment is important in understanding the process, as the used clothing is subject to the consumer's understanding of value when choosing which items to resell.

Similarly, the consumer who decides to buy used clothing does so after 'seeing' some value in it. An appreciation and level of skill is required to consider value as changeable and not fixed and, therefore, open to interpretation by both consumer and seller (Botticello, 2013). The brand, in this case, is aside from the traditional idea of brand as related to the consumer's identity or providing social value. Here the brand becomes something used to assure the consumer of a certain style and quality within the garment they are receiving. When the clothes have a brand label applied to them that encompasses the seller's expertise, rather than their original brand information, they are more likely to be positively received by consumers when chosen because of the expert eyes through which it has been valued (Botticello, 2013).

The retailer becomes a "mediator of value" in helping the consumer to "see" the value that might otherwise go undiscovered, transforming waste into resources (Gregson and Crewe, 2003). The influence these relationships may have on creating value and implementing more sustainable consumption through new materialism is not discussed in the new materialism literature. The context of this study provides an opportunity to understand how the interaction between retailers and consumers may influence their understandings of value and how this relates to new materialism.

According to Scott et al. (2014), new materialism in consumption comes from "new relations to materiality". This study presents an opportunity to understand how consumer and retailer relationships may affect their relationships with the material world and how they attribute value to their clothing. What is not clear is whether consumers will respond and engage with the material world differently if the system is changed to a more circular one, as Scott et al. (2014) assert.

The other view is, consumers in alternative markets are actively engaged "citizen consumers" seeking alternative markets and engaging in alternative consumption deliberately and consciously (Soper, 2007). The citizen consumer goes beyond a passive consumer partaking in the market to become a more switched on, politically engaged consumer (Soper, 2007).

Within new materialism, Scott et al. (2014) suggest that this view can be changed by harnessing the connection with materiality within the existing market structure to, "create and deliver value to customers" (Scott et al., 2014, p.287). Harnessing the connection negates the need for individual austerity by making system or market-level changes, where responsibility is shared rather than putting the onus on the consumer. The new materialism approach asserts that matter and humans create value together, rather than humans dominating matter (Cherrier et al., 2018). This assertion does not take the material world for granted. Instead, humans consider the consequences of their consumption and do not assume they can take from the material world without consequence (Cherrier et al., 2018). By considering how goods may shape human behaviour rather than the other way round, value in materiality becomes significant in changing the behaviour of consumers.

The new materialism literature suggests that more sustainable consumer behaviours at an individual or household level will together "achieve outcomes at a macro level" (Schor and Thompson, 2014, p.14). However, conflicting views suggest that this individual responsibility is ineffective and systemic change at the industry and policy level is required (e.g. Black et al., 2017). Lewis and Potter (2011) describe the idea of the reflexive, savvy, citizen consumer as a market invention. This individualist ideal of change implies that the individual consumer is responsible for following a more austere approach to consumption in order to bring about sustainability and ignores the wider social implications (Johnston, 2008). Further, adopting an individualist approach means that consumers need to look outside the existing market to an alternative market to make a more sustainable choice.

In the clothing resale context, a combined effort from consumer and reseller potentially result in sustainable consumption behaviour. The resale context presents an opportunity to explore these ideas of responsibility without focusing on the dichotomy of where responsibility lies, with consumers or the market. Instead, this study recognises multiple responsibilities within the context of resale and seeks to understand better how this could further the agenda of sustainability and wellbeing.

3.3.4 Value in use and disposal

The new materialism literature does not explicitly highlight how this understanding of value might change throughout the different phases of consumption. Value in acquisition is often considered, particularly in the economic and more rational understandings of value. However, the body of

literature dedicated to the socio-cultural understanding of value explores value in use (e.g., McLaren et al., 2015) and disposition (Thompson, 1979; Hetherington, 2004; Ture, 2014). The context of this study presents an opportunity to consider value, through a new materialism lens, in all the phases of consumption, because resale encompasses acquisition, use and disposal.

"Value in disposal" commands a large body of literature considering how our relationship to our possessions changes as we dispose of them (Hetherington, 2004; Ture, 2014; Evans, 2018). In his work on "secondhandedness", Hetherington (2004) considers the understanding of value in disposal decisions and concludes that, "studying consumption makes no sense unless we consider the role of disposing" (Hetherington, 2004, p.158). This conclusion is significant to this study because resale is mainly fuelled by the disposal of items by one consumer and acquisition by another. In Ture's (2014) work, the significance of consumers' value in disposal is explored. Ture conceptualises this value as a revaluation of goods as the value passes from the consumer who is disposing of the goods onto the recipient. Further, Ture discovers an element of value for the consumer within the action of disposal and the value they obtain from altruistic disposal (Ture, 2014). Disposal can also create value enhancement through reuse and repair (Ture, 2014). Ture (2014) suggests that acts of disposition play a role in encouraging or constraining sustainable behaviour.

Clothing may be maintained and cared for in clothing reuse, where the value of the garment is retained for later resale. Thus, value in use is relevant to this study, particularly how clothes are cared for and maintained. Goworek et al. (2017) found that consumers felt that garments with a higher economic value required more care and maintenance to allow them to be resold. These items were perceived to be of higher value to the consumers. Consequently, they were treated more carefully in use. They were more likely to be disposed of through resale or donation, meaning longevity for the item (Goworek et al., 2017). The impact on resources from care, maintenance and cleaning of garments is significant in the use phase (Laitala and Boks, 2012). How clothing is maintained and used is directly related to longevity and durability. Conversely, in considering longevity and durability, different phases of consumption beyond purchase, namely the use and disposal of clothing are considered (Goworek et al., 2012).

3.3.5 Value longevity and durability

Consumption through the new materialism lens considers value in every consumption decision, particularly in keeping things in use for longer (Simms and Potts, 2012). Simms and Potts define new materialism as, "a world in which we make things last longer and endlessly reuse them" (2012, p.24). This emphasises longevity and reuse, "rejecting the fast-fashion model" (Schor and Thompson, 2014).

Reuse and maintenance to achieve product longevity and durability is also referred to as, “life cycle thinking” (Cooper, 2005). This approach promotes durability through a "continued sense of value" (Fletcher, 2012). That is, careful use, repair, upgrading and reuse, and product durability are required to promote the longevity of goods. Increasing the longevity of goods will slow down resource use, promoting efficiency of resources and consumer sufficiency and opposing the throwaway culture that is a drain on resources (Niinimaki and Armstrong, 2013; Cooper, 2005).

The value of clothing has changed historically (Ertekin and Atik, 2015), with a shift in perception of clothing from, “durable consumer good with intrinsic material value to a non-durable consumer good with novelty and brand value” (Fine and Leopold, 1993, p.68). The intrinsic value of clothing has continued to deteriorate over time leading to the current throwaway culture where clothing is purchased along with groceries and other perishables and disposed of without thought, often before the end of its lifetime or the full value is expended (Gibson and Stanes, 2011; Laitala, 2014; Bianchi and Birtwistle, 2011).

Value in clothing consumption is understood beyond the price of an item (Lonergan et al., 2018). Emotional, social, aesthetic and sensory value are all viewed as important aspects of clothing value (McLaren et al., 2015). How we value our clothing can vary between garments, even based on an intrinsic or emotional value (Fletcher, 2016). Further, clothing value links to identity creation, brand value and ideas of fashion and trends, as well as the material value of the item. The variety of value attached to clothing makes it complicated to untangle the material value from other aspects of value associated with clothing and the term fashion. Considering fashion alongside value also leads to temporal aspects of value changing as items are deemed to be in and out of fashion (Gupta et al., 2019).

The tangible and non-tangible benefits of a garment become so intertwined that it is challenging to consider a clothing item based on its material value alone. For example, a dress or t-shirt without the other types of value playing a role may lose its appeal. The clothing consumption literature, particularly fashion literature, contradicts the understanding that clothing is valued solely in terms of its material composition or functional value (Crewe, 2017). New materialism considers value in clothing solely as material value focusing on the function of the garment rather than the brand, social or aesthetic value (Schor, 2013; Fletcher, 2016; Crewe, 2017). A new materialism approach is achieved by collecting, renovating and selling-on loved garments (Simms and Potts, 2012). This contradicts the wider value literature, which paints a much more complex picture of how value is understood in clothing consumption (e.g. McLaren, 2015; Hirscher et al., 2018). Therefore, theories asserting that value in new materialism could be based solely on functionality and utility value requires further

investigation to explore the existence of other types of value in new materialism (Schor, 2010, 2013; Fletcher, 2016; Crewe, 2017).

Considering value in second-hand consumption provides insight and understanding that will help to investigate the context of this study. Many consumers see used clothing as an outlet for self-expression. For Roux (2006), this was self-expression in terms of uniqueness and differentiation from the masses. It could also be self-expression as a subversive action against the market and the associated expectations (Shaw and Newholm, 2002). This element of self-expression suggests social value is as important in second-hand clothing consumption as in new clothing (Roux, 2006). Further, social value can be a driver for purchasing second-hand, where buying a used branded item can imbue the consumer with this social value at a reduced economic cost (Roux, 2006).

Within the new materialism literature, the terms "longevity" and "durability" are frequently used to describe the action of valuing expected of the consumer (Schor, 2010; Scott et al., 2014). Longevity and durability promote sustainability and are often considered the converse of materialistic approaches to consumption (Simms and Potts, 2012). In clothing consumption, longevity and durability, particularly in fashion literature, focus on the design process (e.g. Fletcher, 2008, 2012). However, longevity and durability in clothing and how consumers engage with their clothing during use are becoming more widely investigated (Connor-Crabb and Rigby, 2019; Goworek et al., 2020; Akko and Niinimaki, 2021). This more recent work considers how the consumer's behaviour influences longevity beyond the durable construction in the production. It considers the longevity of a garment through the consumer's behaviours and choices (Akko and Niinimaki, 2021).

In relating Schor's (2010) work on new materialism to clothing, Fletcher considers how consumers care for and "cherish" their garments when adopting a new materialism approach. Fletcher (2016) investigates how a garment's intrinsic and material value, rather than the social value that is quickly degraded, particularly in fast-moving fashion trends and exposure on social media, is considered by consumers. In her study, Fletcher collects consumer accounts of items they held dear and asks them to discuss their care and maintenance. These consumer accounts related to cherishing and caring by maintenance, care and repair, sharing clothing and considering an inherent value in the stories and attached memories of their items of clothing (Fletcher, 2016). The findings of Fletcher's study suggest that cherishing and caring behaviour comes from developing a deep understanding of the value of clothing. In Fletcher's study, however, participants select one particular item they cherish and care about to discuss. Fletcher does not clarify how this choice is made and if this approach applies to the entire wardrobe. As a result, what happens to everything else that is not cherished and cared for is not discussed. Understanding consumers' choices as they cherish and care for specific garments and

dispose of others helps to understand longevity and durability. With clothing, the longevity of garments can vary where, "some clothes outlive us, while we exile others from our wardrobes for a variety of reasons" (Hansen, 2003, p.302). This suggests that longevity is something we can find in certain items in our wardrobes. Often there is a disjunction between the economic decay and physical decay of things, where consumers disregard clothing before the end of its usable life and it, “continues to exist in a valueless limbo…linger[ing] undiscovered in our wardrobes” (Parsons, 2007, p.391). Although things might not be thrown away, the nature of changing fashion and style means that things we own lose their worth. Fletcher (2016) discusses how this is affected by the additional “politics” of fashion, that is, the fundamental ideas of fashion, its “frivolous, evanescent ever-changing nature” (Fletcher 2016, p.184). Fletcher argues that by following fashion, with its ingrained need for change and trends and fads, items do not stay desirable for a long time. In other words, keeping clothing in use for a long time, the ideas of durability, longevity, and material value sit at odds with fashion fundamentals (Fletcher, 2016).

Further, the literature on consumer preoccupation with newness suggests that older can mean less valuable (Campbell, 1992). This is pertinent in the context of clothing consumption as speed in the current fashion system means that items are considered out of fashion or ‘old’ extremely quickly (McNeil and Moore, 2015). Consumers, more familiar with the regular availability of new styles and low-priced clothing continue to satisfy their preference for new (Campbell, 1992; Coskuner-Balli and Sandikci, 2014). This contrasts with findings that suggest that things will be kept for longer by creating a connection between consumer and garment to disrupt our dependency on the consumption of new goods and construct meaning and a sense of self (Fletcher, 2012). For Denegri-Knott and Molesworth (2009), a “promiscuous” consumption ensued in the context of eBay. Their study found consumers indulged their need for newness and variety through buying and reselling items in a cyclical and repeated fashion. Denegri-Knott and Molesworth revealed that eBay was used as a platform to indulge higher levels of consumption. For some participants, these consumption levels were higher than those they would or could exercise with new items in a mainstream retail setting (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth, 2009). This is of significance in the context of this study as it questions whether resale, which is considered a behaviour that has positive impacts for sustainability (Hvass, 2015), might be used as a conduit for increased levels of consumption. Even if the material value is still intact, things can be considered to devalue over time as they move away from perceived newness.

Longevity and durability are critical contributors to sustainability (Cooper, 2005). They are also considered part of new materialism (Scott et al., 2014). Relating the new materialism concept of longevity and durability to the literature on fashion, however, raises questions around whether

clothing longevity and durability are possible with the influence of the fashion cycles and whether cherished clothes are kept by the consumer indefinitely or if resale means they are cherished up to a point then resold. In relation to the literature on newness, longevity and durability (Fletcher, 2008; 2016; Coskuner-Balli and Sandikci, 2014), it is currently unclear whether the behaviours in clothing resale are conducive to circularity in terms of keeping clothing in use for longer. The lack of clarity makes it uncertain whether consumers and retailers are contributing to the longevity and durability of the garment as part of the process of resale.

3.4 Conclusions and contribution

Materialism, a concept that was historically understood as the nature of how we relate to the material world (Novack, 1965), has laterally become associated with a preoccupation with possessions and consumption (Kilbourne et al., 2018). The sustainability literature has problematised materialism and focuses on its negative impact on environmental sustainability and human wellbeing (Kilbourne and Pickett, 2008; Kasser, 2002). This chapter highlighted how considering materialism to be negative can be problematic and contrasted with "new materialism". New materialism in consumer behaviour literature deprioritises human agency over the material world and seeks to connect humans and material entities (Fox and Aldred, 2015). An interdisciplinary concept, new materialism, as interpreted in the consumer behaviour literature, asserts that the connection with the material is forged by focusing on value (Schor, 2010, Schor and Thompson, 2015; Scott et al., 2014). The focus on value results from prioritising material value over social and brand value and by, "paying close attention to material…compositions and flows…to create new, sustainable ways of delivering more value to more people" (Scott et al., 2014, p.287). This quote highlights the significance of understanding value in new materialism.

A new materialism approach means a better connection between people and the material world, resulting in value maintenance by keeping things in use for longer. This longevity of use is beneficial to both environmental sustainability and human wellbeing. The new materialism literature does not, however, clearly communicate what is meant by value. Introducing the large body of work on value from the broader marketing and consumer behaviour literature to new materialism (e.g. Karababa and Kjeldgaard, 2014) questions the assumption that value in the new materialism literature follows the dominant logic of economic, utility, and functional value. The new materialism literature focuses on material value and fails to acknowledge the nuances of value in specific contexts (Schor, 2010). Clothing consumption, this study's context, focuses more on aesthetic, social and brand value than material value (McLaren, 2015).

Consideration of value as having a subjective and changing nature is also absent from the new materialism literature. The second-hand consumption literature considered this understanding of value as dynamic (Gregson and Crewe, 2003; Parsons, 2007; Arsel, 2015). In second-hand consumption, value was found to change and vary throughout the process of acquisition, use and disposal (Hetherington, 2004; Ture, 2014; Arsel, 2015). Value as changing rather than static, and subjective to the consumer and or retailer, rather than intrinsic to the item, needs to be taken into consideration to better understand value in new materialism.

Longevity and durability are a means to mobilise new materialism values in consumption behaviours (Cooper, 2005; Simms and Potts, 2012). It is important to understand longevity and durability as durability and longevity are at odds with the politics of the fashion system and with the consumer's preference for newness (Campbell, 1992; Coskuner-Balli and Sandikci, 2014; Fletcher, 2016). These potential barriers to durability and longevity are not explored in the new materialism literature (Schor, 2010; Scott et al., 2014).

In addressing the assumptions in the new materialism literature, this study proposes to make a theoretical contribution to the new materialism literature by exploring value in new materialism in two ways. Firstly, considering value beyond the functional and utilitarian value and secondly, understanding value as a dynamic concept (Schor, 2010; Scott et al., 2014; Simms and Potts, 2012). Exploring the value that underpins new materialism will offer a much more comprehensive understanding of new materialism. It will also be important to understand how clothing resale relates to sustainable consumption. This is important at the individual level of the context in the consumer and retailer behaviours and how these relate to the framework of the circular economy discussed in section 2.3.4. Understanding values at all stages of the consumption cycle is important in order for a new materialism approach to increase sustainability and wellbeing in consumption. This is because in linking new materialism and circular economy, sustainability results from not just acquisition but also use and disposal behaviours.

A second contribution will be made in considering how the concepts of longevity and durability relate to the behaviours of consumers and resellers, addressing the tensions between the politics of clothing consumption and maintenance of value—making a contribution to the sustainability and new materialism literatures (Scott et al., 2014; Fletcher, 2016) by extending the knowledge on value maintenance and loss in relation to longevity and durability. The next chapter outlines the aims and objectives that were developed in order to investigate these proposed contributions.

4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the rationale for the methodological approach of the study. In order to develop a deep understanding of both the consumers and businesses engaging in clothing resale. This study used a multi-method ethnographic approach (Belk et al., 2013). A qualitative methodology was most suited to explore the study's context, clothing resale. The chapter begins by outlining the study's aims and objectives. An explanation of the interpretivist philosophy of the study follows, exploring the impact of interpretivism's ontology and epistemology in relation to the study's ethnographic positioning. This section considers previous ethnographic research in consumer behaviour to explore it as a methodological approach. A discussion of each method used follows an account of the sampling approach and recruitment process. The thematic data analysis is explained in relation to the study's aims and objectives. Finally, the chapter explores the ethical considerations of the study and the limitations that the chosen methods presented. This chapter demonstrates the confirmability, through credibility, transferability and dependability of the study (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

4.2 Research Aims and objectives

The study had the following aims in designing the methodological approach.

4.2.1 Aim

This research aims to understand the extent to which clothing resale demonstrates circularity by considering the buying, selling and maintenance behaviours of both consumer and retailer. Through the lens of new materialism (Schor, 2010; Scott et al., 2014), this research explored how understandings of value and values underpin clothing resale with the following objectives:

4.2.2 Objectives

- To explore the value that underpins consumer and retailer clothing resale behaviours.
- To explore how consumers and retailers perceive value in relation to their values when engaging in clothing resale behaviours.
- To explore longevity and durability in clothing resale behaviours of consumers and retailers.
- To explore how consumer and retailer behaviours impact value maintenance in clothing resale.

4.3 PHILOSOPHICAL UNDERPINNING

When conducting research, the researcher must understand the philosophical underpinnings of their research orientation. This understanding ensures the researcher selects the most appropriate approaches and techniques for their intended outcomes (Hudson and Ozanne, 1988). The researcher's underlying beliefs will constrain their understanding of how knowledge should best be created and interpreted (Easterby-Smith, 2015). However, the accepted approaches and the dominant paradigm within their particular field are also influential (Bryman, 2004).

This research reflects an interpretivist research orientation. The interpretivist orientation assumes that knowledge is subjective and changes depending on an individual's understanding and interpretation of the context (Saunders et al., 2012). Ontologically, interpretivists consider knowledge to be constructed by the individual through their interpretation and understanding of the world and certain phenomena they experience, and is case and context-dependent (Carson et al., 2001). The epistemological position in the interpretivist philosophy is one of knowledge created through seeking understanding and identifying individual and shared meanings from the participant (Cova and Elliott, 2008). It is assumed that knowledge is subjective in interpretivist studies (Bryman and Bell, 2015).

Knowledge is derived inductively, in that it is from the data rather than from theory or hypothesis testing. It seeks to contribute to the ongoing conversation rather than be considered generalisable across all cases (Szmigin and Foxall, 2000). Interpretivists understand knowledge as subjective and use researcher embedded techniques to access participants' understanding (Hudson and Ozanne, 1988).

Consumer behaviour research has a long history of the positivist research paradigm being dominant, relying on survey data to understand consumers' behaviour (Hudson and Ozanne, 1988). The late 1980s were notable for a shift to interpretivist consumer behaviour research, with work from Belk et al. (1988), Sherry (1990), and Holbrook (1986), amongst others. These researchers began to look at a more nuanced understanding of consumer behaviour. They questioned the objectivity of researching consumer understanding and the consideration of consumers' personal experiences. Lincoln and Guba (1985) called this approach to research "naturalistic inquiry". Their book by this name was part of a movement that opened up consumer research to a more subjective, situation and context-dependent understanding of consumers (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). This naturalistic stance has been critiqued more recently, and thinking has moved on (Askegaard and Linnett, 2011). This has included discussions beyond the focus on the lived experience of individual consumers. Phenomenology and philosophies considering the experience within a broader context have advanced this understanding further (Askegaard and Linnett, 2011; Thompson et al., 2013). Contemporary interpretivism seeks to find a

middle ground between the lived experience of the consumer and the influence of the context in which the consumer is placed and in which the research is conducted (Rokka, 2021). This is particularly pertinent in understanding how individual consumer experiences relate to larger-scale issues. In the case of this research, sustainability, which is dominated by micro-level consumer perspectives, calls for a more contextual approach to future research (Thomas, 2018; Davies et al., 2020).

Adopting an interpretivist approach in this research enabled the development of an in-depth understanding of the behaviours and the thoughts and motivations of consumers within the context of clothing resale (Bryman, 2004). The research aims and objectives reflect an interpretivist approach. This study's exploratory aim considered the consumer and retailer perspectives. The interpretivist approach of this study does not consider one truth, but instead considers the full understanding of participants, opening a context of exploration and discovery (Cova and Elliott, 2008). The research is not seeking generalisability across the population but seeks insight that might help explore the broader social implications (Szmigin and Foxall, 2000). This study is exploratory and inductive, where theory outcomes will result from the research rather than testing a theory or a hypothesis. Therefore, this research approach corresponds to the interpretivist approach outlined above.

An interpretivist approach to research fits most comfortably with qualitative methods where the participant and researcher are in close contact, and the participant has a chance to express their views openly. Opinions are considered subjective to participants' understanding and experience of the situation or phenomena (Bryman, 2004). A qualitative approach enables more profound insight into the participant's viewpoint, allowing an understanding of their thinking and how that will, in turn, affect their behaviour (Cova and Elliott, 2008). This insight and deeper understanding of the behaviour and accompanying motivations is essential in this study's context of clothing resale. Currently, clothing resale is under-researched, but is considered of significance as a circular business model in pursuing a more sustainable approach to clothing consumption (Hvass, 2015). Therefore, the exploratory nature of this study will contribute to furthering work on the subject area by providing a deeper understanding of the lived experiences of participants to help understand the phenomena of resale.

4.4 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

In order to explore this emergent area of research and develop a deep understanding of both the consumers and retailers that are engaging in clothing resale, this study assumed a multi-method ethnographic approach (Belk et al., 2013). The research design allowed the participants to express their views and offered an insight into their world and context (Goulding, 2005). This ethnographic approach fits with this study's aim of understanding the behaviours of retailers and consumers

involved in clothing resale and exploring the under-researched context of clothing resale, as discussed above. This personal and immersive approach was vital, because the nature of the phenomenon presented a small field in which to approach sampling. This small sample size was due to the nature of clothing resale, the majority of which occurs in small independent boutiques with a limited number of regular consumers. The research took place over 12 months, allowing the researcher to become immersed in the context, keep regular contact with participants and undertake multiple visits to each data collection site. This time period facilitated the immersive nature of an ethnographic approach and allowed time for the chosen collection of appropriate methods to be employed.

The group of appropriate methods selected in this research were in-depth interviews, wardrobe audits, participant diaries and videographic and photographic observations. These methods addressed the aims and objectives of the study by providing a deep understanding of the role and behaviour of both retailers and consumers in clothing resale (Cayla and Penaloza, 2006). Each of these methods will be discussed in greater detail to outline how each fitted holistically with the approach and furthered the aims and objectives of this study. Sampling approaches and participant recruitment are also explained.

4.4.1 Ethnographic consumer behaviour research

Ethnography can be defined as an immersive approach focused on personal engagement and immersion of the researcher into a specific context (Arnould and Wallendorfer, 1994). Originating in anthropological research, this deep involvement of the researcher provides an opportunity to gain insight into the participants' understanding of the context. Ethnography allows the researcher to study participants' behaviour and experiences of a culture to understand the world from their point of view (Goulding, 2005).

Ethnographic research uses, "a cocktail of methodologies that share the assumption that personal engagement with the subject is the key to understanding a particular culture or social setting" (Kozinets, 2015, p.65). These methods often include a mix of in-depth interviews, participant observation, photographs, diaries and field notes (Goulding, 2005).

Epistemologically, ethnography is an interpretivist approach. The data describes and explores what is happening at the field level. This emic viewpoint is then interpreted to the more abstract or etic level by the researcher to theorise the behaviour recorded during the ethnography (Spiggle, 1994). In this way, the experience and engagement in the context are taken to the abstract, or etic level and related to theoretical approaches (Klag and Langley, 2013).

Ethnography was applied to consumer behaviour research as part of the interpretivist turn discussed in the previous section (e.g. Belk et al., 1988). Introducing ethnographic approaches to consumer behaviour research created an ability to understand different aspects and contexts of consumer behaviour previously unexplored (Pettigrew, 2000). This new ability paved the way for seminal studies using ethnographic approaches to explore niche consumption contexts. Studies such as Schouten and McAlexander (1995) "New bikers" focusing on the sub-culture of Harley-Davidson motorcycle owners and Arnould and Price (1993) "River Magic" exploring white water rafting became pivotal in ethnographic consumer research. These studies used ethnography to capture the lived experience of participants and put the researcher within the research. Focusing on reflexivity, interpretation and narrative to understand the socio-cultural aspects of the context being studied (Arnould et al., 2019)

Ethnography in consumer behaviour studies often mirrored anthropological research with a prolonged immersion of the researcher in the culture or context studied using methods such as, participant observation and in-depth interviews (Goulding, 2005). As the use of ethnographic approaches developed in consumer research, studies moved beyond the more traditional approach. Digital methods are now often used in ethnographic research, including netnography to analyse consumer behaviour online (Kozinets, 2015, 2019). Visual methods such as photography and videography have become more widely used as the primary data collection method in ethnographic consumer behaviour research (De Valck et al., 2009; Hietanan et al., 2018; Pera et al., 2021). This brings sound and picture to the predominantly textual based research of consumer behaviour (Hietanan et al., 2014; Rokka et al., 2018; Pera et al., 2021).

Videography has been used to experience a context that would otherwise be difficult to explain or explore (Merchant, 2011). Videography can be used to both explore the experience of participants in the context, and to communicate those experiences in an authentic way to audiences. For example, to provide deeper insight beyond verbal data, considering the tacit and unreported practices of the participants. This is achieved by capturing on film nuance that is impossible to record or even notice when doing traditional observations. This nuance could be non-verbal communication, gestures or sub-conscious behaviours that are difficult to capture without visual methods (Pink, 2007). As well as forming part of participant observation, the resulting visuals can be used as projectives during follow up interviews to engage further with the participants in understanding their behaviour (Pink, 2013).

Visual approaches to ethnographic research have grown in acceptance and popularity with consumer behaviour researchers over the past decade (Belk and Kozinets, 2005; Rokka et al., 2018; Pera et al., 2021). Consumer behaviour conference tracks and journal special- issues are being developed to encourage the development and use of visual approaches (Rokka et al., 2018). These developments,

and the inherently visual nature of the context of clothing resale, provided an opportunity for this study to explore visual methodologies as part of the multi-method ethnographic approach. In this study, videography was integral for both consumer and

retailer participants' data collection approaches. For the retailers, this took the form of video observations where participants showed and narrated their decision-making process when choosing clothing to resale in their store. For the consumer participants, video recorded wardrobe audits provided insight into their overall clothing consumption behaviours and maintenance, acquisition and disposal of clothing within the resale context. These methods are elaborated further in section 4.4.5.

4.4.2 Sampling approach

Clothing resale is understood as reselling consumer's clothing with a percentage split of the sale between consumer and retailer (Friedman, 2018). Currently working examples of clothing resale in practice in the UK come from a niche group of small businesses (Arnold, 2009; Moulds, 2015, Young, 2013; Oxborrow, 2016). As a result, the context of this study comprised small, independent clothing resale boutiques. The nature of the resale market is these small stand-alone boutiques are often owned and run by a sole trader, in some cases with a small staff of one or two assisting. Nine resale shops were identified as sites of interest. All the shops were identified as being able to provide participants who were relevant to the research phenomenon (Belk et al., 1988; Bryman, 2004). Details of the shops are in Table 4.1 below and overleaf.

Table 4.1 Participating resale shops

Owner pseudonym	Location	Commission	Type of clothing sold	Description
Caroline	Glasgow	Dependent on price of goods 50/50 < £300 40/60 >£300	Designer clothing, shoes, jewellery and accessories	The shop is located three miles from the city centre in the west end of the city and situated in an affluent neighbourhood with a promenade of independent shops and coffee shops. The shop had been operating for over ten years. The owner does most of the day-to-day running, assisted by one part-time member of staff.

Table 4.1 Participating resale shops

Owner pseudonym	Location	Commission	Type of clothing sold	Description
Barbara	Glasgow	50/50	High-end high street, designer clothing, shoes and accessories.	The thirty-plus-years history of the shop includes three owners. It is situated in a suburb six miles south of the city centre. A desirable area for families and older people. The owner is assisted during busy periods by one casual member of staff.
Audrey	Glasgow	50/50 at resale	Vintage, high-end high-street clothing and jewellery	The shop has been running for almost forty years as a vintage shop. It has been reselling for the past ten years after the owner discovered the potential to accept stock from customers without the financial commitment of buying it. The shop now combines buying vintage pieces from rag traders with reselling from a small group of regular consumer sellers. The shop is in the heart of the west end and is frequented by many regular customers, tourists and the area's large student population.
Sara	Edinburgh	50/50	High end high street and new ethically sourced clothing, shoes and accessories.	Formerly a boutique selling ethically sourced new clothing, the shop was changing to resale to formalise the owner's part-time, casual resale business. Still holding new, ethically sourced stock, half of the two-room boutique was being filled with resale stock ready for reopening.

Table 4.1 Participating resale shops

Owner pseudonym	Location	Commission	Type of clothing sold	Description
Aimee	Ayrshire	50/50	High-end high-street clothing, wedding and occasion wear, hat hire, new jewellery and accessories.	Located in a market town just over 20 miles outside Glasgow. The shop has just celebrated its twentieth anniversary. Recently also popular with local young farmers and race goers, it has been a destination for wedding wear, particularly mother of the bride and groom, for many years. A family member assists the owner on a casual basis.
Olive	Edinburgh	50/50. Or as agreed with selling customer	Vintage and high street clothing and accessories.	Only open at weekends, the shop is located amongst quirky boutiques in the city's Stockbridge area. The shop's steps are a popular place for locals and other business owners to spend time chatting and socialising.
Karen	Online and London pop-ups	50/50	High-end high street, boutique brands and vintage	Opened for a year and run from the owners home, the shop began with childrenswear. It quickly branched into womenswear after the demand for selling their own preloved clothing from the initial childrenswear sellers. Recently also successfully branching out into menswear. The owner hoped to run open studio sales from her new character property home in the small village where she'd recently relocated from London.

Table 4.1 Participating resale shops

Owner pseudonym	Location	Commission	Type of clothing sold	Description
Jane	Belfast	50/50	Designer and high- end high-street clothing and accessories.	In the family since it was set up over 35 years ago, the well-established boutique is located in one of Belfast's most thriving boutique shopping locations. With four part-time staff members assisting the owner, the shop has a broad range of regular customers of different ages and sizes.
Rebecca	Belfast	50/50	High-end high-street and designer clothing and accessories.	Opened as a wedding wear reseller, they moved premises to a larger unit after the initial success of the business. They moved away from wedding wear to focus on occasion wear, casual wear, shoes and accessories. Located in an affluent market town five miles outside of Belfast city centre, the shop had just been running for a year but had already built up a regular customer base of buyers and sellers.

4.4.3 Recruitment and sampling

The participants for the study were selected using purposive sampling (Miles and Hubberman, 1994). In keeping with the precedent for ethnography where the sample is focused on those who can provide in-depth knowledge of the context (Belk, 1988). The sampling criteria for the consumer participants was: individuals who frequently buy or sell, or both buy and sell, clothing from resale shops. The sampling criteria for the retailers was; individuals who operate a retail shop that sells consumers clothing at a profit for an agreed split with the consumer. Thirteen consumers and nine retailers, all of whom are actively participating in clothing resale, were selected as participants (Patton, 2005). The

consumers comprised a mix of those who were solely reselling clothing, those who were both reselling and buying resale clothing, and those who only buy resale clothing. Although determined by the context, the smaller sample size provided rich insights into the participant's views and understandings (Black, 2006).

Recruitment began by approaching the retailers directly in person to request their participation. A brief conversation informally confirmed retailers were indeed operating a resale business model. That is, they were reselling consumers' clothing with a percentage split of the sale between consumer and retailer (Friedman, 2018). They were given the plain language statement and time to consider participation. The retailers represented a mixed group in terms of the stock they accepted for sale from designer, high end, high street, vintage and wedding and occasion-wear. There was also a range of experience amongst the participants, from retailers running their shops for decades to those who were newly established. Table 4.2 below outlines each retailer participant and their background information.

Table 4.2 - Retailer Participants

Pseudonym	**Description**
Caroline	Caroline has been in business with her resale boutique for over ten years. A background in finance and a lifelong love of style and clothing inspired Caroline to go into business after visiting successful resale businesses in the south of England. An early adopter of eBay, the store opened with clothing from friends and family and Caroline's personal collection amassed over several years. Caroline has honed the business over the years to meet the needs and wants of her customers and has many high profile sellers and buyers who frequent the rails along with professionals and creative types. Caroline has built relationships with her many regular customers, both buyers and sellers, and hopes to boost online sales through social media and the input of local influencers.
Barbara	Barbara bought out the previous owner of an existing business where she had been a casual employee for several years after seeing a shift in the resale landscape to a more casual aesthetic. Barbara's many regular customer sellers bring her a mix of designer and high-end high-street separates and occasion wear. The regular shoppers are mainly an older demographic buying and selling classic coats and jackets, dresses and knitwear.

Table 4.2 - Retailer Participants	
Pseudonym	**Description**
Audrey	Mainly focusing on vintage peppered with a select few high-end high-street items that match her aesthetic, Audrey's over 20 years in business have been a mix of sourcing from wholesale and from customers who come in on spec to sell on their 'collections'. Having now reduced the resale focus to a few regulars whose style and quality Audrey can rely on, she continues to buy from consumers outright who turn up with items to sell, commanding a higher margin for her business than she receives from resale. The clientele was an eclectic customer base of students, regulars and tourists. Audrey's personal curiosity for interesting labels and stand out pieces by bygone designers is mixed in with guaranteed best seller Hawaiian shirts, cashmere, vintage denim and pieces from high street stores such as Cos.
Aimee	Aimee took over an established resale business where she was employed as a teenager. Her background in textiles and retail provide her with the skillset she feels she needs to run a successful resale shop. Specialising in occasion wear, particularly wedding guest and mother of the bride and groom outfits. Aimee couples resale items with hat hire and new costume jewellery. Hats and jewellery are purchased wholesale in order to provide a full outfit for regulars and destination shoppers alike.
Sara	Originally set up as an ethical fashion boutique Sara expanded into resale after a personal passion for selling clothing on online resale platforms for family and friends became a commercial opportunity. Picking up a customer base through social media, Sara was mid-way through converting part of her shop to resale. The influx of bin bags of clothes to be sorted and culled provided a large volume of stock for the business both in the boutique and continuing sales through online platforms, markets and events.
Olive	Olive runs her resale business on weekends as a hobby business alongside her full-time job. With a mix of resale items and charity shop finds, the stock is an eclectic mix of vintage, designer and high street pieces sold from a packed shop unit where Olive sits out on the doorstep to chat to regulars, other local business owners and tourists. With a lifelong enthusiasm for style acquired from a family of stylish hoarders, Olive once a designer, has a passion for buying and selling.

Table 4.2 - Retailer Participants	
Pseudonym	**Description**
Karen	Leaving behind a successful corporate career and matching salary to launch a business that sat more in line with her personal values on sustainability and environmentalism, Karen launched her resale business just over a year ago. Beginning by selling designer, high-end, high-street and boutique brands for her stylish friends, she soon found herself inundated with people wanting to sell their clothing through her website, popup shops and events. Beginning with children's then adding a booming womenswear section, Karen had recently successfully diversified into menswear. A recent move out of the city had Karen reassessing her business set up and plans to introduce a shop and event space into her new country home renovation project.
Jane	Inheriting her resale business from her mum after 30 successful years in business, Jane left a career in hospitality to take over in resale. Her existing base of loyal customers were happy to continue to shop and sell with her, and over the ten years that she has been running the store, she has established strong connections with many of the regulars. Specialising in high-end high street, designer and occasion wear, Jane enjoys the buzz and variety running a resale shop gives her.
Rebecca	In her early twenties, Rebecca had her long-time dream of opening a boutique fulfilled. She was surprised that the resale element of the store took off so quickly, soon becoming the sole focus of her business. A stock of casual, occasion wear and designer shoes and accessories were getting the fledgling business established with a regular customer base shopping and selling through Rebecca despite the setting in a small town where everyone knows everyone and the chance of buying a friend's clothing loomed large.

The consumer participants were mostly recruited through referrals from the participating retailers. Retailers were asked to recommend any regular customers who might be willing to participate. In parallel, consumer participants were recruited via flyer (Figure 4.1 below). Flyers were given directly to consumers by the retailers and left on the counter in the resale clothing boutiques. Flyers were also circulated more widely with permission on the retailer's social media channels to request voluntary participation. This was combined with snowball sampling (Bryman and Bell, 2007), asking participants to recommend any other consumers who may be interested.

Figure 4.1: Consumer recruitment flyer

The customers were offered an incentive of a £10 voucher for the resale shop where they were recruited. This was proposed as an incentive not only for the consumer but also for the retailer as it could generate business for the retailer. The incentive was offered at the retailers' discretion and used for seven of the thirteen consumer participants. Many retailers declined to offer it to their consumers, for reasons including that their consumers would be happy to participate without incentive. Others who didn't offer gift vouchers thought it would complicate their system. Several of the consumers declined to accept the incentive as they were happy to be part of the study without remuneration.

Table 4.3 below outlines a detailed description of the consumer participants, their preference for buying and/or selling at resale and some relevant information about them.

Table 4.3 Consumer Participants			
Pseudonym	**Age range (18-35, 36-50, 51-60, 61+)**	**Buy/ sell**	**Description**
Irene	61+	Sell	A retiree with grown-up children and grandchildren Irene has been using a local resale shop as a disposal channel for many years. She doesn't buy anything from resale, preferring to buy new and sell on to recoup some money towards the next purchases. Regular trips to London for designer purchases are coupled with catalogue and online shopping and seasonal clear outs are a regular occurrence.
Elaine	51-60	Buy and sell	Stay at home wife and mother of grown-up children; Elaine enjoys popping into a nearby resale shop regularly, purchasing for herself and friends while enjoying the friendship and community that the shop provides. Elaine occasionally receives high-end designer purchases as gifts from her husband, who fails to see the appeal of resale and wonders when Elaine will get some 'good clothes'. Her penchant for resale purchases has led her to understand the system comprehensively and find out the particular seller whose clothes she looks forward to buying when they arrive in store each season.

Table 4.3 Consumer Participants			
Pseudonym	**Age range (18-35, 36-50, 51-60, 61+)**	**Buy/ sell**	**Description**
Anna	18-35	Buy and sell	Anna loves style, clothing and fashion. She relishes putting together outfits, particularly from online resale sites such as Depop and eBay. The recent addition of a resale shop to her town has prompted her to mix up items from online resale platforms, charity shops, and new designer bargains picked up from resale. She has established a friendship with the shop owner in the year that she has been trading both professionally as an employee of a local complementary business and as a customer of the shop. Recent changes in her circumstances have changed how Anna shops, thinking carefully before every purchase and indulging only for special occasions, remaining thrifty throughout the rest of the year and having existing clothing altered to fit.
Betty	61+	Buy and sell	Former social care professional Betty previously ran a resale shop after retiring from her NHS job. The successful business was a joint venture with her daughter-in-law that was sold twenty years ago. Beginning as a customer of resale shops before establishing her own, octogenarian Betty uses her experience to continue to indulge in clothing from both resale and new. Used clothing is sold at biannual outings to the car boot sale with her husband, where regular customers flock to buy her lightly worn clothing, accessories and shoes. A recent spell of ill health has not deterred her from indulging in style, and she continues to enjoy dressing up for evenings out with her husband.

Table 4.3 Consumer Participants			
Pseudonym	**Age range (18-35, 36-50, 51-60, 61+)**	**Buy/ sell**	**Description**
Ally	51-60	Buy and sell	With grown-up children, Ally has an immaculate wardrobe and keeps a strict one-in-one-out policy. Her part-time, casual work in a resale shop that she had previously frequented as a customer for many years leads to lots of considered purchases of pieces from resale that might not have otherwise sold.
Liz	51-60	Buy and sell	Style maven Liz loves colour and pattern and picks items that she considers 'something different'. Preferring not to conform to the norms of other women of her age, former hairdresser Liz doesn't let ill-health hold her back from regular trips to the local charity shops, boutiques and resale shops in her area. Her regular overseas trips to accompany her husband for work prompt continued wardrobe updates and trips to accumulate appropriate clothing to suit the destination.
Lyndsay	36-50	Seller	A change in life circumstances has prompted a rethink in Lyndsay's approach to clothes shopping. Previously indulging in regular designer purchases online, she now considers each purchase and buying only to replace existing items in her wardrobe. She previously sold through a resale shop, but now Lyndsay's choosing the best outlet for her clothes with as little expense and highest return possible.
Isobel	61+	Seller	A lifelong interest in style means that septarian Isobel is a regular stock supplier to a local resale shop. Gems, including Jaeger pieces and faux designer handbags, are brought in once a week for the retailer to choose from. All Isobel's shopping is done in charity shops, and she considers selling things on through resale her favourite hobby.

Table 4.3 Consumer Participants			
Pseudonym	**Age range (18-35, 36-50, 51-60, 61+)**	**Buy/ sell**	**Description**
Claire	18-35	Seller/ Buyer	Postgrad student Claire has been a long time customer of second hand, charity and vintage clothing. Coming to resale as a seller recently, Claire has appreciated the chance to have a disposal channel that meets her requirements for local and sustainable while recouping value from her clothes and accessories.
Helen	36-50	Buyer/Seller	Helen has been a resale shopper for many years. She enjoys browsing and buying from her local resale boutique. Attempts to sell at resale, however, have been mixed. Helen left full-time work to bring up her three children, so her wardrobe needs have changed over the years, leaving her with few items of clothing to sell. She continues to indulge in shopping sprees when home visiting family at the large warehouse-style resale shops in her native North America.
Isla	51-60	Buyer/ Seller	Isla has been shopping at resale since being introduced by a friend to a resale boutique in her city. Resale purchases are mixed with items from eBay, charity and finds in her favourite TK Maxx. Although recently becoming self-employed, has curbed her regular high-street shopping trips. Price per wear and value for money are important for Isla, who berates herself for any mistake or impulse purchases and swiftly sells them through eBay. Isla has not had any success with selling through resale but remains a regular customer.

Table 4.3 Consumer Participants			
Pseudonym	**Age range (18-35, 36-50, 51-60, 61+)**	**Buy/ sell**	**Description**
Gillian	51-60	Seller	A recent downsize of her home prompted Gillian to clear out and sell much of her wardrobe through resale. This was not her first foray into resale, having participated in large scale resale events held in a barn on the outskirts of Glasgow in the 1990s and bought from resale over the years. Her focus is on classic items and interesting pieces from high street and designers. Gillian makes an exception only for holiday clothes, bought from cheaper fast-fashion retailers and disposed of abroad.
Catherine	18-35	Buyer	Recent graduate Catherine is a regular high street shopper visiting the city centre shops at least once a week to have something different for her nights out with friends. Selling her unwanted high street items through resale app Depop, her part-time job in a resale shop has prompted Catherine to purchase designer bags, shoes and jackets that she picks out as the items are dropped off into the boutique where she works.

4.4.4 Data collection

The data was collected over a period of 12 months, and the final composition of the data collection is shown in Tables 4.4 and 4.5 below.

Table 4.4 - Consumer Data across 13 consumer participants

Type of data	**Number**	**Breakdown**	
Interviews	13	8 hrs 22 mins recording	193 pages typed transcript
Video wardrobe audits	10	6 hrs 16 mins recording	133 pages typed transcript
Diaries	4	16 pages	
Follow up interviews	2	1 hr 44 mins	37 pages typed transcript
Photographs	35		
Field notes/ reflections	23 handwritten pages		

Table 4.5 - Retailer Data across 9 retailers

Type of data	**Number**	**Breakdown**	
Interviews	9	9 hrs 35 mins	186 pages typed transcript
Video observations	6	3 hours 30mins	56 pages typed transcript
Traditional observations	3		
Photographs	116		
Field notes/ reflections	68 handwritten pages		

4.4.4.1 In depth interviews

For all participants, a large part of the data was collected through semi-structured in-depth interviews (Bryman and Bell, 2011). These compromised around half the retailer data and two-thirds of the consumer data. Interviews are a widely accepted method as part of an ethnographic approach to gain insight into participants understanding of the context (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2018).

The initial interview process was tailored to collect relevant data from the different actors within the clothing resale process: retailers, consumer sellers and consumer buyers. Although tailored for the relevant participant, all the interviews began with grand tour questions and progressed into more in-depth questions (McCracken, 1988). (See Appendix 3 for the interview guide and Appendix 5 for a sample interview transcript). These initial questions were designed to put the participants at ease by collecting background and contextual information before addressing the research objectives.

The questions were open-ended, allowing the discussion to be mainly led by the participants with an interview schedule derived in advance to ensure data was gathered in line with the aims and objectives of the study and the themes that emerged from the literature review. (See Appendix 3 for the interview guides). These interviews lasted approximately one hour, allowing participants to explain their attitudes and behaviour in-depth with the interviewer asking open questions. The interviews were audio-recorded and notes were taken.

The initial in-depth interview established rapport for consumer participants and gained a preliminary understanding of their clothing consumption practices. These interviews mainly took place in the consumers' homes. Interviewing the consumers in their homes provided direct access to the lived experience of the participants and led to more in-depth conversations with participants. Being surrounded by their familiar home setting also provided an opportunity to build rapport with the consumers and put them at ease (Ruth and Otnes, 2006; Miller 2001; 2008). Two participants preferred meeting in a public space which was facilitated to ensure their comfort (Ruth and Otnes, 2006).

Similarly, the retailers were interviewed initially to gain an understanding of their business model and behaviour in selecting clothes and reselling. The retailer interviews were conducted in a location at their convenience; for some, this was in their store, others were more comfortable at a nearby location. For two of the retailers, the researcher was invited into their homes to conduct the interview. This interview addressed some of the initial queries around how the resale process and business model worked for this particular retailer and began to understand some of their value decisions.

These in-depth interviews were also used to gain an initial understanding of consumer and retailer participants. They put the participants at ease in order to access the visual data discussed in the next section. They also informed the questions that were asked to consumers during wardrobe audits and to retailers during their in-store video observations. These initial interviews laid the groundwork to allow the researcher to probe deeper into understanding consumer and retailer behaviours in clothing resale. That is both in terms of informing the researcher's questions and stimulating the conversation between researcher and participant so that they could elaborate on their answers during the consumer wardrobe audits or retailer observations.

4.4.4.2 Visual methods

Videography and photography were used to facilitate data collection for all participants in order to reflect the inherently visual nature of clothing and the ability of these visual methods to encapsulate the tacit practices of the participants (De Valck et al., 2009). The photographic data was used in tandem with observational field notes and textual recordings as they both capture different aspects of the consumption phenomena (Cayla and Penaloza, 2006).

As discussed in the previous section, by using visual ethnography, the tacit and embedded meanings and practices are investigated as the researcher is immersed visually in the context (Pink, 2007). This provided a deeper understanding of the participant's behaviour and addressed the research aims and objectives. The videography aspect of the data collection was intended to allow the research to be made into a final film. This could then be disseminated widely through academic and public channels to bring the issues of sustainability that are considered by this research to a broader audience. The film would enable this currently niche market to be more widely understood through the research and its resulting thesis and videography. This plan did not come to fruition due to the majority of participants' unwillingness to consent for their image to be used in a publicly disseminated film. However, the visual data became an interactive field note and was used as part of the data set. The analysis of the visual data is further discussed in section 4.5 of this chapter

4.4.4.2.1 Consumer wardrobe audits

A wardrobe audit asks participants to talk about the contents of their wardrobe using open-ended interview questions to provide insight into participants' acquisition, use and maintenance of clothing (Goworek et al., 2012; Klepp and Bjerck, 2014; Woodward, 2007; Woodward and Greasley, 2017). A wardrobe audit followed the consumer participants' in-depth interview once rapport was established. The wardrobe audit was filmed as part of the videography aspect of the research. The wardrobe audit began with grand tour questions as with the initial interviews (McCracken, 1988) (See guide in

Appendix 3). This involved asking participants to choose some pieces of clothing to discuss their significance or the story behind them. Questions then moved on to facilitate a more specific discussion around consumer motivations behind choosing certain items or how they approached adding pieces to their wardrobe. They were also asked how they decide when an item will be disposed of and how they determine the disposal route. These questions focused on what is resold and why and how the not resold pieces are disposed of. The questions were tailored for the wardrobe audit depending on what was established from the initial interview. That is whether the consumer is selling their clothing at resale or buying resale items or, in some cases practising both behaviours. In these wardrobe audits, how the consumer attributes value to their clothing and their behaviour in terms of the process they engage in with their clothing was addressed to consider emerging themes from the literature review of value, use, maintenance, longevity and durability in their clothing consumption.

4.4.4.2.2 Retailer Videography and photography observations

The researcher observed the retailers as they worked in their resale shops. These observations were conducted over several visits to each shop lasting one to two hours each. Participant observation is a widely used method in ethnography (Bryman, 2016). Using visual methods to undertake these observations allowed the researcher to capture the tacit practices involved in resale and understand the complexities of the phenomenon (Schembri and Boyle, 2013).

After the initial interview, the retailers were asked if it would be possible to come back with the camera to video the retailer's shop, their daily processes, and interactions with consumers. An arrangement was reached at the retailers' convenience to come in when they were sorting items for resale to observe and discuss the value decisions of the retailer. This included gaining insight into the process of determining which items they accept for sale, how they price them and particularly what aspects of the garment are considered in relation to value such as brand, type of item, quality, materials, condition etc. The observations captured what the retailers did and what they were saying (Belk and Kozinets, 2005). This provided an understanding of the different aspects of the resale process from the retailer's perspective giving insight into the process of sifting, selecting and revaluing the garments for resale (Valk et al., 2009). For any retailers who were unwilling to participate in the video element of the research, some observation without cameras was used. The researcher observed from a distance the day-to-day behaviours of retailers and their consumers. These observations were recorded in researcher field notes.

Retailers were asked to share their systems and record keeping. These were photographed, if they were willing to share this information, with their anonymity provided. This information was pertinent

in understanding the running of their business. It also helped inform what part of the retailer's sales came from stock they resell from customers and what part is stock bought in from other sources, helping to understand their business model and the potential circularities within their business.

4.4.4.3 Consumer Diaries

The consumer participants were asked to keep a diary of their purchases, including a record of any items they resell and to collect receipts and other artefacts relevant to their behaviour regarding their clothing consumption practices (Belk et al., 2013). They were asked to take a note of purchases after the interview, and this would be any clothing both new and from resale. They were also asked to note anything they sold through resale. Consumers were provided with a template to keep their notes. See Appendix 4 for the example template. Although they were encouraged to keep a note in a way that worked for them, those that participated in keeping a diary mostly used the template provided. Although all participants were given the template, only four participants returned a completed diary. For many of the participants, the extra time required was too demanding on their schedules. Other participants simply forgot to complete the diary when asked and followed up on several occasions. The diaries that were completed were still useful in providing insight into the participants' clothing consumption behaviours.

4.4.4.4 Follow up interviews

A final interview was conducted with two of the consumers who completed a diary. All the participants who completed a diary were contacted, but many could not give more time for a follow-up interview. For the two who did, the diary was used as a projective technique to talk through recent purchases and sales of clothing (Bell and Davidson, 2013). These interviews discussed their decision-making processes and provided an opportunity for reflection from respondents on their experiences and practices.

4.5 Analysis

Analysis of data that has been collected through ethnography requires the researcher to shift from the emic to the etic (Klag and Langley, 2013). That is to move from the mechanics of what is happening in the situation being researched and use this information to relate to theory to assign meaning to the data. Rather than just reporting what is happening, this takes it further to make a more meaningful and rich data analysis (Pink, 2007).

The interview data was transcribed and annotated with initial impressions to illuminate the main emerging themes (Bryman and Bell, 2007). Interpretation and analysis involved multiple iterations of

coding, repeatedly returning to the multiple forms of data to refine thematic codes and address the research objectives (Spiggle, 1994; Gioia et al., 2013).

Analysing visual data is affected by a level of complexity due to the subjective nature of the analysis of visual material and the fact that each researcher will give meaning to the material differently (Pink 2007). More structured approaches are emerging as potential analysis methods for visual data, such as visual pattern analysis in organisational behaviour (Shortt and Warren, 2019). For the purposes of this study, however, the video footage was analysed using thematic analysis (Spiggle, 1994; Gioia et al., 2013).

The complexities of analysing visual data outlined above meant that handling and analysing the visual data in this research was a complex and at times messy process. The data collection yielded over ten hours of visual data. The focus when analysing this data was to go beyond transcribing and treating the visual data like interview transcripts. Instead, the analysis of visual data involved downloading the footage from the camera enabling the researcher to watch the footage back while making notes and observations. In watching and analysing the visual data the researcher considered and noted not just what was said but made observations on the tactic behaviours and visual aspects of the field. In doing this, the video footage became part of the analysis in a way that is best described in this research as an immersive field note. That is, the videos and photographs became a projective for analysis (Cayla and Peñaloza, 2006; Pink, 2007).

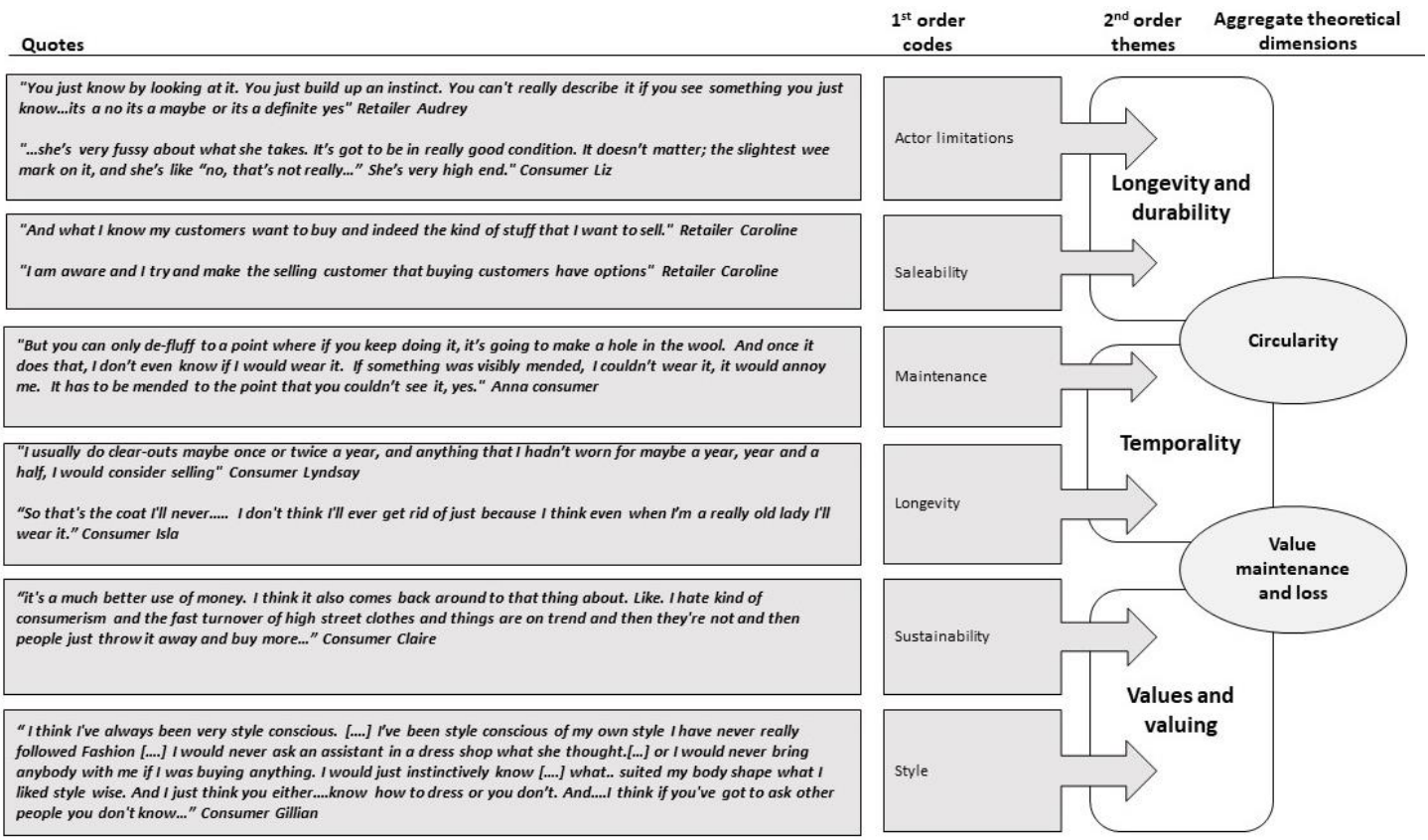
Projectives in visual research methods are more usually associated with helping the participants to put themselves into the situation again and evoke responses that directly relate to the context, giving a richer account of their behaviour and motivation (Cayla and Peñaloza, 2006; Pink, 2007). In this case, the researcher was transported back to the field to appreciate and recall the nuance of the data collection, which became part of the data analysis. This allowed the researcher to conduct analysis based on a broader picture of the data and the participants rather than just the words taken out of context and onto a page through transcription. The video footage and pictures allowed the details of the participants' behaviour to be recorded, helping to gain a rich description and a lot of detail and insight into the context that may have been overlooked in a traditional field note (Rose, 2016). It also helped the researcher to recall their experiences more clearly, which aided researcher reflexivity.

The analysis of the interviews and then the visual data separately facilitated triangulation of the data when the different analyses were used to inform one another. Bringing together the analysis of interviews and visual data created a full picture of the data.

Using the Gioia method of coding and analysis, iterative coding of the data considered the themes as they emerged and in relation to further reading (Gioia et al., 2013). The analysis of the data considered the themes that had previously emerged from the literature review. These themes from the literature review were: understanding of circularity, value, longevity and durability, use and maintenance (Schor, 2010; Scott et al., 2014).

The coding was undertaken manually (Bryman, 2004). Transcripts were printed out and read through with themes for each section or paragraph as appropriate, noted in the margin. The themes noted on the transcripts were then transferred into a list on a larger sheet of paper. This list formed the first order codes. The first order codes were then grouped thematically to create the second-order themes. Again, manually grouping and noting the themes on a large sheet of paper. A final grouping of the second-order themes created the aggregate theoretical dimensions that along with the literature themes identified above shaped the discussion of the data in Chapter 5. The themes from the coded data using the Gioia method are outlined in Figure 4.2 below, adapted from Corley and Gioia (2011):

Figure 4.2 Data codes and themes



4.6 RESEARCHER REFLEXIVITY

Ethnography as a research strategy raises ethical issues around the role of the researcher, as they are so immersed in the context. This requires a certain amount of intrusion into the context and must be approached sensitively to ensure that the participants are comfortable and that the researcher is aware of the power dynamics such proximity can cause. The researcher must be open and honest about their intentions for the research and their intentions for the data (Ruth and Otnes, 2006). With reflexivity from the researcher and transparency about their intentions for the research, the study can be conducted in an ethical manner. Further, representation in an ethnographic study is reliant on the impartiality and reflexivity of the researcher. When the researcher becomes immersed in the culture or phenomenon, it can bias their research and requires reflexive behaviour to ensure that they are representing the phenomenon fairly and in an unbiased manner, "Questioning what we, and others, might be taking for granted—what is being said and not said—and examining the impact this has or might have." (Cunliffe, 2016, p.764). To negate any bias, the researcher must be reflexive about their role in the research throughout the research project.

The researcher's previous experience in running a small clothing business provided an empathetic platform from which to begin conversations with the retailer participants. The ability to speak to the retailers from an informed position, with a relaxed manner based on personal experience, allowed the researcher to align with the participants. This relationship-building was an important part of gaining potential participants' trust to gain access from retailers and participation from consumers. This had to be carefully balanced, however, with being influenced in any way by this relationship.

Reflexivity was required in considering the researcher's personal views on the focus of the research - sustainability and the circular economy in clothing consumption (Cho and Trent, 2014). The researcher's clothing business mentioned above had a sustainable ethos. The researcher also had experience in founding a platform for sustainable clothing designers and retailers in Glasgow, 'Refashion Glasgow' and organising events for 'Fashion Revolution', an organisation promoting sustainability in fashion. While informing and inspiring the choice of research context, these experiences were underpinned by the researcher's personal views on circularity and sustainability. The researcher's interest in sustainability and circularity was not exclusively a professional one. This is reflected in the researcher's own consumption habits, such as her preference for buying her clothing from second-hand, resale and sustainable fashion brands, preferring to shop locally and seasonally for food where possible and driving an electric car. These views had to be taken into consideration

throughout the process of data collection to ensure that the research was conducted without judgment. A non-judgemental approach was essential when participants exhibited contrasting opinions to the researcher's own. Reflexive field notes were used to document the researcher's thoughts and experiences throughout the data collection process as a tool to facilitate researcher reflexivity.

The researcher's personal positionality regarding sustainable consumption was also important in analysing the data. These views were acknowledged by the researcher throughout the iterative analysis process to ensure that the analysis was not biased in any way. Researcher reflexivity was also used to ensure accurate representation of participants when analysing both visual data and interview transcripts (Pink, 2004). The consideration and rewatching of the video footage, which, as discussed above, became immersive field notes, provided the researcher with a further opportunity for researcher reflexivity (Cunliffe, 2016).

4.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

All data was collected in line with the University of Glasgow's ethics policy. Ethical Approval was sought and granted from the College of Social Science in August 2018 (see Appendix 1). Participant consent was requested following full disclosure of the intentions of the research by giving them time to read a plain language statement about the project. (See Appendix 2). The participants were afforded confidentiality in all written material, names were changed, and pseudonyms were used. The data is securely stored in a password protected computer and paper copies in a locked filing cabinet.

All aspects of the data collection were designed and conducted to ensure sensitivity to the participants. The open nature of questions and discussion allowed the length of time spent on data collection to suit the participants to ensure they could communicate their point of view throughout (Pink, 2004).

Videography raises a unique set of ethical issues, most prominently regarding consent and anonymity for participants (Pink, 2007; Rose 2016). For the purposes of this study, participants were asked to give written consent to be filmed and offered to see the footage at their request to confirm that they were happy with their representation. Informed consent was ensured throughout filming with signage in the shop, with the retailer's permission. For any public dissemination of the footage, participants who will be included in any film that is produced from the data will be sent a copy in advance to obtain their consent before dissemination. Any participants who do not consent to be included in the final film will be excluded during editing, especially if the videography work is to be included in any published version of the study.

4.8 LIMITATIONS

While considered the most appropriate choice for this study, the limitations of the multi-method ethnographic approach must be acknowledged.

The role of the researcher in interpretivist research is to become part of what is being observed and the researcher becomes immersed in the research, which could create bias. The researcher must be reflexive about their role in the research throughout in order to minimise this bias (Easterby-Smith, 2015). As addressed in section 4.6 above.

By adopting an interpretivist approach, there is an emphasis on gaining an understanding but not a prediction of behaviour. The findings of interpretivist research are not considered to be generalisable across the wider population (Bryman, 2004). This was not the aim of the study however, instead the the research provides deep insight into the clothing resale context. Thus, transferability is sought from rigorous qualitative research (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

4.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter outlined the rationale for the chosen approach and methods this study adopted to explore clothing resale and explained how the chosen methods were appropriate to meet the study's aims and objectives. The interpretivist study adopted an ethnographic methodological approach, using in-depth interviews, visual methods, observations and consumer diaries to investigate a sample of nine retailer and thirteen consumer participants. The Gioia approach to analysis and its related researcher reflexivity and ethical considerations were outlined.

This chapter addressed how the study met the four criteria of transferability. To ensure rigour in qualitative research Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest the chosen methods should meet the four trustworthiness criteria. Firstly the researcher must demonstrate credibility, using thick description in reporting methods and analysis (Geertz, 1973). This also ensures transferability to another context. The immersive nature of the methods chosen, and the recording of data by audio, video, field notes, and diaries facilitated the thick description required. This is a key component of the subsequent findings chapter.

Dependability must also be demonstrated through the analysis using a transparent and rigorous coding method such as the Gioia method of analysis (Gioia et al., 2013). The Gioia method of analysis provided a transparent and rigorous coding method for analysing the data (Corley and Gioia, 2011).

Finally, Lincoln and Guba recommend demonstrating confirmability through reflexivity, persistent observation and triangulation, double checking findings with the opinions, including peers or colleagues, or member checking with participants themselves (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). The persistent observation and researcher reflexivity discussed and triangulation from analysis of multiple data sources demonstrated confirmability of the findings of this study (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

These methods were selected for transderability and also to meet the study's aim to explore consumer and retailer behaviour in clothing resale in relation to circularity. Exploring how understandings of different types of value within clothing resale underpin behaviours of buying, selling and maintaining clothing. The findings of this exploration are outlined in the next chapter.

5 Mapping value and circularity in clothing resale

> *"I pushed open the door and entered, feeling a sense of calm amongst the white walls and noticing the fresh flowers in the window amid the tasteful autumnal display. Elegant wool coats and scarves adorned the mannequins, while a designer handbag sat prominently displayed at their base. Reflecting with relief on my choice to make an effort with how I had dressed, I found myself amongst racks of colour-coded clothes, shelves of shoes and handbags lined up above and below. Next to the sales counter a tall cabinet glinted with jewellery and the lady, who I assumed to be the owner, greeted me with a friendly, questioning smile that said I was new around here."*
>
> Researcher fieldnotes, September 2018

5.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the findings of the study. Using the lens of new materialism as established in the literature review, this chapter explores the complexities of resale from both a consumer and retailer perspective. The opening excerpt from fieldnotes brings to life the context of clothing resale and begins to outline the retailer/consumer relationship, value types and the values that underpin resale behaviours. The excerpt reflects on the experiential value retailers create in their shop and the value outcomes that underpin clothing resale, expressed in the elegance of the items chosen for the window display and the relationships retailers build with customers.

The literature review outlined how clothing resale is a business model that has the potential to retain value and foster circularity through reuse and value retention. It also has the potential to adhere to new materialism principles of longevity and durability (Scott et al., 2014; Fletcher, 2016). Resale also offers a context in which to understand better the underlying assumptions around implementing circular business models and their potential impacts on consumer behaviour to promote more sustainable clothing consumption (Hvass, 2015; Niinimaki and Hassi,2011; Pedersen et al., 2016). This chapter unpacks all of these elements to consider consumers' and retailers' value, values, and behaviours in clothing resale. These findings are communicated in relation to how value and circularity have been understood in academic research to date, particularly with regard to value maintenance and loss.

This chapter follows the themes that emerged from the data analysis, including second order themes of value and values, longevity and durability, maintenance and care, and the aggregate themes:

circularity and value maintenance and loss. The first section focuses on the value and valuing that took place in clothing resale, outlining a typology of the various consumers and retailers. The typology is important because the diversity in approaches found in this study, and their underpinning values have an impact on circularity and value maintenance and loss. The chapter then goes on to outline an understanding of the value outcomes which are prevalent in motivating the behaviours of retailers and consumers in clothing resale. The following section will unpack the elements that produce value in clothing resale using the framework of a value regime (Gollnhofer et al., 2019). Finally, the findings provide insight into the dynamism and potential circularity of value in clothing resale, including an exploration of how value is maintained and, in some instances lost in clothing resale.

5.2 UNDERSTANDING VALUE IN CLOTHING RESALE

5.2.1 Resale actors

It emerged from the findings that the differing behaviours of consumers and retailers involved in clothing resale were influenced by underpinning value types. As these different value types affected the outcome of resale behaviours in relation to new materialism, circularity and value, a typology of the actors was developed to aid comprehension of the findings, see Table 5.1 and Table 5.2. Not only were the various actors engaging with clothing resale differently, but their behaviours were underpinned by a variety of value types and higher-order values (Gollenhofer et al., 2019). Throughout the findings, how the actors engaged with clothing resale was affected by which of the categories they fitted into.

Developing a typology helps to understand the difference between a group of actors in a given context (e.g. Holt, 1995; Canniford, 2011; Camacho-Otero et al., 2018; Lüdeke-Freund et al., 2019). This typology of resale actors is not considered to provide a comprehensive understanding of the types of consumers and retailers in resale. Rather, the typology is a tool to better understand the parameters of this study. The study's exploratory nature means that the typology is an appropriate tool to highlight the differences in the consumer and retailer participants that emerged from the findings of this study.

As discussed in Chapter two the role of the consumer in circular business models promoting sustainability is often assumed or not properly explored (Camacho-Otero et al., 2020). The role of the consumer in accepting circular systems is under-researched, as is their acceptance of the work they would need to engage in to make changes in their consumption to fit these systems (Hobson, 2021; Hobson et al., 2021). It is not clear from previous studies that consumers would be willing to make the changes required to adopt circular systems, for instance, keeping things in use for longer, recycling

and reducing their overall consumption. However, without consumer participation in activities of the circular economy the system could not function, because the consumer is considered key to the implementation of more sustainable consumption (Seyfang, 2011). The role of the consumer in clothing resale has the potential to vary from consumer to consumer. As discussed in Chapter two, the consumer takes on more than a buying role in circular business models like clothing resale; becoming a co-producer with the retailer as the consumer provides the stock (Hvass, 2015). Developing this typology was, therefore, key in progressing the understanding of the role of consumers in circular business models for sustainability.

Table 5.1 Typology of consumers in clothing resale

Consumer typology	**Description**	**Buy/sell/ both**	**Underpinning value and values**	**Illustrative quote**
Style-led	Focused on style for less and making a style statement	Buy regularly from resale, rarely sell	Economic Aesthetic Style Creativity	"I saw this at Paul Costello, I saw it in the shop window and I went in to see how much it was. It was 800 quid and then they had their Christmas sale, and I went in and it was still too dear [expensive]. Then, about two months later, [in the resale shop it was] 60 quid…I spotted it and I thought, that is a lovely coat, I mean it really is, it's so warm." Consumer Elaine

Table 5.1 Typology of consumers in clothing resale				
Consumer typology	**Description**	**Buy/sell/ both**	**Underpinning value and values**	**Illustrative quote**
Disposal driven	Use resale as a conduit for disposal of new clothing bought each season	Sell at resale, never buy	Economic Social	"So, [resale shop] is very handy for selling on. And I would spend easily over £1000 on a bag, or £2000. Accessories I would buy in Harrods…I have a fetish for bags. And [resale shop] is very handy for recycling." Consumer Irene
Sustainable and ethical consumer	Got into resale as concerned about environmental issues	Buy from resale as well as charity and second hand. Sell through resale as feel better that clothes have second life	Use Material Sustainability	"It's pretty much carbon footprint free because things have probably been dropped there by hand. I go pick it up on foot. So, there's no delivery. You know all that kind of stuff…definitely that is a value of mine…and it fits with buying this type of clothes". Consumer Claire

Table 5.1 Typology of consumers in clothing resale				
Consumer typology	**Description**	**Buy/sell/ both**	**Underpinning value and values**	**Illustrative quote**
Thrifty	Focus on economic value provided by resale. Often had history of buying second hand over many years. Were able to repair and keep clothes for a long time. Were aware but not focused on sustainability values.	Buy from resale as it represents higher quality goods for less. Sell through resale as feel it recoups some of the value that may otherwise be lost.	Use value Economic value Style Thrift Reuse Sustainability to some extent	"I think on the third occasion; I thought I really like that coat. It's that sort of thing that I will have forever. I will never throw this coat out. It's classic, it goes with…you could wear it with your jeans. You could wear it really dressed up…But that was three gos." Consumer Isla

The relationship between consumer and retailer was key in resale. Unlike in mainstream retail, resale consumers not only buy the retailer's stock but may have a role in providing it. This means that the relationship between consumers and retailers was crucial in valuing the stock in resale. Due to this unique relationship, it was essential for this study to understand the different retailer types.

There was a variation of behaviours amongst the retailers, again underpinned by their value and values. The findings showed that the retailer participants in this study fell into four broad types

outlined in Table 5.2 below. This typology is helpful as the relationship between consumer and retailer is further explored later in this chapter.

Table 5.2 Typology of retailers in resale

Retailer type	Description	Retailers	Underpinning value and values	Illustrative quote
Novelty driven	Influenced by mainstream market logics and a focus on the new. High end consumers and discerning consumers who expect novelty.	Caroline Barbara Rebecca	Economic Brand Social Experiential Aesthetic Novelty Style	"I get a lot of regular customers in, and they want to see change." Retailer Rebecca
Ethical sustainable	Came into the business with a concern for ethical and sustainability issues. Focus on their business as a contribution to this. May not outwardly display this focus but it is at the core of the owner's motivation.	Karen Sara	Social Environmental Sustainability Experiential Style	"…the waste in fashion and you know just plastic…all the things that I'm sure if you're in any way environmentally aware you know about, this was really bearing down on me and I thought, well, here is an opportunity for me to do something that I'm passionate about, that actually will be beneficial to the world and I can feel good about what I'm doing and put all my skills to use" Retailer Karen
Vintage	Focus on vintage clothing with some pieces from high street. Focus on vintage means they are on a piece-by-piece basis, so each garment is assessed for saleability individually and rules on what they do and don't accept are loose.	Olive Audrey	Aesthetic Experiential Style	"I'm not interested in fashion; I'm interested in clothes. Never really been one for following fashion whatsoever. I just don't, you know? So, it's kind of, what I know will sell and if I like it." Retailer Olive

Table 5.2 Typology of retailers in resale				
Retailer type	**Description**	**Retailers**	**Underpinning value and values**	**Illustrative quote**
Community	Focus on the customers and the community in which the shop is embedded. Buy multiple times if it works for that item, focused on serving their customers and building relationships with them.	Aimee Jane	Experiential Economic Community	"So, we do know what's quite unique about our shop is that we know a lot of our customers by name, and we would know them as friends, would know them personally. We've been to weddings, funerals, everything. So, it's quite unique in that sense, different from other shops." Retailer Jane

The different retailer types that emerged were significant in understanding how these differences might affect their motivations in business and the challenge of becoming more circular. The different types of consumers and retailers outlined in the typology illustrates that consumers and retailers will not always behave in the same way within the same business model. In developing this typology, the findings highlighted some of the complexities of consumers in a clothing resale business model with the potential for circularity. This range of behaviour demonstrates the nuanced approach that changing to circular business models and implementing these business models would require as it is not 'one size fits all'.

The typologies are used throughout this chapter to highlight how the different actors' typology affects their engagement with clothing resale, value, and circularity. These typologies of consumer and retailer participants are key to viewing the study's findings, particularly in understanding the impact of these varying approaches to resale on value maintenance and loss, longevity and circularity throughout the remainder of the findings chapter.

5.2.2 Resale value outcomes

Although the term "value" is frequently mentioned, it is rarely unpacked within the sustainability literature (Davies et al., 2021). Further, as discussed in chapter three, value is considered the key tenet of new materialism, in that, a connection with the material is forged by focusing on value (Schor, 2010,

2013; Scott et al., 2014). The new materialism literature asserts a focus on material value (Schor, 2013; Fletcher 2016). However, the findings from this study in the resale context illuminate the need to better understand the concept of value more broadly in new materialism.

To better understand value in clothing resale, this section considers the different value outcomes of clothing resale. Value is the outcome of," the actions and interactions which resources make possible or support" (Arnould, 2014, p. 130). The new materialism lens of the study prioritised the relationship between "[hu]man and matter" (Scott et al., 2014). New materialism literature and this study, carried out through a new materialism lens, not only focus on this interaction but propose that a focus on material value outcomes over other value outcomes is a path to increased sustainability (Schor, 2010; Scott et al., 2014). This school of thought believes changing the behaviour from focusing on items' economic, social, and brand value, and considering them for their intrinsic material and functional value, will improve the consumer and material relationship (Fletcher, 2016).

By taking into consideration both the value and new materialism literature, value outcomes in clothing resale are considered to be the value resulting from the interaction of the actors in resale - retailers, consumer sellers and consumer buyers; and the material goods, namely, clothing. The findings show a nuanced and complex variety of value outcomes of resale, which are explored in this section.

5.2.2.1 The role of economic value

Economic value is the underlying value of clothing resale, differentiating it from other divestment options such as recycling or donating to charity. The consumer brings their items to be sold and splits the sale value with the retailer on a commission basis (Ryding et al., 2017; Friedman, 2018). The findings of this study were that commissions were most often a 50/50 split. This was previously illustrated in Chapter four, Table 4.1. A small amount of variation was present for some of the retailers. For them, the commission varied depending on the price the item was resold at, as Caroline explains below.

> *"It's normally 50/50…[but]…anything that sells 300 pounds and over I take 40%, and if somebody brings me an Hermes Birkin bag or something, that's all negotiable."*
>
> Retailer, Caroline - inteview

The business model's commission split means that by design, both the retailer and consumer are concerned with the economic value outcomes of clothing resale as both benefit economically from each sale. Some of the consumers in the 'thrifty consumer' type were more motivated by economic

value outcomes. These economic value outcomes link to other value outcomes, consumer Elaine admits that the draw of being able to access better quality items at a lower price is a big part of shopping from resale. This demonstrates how her economic value links in with the style and quality of the garments and, to some extent, the brands that she prefers. Elaine discusses some of the high end labels she prefers and explains that although her personal circumstances mean she could buy them full price, she prefers to seek them out from the resale shop:

Consumer Elaine: If I don't like the look of the material, I know not to even try it on. I do like good clothes, but I just won't pay the price.

Interviewer: Okay and what is that you would consider to be good?

E: Well, Max Mara, I do love a label called Marc Cain, Annette Gortz. I mean Annette Gortz is high end for me, it is anyway, not couture, not way, way, way up but expensive enough…They would be from [resale] yes. I mean the price of those clothes, I mean I did buy a coat, at a proper price and it was a fortune and I'm a little bit ashamed of the price that it was, but at the same time that was five years ago and I wear it every winter, but at the same time, it was an awful lot of money, it was over a thousand pounds and I've never done that. That doesn't make me feel good, people get a buzz out of going into shops and spending money and coming out with their bag all wrapped in tissue paper, that doesn't give me a buzz at all.

I: But in that case, what was it that made you go for that coat?

E: Well it's very me and I mean the money is not the issue, it's not. I mean my husband is always saying go and get yourself some decent clothes, he's actually given up on me because I'm just not interested in going into those shops. On top of which you're pressurised and you always come out with something and quite often that something is a mistake and then they don't give you your money back, they give you a credit note. I did that now and again and I just thought, no I'm not doing that anymore. So its [resale shop]"

Consumer, Elaine - initial interview

Elaine insists that “money is not the issue”; however, her thrifty nature means she does not go into designer outlets or, as she puts it “, those shops”. She doesn’t feel good when she buys there, discussing how it does not give her a “buzz” but rather the opposite.

Her distaste for high-end shopping is also driven by the shopping experience. She cites a lack of flexibility in shopping from designer boutiques and feeling pressure to buy something she doesn’t want or need. However, she does like the clothing that they sell as she mentions all of these shops as places selling the “good” clothing she likes but as she says she “just won’t pay” for it and finishes the statement with a definite “so it’s resale” implying there is no alternative for her to get the “good clothes" she wants at a price that fits with her thrifty nature, thus demonstrating resale behaviour driven by economic value outcomes.

For Betty, her retirement means the clothing that she used to enjoy buying is now limited by a lack of funds. Her enjoyment of the clothing has not changed, however as she explains that “you still like nice things”. So buying from resale gave her access to items that fulfilled her passion for the clothing, style and self-expression that buying from resale allows:

> *"It’s more about the clothes, I have to say [laughs], but obviously the money part as well. I mean, we’re pensioners now. You still like nice things whether you’ve got the same money coming in or not. You still like the same nice things. This affords me the way to get them."*
>
> Consumer, Betty - initial interview

The ability to access “the same nice things”, as Betty puts it, at an accessible price point was the economic value outcome that motivated Betty to buy from resale.

The perception that buying preowned or used items will provide better quality at lower prices, demonstrated by Elaine and Betty in the quotes above, reflects previous studies (Guiot and Roux, 2010; Machado et al., 2019). Although buying fewer and better quality items, or accessing more expensive preowned items instead of poorer quality new items that might not have lasted, aligns with desired value outcomes in the sustainability literature (Goworek et al., 2020), this was not the motivation for the consumers like Betty and Elaine. They were focused on the economic value outcomes. The alignment with sustainability value outcomes was a bi-product of their behaviour, underpinned by their economic value focus. This sustainable consumption behaviour, as a bi-product of economic value underpinnings, is significant in understanding how consumers can be encouraged to participate in more sustainable behaviours.

Economic value outcomes also drove the retailers to adopt the resale business model in some cases. The shops were often long established because the consignment model was financially sustainable as Caroline explains:

> "*Yeah, I think it's a good business. I think the actual business model is one of the reasons why I'm still here. I think a lot of the smaller independent shops, you're tying up 250,000 pounds in cash in stock twice a year. I don't know what their sell through is…but I think these small independent shops are finding it harder and harder to survive. But at the end of the day, because I'm not tying up my cash. I mean, I think that's a big thing, don't tell anybody about it! Actually, I often wonder why somebody else doesn't open and do the same thing."*
>
> Retailer, Caroline - interview.

Caroline details how the lack of commitment to buying stock makes the financial value outcomes of running a resale shop appealing and sets it apart from other small businesses. This could be considered as part of the business case for sustainability. Economic value is underpinning the resale model because it monetises reuse, corroborating Buttle et al.'s (2013) finding that resale is one of the most financially viable circular business models for sustainability.

Further, for consumers who were selling items through resale, economic value outcomes were driving their behaviour in part. In their study on consumers accessing second-hand goods through car boot sales, Gregson et al. (2013) found that consumers turned their personal items into stock as they released the monetary value from them to buy new things. For many clothing resale consumers in this study, second hand buying and selling allowed them to become "petty capitalists" (Gregson et al., 2013, p.105). This petty capitalism means that they, "Reclaim the monetary value that remains in their goods, whilst passing on the use value to others through their exchange" Gregson et al., 2013, p.105).

This extraction of the use and economic value from items are reflected in this study's findings, as illustrated below by Lyndsay:

> *"There would be no point putting something on and expecting the full money back for it. You're not going to get that. So, you have to really accept your loss, see what other people have got for it, and say, 'Am I willing to part with it for that? Or do I think it would be better kept because I'm going to wear it?' So, that's the way my mind would work in that instance. And I think pieces like this, you're better holding onto it than trying to sell them."*
>
> Consumer, Lyndsay - initial interview.

For many of the participants, money is part of the bigger picture. As Lyndsay discusses above, in her experience, it forms part of a trade-off that means expectations in terms of economic value must be managed and, therefore, money is not always going to be the only reason to sell clothing at resale. For Lyndsay, the trade-off is between use value and economic value. If she feels there is still useful life in the garment, she won't think it's worth the diminished economic value she will receive from selling it. Lyndsay's resale behaviour fits with that of Gregson et al.'s (2013) "petty capitalist" concept, as she is focused on the economic value she can get from selling an item for another person's use. Where the findings of this study diverge is that Lyndsay's behaviour is bounded by a balance between the economic and use value. Not only undertaking petty capitalist behaviour, Lyndsay carefully assesses the items to consider whether her own use value might outweigh the economic value she can reap from selling it for others' use.

This balance between use and economic value is further discussed in section 5.3.2. However, the quote above illustrates that although the economic value outcome was to some extent a motivating factor, other types of value were at play.

Economic value underpinned clothing resale as a key value outcome. This had been expected because the commission-based nature of the business model means that money is at the centre. The findings showed that some of the consumer buyers were taking part in what could be considered sustainable consumption behaviours: buying higher quality and less (Goworek et al., 2020). Their sustainable behaviour was, however, underpinned by an economic value outcome. For retailers, the business model made economic sense and this played into the business case for sustainability. Finally, this section considered how the consumer sellers' economic value outcomes were around the monetising of their unwanted goods, making them worth selling. All these behaviours with economic value outcomes underpinning them, although taking place in the clothing resale business model which is considered to provide circular solutions, were more in line with thinking found in mainstream, linear economy approaches (Machado et al., 2019). Thus, illustrating the tensions that arise when using economic value outcomes to promote circular business models.

5.2.2.2 Value outcomes from resale as part of the fashion system

> *"Watching Isobel's wardrobe audit recording, I am back in her cosy living room amongst the chintz hand-knitted cushions and memorabilia of a lifetime. I reflect on her warm welcome, the vintage 1930's tea set, and the freshly polished silver teapot brought out especially. I remembered the feeling of occasion that morning spent with her brought, I remembered the event of seeing her clothes and hearing her stories. I felt privileged to be invited into her world.*

She seemed to just love clothes and gifted me a lovely book on style in older age. I reflected on how she seemed proud of looking different and recounted how she loved receiving compliments on her style. Watching her interact with her clothes, she seems so concerned with taking care of her appearance and wearing certain labels even if they are all from the charity shop. I smile as I listen to her recount her love of shopping and reflect on her shopaholic nature and her disgust at those who shop on the high street."

Immersive fieldnote reflecting on Isobel's video wardrobe audit

This excerpt from an immersive fieldnote made by the researcher when rewatching Isobel's wardrobe audit illustrates how the value outcomes typically associated with mainstream fashion behaviours were at play in clothing resale. As discussed in the literature review, the resale of clothing is not exempt from the politics of the fashion system (McLaren et al., 2015). Therefore, as was expected with the consumption of clothing, the aesthetic, emotional, social, and experiential value outcomes were all of significance to consumers in clothing resale (McLaren et al., 2015).

For Isobel, it was a love of clothing and emotional value, along with a love of style, aesthetic value, and the social value in being noticed when she went out in her clothes that made them appealing. Isobel bought a lot of her clothes from the charity shop and from resale shops. Her style and appearance and the image she projected were important to her.

Aesthetic value was important in choosing the clothing, including aspects such as colour, design and style (MacLaren et al., 2015; Hirscher, 2018). Several of the participants talk about finding something that looks different or unique to other items when shopping at resale. This different aesthetic also carried social value for some resale shop consumers, as Claire illustrates below. She speaks about finding items of clothing that no one else would have so that she could be unique in social situations:

"…It was just about the style aspect, just these unique pieces that nobody else was going to have. Maybe there's a smug part of me that likes that."

Consumer, Claire - video wardrobe audit

Emotional value is also present in influencing purchasing consumers. Many participants talk about loving their clothes, and in Liz's case, she fell in love with the quirky jacket the resale shop owner recommended for her:

"*It's different, yeah. I've got a Versace jacket that I wear from [resale shop] that's kind of like camel, but it's got a bright orange fur collar on it. And the minute I put it on, [retailer] said to*

me, 'Oh my goodness, you're the only person I know that could get away with that.' And I wear it to death. I love it. I love it so much."

Consumer, Liz - initial interview

Liz's use of highly emotive language to describe her love for the jacket, "I love it. I love it so much" and how she "wears it to death" demonstrate how emotional value is prominent for her purchase of this particular item. For Liz, emotional and aesthetic value together influenced her resale purchase as she refers to the aesthetics of the "bright orange fur collar". Further her thrill in being "the only person…that could get away with that" is part of the emotional value outcome that drives Liz to purchase the jacket. These emotional and aesthetic value outcomes that underpin Liz's resale behaviour are reflective of value outcomes associated with fashion consumption in existing literature (MacLaren et al., 2015; Hirscher, 2018).

The experiential value of shopping at resale was also important for many of the consumers. Several talked about the experience of resale and how it differed from shopping in other places. As Claire illustrates below, the full experience of shopping in the resale shop for a dress included the experience of interacting with the retailer:

"…I like the fact that she's organised them by colours. That speaks to my process…And I will just systematically go through. I will literally look at every single dress because…everything is so different, you can't properly see unless you kind of get a good look at it…I never go there when I'm in a rush; it's always just like slow perusing. And I'm always chatting to [retailer], so probably a bit kind of multitasking, catching up with her. Yeah so…I tried on a few…that dress it looked slightly big on the hanger. And I was like maybe that won't fit me. But then when I put it on, it did fit me and tried on a couple of…belts with it because it had a bit of a waist belt, and we were deciding whether it needed a thin belt or a thick belt. And [retailer] gave me her advice on that…"

Consumer, Claire - follow up interview

The fact that aesthetic, emotional and experiential value underpinned clothing resale was expected from the literature on clothing consumption more generally (McLaren et al., 2015). Armstrong (2016) illustrated how the focus on the value types that underpin mainstream clothing consumption could be used to make circular business models more appealing. The findings suggested that this study corroborated Armstrong's findings. Consumers engage in resale, which is an alternative business

model for sustainability, because of the presence of values associated with mainstream clothing consumption (Niinimaki and Hassi, 2011).

5.2.2.3 Brand value in resale

In the new materialism literature, the brand and its associated social and symbolic value is considered the antithesis of enacting a new materialism approach (Schor, 2013). Schor and others consider new materialism in action to come from prioritising material value over social and brand value (Schor 2010, 2013; Fletcher, 2016; Scott et al., 2014). This study found that material and brand value are interwoven, and interaction between brand value and other value types such as material, aesthetic and experiential value is integral to clothing resale. This section details some of these complexities and creates a model to explain how brand value becomes a part of the sorting process in clothing resale.

For some, resale was a way to access high-end brands they would not normally buy, either because of economic or geographic limitations, and are readily available in resale. This reflects Roux's (2006) findings that resale allowed consumers to access brands at a lower price to provide a higher social value outcome, as Catherine discusses:

> *"I think if you want designer clothes especially, you do have to come somewhere like this. We have so many customers that come in and say, 'Oh, I couldn't have afforded this at all, I would never shop in Armani or whatever, but in here, I can'."*
>
> Consumer and employee, Catherine - interview

However, the findings of this study went beyond Roux (2006), discovering that while social value was part of the picture, for clothing resale consumers, brands also signalled the ability to find things that are different or unique. By stocking certain brands, the retailer can provide this uniqueness to the consumer, as Caroline illustrates. In this example brand value became a way to also provide experiential value:

> "*Well, it's not just about the brands. It's about giving my buying customers accessibility to things that they wouldn't be able to buy in Glasgow. I mean, a large majority of my buying customers don't shop online. They want to come in, they want to try things on. They want to get a feel for the fabrics [and] for the fit. They want some help with the styling."*
>
> Retailer, Caroline - interview.

Caroline's comments are of further interest as they outline the added value interactions with the clothing in the resale shop can give the customer beyond the brand name. In describing the "paradox of materiality", Schor (2013) illustrates a consumer focused on the meaning of the item rather than its material worth. Schor argues that this preference for meaning over material is at the heart of unsustainable consumption behaviour. The less interest in the material worth of an item, the more material resources are needed to satisfy the needs of overconsumption. So, to achieve more sustainable consumption, brand value must be eschewed completely (Schor 2010,2013; Fletcher, 2016). Instead, a focus on the material is preferred (Schor, 2013). Caroline's quote above illustrates this, along with the brand and experiential value. In her quote, the material value is part of the customer experience of clothing resale, with customers trying things on to, "get a feel for the fabrics and fit" which goes beyond the brand. This focus is accompanied by the experiential value the consumer gains from being in the shop to interact with the retailer and receive style advice. This suggests that for the resale consumers, the material value does not exist in isolation. Proposing that Schor's suggestion that a focus on material alone is required might be more difficult, rather, brand value is part of a complex experience and brand and material value go together.

The finding that brand value intersected with other value types illustrated the use of brand beyond status or symbolic value to sort garments. The sorting of garments in clothing resale determined their material flows, a concept that Scott et al. (2014) inextricably link to sustainability. They suggest being more sustainable in consumption and retail; we need to pay "meticulous attention" to these material flows (Scott et al., 2014, p. 287).

When sorting in clothing resale, brand was used to determine the material aspects such as fabrics, cut and workmanship. Many of the participants described using the brand as a quick way to decide if the item would be of good quality. For many retailers, the brand was part of a complex, subconscious, or well-practised process of determining and filtering through the large volume of clothing brought in for potential resale. Many of the shops did not accept high street brands and used brands as a parameter for what is accepted for resale. Retailer Barbara illustrates this below, naming certain high street brands that upon seeing, she knows she won't accept:

> *"…the lower shops like Warehouse, Oasis, River Island which I don't tend to touch. Because a) it's not...it's the older ladies that I'm dealing with…slightly older ladies...and I'm not going to get it away for a fact...maybe the accessories I would get away but not the clothes because…it's made fast, it's made a lot cheaper and it's not you know not as nice...Well it can be nice, but it's just fast fashion...is that not what they call it, fast fashion? Flying across your eyes! [laughs]"*

Retailer, Barbara – interview

Barbara describes her association with certain brand names from the “lower shops” as “not as nice” because its “just fast fashion”. These comments from Barbara imply that she associates these brands with lower quality garments that will not match the expectations of her customers. Barbara’s value judgement behaviour means that when she encounters items with these particular brand names, the garments are immediately rejected.

This was the case for consumer and retailer participants when deciding what to resell and for some consumers when sifting through items in the resale shop to buy. Thus, the item’s brand informed the decision of retailers to sell the item or for a consumer to take the item to resale. This is illustrated by Claire and Audrey, who both used the brand to make judgements on the quality of an item:

“*But I do love Jaeger that’s one of the ones where when I see it, I’m just like - that’s good”*

Consumer, Claire - interview.

Claire names Jaeger as a brand she looks out for as its “good” implying that the associations she makes with items from this brand are positive ones. Her statement suggests that for Claire seeing a Jaeger branded piece was an instant green light to buy the product, making a quick judgement on the quality of the item simply upon seeing the Jaeger label.

“*If I know the label, I can tell by the quality. You can tell right away the way it's made, the feel of it, the look of it, the label speaking to the customer. If it’s just a basic…if it’s an M&S cashmere, well they go for 80, 90 pounds in Marks and Spencer, so I put twenty pounds on those. If it’s not…if it’s F&F Tesco, F&F don’t get much for that because they sell their cashmere for what, 15-20 pounds, I think? So, I'd stick about, if it was a twenty pound one, I'd probably put ten pounds on it. I try not to put F&F out because it’s really thin and people are looking for quality cashmere and they know what they're looking for. They know what labels they're looking for, so it depends on the label and the condition.”*

Retailer, Audrey - video observation.

For Audrey in talking about a specific garment, namely cashmere jumpers, she compares the same garment from different brands, using the brand to determine the price. This decision making process for Audrey is based on her association with the quality of each brand’s cashmere pieces. Deeming Tesco cashmere “really thin” compared with M&S “quality cashmere”. She explains how by knowing the label, she knows the quality. Thus, the process of looking at the label negates the need to consider

each item individually based on its material value. These three examples from Barbara, Claire and Audrey highlight the role of the brand in determining the quality and material value of the item. The importance of these factors is in contrast to literature that suggests that brand value should be overlooked and consumers should focus on material value (Scott et al., 2014; Schor, 2014; Fletcher, 2016). Rather the quotes above indicate that brand value is used as an indicator of material value in resale.

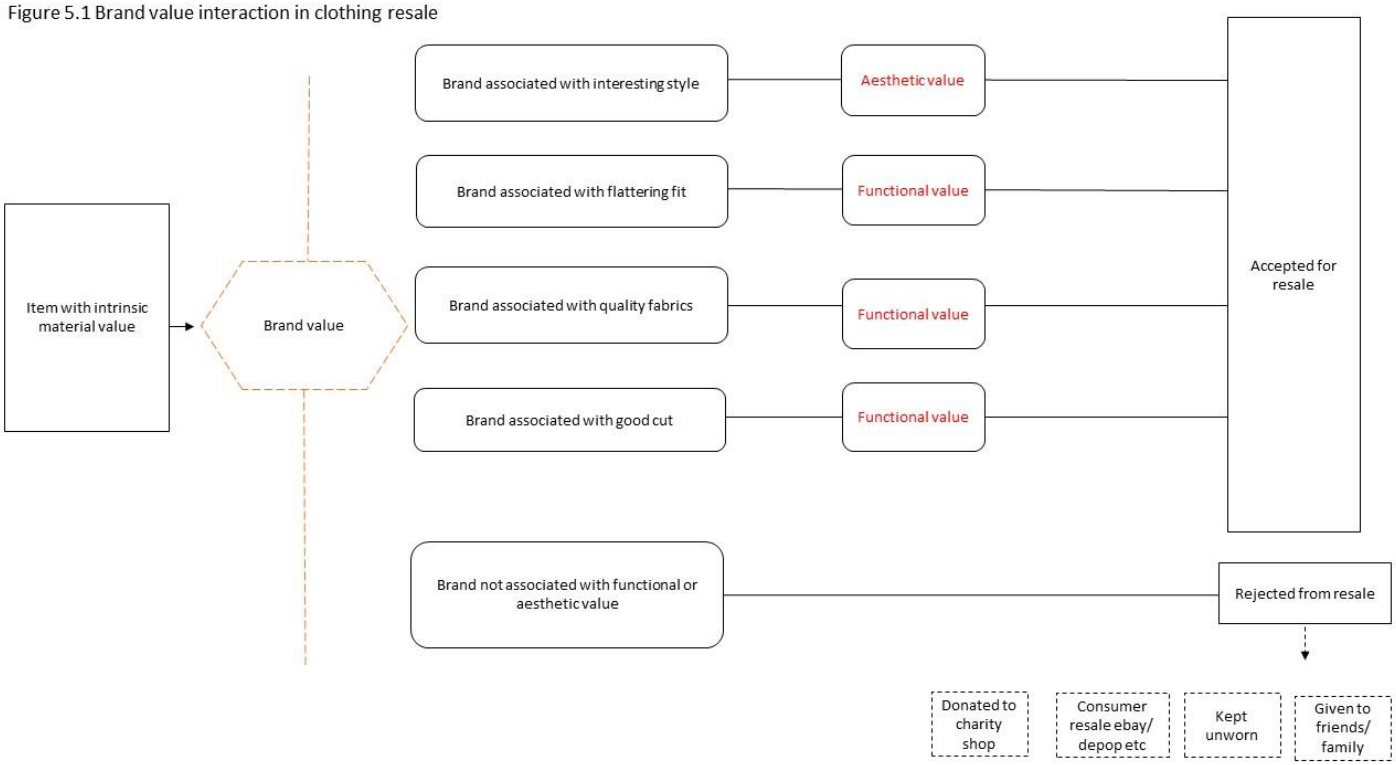
For Isla and Helen, the brand was a way to judge whether something was a good fit or cut. This was because they had something that fitted well from that brand before so they could make a decision about buying from the brand again:

> "*Based on…the fact that I've had something similar before from the same brand…so like in Whistles every year they do this jumper…if I saw one on eBay, I would buy it. You can wear them with jeans.*"
>
> Consumer, Isla - video wardrobe audit

> "*So, it's a brand called Lucky Brand. And I just find that. This brand of jeans you know, fits my body well, just the quality of their material…I think is very good quality. These jeans have, let's see, I've had them for over ten years."*
>
> Consumer, Helen - video wardrobe audit

In Helen's example, this interaction of brand and functional value: choosing a brand at resale that she knows will be a good fit, means she had held onto the jeans for over ten years. The brand becomes part of the value for Helen; the outcome of the material flow is that the jeans remain in use because the brand provides a cut that "fits my body well" and is "very good quality", so she continues to wear them. In this example, the value outcomes of brand and material value are closely connected because the brand and its functional attributes are one and the same for Helen. She doesn't buy the jeans and keep them for their social value but rather for their fit and quality. This connection means the suggestion that brand and social value should be eschewed to focus solely on the item's material value (Schor 2014; Fletcher 2016) is more difficult to enact in the reality of clothing consumption. Rather, the findings showed consumers and retailers considered the material value along with other value outcomes to make sense of value in resale clothing consumption. This interaction is represented in the diagram overleaf, Figure 5.1, which shows the differing effects of brand on materials flows in clothing resale.

Figure 5.1 Brand value interaction in clothing resale



Brand value was used as a tool for sorting clothing when it arrived in the resale shop and as a guide to consumers when buying from resale, with varying material outcomes (Scott et al., 2014). If the brand did not immediately fit the criteria, no matter whether it had material or use value remaining, resale retailers could refuse the item meaning that the brand value acted as a barrier to certain items staying in circulation. This approach is problematic for circularity as the exclusion of a whole sector of brands, at the lower end of the high street means they have the potential to not be reused and means that items, particularly those associated with 'fast fashion' and cheap and low quality clothing will not become part of the reuse in clothing resale. This builds on Niinimaki et al. (2020) and others work on fast fashion. Suggesting that not only does fast fashion have a high environmental price in the linear economy, but it is also difficult for it to enter a circular system. If this is the case, then even changing the system will not help reduce fast fashion's continued environmental impact. Items from fast fashion brands that were not accepted for resale were disposed of through a variety of platforms at the consumer seller's discretion as the diagram shows. These disposal routes could be problematic for example, donating to charity can be problematic as only around 10%-20% of items donated to charity shops in the UK are sold (Barber, 2021). Instead, the reduction of overall consumption will be required, particularly in relation to fast fashion brands.

Conversely, brand also became part of the sorting process in a positive way. Items from brands that were associated with positive experiential, functional or material value were able to continue to resale. This resulted in their value being maintained in the material flows. This was not based solely

on the social value of the brand, but rather the associated material and functional value historically associated with pieces from that brand. So, brand was often a determining factor in whether things were resold, but not because of the focus on meaning over material (Schor, 2014). Instead, the brand had to align with the other value types in order for the item to be accepted.

5.3 VALUING IN CLOTHING RESALE

5.3.1 Mapping a value regime for potential circularity

In order to better understand how value is created in clothing resale, this section maps a value regime for clothing resale. This approach builds on the framework of a value regime proposed by Gollnhofer et al. (2019). A value regime is a holistic understanding of value. Using this as a framework for exploring value in clothing resale allows value to be unpacked further in line with the aim of this study: to understand how the values underpinning clothing resale function to create the value outcomes outlined in section 5.1. The concept of value regimes comes from a school of thought taking a socio-cultural perspective on value and has been built from work by Appadurai (1988), Graeber (2010), Gregson and Crewe (2002), Arnould (2014), Arsel (2015), and Gollnhofer et al. (2019). This section considers the three aspects of a value regime – object pathways, governance, and higher order values of clothing resale identified by Gollnhofer et al. (2019) as they appeared in the findings of this study.

5.3.2 Resale object pathways

The new materialism lens this study adopted focused on the material objects of the resale process and considered these in the context of the behaviours or interactions of actors included in resale and their resulting material flows (Scott et al., 2014). Consumers create the resale object pathway by bringing unwanted clothing, accessories, and shoes to a shop dedicated to reselling these items. Thus, in the resale object pathway, clothing moves from consumers' wardrobes into the resale shop to be sold on. Previous studies found that consumers gain value from the process of divestment (Hetherington 2004; Ture 2014; Cherrier and Ture 2020). This can be an altruistic value (Ture, 2014), or value in making space, or value from the satisfaction of maintaining order in their household (Cherrier and Ture, 2020). Claire illustrates this below, discussing the "buzz" she got when she first realised she could divest her mounting discarded clothing through resale that meant she could finally clear out her wardrobe restoring order:

> "*For a while I just…this giant bag of things was collecting. And yeah I've shopped in [resale shop] for like 12 years as long as I've lived in Glasgow. I don't know why I didn't think to kind*

of ask [retailer] about that first because I could see on the labels I buy it's got people's names on it. So I just went and asked, and she's just like yeah…And I then sent this bag of stuff to her and she went through it, and she took nearly everything. And I had such like a buzz off that. Like skipping back to my flat…it was just the combination of having a pile of things that I wanted to get rid of and finding that outlet. So that was just a kind of coincidence. But I don't know what I would have done if I hadn't discovered [reselling]…"

Consumer, Claire - interview

For Claire the realisation that the resale shop could be "that outlet" that she had been struggling to find suggests a feeling of relief from discovering resale. This value from the divestment of her clothing through resale that Claire recounts reflects Ture (2014) and Cherrier and Ture's (2020) findings that the value comes from the act of divestment itself. Claire recounts the buzz and the relief she experiences from her initial discovery of clothing resale, representing value beyond just recouping the money from the items she sells, but rather from the act of divestment itself. This added value from divestment, building on Ture (2014) and Cherrier and Ture (2020), was also present when the consumers talked about using resale to recoup the use value from their objects, rather than the dissatisfaction of items hanging unworn in their wardrobe. Isla illustrates her dissatisfaction with a jacket that she has in her wardrobe in the quote below:

"*It's always that kind of dissatisfaction. It's kind of hanging in your wardrobe looking lovely. But you know, you're never going to wear it and that's just annoying to me because…I want to be able to wear things. But to me, if you keep it in the wardrobe long enough, eventually it'll not be in fashion anymore, or it'll not fit you anymore, so you might as well just wear it. You know what I mean like…it's there to be worn I don't think it's there just to be hanging in the wardrobe."*

Consumer, Isla - initial interview

In saying that it is "there to be worn", Isla seems to feel a responsibility that the item should be worn and enjoyed, which motivates her to move it on. In this way, the value from divestment is not just personal but a wider responsibility and altruistic value (Ture, 2014).

Following up with Isla several months later, she explained how the jacket, and some shoes that had a similar backstory, had been taken along to the resale shop to be sold. This helped her to overcome the feelings of dissatisfaction she had from items not being worn:

> *"It was because I'd had this conversation with [resale shop owner] about things that I'd maybe like to sell on rather than just giving away. Because I'd spent a reasonable amount of money on them in the first place. And…I wasn't allowing myself to buy anything else, because I was disgusted that I'd a pair of Malone Souiler pumps that I hadn't actually worn. I mean…I just thought that that's just ridiculous. You know…I didn't pay full price for them, but that's not the point. The point was, I hate that feeling of I've bought something, I've tried it on at home and thought, 'yep, perfect'. And then…a few weeks later, or whatever time later, sort of being honest with myself: 'You're not going to wear them'. And being honest with myself about the jacket: 'You're not going to wear that again', because I've like put it on so many times and taken it back off and put it back in the wardrobe."*
>
> Consumer, Isla - follow up interview

For Isla, she is trading her clothing in for resale to release the use value she knows the garments still hold. There is a tension in Isla's actions that she chooses to, "sell on rather than just giving away" identifying the preference for recouping some of the value, but balancing this with her understanding that overall, this is done at an economic loss. In this way, consumers like Isla perceive value in clearing out and divestment (Ture, 2014). Isla is identified as fitting in the 'thrifty category' in the consumer typology, which is reflected in her focus on recouping the value of items where she can.

Similarly for Helen, another 'thrifty consumer', reselling clothing is about projecting the remaining use value onto an imagined consumer who will get the use out of it. For Helen, as a 'thrifty consumer' type, she does not want to waste the value she can still see in an item. Instead, she wants someone else to use this remaining value. In the clothing resale model, the original consumer can assuage their guilt at purchasing an item of value they are no longer using by selling it to someone else, as illustrated by Helen:

> *Just, it wasn't practical anymore. With kids, you know it's…sort of like a bucket bag. But it was too small, not big enough to carry all the snacks and I guess the kid essentials and I couldn't see myself, like having it…in the near foreseeable future. So, I thought you know, to sell it and someone can appreciate it like I had."*
>
> Consumer, Helen - interview

As illustrated by the quote above, Helen gained value from knowing the object she was selling would have a new life. Thus, the thrift was not just driven by economic value but also the use value. In their 2013 study of consumer behaviour at car boot sales, Gregson et al. found that these thrift values

aligned with those of sustainability which is also seen in the findings of this study. Isla and Helen are selling to recoup economic and use value, driven by their thrifty nature. However, in doing so, their behaviour reflects the more sustainable behaviour that the sustainability literature advocates for clothing consumption (Hvass, 2015; Niinimaki and Hassi, 2011; Pedersen et al., 2016).

Although the reuse of clothing by selling it through resale appears to be more sustainable, the findings showed that, looking beyond the object pathway of clothing resale, for some consumers resale was a way of making space for new clothing purchases. Often the items become part of the resale object pathway from impulse or mistake buys, where things have been bought quickly and then don't fit or are no longer liked. Frequently, these items have been purchased new, and several of the consumers talked about the added value of new items, as this conversation with Anna illustrates:

Interviewer: And what kind of things have you taken to sell in [resale shop] often?

Consumer Anna: Like jeans, dresses, tops, trainers. Every time I have trainers I would bring in, [they're] either maybe only worn once or brand new. Now, I have an obsession with trainers. They go out like 'that', but they're like, they're not your normal running trainers. It has maybe been like an exclusive Adidas pair or Nike pair. But then there's things that I thought would have sold in [resale shop] that didn't. And then things that I did or I didn't think would sell have [sold]. So, I discovered that trainers are a big…like they go really quickly. So, I've actually got…I need to sort out through all my trainers again. And most of them have got labels on them, that go to [resale shop].

I: So, are they things that you've bought new then?

A: Yes. And then just not worn, and went, "No, I don't really like that anymore."

I: And were they just…they were bought on the high street?

A: Yes, yes. I'll nearly always pay full price for trainers. I'm quite lucky, though, because I can get away sometimes with kids, so a five and a half will fit me. Most of the ones probably I've brought to [resale shop] have been adult size. But like I'll have paid maybe £80 for them, give them to [resale shop], and maybe only make £20. But it's still £20; you know what I mean?

I: And what was it about them that you ended up giving them to [resale shop], rather than wearing them yourself?

A: Because I´m an impulse buyer, a shocking impulse buyer. And then go, "Well, I´ve got 30 pairs of trainers here; I don´t need all these; I´ve no room to buy more." So, yes, it´s shocking.

I: And you're saying there about having a bit of a clear out, is that something you do quite regularly?

A: Oh, yes. And stuff will go to [resale shop], stuff will go to the charity shop and stuff will go to my second cousin. And I´m talking maybe four bin bags, twice a year. And this wardrobe will be…like there´ll be space in the wardrobe, and it will not be long before that is filled again.

Consumer, Anna - interview

The object pathway of resale is often made up of new or unworn clothes being given a second life, which feeds into the sustainability narrative (Pedersen et al., 2016; Moretto et al., 2018). The sustainability in clothing consumption literature in this narrative considers that circular business models, where clothing is reused, are the way to move forward with more sustainable clothing consumption. This approach to consumption is a way to maintain value and keep things in use for longer. However, Anna's comments above reflect the findings from this study that these clear-outs to sell items in the resale shop are often to make room for more consumption. This represents a disconnect between the findings and sustainability and circular economy thinking.

As discussed in Chapter two, one of the perceived difficulties with the implementation of the circular business models was that the failure to address the reduction of overall consumption might create a conduit for increased consumption (Hobson and Lynch, 2016; Geissdoerfer et al., 2020; Hobson, 2021). This increased consumption echoes previous findings where divestment frees resources for more consumption. This reflects work from Denegri-Knott and Molesworth, (2009) who found this pattern in consumers reselling through eBay and Gregson et al (2013) in exploring car boot sales. This highlights a difficulty when considering the object pathway of clothing resale in isolation. At first, clothing resale appears to fit with the sustainability literature. However, upon considering the other consumption behaviours, and the associated object pathways that are part of the bigger picture, the sustainability credentials of the resale object pathway are called into question.

The findings showed that the object pathways of items in clothing resale are part of a hierarchy when divesting. Lyndsay illustrates this below:

"I'd just go through it and think, 'Right…I'm never going to wear [this] because I've had it for two years and it's never been on, still has the tags on, so you obviously didn't need it.' Or, it

doesn't go with anything else, you've bought it on an impulse. So, that would go into the sale pile, probably. But things that have been well loved but still in good condition but I'm not going to wear them anymore because they're maybe out of style or they don't fit, with the weight fluctuations, they would go into the charity pile. And they're still sellable but not worth me selling."

Consumer seller, Lyndsay - interview

A waste hierarchy is a term to describe how items are ranked for different divestment channels (Gregson et al., 2013). The waste hierarchy concept maintains that there are preferred methods of disposal, with the ideal being prevention, then reuse, recycling, down to the least desirable method of disposal in landfill (Defra, 2011; Laitatla and Klepp, 2015; Ewijk, and Stegeman, 2016; Degenstein et al., 2021). According to the waste hierarchy concept, clothing resale is towards the top of the hierarchy.

The findings showed that within clothing resale, there was a hierarchy in how the consumer sellers ranked and graded their clothing when they were clearing out before they reached the resale shop. For many of the consumers in this study, items at the top of the hierarchy of clothing disposal went to the resale shops. Resale on platforms such as eBay was seen as the next step down, followed by donations to charity shops. Items at the bottom of the hierarchy were either donated as fabric recycling or sent to landfills.

Gillian illustrates this hierarchy for her garments when talking about why she chooses to take certain clothing items to be resold rather than donating them to the charity shop. Certain items were considered "too good" to go to the charity shop:

"*Because I invest a lot of money…there was always a certain amount of my clothes that I would never give to a charity shop because they were too good. Because they were of a period, they were of a style. They were of a good material that they were forever clothes, so I would you know I knew that somebody else would want them."*

Consumer, Gillian - interview

For Gillian, the hierarchy was based first of all on economic value where clothes had cost "a lot of money". She also talks about the role of material value in that these more expensive items were made from a "good" fabric, and also the continued use value that the clothes possessed where they were

“forever clothes” that had more use left. These criteria were all important in choosing the resale route for her disposal.

Figure 5.2 Sorting clothing for resale, charity and disposal

Value was determined by where the items fitted within this hierarchy of disposal. Items were expected to be part of the reuse of clothing but were often discarded or sent down the hierarchy to charity, recycling or landfill when the consumer or retailer who was choosing their destination could see no value. Lyndsay demonstrates her process in the quote below. She sorts her items by putting them in piles depending on the channel she considers most suitable for their disposal. The items being ranked each followed a different path, and not all became part of the resale object pathway. Like Gillian above, who based her decision on a mix of the original cost of the item, the perceived quality and her previous experience of selling items, Lyndsay chose resale over other routes for items based on recouping a certain amount of money. But also, more practical reasons were at play for Lyndsay who

demonstrates below in her wardrobe audit that bulky items go to resale to avoid the more difficult logistics of posting them:

Interviewer: So, you've got your sale pile and two different outlets, what's the process of what goes where with that? Which pieces went to [resale shop] versus eBay?

Lyndsay: The pieces that went to [resale shop] were the pieces that I thought were too bulky to send out in the post, and they're also pretty valuable. So, when you're asking a customer to pay for postage and insurance on top of that, it's quite a lot. Especially if it's an international customer. They maybe would be put off buying it, or you might get a lower price than [resale shop] would be able to obtain, although their commission charges are very high. So, it was ski jackets and things like that I put into her. Coats, boots, things like that that were heavy, bulky items.

I: So, it was more based on the item than what it was worth.

L: Yeah. It was easier at that time, I just thought I'd give it a try. But I think I might have been able to get more money for that if I'd done it myself on eBay. You can never tell on eBay; something that you think might sell, or that you think is really worth something, you can't tell from a picture. And I think people tend to be quite cautious when they bid. Whereas in [resale shop], people can walk in, they can try the garment on, they don't have to continually ask you for measurements. They can see if there's any wear and tear. And I think it gives them a better opportunity to get a better price.

Lyndsay, consumer - video wardrobe audit

These two consumers' differing decision processes - for Lyndsay based on logistics, for Gillian economic value - show that the criteria for how decisions were made was on an individual level. This criteria could be described as a private hierarchy decided by the consumer (Gregson et al., 2013). In this way, the consumer decides where they dispose of their clothing before entering a public waste system. In contrast, the hierarchy of disposal is a policy hierarchy (Laitatla and Klepp, 2015; Ewijk, and Stegeman, 2016; Degenstein et al., 2021). This means there is a potential for a disconnect between policy and private hierarchy. This is similar to Gregson et al.'s (2013) findings that, ultimately, the consumer may not behave as desired within the hierarchy because the decision to resell, donate or landfill each item lies with the individual consumer and is underpinned by their values. This personal hierarchy could make the consumer's engagement with circular business models for sustainability problematic as it becomes very subjective.

Consideration of the object pathway beyond the moment of resale is important in understanding value in resale. Building the whole picture, not just considering the moment when the items are taken to resale informs whether the consumer might be using resale to make room for further consumption or overconsumption. Exploring the object pathway is particularly important in relation to the maintenance and longevity of value and circular economy and whether the object pathway beyond the boundaries of resale is encouraging overconsumption rather than sustainability (Cooper, 2005; Buttle et al., 2013; Murray et al., 2017). It is also important for the whole systems approach cited in the sustainability literature as the way to progress more sustainability in consumption (Geels, 2010; Davies et al., 2020). The object pathway is part of a larger system. The literature on whole systems approach encourages consideration of the macro, meso and micro (Geels, 2010; Davies et al., 2020). Only considering the object pathway in isolation, is focusing on the micro without consideration for the rest of the system. If the object pathway is considered in isolation there are parts of the system that may not be promoting sustainable consumption.

Exploring the object pathway of clothing resale reveals that the resale shop may be the end of the line for many items as retailer Aimee discusses below:

> "*I'd say about 70% will sell, and I'd say about 30% they'll either not come back for it, and we'll never hear from them again. We just donate it to charity on their behalf."*
>
> Retailer, Aimee - interview

Aimee discussed her sell-through rate of around 70% and the need to donate to charity on behalf of those who don't come back for items that haven't sold. This suggests that for some consumers the perception is that the object pathway ends for them at resale, whether the item sells or not, and the responsibility for disposal then passes to the retailer.

From this perspective, understanding what happens to items that are not sold and those that are sold is important. Items that are not sold in the resale shop are put back into the hierarchy of disposal discussed above by the consumer participants and by retailer Aimee. Resale consumers that had sustainability values underpinning their behaviour were focused on buying second hand to reuse, but those who were identified in Table 5.1 as disposal driven were often selling to make room for new items.

This exploration of the resale object pathway beyond the initial interactions and transactions in the resale shop also illuminated the fact that the resale shop is often the end of the object pathway as items are not accepted back in for sale. Although the literature on resale as a sustainable business

model suggests that the clothes would go through several lifecycles in clothing resale (Henninger et al., 2016; Pedersen, 2015; Niinimaki, 2015), for many of the retailers, items were not accepted back for sale. Retailer Caroline illustrates this, highlighting that things do not have unlimited life. This might mean unlimited life in their functional value, but given that she fits into the 'novelty focused' type of retailer, this could, in fact, refer to the commercial understanding of the items concerning keeping a turnover of new items coming into the shop:

> "*Well it depends what it is. But in general no…I mean, things don't have an unlimited life, do they?…No they'll mix things in, but I think if somebody who bought 100 percent new now only buys 50 percent new. And then they'll go out and buy other new stuff and bring it and bring it back to me. If third time round it goes, it goes to the charity shop instead of coming back to me. That's still within that recycling business, isn't it? So I have nothing to measure it by. All I can go on is my instinct and my conversations with people. I think it has to. It has to have something to do with it."*
>
> Retailer, Caroline - interview

Further, although Caroline does not t take items back, she still sees the resale shop playing its part in a bigger reuse and recycling system, saying that her unsold items going to the charity shop are "still within the recycling business". Although the item cannot have more than a second life through resale, for Caroline, resale is part of the system, and she assumes the item will be reused in the charity shop. In this way, she sees resale and the charity shop as part of the same object pathway. However, this is problematic given the well-documented issues that charity shops have with high volumes of donations and only around 10-20% of this is sold (Barber, 2021). Surplus is often shipped to the global south, which has caused issues around the destruction of the local textile industries, and the high volume of clothing that has been shipped in has meant that prices for second-hand clothing in these markets has reached an all time low leading to poverty and the landfilling of excess stock (Brooks, 2019; Das, 2021).

The object pathway of clothing resale is pre-owned clothing, a mixture of new and pre-worn items, coming from consumers' wardrobes as a result of regular wardrobe clearouts. The object pathway aligns with sustainability thinking to a certain extent as it gives clothing another life and has the potential to maintain value. If the object pathway beyond the window of resale is considered, there are several ways in which value is lost or overconsumption is encouraged, which is at odds with promoting more sustainable consumption. The next section, 5.3.3 discusses this further, focusing on how the formal and informal practices of clothing resale govern the clothing resale value regime and

regulate the object pathway of clothing resale. This study found that the object pathway beyond resale needs to be considered in order to adopt a whole systems approach (Davies et al., 2020).

5.3.3 Formal and informal 'governance 'in resale

In Gollnhofer et al.'s value regime framework, governance is defined as, "Legal or normative structures that promote certain higher-order values while repressing others…These actors do not have equal say in shaping markets and exchanges. Defining a value regime's governance mechanisms is usually the purview of the regime's most powerful members" (2019, p. 463). The governance of clothing resale is in the formal and informal practices that define the parameters and behaviours of those involved. Gollnhofer's definition suggests that there is a balance of power within these governance mechanisms and the findings showed this was the case in clothing resale. Determining the value of items that come into resale shops is subject to a delicate balance between the retailer, consumer seller and consumer buyer. The findings showed this power dynamic shifted as the consumer took on the role of either buyer or seller, or in some cases both. The findings also showed that the retailer had to consider both the buying consumer and the selling consumer. The retailer relied on the former to buy their stock so the business could function, and they relied on the latter to supply their stock.

5.3.3.1 Governance from the retailer

The findings showed the retailer's influence on the value of the items was determined by a set of skills the retailer held and, for some, had been honed over many years. As Caroline explains below, the shops studied were often sole trader establishments. This meant the owner was key to the success of the business. Owners were often responsible for all aspects of operations – taking in consumer seller's stock, assessing its value, selling items, and building relationships with buying and selling consumers.

> *"..This is where I'm actually going to just blow my own trumpet, because I think the range of skills that you actually need to operate what I'm doing…People think it's easy and it's not. And you need a wide, wide range of skills to be able to do it. And for me, that's the barrier, the barrier to entry. It could also be though the barrier to some kind of get out for me personally, because if I wanted...I mean, is the business worth anything in terms of what I've done over the 10 years? And when I talk to business people about it they do feel that the business is very much me. I would like to think that I could transfer it to somebody else at a value if I wanted to in the future. And there's still lots of improvements to make. You know, you're just...you've just always got to try and keep introducing different things to make it better, make it a better experience for the both selling and buying customers. And just try and improve really."*

Retailer, Caroline - interview

The consumer often trusted that the retailer could make judgements about the value of their items. Parsons (2007) discusses that as items pass through a system of reselling, valuing often depends on the retailer 'seeing' value and showing this to their consumers. This phenomenon was present in clothing resale, where several of the retailers talked about their own skills in identifying the value in items as part of a wide remit of skills required for running a resale shop:

> *"I look through, take out what's seasonal, what I think will work in the shop, and then I take their details and they then get a text from me with all of the prices and the list of items. They can amend the prices, but generally people are like, 'No, it's your business, you know what works.'."*

Retailer, Rebecca - interview

Retailers show value to the consumer, both consumer seller and consumer buyer (Parsons, 2005, 2007). They can recognise an items 'intrinsic value, and many retailers have built on this expertise over time through running their business, as Audrey describes:

> *"You just know by looking at it. You just build up an instinct. You can't really describe it, if you see something you just know…it's a no, it's a maybe, or it's a definite yes"*

Retailer, Audrey - interview

This expertise means that retailers also act as gatekeepers. They have the final say on what is and is not accepted for sale. As Liz explains, the consumer sellers get to know what will be acceptable and the standards and limitations that the retailer sets.

> "...She's very fussy about what she takes. It's got to be in really good condition. It doesn't matter; the slightest wee mark on it, and she's like 'No, that's not really…' She's very high end."

Consumer, Liz - interview

As well as the condition of the garment, many of the retailers put limitations on value based on the age of the item. Age was often used to determine whether a retailer would accept an item for sale. As Aimee explains, her experience of the value degrading over time means she has a policy that she will only accept items two years old and under to sell:

> "*We ask usually that they're under two years old, it's just because the styles and fabrics change. Whereas people might say, 'Oh but mine looks just like that', we're finding now that the customers that are coming in to shop from us want something that's relatively modern. Cause we do get customers bringing in ten, fifteen years old and they just wouldn't sell for us on that part…I find with separates as well, people hold them in their wardrobes for ages and that's when you get kind of charity shop smell. I didn't want the shop to smell like a charity shop."*
>
> Retailer, Aimee - interview

It emerged from the findings that the retailer's governance of the clothing resale object pathway went beyond just maintenance and control of the items and became a barrier. The retailers used criteria such as age, condition, style and expertise to decide whether items were accepted into the shop for sale. This behaviour was particularly prevalent in the 'novelty focused retailers' who were keen to provide novelty value for their consumers. These barriers had implications on the possibility of the clothing continuing in circulation and retaining value (Parsons 2005, 2007).

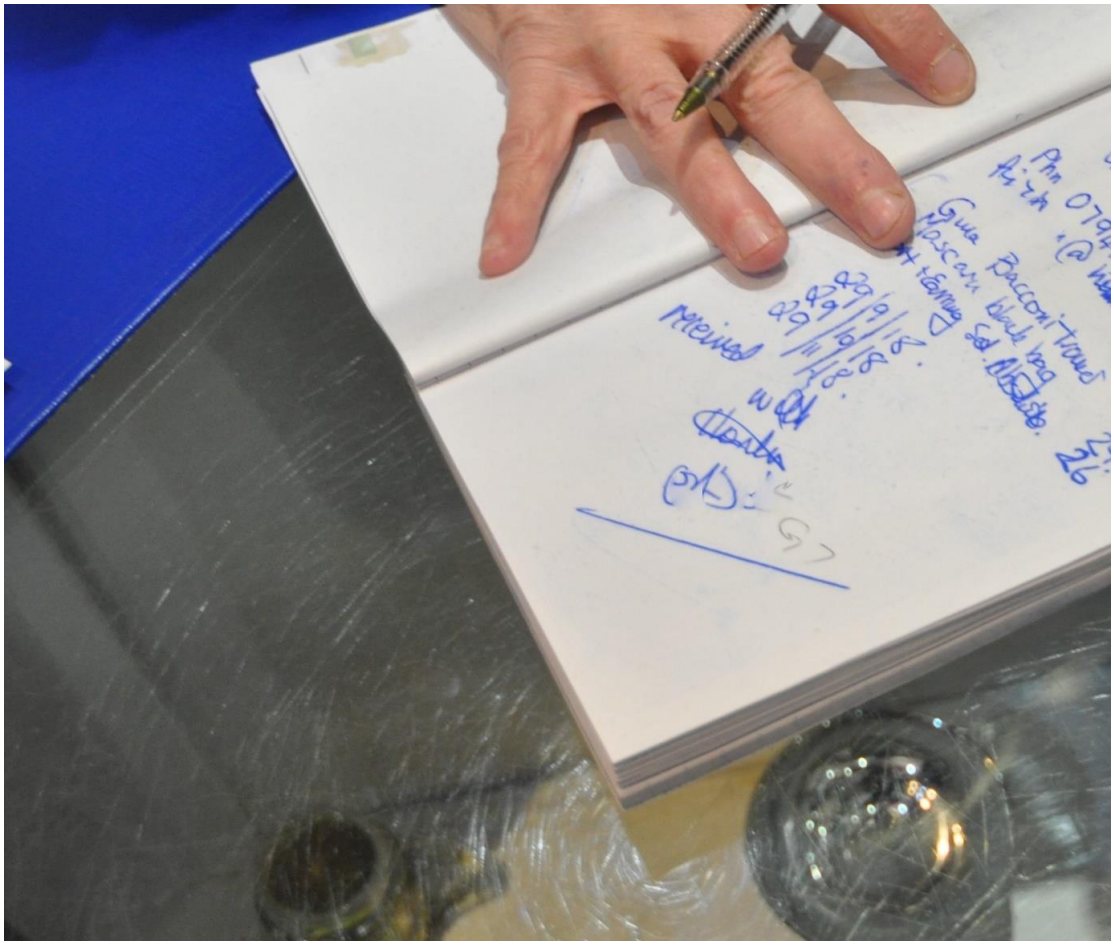


Figure 5.3 Making a record of stock received for selling

As well as the informal practices of gatekeeping there were a series of formal practices. These formal practices included a robust administrative system used to record the items that had been brought to the retailer for sale. These systems varied between digital and analogue as illustrated by Aimee below, and in Figure 5.3., and had become an integral part of the process for retailers:

> *"I'll just say, 'This label we usually sell for this price in the shop' and they're usually fine with that. And then I will just take their details. So I take their name, address, postcode, telephone number. I'll give them a unique five digit number and I always just say to them that if they want to check their account, they've got to have the five digit number. If they want to collect their cheque if their item sells, they've got to have [the] five digit number, and if they want to collect their outfit, the five digit number. Because we do have people with duplicate names on the system and a lot of people come in, 'Oh just check it for my name' and I'm like, 'No I need that number. That's my security that I know exactly who you are because you're the only person that's got this five digit number' and then they get their customer number and I'll get them to sign terms and conditions which basically just says, 'I've taken your outfit, we've*

agreed a price, I'll hold it for three months just keep in contact with us. If you're not back in contact within the three months'…they get 28 days past their expiry date to get in contact if not I can donate it to charity on their behalf even without getting in contact with them. But if it sells I'll hold the money for them for six months. So, if…they've not been in contact, if they get in contact maybe like five months later if the outfit hadn't sold, I could have given it to charity. but if the outfit has sold, I'll still pay them because I'll hold the money for six months."

Retailer, Aimee - initial interview

Aimee showed me the database she uses for keeping track of customer details. It's set up to work out the commission, and she uses it to make sure she keeps track of sales, collections and money owed. She feels the information is really important and records all interactions with everyone. She explains how she added a notes section to the existing system when she took over as the new shop owner to make sure she could keep track. The old owner failed to do so and Aimee saw how she became stressed out as customers complained if she got anything wrong. Aimee makes notes to keep a record of the conversation. She tells me how she finds it especially useful when there is an abrupt customer to keep a note of the conversation and then she can make them 'feel special' on their next visit.

Fieldnotes, December 2018

Aimee's system included detailed notes of items taken in for selling and a comprehensive set of terms and conditions. Her focus on her system revealed the delicate balance between protecting her own interests and managing the relationship that developed between retailer and consumer. Fieldnotes from observations at Aimee's shop highlighted how the formal governance of the record-keeping system in her shop was used to "keep track" of the customers. This record-keeping level and Aimee's mention of "her security" suggested that Aimee lacked trust in her selling consumers, which was influencing her processes.

Gollnhofer et al. (2019) discussed that governance of the value regime comes from the most powerful member. In implementing a robust system with lots of detail, Aimee was able to take back control of the relationship with consumers, overcoming the issues that had caused a lack of experiential value for consumers under the old system. Now, she can use her systems to ensure consumers "feel special".

For Audrey, the way to overcome any issues of trust with her consumers as she has to rely on them to provide her stock was to only use a small number of trusted sellers.

"….I've stopped doing the model of selling on behalf of customers. I'm just keeping my regulars. I no longer take on new customers…I've got customers built up that I would sell on their behalf. I would keep those ladies cause I've got a really good relationship with them. They've become friends…I like dealing with them. They're really easy to deal with, and they've been coming in for years, so they're trustworthy, and they're nice people."

Retailer, Audrey - interview

Audrey's choice to scale back the resale arm of her business to only resell items from a group of regulars that she trusts works for her small scale business. However, this has implications for the mainstreaming of circular business models as the successful governance methods Audrey has implemented are based on informal and personal relationships cultivated over time and are not possible to scale up.

The consumer and retailer are co-creators of value in clothing resale (Hvass, 2015). The findings show that this meant establishing a relationship between the two was vital. The retailer relies on the selling consumer to bring stock that will be appealing to their consumers. This relationship highlights some of the nuances of the consumer in alternative or circular business models. As outlined in Chapter Two, the expectation is that the consumer will become a user and behave in a way that suits a circular system (Tukker, 2015; Hobson and Lynch, 2016; Hobson, 2016; Winans et al., 2016; Mylan et al., 2016). This study's findings highlighted that the retailer also has to adjust their behaviour to embrace the consumer seller, building up trust in them because the retailer relies on their consumer sellers to supply stock and sometimes information about the stock to inform its value. This study found that value outcomes of clothing resale were based on trust, with the retailer seen as the trusted expert, and their customers relying on the retailer's expertise when buying and selling at resale.

5.3.3.2 Governance from the consumer seller

The findings also showed tension between the consumer who provides stock to the retailer with knowledge of its value and the buying consumer and retailer who need to recognise this value. Building on Parsons' findings (2007), where the retailer was the expert in "seeing" value, this study found that both expertise from the retailer and the consumer seller are considered when determining the value of an item. The consumer seller had to see that there was value in the item to bring it into the resale shop and sell it. Conversely, Parsons found that the seller sometimes had to explain to the retailer why the item still had value to encourage the retailer to see this value, as Caroline illustrates below:

"*I would really ask them [customer] all about it when they dropped it off just so that I had as much information to be able to value it."*

Retailer, Caroline - interview

When the expertise is coming from the seller rather than the retailer, the lines are blurred between seller, consumer and retailer which sets resale apart from other retail systems. Certain consumers both provide stock and buy stock. Consumers come into the shop to buy and find out they could bring their things to sell or vice versa. Aimee describes this system below:

"*I've got quite a lot of people that are like regular bringers and buyers. Especially the younger girls now, especially this year. It was like an absolute grapevine. You could tell straight away cause this girl used to come in and get hat hires from me and then she was like, 'Oh I like that dress, can I try it on?' And I was like, 'Yep'. Then she was like, 'How does this work, can I bring in dresses?' and I was like, 'Yeah, bring in dresses'. It was like four days later, I'd another girl in bringing…me like, similar labels so it was all the Ted Baker, Karen Millen, Coast. She was like, 'Oh my friend was in. You've managed to sell her...some of her dresses already and I've brought some of mine in'. I was like, 'That's fine' and then she was, 'Oh, you've actually got dresses that I might like'. So it just was over about a three week period it was about ten different girls, ten different shapes and sizes, but all liked kind of similar labels and they were all mix and match and swapping from what they'd brought in, so that was good."*

Retailer, Aimee - interview

Where the boundaries of selling and buying consumers were blurred there was more chance of circularity being present in the behaviours of the consumers. Although, this depended on the type of retailer. For Aimee as a community-focused retailer, she was happy to take items back and sell them again if it was beneficial for her consumers. Arguably, this was beneficial for Aimee as she could offer the consumer more incentive to buy if they knew they could bring it back to sell again. Aimee does highlight that these practices are only available to "regulars", highlighting again the trust that is required between the retailer and the consumer seller as provider of stock.

"A customer will come in and buy it off us…and they'll be like, 'If I buy this...can I bring it back and you can sell it for me again?' And I'm like, 'Yep it's very current it's less than a year old in the shop if you want to buy it and bring it back in I'd be happy to take it again as long as it's dry cleaned and it [has] no marks on it'. So, I've got customers that way - regulars that will do that. But, they end up getting like more of a percentage back if that makes sense from what

they paid for it. Because a lot of the time I can put it back out at the price they paid for it, so they'll get half of what they paid for it back. Whereas the people that buy it brand new they only get a sixth of what [they paid for it new]. So I mean...as long as it's in good condition…and those people I find are the people that like they shop in charity shops. They do their best to do things for the environment and things like that as well."

Retailer, Aimee - interview.

Whereas for the 'novelty driven retailers', selling items multiple times was not allowed. So, although some consumers would sell and buy, the retailer's unwillingness to take items back multiple times meant that circularity was limited. As Aimee illustrates, the consumers who were willing to sell things more than once, in her experience were more likely to, "Do their best…for the environment". This suggests that those who engage in multiple reselling are more likely to be the ethical and sustainable consumer type and have higher-order values that were focused on sustainability. Aimee, however, also highlights the economic value for consumers of getting "more of a percentage back" for their sale underpinning these decisions.

Therefore, the consumer sellers' informal governance in the value regime of clothing resale came from their knowledge of the product, which at times would be superior to the retailer, combined with their willingness to resell things several times.

5.3.3.3 Governance from the buying consumer

In the governance of the resale value regime, the parameters were drawn based on the desires and wants of not only the retailer and the buying consumer, as would be expected in mainstream retail, but also by the consumer seller. The consumer seller was also aware and used the consumer buyer as a form of governance for their sorting process. Both the consumer seller and the retailer must believe the consumer buyer will see value in an item. These parameters began with the selling consumer understanding the retailers 'market and, in particular, the needs of their consumers.

The findings showed that many of the consumer sellers had the buying consumer in mind when engaging in the initial sorting of their items at home before an item was brought into the resale object pathway. Consumer Gillian illustrates this awareness of the buying consumer's requirements and those of the retailer when she talks about the pricing of items. Below, she considers both the retailer's expertise in seeing the value and the role of the buying consumer in determining this value for the retailer:

"*She's [retailer] the professional with regards price-wise, and she has to sell it to her market and she'll know what price things will go at…"*

Consumer, Gillian - interview

Many of the selling consumers were aware of what will and won't sell through their experience of selling at resale to a certain market through the retailer. This awareness influences them to take in only items they know, or think, will be accepted for sale by the retailer. For something to have value, it has to be perceived by the retailer and consumer seller to be desired by the buying consumer as highlighted by Caroline and Isobel below:

"…And what I know my customers want to buy and indeed the kind of stuff that I want to sell…I am aware and I try and make the selling customer [aware] that buying customers have options."

Retailer, Caroline - interview

"…It's not easy selling stuff because it's a buyer's market all the time, you know?"

Consumer, Isobel - interview

In the findings, both retailers and consumers acknowledged the importance of the buying consumer in defining whether an item was saleable or not. Determining whether an item was valuable or not, in many cases, meant having a consumer in mind to buy it when deciding whether to accept it for sale. For the retailers, this could be either imagined or an actual, often regular, customer. As a result of this, part of the governance of the resale model works on the matching up of customer, seller and buyer. Having a consumer in mind provided a way for retailers to sort and choose items. They needed to imagine someone in the clothes before they said yes to selling them. For the retailer, the notion of this imagined or potential consumer gave the clothes a reference point for their value. This is highlighted below by retailer Audrey speaking about a prom dress she had for sale in her resale shop:

"*So, I was hoping that, you know, someone in the west end, some savvy teenager and her mum would come in and say, 'Right, put this on, it's amazing. It's only seventy-five pounds. There you go you've got a lovely dress that no one else will have, it's unique'."*

Retailer, Audrey - video observation

As this quote shows, for Audrey, when accepting the prom dress for sale, she has an imagined consumer in mind who would want the dress. The imagined consumer, in her eyes, would see the

economic value, “only seventy-five pounds”, aesthetic and social value as a “lovely dress that no one else will have”. She assigned value to the dress based on the qualities this imagined consumer would value: the unique nature of the dress at an affordable price.

For Caroline, thinking about value is based on her existing customer base and who might be interested in certain items; she pictures the person that it would suit, discussing how she knows that the consumer often buys from the same consumer seller. She can, therefore, match selling and buying consumers up to realise the value in stock when it arrives in store.

> *"Very often when stuff comes in or a batch of stuff, then I match it up and I'll give them a call and say, you know…People have there…each selling and buying customer, there's a match somewhere. And it's quite interesting because if somebody comes in wanting to buy, very often their selection although they're not aware of it, will, all have come from the same person."*
>
> Retailer, Caroline - interview

What is regarded as still holding value and not holding value is determined by a set of parameters imposed by the retailer; often, these parameters are influenced by the known wants of the buying consumer and based on saleability and whether it is desirable to the buying consumer. Therefore, the value is not always intrinsic to the item, but rather is in the eyes of the buying consumer. As a result, the process of attributing value to the item has to be done by imagining what the buying consumer will want (Parsons, 2005;2007).

5.3.3.4 Governance from the system

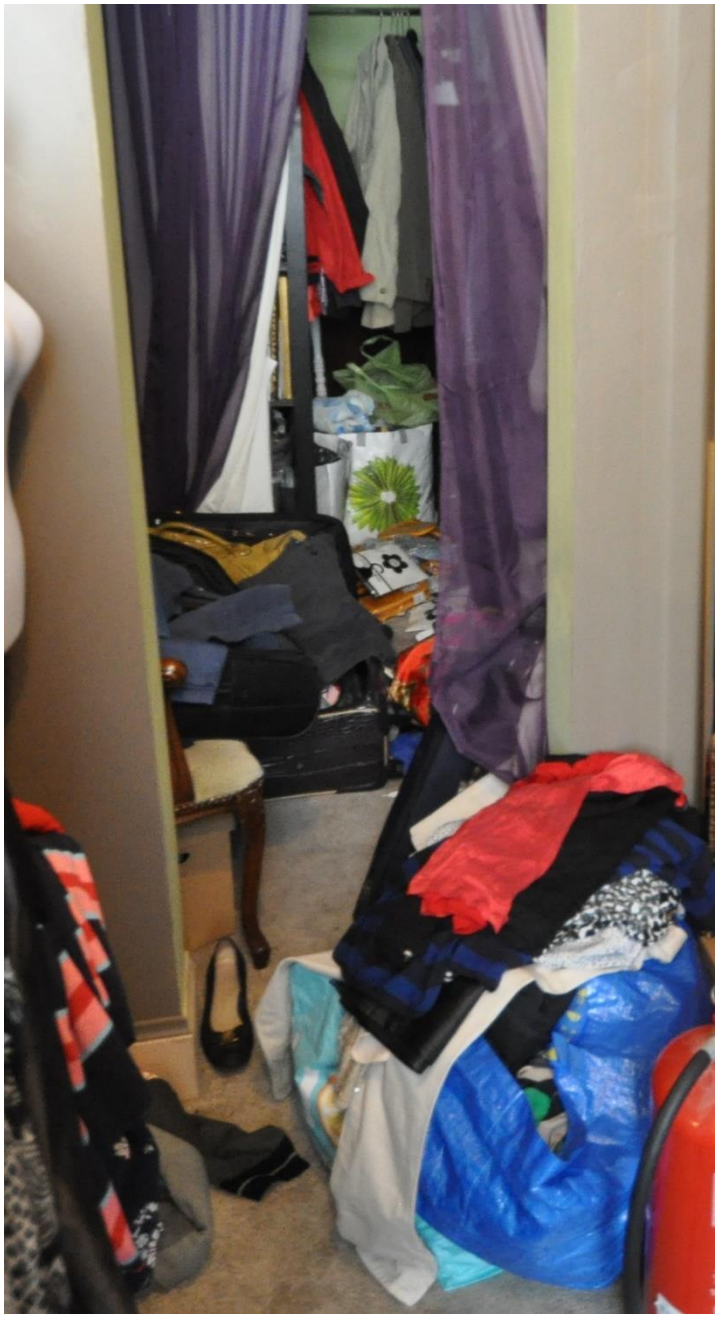


Figure 5.4 Piles of clothes recently received from consumer sellers waiting to be sorted

The retailers were often inundated with items, as illustrated in Figure 5.4. which shows the stock room of one of the resale shops. Bags of clothing and accessories are piled up, waiting to be sorted by the retailer. Many of the retailers talked about having to set a limit to what they could accept. This was due to the large quantity of items that were flooding the resale market. Schor (2013) described the resale market as a by-product of overconsumption, and this was illustrated in the participating resale stores in the study.

There were several barriers that retailers explained to accepting pieces. As well as the space issues, taking things in causes administrative work to set up the sales agreement with the consumer seller, and retailers did not want to cause unnecessary work when the pieces were unlikely to sell.

> "*I just think because…normally the shop's pretty full of stock and you just think no...you've just got to sell what you've got, you can't keep going taking it in, taking it in, unless you're shoving it back out the other way, unless you're absolutely mobbed. But you know, unfortunately I haven't been lucky enough to be that way. You know I tend to kind of start slowing massively or being really, really, more picky than I am and just saying, 'No, I've got about five black dresses thanks very much. Probably got a lot in that size, I've got enough thanks'. Popular size 12 and whatever and you're like, 'Sorry, got it'. You know and eh it can annoy people, but at the end of the day the...all you're doing is just doing the paperwork and the admin side of stuff for a very slim chance of it actually going…And then I think it's knowing as well when to call a halt and to give the shop a…not a crushed…Oh my goodness, I can't see the wood from the trees scenario…"*
>
> Retailer, Barbara - interview

As Barbara highlights, the informal governance of the object pathway of clothing resale was sometimes imposed by the wider clothing system rather than because of the retailer's choice. In this case, the retailer couldn't always accept everything that was brought to them because of space and merchandising issues. This was the case across several of the retailers that were interviewed, as this fieldnote excerpt highlights. The note describes how one of the shops had to advertise that they were unable to accept clothing at that time, suggesting that enquiries about providing stock to sell were greater than their ability to process it and sell it.

> *"Went into [resale shop] to speak to Caroline and leave flyers. Caroline wasn't in so left some flyers with [assistant]. Noticed they had a sign on the door that they weren't accepting any clothes to sell at the moment. They must get more clothes than they can sell."*
>
> Fieldnote, October 2018

Similarly, Karen discusses the huge number of potential sellers wanting to use her resale business. Feeling overwhelmed by the "wall" of clothing coming at her that she could potentially sell but could not process in her sole trader set up. As a 'sustainability-focused' retailer type, this conflicts with her higher order values. Particularly with the knowledge that selling through her site perpetuates buying more cheap clothing in its place. Though as is discussed in the next section, 5.3.3, this conflicts with

the higher order values that Karen uses for her business development. She does not communicate these views to her consumers, which means that the quality may not improve:

> "*I'm just getting this wall of more [clothing] coming at me and you're like stop, stop, stop, stop. You know like it's crazy…this is just…getting worse. Stop buying crap people! You know…I really hoped what [resale business] would do is give people access to beautiful clothes at Zara prices so would stop them buying the crap, but it doesn't at all, they still buy the crap. You know, it's so…I don't know what to do…*"
>
> Retailer, Karen - interview

These accounts highlight that, to some extent, the governance of clothing resale was out of the hands of the actors. Often, the size of the shop and the time involved governed whether items could be accepted for sale and, therefore, whether their value could be maintained. The accounts also showed that the object pathway of resale was influenced by other object pathways from new clothing coming in and where the items were rejected from resale. As discussed in the previous section, resale is considered the preferable method in the hierarchy of disposal (Degenstein et al., 2021) and is considered a business model that promotes circularity (Buttle et al., 2013; Hvass, 2015). However, the retailers were unable to accept all the clothing offered to them, not always because of the barriers they put in place, such as age, condition, etc., but because of space issues. The volume of clothes they received outnumbered the items that they could accept for sale. This was not because the items lacked value. This highlights how the resale model was not always able to provide the circulatory it promised in theory.

These informal and formal practices determined the governance in the clothing resale value regime that retailers, consumer sellers and consumer buyers undertook. This involved power shifts in terms of value for all three. The governance role fell with whoever was in power and, depending on the knowledge and value judgements, this power shifted between consumer seller, retailer and consumer buyer. In some cases, the retailer recognised the value in an item, "seeing" its value, which Parsons (2007) also found. At other times the consumer seller with informal "expertise" helped the retailer see the value. Additionally, the consumer seller and retailer created value for the consumer buyer by understanding the parameters within which the consumer buyer would see value in the stock. However, much of the governance of clothing resale was completed by individual retailers and consumers. It was also influenced by their relationships, some of which took many years to develop. This highlights that the governance of clothing resale value could be problematic when attempting to scale up the business model for more mainstream circular business practices.

5.3.4 Higher-order values in clothing resale

> *"I spent the morning in Karen's home observing how she integrates her new resale business with the renovation of a large period property that she hopes will eventually host pop-up shops and workshops for her resale business. She welcomed me with coffee and apologies for the mess; the family had only moved into their new home a few weeks ago and were just getting to grips with the transformation ahead.*
>
> *After a tour of the spaces she has carved out for an office and stock room, she showed me some items waiting to be packaged up for posting later that afternoon following a successful flash sale the previous day.*
>
> *I observed how sustainability was a real driver in all of Karen's business decisions and reflected on the fact that up until now, this had not been mentioned by the retailers I'd observed. I was also interested to hear that Karen found that sustainability-focused social media posts didn't get the same engagement despite it being her personal driving force, so she focused on creating a concept and lifestyle brand, trying to put across her own personality in stylish, positive and energetic posts rather than preaching or pushing the sustainability agenda. I wondered about the beautiful imagery I'd seen on her website and social media and how seeing her enviable life, in reality, might translate to future purchases for me. Reflecting on how her lifestyle focus had successfully meant I had no idea she was so motivated by sustainability before I met her.*
>
> Fieldnotes, February 2019

The final aspect of the value regime was the role played by the higher-order values of the actors, the determining values by which they live their lives (Gollnhofer et al., 2019). This introductory excerpt from the fieldnotes highlights how the mix of sustainability and style values underpinned Karen's resale business. Karen was one of the few 'sustainability-driven' retailers in the retailer typology. However, what was of most interest in Karen's values was that although sustainability underpinned her choice to change jobs and set up a resale business, these were not the value that she used to promote her business.

As discussed in the literature review in Chapter Three, new materialism focuses on how people relate to the material world, which is mobilised by a focus on value in order to be more sustainable and improve wellbeing (Schor, 2010; Scott et al., 2014). In exploring the values underpinning resale, it emerged that there were a variety of higher-order values underpinning clothing resale. These values

did not all align with the values of new materialism. This section establishes the values underpinning resale behaviour that emerged from the analysis.

Previous literature discussed the impact of values on value, for example, values as a lens through which to view value (Press, 2007), as a trade-off between value and values (Hillier and Woodall, 2019), and as part of a value regime (Gollnhofer et al., 2019).

Some of the participants did discuss being able to consume in a more sustainable way. Claire discusses her preference for vintage, resale and charity shopping over the high street:

> "*It's a much better use of money. I think it also comes back around to that thing about, like, I hate kind of consumerism, and the fast turnover of high street clothes and things are on trend, and then they're not and then people just throw it away and buy more…"*
>
> Consumer, Claire - interview

Claire talks about her shopping preferences as a "better use of money". She chooses where she spends her money but intends to continue her consumption. For her, the values of rampant consumerism underpin the high street, and she prefers not to shop there. However, her continued consumption could be playing a part in this consumerism (Hobson and Lynch, 2016). Claire, however, doesn't recognise this in her higher order values focused on the sustainability of her choice.

Sustainability was not the main driver for many of the consumers and retailers in the study. Sustainability was often not mentioned throughout the interview, but when they did talk about it, they did not necessarily directly relate it to their clothing consumption practices, as this conversation with Anna highlights.

> *Consumer Anna: I don't think, as a whole, the UK is very good at buying from charity shops or reusing their clothes or even thinking about getting their clothes repaired. I definitely think we need to get better at that.*
>
> **Interviewer: Is that something that is influencing you in your buying or anything?**
>
> *A: No. But it's something that came into my head a while ago…The last year I think.*
>
> **I: Right. Is that how long you've been [working in an alterations shop]?**
>
> *A: No, I have been there three years.*

I: Right. So, what do you think has -

A: Made me think about it?…I don't know. Just like probably looking at my own spending habits and thinking about my own money situation. It's like all we do is buy, buy, buy, buy, buy. And I still buy, don't get me wrong, but nowhere near as bad as what I used to, and nowhere near as much money, do you know? If I want something, I'll be really obsessive about it and will get the money, and it's ridiculous.

Consumer, Anna - interview

Anna, who is employed in an alterations shop, talks about an awareness of the values of reuse and resale but admits that when it comes to her clothing consumption, that is not the primary value underlying her behaviour. She is instead mainly driven by cost.

Like Anna, many of the participant's resale consumption behaviour was not driven by values of new materialism. Instead, "life priorities" (Gollnhofer et al., 2019), such as their relationship with the retailer, their love of style and clothing beyond the confines of fashion trends, influenced their involvement in clothing resale. The opportunity to get something different, or of particular interest to them, was often a driving influence for consumers engaging in clothing resale over other more 'mainstream 'shopping options.

" If I see something, I like it. I'm not typically High Street. I like things that are a bit different; I don't like to look like Joe Bloggs walking down the street. So, I pair things that don't go and things like that. Wear things that you probably think, 'Oh, god, that doesn't look right.' But I think because it doesn't go, it'll look great. So, that's what I do."

Consumer, Liz - video wardrobe audit

Liz discusses her intention to find something different or interesting on a shopping trip. She purposefully seeks out items that others might not attribute value to, which suit her life priority of projecting a creative or 'different 'aesthetic.

Consumers' style and creativity were also at play in attributing value to an item when others might not. Isla, for example, recounts a recent shopping trip with her sister:

"*I said, 'I'm buying that'; she said, 'It's all squished!' I said, 'I don't care if it's squished' I said, 'look at it it's great!' She was like, 'Oh, I don't think so'. Then I wore it she was like, 'Oh that*

top was a really good buy!' I think it was 32 quid, and you know that way it was all dusty and...and I just... there was just something about it. I thought, oh, no, no, I'll wear that a lot…"

Consumer, Isla - video wardrobe audit

Isla discusses recognising the value in a top that was presented badly, and after purchase, her sister, who had been present when she purchased it, can now see the value. Her values of style and creativity meant she could see the potential in something that her sister could not. Thus, certain consumers have the ability to recognise the value in items, which means they can pick out items and recognise their value in resale. Indeed, consumers like Gillian talk about their personal style being important in resale and use shopping from resale as a creative outlet:

"*I think I've always been very style-conscious. [....] I've been style-conscious of my own style. I have never really followed fashion [….] I would never ask an assistant in a dress shop what she thought.[…] or I would never bring anybody with me if I was buying anything. I would just instinctively know [….] what suited my body shape what I liked style-wise. And I just think you either…know how to dress or you don't. And…I think if you've got to ask other people you don't know."*

Consumer, Gillian - interview

To some extent, values that underpin their creative skills drive consumers. Particularly the consumers who were 'style led consumer' types. Their desire for something different, an unusual appearance drove their desire to shop at resale over the mainstream shops. This is illustrated in Gillian's comment above, where her confidence in her creativity and style means she is confident going into the resale shop. However, she is engaging in buying items from resale, which is more sustainable than buying new items. The values that underpin her behaviour are not focused on sustainability. Values of creativity and style instead underpin her behaviour.

The findings showed that those engaged in resale prioritised their ability to sort and sift, which not every consumer was capable of doing. Due to these skills-based values, the relationship with the retailer also influenced participants 'clothing resale behaviour. Personal style shaped consumers' experience of resale shopping. If a consumer didn't have the confidence to go into a resale shop and know what would suit them, they could build a relationship with the retailer. The retailer would step in and use their styling skills or fashion knowledge to find pieces that they liked. The relationship between the seller and buyer influenced the perceived value of the items. In addition to the retailer's

expertise, discussed in the previous section, there must be an underlying matching of values between consumer and retailer for them to trust the retailer as the expert.

> *"Yeah, she's good in that she's honest. If she thinks she's seen something that you'll like, she'll tell you…But if you try something on and it's not right she'll also go, emm. Or she'll go and get you a belt or you know, 'you could do that with the waist'. But she doesn't push you into into purchasing...no. I've been in many a shop High Street shop, Hobbs is my pet hate. 'Oh, you look lovely in that' [the shop assistant says, and] I'm thinking I look like a sack of tatties. 'Oh would you like a pair of shoes? Would you like a cardigan?' Nooo, I don't [want] anything, I'm going now thanks. They're very pushy and that's another shop that I just don't bother going in to now. Hobbs, just never, oh god no tactics, upselling. Nah that's not for me."*
>
> Consumer, Isla - interview

Isla illustrates her trust in the retailer's honesty and opinion and sees value in the items that the retailer recommends for her. This trust illustrates a connectedness not only to the material object, in this case, the clothes but also to the relationship with the retailers. Through their relationship, the values of the retailer are also significant in determining the value of the items for the consumer. As Isla trusts the creativity and style of the retailer and her honesty to communicate these values truthfully to her.

A new materialist approach is thought to positively impact sustainability through core values of care and repair, longevity and durability (Schor, 2010; 2015). In the context of clothing resale, this focuses on the materiality of the garment (Fletcher, 2014; Crewe, 2017). This research showed how holding values such as 'thrift', 'style' and 'creativity' could have the same impact on the value of the items and promote behaviour that arguably sits with the values expected from ethical and sustainable consumption.

As discussed in the literature review in Chapter Three, understandings of materialism, particularly negative connotations, are said to damage well-being and sustainability. The participants discussed wellbeing in an indirect manner. For many, they considered well-being as "living your values" (Seilgman, 2012). The consumers talked about the shopping experience at resale matching their values, which positively affected their wellbeing. As Claire discusses, her positive experience of shopping in resale and charity shops is partly due to the alignment with her values.

"*I have realised as I got older that buying that type of stuff fits more with my values around the environment. And also by giving money back to, well a charity if it's charity shops, or to those smaller businesses, you know."*

Consumer, Claire - interview

Materialism literature suggests that inherently materialistic activities negatively affect wellbeing (Kasser, 2012). In contrast to this thinking, for some of the participants in the study, their wellbeing was improved by being around material goods. In some ways, this connection with the material world aligns with the new materialism literature, as Helen illustrates with her explanation below of what she enjoys about shopping in a resale shop:

"*I find it very peaceful…you know…you're just around nice items.* And *[shop owner] is very approachable and easy to chat to […] she doesn't treat you like a customer, but you know, as a good mate […] she listens well [and] just the items she brings in it's very nice"*

Consumer, Helen - interview

The new materialism literature suggests that wellbeing comes from fostering an appreciation for our material goods (Schor 2010, 2014; Scott et al., 2014). For Helen, the appreciation of the goods and the feelings of peace that she gets from them are not a long-term connectedness but rather a moment in the resale shop. The connectedness is not just with the goods but also with the retailer who she considers a friend. The existing literature focuses on increasing wellbeing by buying less and keeping it for longer (Schor, 2010; Fletcher, 2016). However, participants' experience in clothing resale was that buying differently, i.e. from resale rather than high street brings a sense of wellbeing. This wellbeing from the shopping experience is less to do with the materialism aspect and the material goods themselves and more to do with the interactions with the retailer and the experience that they create. They found clothing resale shopping to be a positive experience. This contrasts with a focus on producing certain products to achieve more sustainable consumption and better wellbeing (Henninger et al., 2016; Pedersen, 2015; Niinimaki, 2015). Instead, it suggests that value for sustainability might be found in the human element of the consumption process (Hobson and Lynch, 2016; Hobson, 2021).

The new materialism literature suggests that to move towards more sustainable behaviour; consumers must form a conscious connection with the material value of items (Fletcher, 2016; Crewe, 2017). The findings showed that not all the consumers were motivated by these higher order values of connectedness.

For those in the ‘sustainable’ and ‘ethical’ consumer type, connectedness was a motivating value. For some in the ‘style-led’ and ‘thrifty’ types, however, the higher-order values were different. Fundamentally, they were all engaged in the same resale behaviour: reuse, which is considered sustainable. However, the disposal driven consumers, whose higher-order values were not sustainability, were more often participating in clothing resale as part of buying new and using it as a disposal route. Or they were using it as a way to make space to buy more new clothing. These are important nuances in a seemingly sustainable behaviour that the literature currently overlooks (Pedersen et al., 2016; Niinimaki, 2015; Niinimaki et al., 2020).

The values of new materialism in the literature are based on maintaining value through longevity and durability, care, and a focus on a garment's inherent value (Schor 2010, 2014; Fletcher, 2016). This study looks at consumption through a new materialism lens. New materialism focuses on consumption that can achieve environmental sustainability and human wellbeing (Schor, 2010). However, the data in this study showed that these were not the central values at play in the resale industry. Gollnhofer et al. (2019) suggest the term “higher order values” is interchangeable with “life priorities” (p. 460). This understanding of values as life priorities is where the findings of this study were aligned. This is important in considering how more sustainability in clothing consumption can be encouraged.

5.4 VALUE MAINTENANCE AND LOSS IN CLOTHING RESALE

> *"A whoosh of warm summer warm air and traffic noise briefly breaks through the instrumental background music as the shop door tinkles and a woman enters with two large, burgeoning shopping bags, clothes and accessories spilling forth. Approaching the shop owner, "do you buy stuff" she enquires shyly, gesturing to the contents of the shoppers. The owner, friendly and brusque, smiles and says she'll "take a look". The first item to emerge from the bag, a floral, ruffled maxi dress, is rejected – "not current", the handbag that follows, "too worn", and the shoes that the now disheartened-looking selling customer produces sheepishly, "not the preferred style of our customers".*
>
> *“So, what is it you want then?" despairs the woman looking at the rejected items glumly. "Our customers like things that are current, seasonal…" The shop owner rattles off what appears to be a much-practised retort. The items packed back into the bags, the potential seller shuffles out the door, looking downtrodden. The shop owner swiftly returns to the fitting room, rapidly passing items through the curtain to a customer and getting on with a busy day".*
>
> Excerpt from researcher fieldnotes, July 2019

The literature on sustainability through the circular economy and the new materialism literature both advocate that value maintenance through durability and longevity will lead to more sustainable consumption (Cooper, 2005; Scott et al., 2014; Murray et al., 2017). It was therefore crucial that this study understood how value was maintained and lost in clothing resale to better understand sustainability through value maintenance and circularity. This section establishes where the enablers, that kept value in the system and the disrupters, that caused value loss lay within the clothing resale business model.

The excerpt above taken from fieldnotes introduces the concepts of value maintenance and loss by illustrating several factors that lead to value loss in the clothing resale process. In the above example, the potential consumer seller has her items rejected, which means that in terms of resale they are no longer kept in use; they will not be resold. Although she doesn't express where they will be going in the excerpt, as discussed in section 5.2.4 the hierarchy that consumer sellers established means they will likely go to charity or even be disposed of in the waste stream. The value is disrupted as the disposal route is unknown. The disrupters that cause this loss in the example from the fieldnotes are the lack of material value, "too worn", and the lack of appeal to the retailers' customers, "not the right style for her customers". The retailer says the items are "not current" demonstrating the importance of newness and novelty value to her decisions of whether she will accept items for sale. This, along with her reference to her customers, illustrates how mainstream retail logic can act as a disrupter of value in clothing resale. This section unpacks how the value and values underpinning clothing resale and the clothing resale value regime can maintain value and cause value to be lost.

Previous literature looks at value loss and value destruction from a service-dominant logic perspective, considering how interactions between actors can lead to loss of value for those actors (e.g. Echeverri and Skalen, 2011; Prior and Marco-Cuevas 2016; Tinson et al., 2021). This study considered value loss as the loss of an item's intrinsic value and the actors' perception of the value this item holds—this perspective comes from the study's new materialism lens, socio-cultural perspective, and sustainability focus. The principles of new materialism emphasise longevity and reuse by respecting the materiality of goods (Schor, 2010). Sustainability focuses on "life cycle thinking", the antithesis of the throwaway culture, and aims to keep products in circulation for longer to extract their maximum value (Cooper, 2005). Circular economy maintains value through "long-lasting design, maintenance, repair, reuse, remanufacturing, refurbishing and recycling" (Geissdoerfer et al., 2017, p.759). This section considers the findings that show durability and value maintenance within the value regime of clothing resale (Graeber 2001; Appadurai, 1988; Arsel 2015; Gollonhofer 2019). It considers the effects of reframing value, physical and emotional durability, maintenance care and repair. Finally, this

section discusses how the conflicting market logics of clothing resale as a mainstream or alternative market may be disrupters or enablers.

5.4.1 Reframing value for longevity and durability in clothing resale

Longevity is key to achieving more sustainable behaviour in clothing consumption (Fletcher 2014; Goworek et al., 2020). Authors applying new materialism thinking in consumer behaviour suggest longevity and durability are enacted by making a connection, which leads to emotional durability and things being kept forever (Schor, 2010; Fletcher; 2016). The findings showed a more nuanced understanding of longevity and durability. This extended to how longevity was achieved through reframing value, the relationship between the maintenance and care of the clothing and longevity, and the relationship to novelty value.

Previous literature has shown that value is a dynamic concept changing as items move through the different stages of consumption (Arsel, 2015), considering how value changes during acquisition, use and disposal. In clothing resale, the consumer sellers 'understandings of value changing as items moved from "personal possessions to stock" (Denigri-Knotts and Molesworth 2009, p.307), where items leave the wardrobes of the consumer sellers and become stock in the resale shop in the context of this study, this was underpinned by economic value outcomes, as was discussed in section 5.2.2.1.

> "*Although I buy the Cos clothes because they're quite timeless, they're quirky as well…I would tend…to throw them in the washing machine and wear them repetitively so that I would maybe wear them out more and get fed up with them more so I would turn them over more."*
>
> Consumer, Gillian - interview

Gillian highlights how she frames the clothing she buys as "timeless", but after wearing the items “repetitively” they are reframed as she gets "fed up with" them. They no longer have use value to her, but the resale shop means she can reframe the value from possession to stock and then "turn it over" at the resale shop (Denigri-Knotts and Molesworth, 2009). Although the items don't physically change, i.e., the material value remains, the use, social or sentimental value is altered simply by the reframing. In Gillian's case, reframing as stock means the value is maintained as the resale shop acts as an enabler to maintain value. Gillian may have disposed of the item if she hadn't seen value in it being reframed as stock, and the value would have been lost. In this way, reframing the possession as stock enables the value to be maintained.

The retailer also played a part in the reframing of items so they were seen as having value. Sara's boutique provides an atmosphere and customer service level commonly associated with more experiential value. This shopping experience is an important part of the value Sara's boutique offers. The high level of service on offer at the boutique influences the choices Sara makes when choosing stock. She discusses how if items were "in a charity shop", their value would be lower than the same items stocked in her boutique. This was because a charity shop, in her opinion, offers a lower level of experiential value. She has established a "boutique" rather than the "junk shop" feel she says consumers associate with charity shopping:

> "*I think just because you can see it's being worn. It's obviously a pre-owned, and pre-worn item. And I think if it was in a charity shop, you would think of it differently. And that's the other thing. It's the mental process of doing this, of how people shop and how they think of things."*
>
> Retailer, Sara - video observation

Sara discusses how if something has a low level of material value, in this case, a t-shirt, which is too well worn, it is rejected from her boutique. She then suggests that a lower level of material value in a charity shop would be acceptable in line with the lower experiential value of the charity shop setting:

> "*It's not the most desirable of items. But if you picked it up for a pound in a charity shop or at a car boot sale, your expectation of what you're getting from that is quite different. I think that's the other thing as well. With it physically being in a boutique…a lot of people have got a preconceived notion of us as a boutique already. It's amazing how many people, when they, you know, have said to me, even friends have said, 'I've never been into your boutique because I just always thought you were really expensive or that you only had a certain level of items'…So I think that is a different thing when you kind of [have] the expectation as well that, oh, we're going to come in. Is it going to be like a charity shop? Is it going to be a bit junk shoppy, and it's not a posh car boot fair!"*
>
> *Retailer, Sara - video observation*

Botticello (2013) discusses that second-hand retailers can become a brand. Unlike in traditional retail, where understandings of a brand are as social value or consumer identity, in resale, the retailer "brands" communicate the standards of value and quality they uphold in their stock. Knowing the retailer has chosen the item assures customers that it meets a certain standard. As Boticello puts it,

> "brand, in the second-hand clothing sector, is an interpersonal construction that includes but also rises above the signification of labels,…is a value based on a person, or company, their relationships with their customers and their awareness of their customers' local needs, desires and wants (Botticello 2013, p.40).

Boticello recognises that these brands are an interpersonal construction, so are based on relationships between consumers and retailers rather than the brand value of the item. Sara illustrates above how she has to keep up certain standards to fit with what consumers expect of her 'brand.' She rejects items that might be associated with other settings, such as a charity shop. She also suggests that items not taken for sale and the value lost in her retail 'brand 'might find value elsewhere. In this example, things that don't meet her standards might have value in a charity shop or car boot sale. The retailer brand can influence the item's value and this could be an enabler. As discussed in section 5.3.2.1, the retailer can see value in the item and highlight that to the consumer; this could come as part of the reassurance from their expertise.

In Sara's example, the desire to create her brand means that her judgement of the item's material, social and experiential value outcomes fit Sara's brand. She shows concern about how consumers "think of things" and chooses to reject the top as "not desirable" because of its charity shop associations. The value is then lost.

Similarly, Barbara discusses a rejected Louis Vuitton scarf below:

> *"One of her Louis Vuitton scarves I didn't put in, and it's still in the bag for her to collect because it was all sneked [plucked]. You couldn't put that in even if you're only offering it for ten, twenty quid, it's still…who's wanting...a...you know...it had obviously been used and caught in jewellery and stuff like that. So you know you can't do that, really. I think that looks bad."*
>
> Retailer, Barbara - interview

This is a highly desirable item if considered solely in conventional brand value terms. However, in this particular scarf, the fabric had 'plucks', so it was rejected. In this example, a scarf from a desirable brand is reframed by Barbara's worry that it will have a negative reflection on her shop, "I think that looks bad". The resulting reframing it as something undesirable which she doesn't sell, and the value is lost. Therefore, the retailer acting as a brand can be a disrupter when their focus on upholding their standards reframes certain items as unsuitable to be sold in their shop, and the value is lost.

5.4.1.1 Physical versus emotional durability

Longevity and durability are connected concepts; the item has to endure to be kept in use for longer and value maintained. Therefore, reframing items as valuable or durable is important. Value durability is considered the method to achieve longevity and is often viewed in relation to value creation and retention (Thompson, 1975; Parsons, 2007). As value moves through the transitions of second-hand consumption, items are reframed from states of durable to rubbish or from rubbish to durable (Thompson, 1979; Parsons, 2008). In this thinking, value is lost when an item's value is not recognised, and the item continues on the rubbish path, never making it to the durable state.

For sustainability to occur, value needs to be preserved and maintained by increasing durability – that is, producing things that last longer and keeping things in use for longer (Cooper, 2005; Fletcher, 2014; Schor, 2010). This framing of durability focuses on producing a high quality item, suggesting that by making something durable it leads to longevity (Cooper, 2005,2010; Fletcher, 2012;. Aako and Niinimaki, 2021). The findings showed that durability did not always mean the item would have longevity and found longevity being cut short and value lost not because it was not durable. Instead, it means the choice has been made somewhere in the potential for circularity and reuse, not to reuse it (Akko and Niinimaki, 2021). Just because something is durable in terms of material value does not necessarily mean it will last when the consumer or retailer considers it to no longer have value.

There was also an element of emotional durability involved. Crewe (2017) discusses how, "Durability and the long biographies of garments are just as much about our connections to our things, desire, love, attachment and memories woven into the very fibre and fabric of our clothes as it is about physical durability" (p.78).

Participants often cited the importance of this connectedness and emotional value as Isobel suggests below; certain items with which she has an emotional connection are not going to be resold:

> *"I bought it at that sale…and I said to the lady in charge, 'I think my mother would like that, but I don't know if it'll fit.' And her husband said, 'Look, I'll run you home, and your mother can try it on, and we'll see.' And that was how that came. Now, this was a dress, but after my mother died – I don't think I'll ever part with this..."*
>
> Consumer, Isobel - interview

Emotional durability meant that the items were kept by the consumer and treasured. Isla, who invested a lot of time and thought into her purchase, saw her designer coat as a long term investment that she would continue to wear into old age:

> "*So then I tried it on, and I thought, 'Oh my goodness. I need to buy this, but I can't. Oh no, it's the price of it. Oh no, I'm not buying it!'. And they were just laughing at me. So then I think...did I go in again or did I phone Alice? I phoned Alice. 'Is that coat still there?' She said, 'aha', and I was like, 'oh god', and I phoned her the next day and said, put it aside for me. So I'm just...I'd kinda...I think on the third occasion I thought I really like that coat. I thought, and it's that sort of thing. That I will have forever, I will never throw this coat out. It's classic it goes with... you could wear it with your jeans. You could wear it really dressed up… But that was three gos! [laughs] …So that's the coat I'll never…I don't think I'll ever get rid of just because I think even when I'm a really old lady, I'll wear it."*
>
> Consumer, Isla - interview

With Isla's coat, emotional durability is an enabler. Isla is attached to the idea of wearing it for a long time to come. In her imagined future, at least, there is use value left in the item and as she is emotionally invested in the garment, she sees its use as long term. For Ally, on the other hand, emotional durability becomes a disrupter. She talks about keeping coats that her mum bought her as they have sentimental value despite no longer fitting below:

> "*D'You know. Probably…I'll try them on this winter. And if I really can't fasten them at all, which I know I can't…but because my mum, that was the last thing that my mum bought me…I don't think I'll sell it. I think I'll always just keep it and think I'll get back into it. So probably not for those."*
>
> Consumer, Ally - wardrobe audit

Ally's decision to keep these coats, knowing they will no longer be worn, highlights another grey area in the new materialism approach to "keeping things in use for longer" (Simms and Potts, 2012). Ally is keeping the coats, but in terms of circularity, this is hoarding behaviour. It is not keeping things in use for longer it is just keeping things for longer.

Parsons discusses this disjunction as between economic decay and physical decay of things, where consumers disregard clothing before the end of its usable life and it, "continues to exist in a valueless limbo…linger[ing] undiscovered in our wardrobes" (Parsons, 2007, p.391). In these findings, it was the

emotional durability that was disconnected from the physical decay. Despite the items not fitting, Ally keeps them in her wardrobe, so their use value is never realised. Some literature suggests that keeping things and cherishing them is the best approach (Fletcher, 2016). There is a tension between keeping them in use and keeping them because of sentimental value and never using them, like Ally's example above. The literature suggests keeping things, caring for them and cherishing them. The findings show that as well as keeping and cherishing (Fletcher, 2016), items need to also be worn to avoid Parson's (2007) valueless limbo where use value is not realised.

The literature suggests that timeless classics and durability go hand in hand (Freudenreich and Schaltegge, 2020). Gillian talks about timeless items having a higher economic value. Rather than keeping them potentially unused, selling them realises their economic value and keeps them in use for longer. For Gillian, a classic item held more value sold than by keeping and wearing it, further highlighting the nuanced nature of longevity and durability. Gillian discusses taking classic or timeless items to the resale shop as she knows the retailer welcomes them:

> *"I know the sort of thing [the retailer is] looking for that's timeless, and she could sell in her shop…Yeah, that's going [to sell in resale shop]…they're kind of timeless pieces to me that look like a wee bit kind of Chanel-y or whatever. And…[retailer] likes that make as well because…[of]...the style of them."*
>
> Consumer, Gillian - interview

Longevity does not always mean physically holding onto things. These items endure to a certain point; then, value is lost, so the consumer seller must decide whether to keep or sell before value diminishes further. Sold value is often economic. In Gillian's case, she knows items have more worth sold while still in good condition. In other examples, when connection changes and fades, items that are considered timeless classics are not immune to being circulated. For instance, Jane discusses a classic black sweater that has been in and out of her shop several times and had various owners:

> "*You do get things that are timeless. There was something of mine, wasn't there? There was a sweater of mine that I bought, then somebody bought, then somebody resold, and somebody else bought. So, it had four goes. But, again, beautiful cut sweater. I'd had my fun out of it. Brought it in and sold it, and somebody else had their fun. That's what happens. Especially beautiful makes, so it washed well and wore well, and it was still saleable."*
>
> Retailer, Jane - video observation

In the case of the black sweater, longevity is illustrated as a dynamic concept where the value is maintained, not necessarily while the item continues in possession of one consumer, but through its movement between several consumers and the retailer, facilitated by the resale shop and a retailer who is willing to take things back for resale several times.

The findings contrast with the idea that items need to stop being commodities and become treasured to achieve durable value (Parsons 2008; Fletcher 2014; Corbett and Denegri-Knotts, 2020). Rather, with the black sweater example, it is the commodification of the item that ensures it keeps its value. Further, longevity goes beyond keeping things for a long time. Instead, with the black sweater, by reselling, the value is realised as the item is sold on. The findings showed that durability could be physical or emotional. Still, durability needs to be dynamic for longevity as emotional durability can cause hoarding, which ultimately is a disrupter of value in use.

5.4.1.2 Maintenance and care

Repair and maintenance are considered essential elements of clothing longevity (Fletcher, 2012; McLaren et al., 2015; Aako and Niinimako; 2021). The findings revealed a variety of approaches to repair across the different actors.

> *"A customer came in with a dry cleaning bag. Barbara told me after the customer left that the item had been initially rejected from a large intake of items because it wasn't clean. The customer had taken it next door, had it dry cleaned and brought it back.*
>
> *The customer chatted to staff, letting them know this was the final piece from her recent clear out before her holidays. She shared her process, putting away things that were out of season and bringing things that she no longer wanted here to be sold. I reflected on her organisation and the time it had taken her to go with this item and get it dry cleaned with no guarantee of a sale.*
>
> Excerpt from fieldnotes, September 2018

The example in the fieldnotes above showed that retailer Barbara gave the consumer responsibility for maintenance and repair. She expected items that were brought in for her to sell to have no faults and be clean, sending selling customers away to have the cleaning done if they wanted to have their items sold in her shop. This becomes part of the process for the consumers and reflects some of the "consumption work" that Hobson et al. (2021) identifies as being overlooked and potentially problematic. Consumers engaging in these activities are expected to take this work on as part of the

consumption process, which can dampen their willingness to engage with circular business models such as resale.

This conversation with Lyndsay below highlights that consumption work is part of the resale process. Lyndsay sees dry cleaning, repair and mending to a certain level - for her sewing on buttons and hemming - as part of the process of preparing clothing for resale:

Interviewer: And do you do things before they go to [resale]?

Retailer Lyndsay: I think there's one thing she sent back and it had to be dry cleaned, and I dry cleaned it. But I think most of the stuff was in really good condition and she was happy to take it.

I: So, that was just from it being in your wardrobe?

L: Yeah, just being in my wardrobe. She took coats and things. But, to be honest, I hadn't had them that long, and there were things that I bought in Tenerife at a bargain, didn't actually fit, they were too big. So, I thought "right, just get rid of that."

I: So, they hadn't been worn?

L: They hadn't really been worn. Maybe once.

I: Okay, and in terms of any sewing or anything like that, do you do any maintenance?

L: I do that myself, put buttons back on things, but I wouldn't replace zips or anything. I can take up hems on trousers, skirt hems, but not anything more complicated than that.

I: And would you do that before you sell the stuff?

L: Yeah.

For Audrey, repair and maintenance is a shared responsibility. She is happy to wash and make minor repairs when the item meets her expectations in other ways. She discusses how its aesthetic value, “so vibrant” and functional value, “about a 14” - meaning it will fit her consumers. She sees maintenance as part of the process. How Audrey talks using terms such as “throw it in the washing machine” “just put it out” imply little effort is required on her part, and the maintenance or consumption work is part of her job:

Audrey: I just love the colour. I thought it was a great colour, and it's about a 14, and I knew I could throw it in a washing machine and wash it and then just put it out…I just liked it because it's so vibrant.

Interviewer: And is that what you did you took it home and washed it?

A: Yeah.

However, for Audrey when the maintenance work becomes a little more complicated, and she needs to pay for a replacement zip, she adds that cost on for the consumer. This means shared responsibility for the consumption work. As Audrey illustrates in a further excerpt from her video observation below:

A: There's a 60s dress which is silk. And I had to get the zip replaced... it's occasion-wear, isn't it? It's evening wear; it could be prom if you like that kind of thing. It would have cost an absolute fortune to buy that originally. But I just love it. It's 15 pounds to get the zip replaced. And I gave it a clean.

I: ***And do you account for that when you're pricing it up?***

A: Yeah. Yes. I have to add that price onto the customer.

Retailer, Audrey - video observation

Audrey was happy to do the repair on behalf of the consumer because she saw functional value in the item as "occasion wear" saying, "it could be prom". Audrey undertaking the repair negated the need for the consumer to do the consumption work (Hobson, 2021; Hobson et al., 2021). However, there was a cost involved so, in the case of the zip replacement, Audrey was willing to facilitate the work, and the consumer could pay. This shared responsibility could be a way to navigate the barrier of consumption work that Hobson (2021) suggests might prevent consumers from engaging with circular business models. However, this shared approach was, to a certain extent, a reflection of Audrey's retailer type. As a 'vintage type' retailer, repair and maintenance were part of the values in her approach to the job. For the 'novelty focused' retailers such as Barbara, whose example above showed the consumer was given responsibility for maintenance and care this shared approach would represent a need to change how they ran their business.

Longevity in care and repair meant there came the point at which items were not worth repairing anymore, as Anna discusses below:

"But you can only de-fluff to a point where if you keep doing it, it's going to make a hole in the wool. And once it does that, I don't even know if I would wear it. If something was visibly mended, I couldn't wear it; it would annoy me. It has to be mended to the point that you couldn't see it, yes."

Consumer, Anna - video wardrobe audit

Anna's experience highlights that although she is prepared to maintain and care for her jumper, it begins to lose value if worn and maintained, in this case by removing bobbling from the wool. Thus, the durability of the item limits the longevity. Whereas Anna outlines a lack of value in items once they need to be repaired, Claire states that she prefers to wear clothes until they are worn out. These two approaches demonstrate different responses and tolerances to maintenance and repair from the different consumer types. Anna is a 'style-led consumer', whereas Claire is an 'ethical and sustainable type consumer' thus they express different responses to the reduced quality of their clothes through wear and repair.

"I'm absolutely wearing this dress, though I probably couldn't resell this because it's just very slowly wearing away. But I'm okay with that... [I] just like wearing clothes out. "

Consumer, Claire - video wardrobe audit

Claire describes her repair and maintenance habits in the quote above. She continues to use and repair beyond the economic value of an item as part of a wider value system. Although Claire uses resale as a more sustainable disposal channel as opposed to disposing of her clothes in landfill, she does not always send things to resale. Instead, she sometimes keeps them, repairing and wearing them out, as with the dress example above. Whereas Anna saw the item as having no value once the maintenance and care took it past its economic value, for Claire repairs and maintenance beyond economic value were part of her value system of keeping things that she loved for a long time. Claire's thinking reflects longevity in maintaining the value of her items and is in line with new materialism and sustainability values. Whereas Anna shows where value disruption and loss can occur, as her values don't align with the new materialism and sustainability approach, she decides to stop wearing the "defluffed" knitwear. It loses its use value to Anna, and she disposes of it. These differing responses highlight the tension in maintenance and repair as an enabler and a disrupter depending on the type of consumer and the circumstances of the use of the clothing.

Clothing maintenance and repair are often classified as sewing, cleaning, and sewing on buttons and hems (Fletcher, 2012, 2016; Goworek et al., 2017; Ture, 2013; Hvass, 2015). The findings showed,

however, that maintenance could also be less skill focused. Several of the consumers discussed how they maintain things by taking favourite items off when they returned home, hanging them carefully, and arranging their wardrobes, as illustrated by this conversation with consumer Betty.

Interviewer: And would you prepare things then if you're taking them into her to sell?

Consumer *Betty: Oh yes, oh yes…You make sure that everything's right…'m very careful with my clothes...I hang them up, I've got all these velvet hangers… I've got hundreds of them, and then I can take the good clothes off, I go and put my house things on, and I hang them up, and I take them and hang them straight back in the wardrobe again. And as I say, the dresses, they're all in one bit, jackets, tops, sweaters, everything, blouses, everything, all different places. That's my pride and joy is my clothes, my handbags. I've got two shelves, and they go right round about the whole place, right round, and they're all in bags. Yeah…*

Consumer, Betty - interview

This section illustrated several responses to value maintenance through care and repair and showed that although the consumption work required is part of the process for some, not everyone is willing to repair and maintain their clothing. This was dependant on their underlying values and consumer type. It was also apparent that care and maintenance, which can lead to value being retained, can come from much simpler actions such as not wearing certain items for long periods of time and how they are hung up after use.

5.4.2 Alternative and mainstream market logics in resale

Business models that encourage reuse, recycling, sharing, or leasing are considered alternative business models for sustainability (Pedersen et al., 2016). They bring about systemic change and a more sustainable approach to clothing consumption (Hvass, 2015). These business models are part of a larger circular economy. They eschew the traditional 'take, make, use 'linear approach, keeping clothing in use for longer and upholding longevity of value (Machado et al., 2019; Hvass, 2015; Niinimaki and Hassi, 2011). Business models like resale use clothing consumption to "extract the maximum value…whilst in use, then recover and regenerate products and materials at the end of each service life" (WRAP 2017). As such, these business models, including clothing resale, are considered ‘alternative’ to the mainstream fashion system (Buttle et al., 2013).

Gollnhofer et al. (2019) discuss sustainability occurring through consumption in alternative object pathways. The object pathway needs to be an alternative to the value regime to deliver a sustainable value outcome. The literature on second-hand consumption maintains that consumption of second-hand goods happens "outside of market parameters", that is, in an alternative market (Parsons, 2005). Scott et al. (2014) further assert that taking a new materialism approach to sustainability is an alternative market approach. This study found that clothing resale had both mainstream and alternative market logic at play. However, this study's significance was not just how value was understood within the duality of alternative vs mainstream or formal vs informal market structures (Arsel, 2015). Rather, the findings of this study showed that value maintenance and loss in clothing resale was influenced by conflicting logic of both mainstream and alternative market.

There were, however, ways in which the resale shop as an alternative market became an enabler of value. The nature of the resale business model leads to retailers building strong relationships with their consumers. The majority of selling and buying customers were regulars due to the long-established nature of many of these shops and the personal nature of the business. Participants in the study highlighted that these strong and often long-established relationships between retailers and consumers provided a different experience than shopping in the high street or mainstream shops:

> "*No, I go into [resale shop] every week, but that's fun. I don't enjoy shopping. I mean to go round a city centre…trips in the high street is my idea of going to the dentist…Oh gosh, well, we've lived here 30 years, nearly 30 years, 27 years, so I reckon I started [to resale shop] about 25 years ago. So I know [owner] really well, I know all the girls really well, it's fun going in there. Whereas going into a shop is just a nightmare."*
>
> Consumer, Elaine - interview

Elaine describes the experience of shopping in a resale boutique as fun while likening shopping on the high street to a trip to the dentist. She has been a buying and selling consumer at the shop in question for many years and considers visiting the resale shop enjoyable.

Unlike in mainstream retail, the nature of clothing resale means there are multiple roles that the retailer must take on. In many cases, the retailers are sole traders without any employees. Retailers must serve buyers and sellers, build relationships, and promote the business. These various roles require continuous judgement calls. The retailer has to decide who to prioritise to encourage relationship building. As well as differentiating resale from traditional retail, this creates experiential value for the consumer or "drama", as Jane explains:

"So, yeah, you're changing your hats because, okay, it's not ideal that you're selling at the same time you're taking in and changing stock or moving stock, but because of the dynamic of the business and the way we work, we have to do it while the customer is here. That's interesting. People love that… it's all part of the drama, I suppose, of the shop."

Retailer, Jane - video observation

The retailer and consumer relationships were also a significant part of the experiential value and differentiated the resale experience. Going into the shops was a regular occurrence for many people, and they had established friendships with the retailer.

"*When [resale shop owner] opened it up years ago, I just went in when she first opened, and I got to know her. And I've just always been going back; I just love it. If you're going to get something in there…although it's pre-owned, it's in really good condition."*

Consumer, Liz - interview

The relationship between retailer and consumer provided both social and experiential value to purchasing clothing from resale. This added value to the experience and encouraged many consumers to shop from resale rather than traditional retail. Often value was not attributed to the purchasing of items but was more about a social or experiential value from engaging in resale shopping in the first place, as Elaine discusses below:

"*Not necessarily [buying], just having a hoke [rummage]. I love having a hoke [rummage] and I buy for other people. I have friends, and that started, because if I see something, it's not me but, 'Oh my god that's a fabulous coat, and it's such a bargain, it's a great label, somebody has to have that, somebody I know has to have that'. That's how it started, and so I have a good friend, and I get her a lot because I just know exactly, most of the stuff I bring down to her: yes, yes, yes, yes. I enjoy that, but I'm not putting myself out because it's not as if I'm going to [resale shop] to get some clothes and drive around the countryside delivering, it's not that, it's if I go down to see her, I would go into [resale shop] and see if there's anything. That may seem sad, but I enjoy it."*

Consumer, Elaine - interview

For Elaine, the occasion of visiting the resale shop is the experience that she takes value from, not just from the clothing alone. Value comes from the interaction with not only the clothing but the people in the shop. Elaine found value in the experience of entering the shop and taking time to hunt out

certain items of clothing that she wanted. Value from the resale experience meant that Elaine visited the shop not only for herself but also for other people and enjoyed the experience longer and more often. Although these examples illustrated how consumers and retailers perceived value through understanding resale as an alternative market, they perceived added value rather than the value maintenance that is key to more sustainable consumption (Lacoste, 2016).

Gollonhofer and Schouten (2017) found that the mainstream market or the "dominant social paradigm" contrasted with consumers who want to focus on a more sustainable approach. In clothing resale, however, the consumers and retailers didn't necessarily have a sustainability focus. But through the alternative or circular business models, such as resale, they could be encouraged into sustainable behaviours without necessarily holding those values (Hvass, 2015; Gollenhofer and Schouten, 2017; Mukendi et al., 2020). For some of the types of consumers and retailers, this was the case. They engaged in resale not necessarily holding sustainability values, and value was maintained through their behaviours and not due to their underlying values. This was particularly true for those who had a style focus and bought clothes from resale to be different or creative but, in doing so, participated in an alternative business model for sustainability (Buttle et al., 2013). In this way, some of the mainstream market logic that retailers focused on, despite clothing resale being an alternative market, became an enabler for the value to be maintained. This was because retailers encouraged people to engage with resale who perhaps would have been put off if less mainstream market logic was adopted.

The excerpt from fieldnotes at the beginning of this section illustrated how the clothing that comes into a resale shop is often rejected. The fieldnotes outlined how the items were rejected on several grounds, including their lack of novelty value; “not current”, material value; “too worn”, and social value; not in keeping with the shop's style. Ertekin et al. (2020) found that the logic of commerce and the logic of art in fashion conflicted with the logic of sustainability. They found that the focus of the market on speed and affordability through fast fashion and novelty coupled with an aesthetically driven logic of art conflicted with the social and environmental consciousness focus of the logic of sustainability. Resale presented a similar conflict of logic from mainstream fashion retail conflicting with the sustainability promised by circular business models. The findings of this study built on Ertekin et al. and the focus on value maintenance and loss showed how these conflicts of logic became a disrupter. The conflict meant that value was lost when retailers prioritised the logic of the mainstream market over resale as an alternative market.

The findings showed several ways in which the retailers put limits on value influenced by mainstream market logics. Firstly, was a focus on newness or novelty value. As something devalues over time, it

could be considered to be losing its novelty value. As it ages, the item becomes something that the consumer no longer wants to have. This can be seen as a lack of newness rather than age – it is that the novelty value degrades as it ages rather than material or brand value.

The literature says consumers are neophiliacs, eternally seeking new things (Campbell 1992; Coskuner-Bali and Sandiki, 2014). The findings of this study were that many of the retailers focused on novelty, based on the understanding that this is what their consumers preferred. However, this was not always the case in the consumer findings of the study. In this way, newness was a disrupter of value for circularity in clothing resale, as Caroline, a 'novelty-driven retailer type', illustrates below. In Caroline's example, items that could have been sold again were refused from sale in her shop to ensure novelty for her buying consumers:

> *"So if somebody buys something from me and then in eighteen months, wants to bring it and sell it, I generally would not take it back into stock. And it's only because my buying customers will think that you know, it's been there. We want something different. That's the way it works."*
>
> Retailer, Caroline - interview

As Caroline explains, the newness and thus value of the item was again influenced by the buying consumer and the fact that they would know that an item had been sold in the shop before and was no longer a novelty.

The age of garments was often used as a limit to value, particularly by the retailer, as previously discussed. Putting a limit on the value of an item due to its age is in contrast with understandings of longevity (Cooper, 2005; Fletcher, 2016). As discussed, the consumer sellers followed the retailer's lead with valuing their garments, often valuing things based on the buying consumer (see section 5.3.2.4). Imposing an age limit on garments and focusing on newness could discourage consumers from keeping things and maintaining and caring for them because items devalue with age even if looked after. As the consumer sellers know, if they keep it for longer, it will not have value at resale. Therefore, newness and novelty value could act as a disrupter of value.

Some of the retailers, however, used this preference for new to appeal to their consumers. Keeping things fresh and novel does not have to mean newly produced; it can also be defined as "new to me" (Coskuner-Balli and Sandikci 2014). In this way, items don't need to be newly produced to have novelty value. If it's new to the consumer and or the retailer, it can have novelty value; see Figure 5.5 and Catherine explains below:

Figure 5.5 Novelty highlighted for consumers in a resale shop.

> *"...a new in rail. And that's new in just now. Because you get people that come in once a week and they say, 'What's new?'...It's great for people that come in…we get people that come in religiously, like once every week or two weeks, and they just go straight up to the back. Look through all the new in. And we had a woman I remember that came in. She got something nearly every week when she came in off the new in rail. And she was like, 'this is terrible, I need to stop coming in here'. But it's good for people like me. Well, I get to see everything when it comes in. But I think that's good for people that are the regular shoppers."*
>
> Resale employee and consumer, Catherine - interview

The findings showed the desire for new could be used as a way to get consumers to buy from resale if framed using the mainstream market approach of showing the novelty value to the consumers. Thus, keeping clothing in use in the resale system and acting as a value enabler.

This seeking of newness prompts the retailer to want to keep changing stock. It has an impact on maintaining longevity, because even if an item still can be said to hold value, it may not be accepted back for sale because it has been seen before in that shop and is no longer 'new'. The guiding principle of new materialism in consumption and sustainability suggests that items should be bought well and kept for a long time (Schor 2013; Fletcher; 2016). This study found that this line of thinking was contrasted by an understanding of a need for newness. However, the findings showed, with the example of the black sweater in Jane's shop, for those retailers who are not novelty focused, each consumer can gain this novelty value in a system of reuse with the item new to them (Coskuner-Bali and Sandiki, 2014). This suggested that novelty could act both as a disrupter of value and as an enabler of value maintenance but was dependent on the type of consumer and retailer and their underlying values.

The mainstream logic of fashion and trends influenced resale. Although fashion and trends did not necessarily drive the desire for novelty in clothing resale consumers, it was not possible to avoid them altogether. Many retailers used trends from the catwalk and fashion magazines to inform their decisions on the shape, colour, and type of items they would accept for sale.

> "*I've also realised that despite it being second-hand and therefore largely not this season, is that it has to still have this season's shape. So, for example, this is a really beautiful Sandro dress that just hadn't sold. It's been on my site for ages. Cause people aren't wearing this cut and shape anymore. Do you know everyone's gone for Little House on the prairie style now? You know, Victorian kind of covered from here to here. Big florals.*"
>
> Retailer, Karen - interview

Karen discusses how fashion and trends acted as a value disrupter in her business where certain items had not sold, so the value was not realised because the “people aren't wearing this cut and shape”. This resulted in the use value not being realised as the dress remained unsold.

Even the retailer that sold both modern and vintage items talked about trends that developed in vintage clothing and how certain items from specific eras would be more popular or sought after at any one time. So, even if items are high quality, durable and made to last, they can't escape the changing nature of trends which will inevitably affect whether or not consumers want to buy them.

"*Although sometimes they can be looking for certain things, like French workwear. Which I can't get…French workwear seems to be quite popular at the moment. Yeah, it's like overalls and…like it's for men, I think. Jackets and kind of canvas type material, almost kinda like denim. It's French. So that's really taken off. Cause I know they sell it in Portobello market…So you get people that, guys will come and say, 'Well I'm looking for a Harrington jacket', say, and for some reason, Harrington jackets are in you know, and I'll maybe get one or two, but I won't get a lot. So, yes, sometimes people do have something in their mind that's exactly what they're looking for. That's what they want…sometimes there's trends, yeah. Yeah, I would say men are more into trends than women. Right. That's what I've noticed in here. Yeah.*"

Retailer, Audrey - video observation

Finally, the mainstream market acted as a disrupter when the mainstream saw the alternative market of resale as a direct competitor.

"I observed Aimee helping a customer to try on dresses, another hiring a hat from her hire section, and one customer came to buy one of the new bags. Aimee reflected afterwards that customer service was really important to her; she was always going the 'extra mile'. She recounted how she referred customers to a wedding attire shop in a nearby town to buy the hat new if the customer was going to wear the hat more than once as it was cheaper to buy than hiring from Aimee multiple times. She explained the wedding shop didn't reciprocate and in fact, had complained when Aimee resold an outfit that had been bought in their shop. The problem, Aimee explained, was that the outfit was the current season, so when she resold it the nearby shop was still selling it new, and that shop had an exclusive deal with the brand. Making the outfit available in Aimee's shop through resale, they felt breached their exclusivity."

Excerpt from fieldnotes, December 2018

This fieldnote observed the limits on value by the competing shop not allowing Aimee to resell too fast because of the constraints of the mainstream market: exclusivity and competition. The mainstream shop saw the resale store as threatening.

In their study of the food waste movement, Gollnhofer et al. (2019) discuss how an alternative object pathway is driven by the consumer. However, the literature on sustainable consumption labels the resale business model as an alternative rather than the actors within clothing resale driving this. Further, in clothing resale, the findings showed that the influence of mainstream market logic and the

concept of resale as an alternative business model or market acted as both enabler and disrupter of value. Some participants followed a mainstream market logic, which resulted in value disruption and thus value could be lost. This mainly occurred when retailers focused on new stock for their consumers, and was affected by the impact of fashion trends, and the mainstream market seeing resale as direct competition.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter outlined the findings of the study and built on the new materialism literature (Schor 2014; Scott et al., 2014; Fletcher 2016) to unpack how value is understood in clothing resale. The chapter began by outlining a typology of consumers and retailers in clothing resale. This helped to understand the diversity of approaches to clothing resale and highlighted some of the tensions that may hinder consumers from engaging in clothing resale and other alternative business models for sustainability. The chapter then mapped a value regime for clothing resale from the findings of the study (Gollnhofer et al. 2019). In doing so, it revealed findings on the role of economic, aesthetic and brand value outcomes in influencing clothing resale behaviours. A model was developed to help understand brand value, as the new materialism literature focuses on material value over social and brand value (Schor, 2010; 2015; Scott et al., 2014, Fletcher, 2016). The findings revealed that looking at value with a new materialism lens in resale, the brand value was part of the sorting process and was often used to determine other types of value in clothing resale, keeping items in use for longer.

The formal and informal governance of clothing resale was outlined, and this, along with the higher order values, explored the elements of the value regime that helped and hindered circularity in clothing resale (Parsons, 2008; Cooper, 2005; Machado et al., 2019; Hvass, 2015; Niinimaki and Hassi, 2011). Through the governance, consumers and retailers put limitations on the value regime with their practices which were informed by their underlying values.

Finally, this chapter discussed the study's findings on value maintenance and loss related to clothing resale as an alternative business model for circularity (Buttle et al., 2013; Hvass, 2015; Niinimaki et al., 2020). The study found that many aspects of resale as an alternative market were important in adding value to consumers, including differentiating service and building personal relationships. The findings suggested that when more mainstream market logic was applied in clothing resale, which often happened within the formal and informal practices of the retailer, it created a situation where value maintenance could be disrupted and circularity lost. These findings built on existing literature on alternative market logic in relation to sustainability (Gollnhofer et al., 2019; Scott et al., 2014). The findings of this study suggested that previous understandings of sustainability occurred in

alternative object pathways determined by the consumer. For resale, the alternative market was created and framed by the macro influences of the circular economy and sustainability thinking rather than by the actors involved. As a result, the maintenance of value required to make consumption more sustainable did not always occur, mainly when the actors adopted mainstream market logic. The next chapter discusses these findings in relation to the aims and objectives of the study to outline the study's contribution and implications.

6 Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

This chapter concludes the study by considering how the findings addressed the study's objectives. The chapter then details how the study makes a theoretical contribution to sustainability, new materialism, and value literature. Then the chapter outlines the finding's implications for the mainstreaming of sustainable clothing consumption from consumer and retailer perspectives. Finally, it outlines the limitations of the study's exploratory nature and discusses opportunities for further research into value in circularity, sustainability, and circular business models.

6.2 Aims and objectives

This research aimed to understand the extent to which clothing resale demonstrates circularity by considering the buying, selling and maintenance behaviours of both consumer and retailer. Through the lens of new materialism (Schor, 2010; Scott et al., 2014), this research explored how understandings of value and values underpin clothing resale with the following objectives:

- To explore the value that underpins consumer and retailer clothing resale behaviours.
- To explore how consumers and retailers perceive value in relation to their values when engaging in clothing resale behaviours.
- To explore longevity and durability in clothing resale behaviours of consumers and retailers.
- To explore how consumer and retailer behaviours impact value maintenance in clothing resale.

6.3 Meeting the objectives

The research met the objectives as follows:

6.3.1 Mapping a value regime in clothing resale

In addressing the first objective, the study mapped a value regime based on Gollonhofer et al. (2019) to better understand the values that underpin clothing resale. The findings showed that the value outcomes of clothing resale were economic, aesthetic, emotional, social, and experiential (Mclaren et

al., 2015; Hirscher, 2018). This insight built a nuanced picture of the different value outcomes that drive clothing resale behaviour. The findings also showed that brand value played a crucial part in the sorting process in clothing resale for consumers and retailers. A model was developed in Figure 5.1 to illustrate how brand value interacted with other value types to affect the material flows in clothing resale. The governance of the object pathways of resale included the formal and informal practices undertaken in clothing resale. These were most often led by the retailer's expertise seeing value (Parsons, 2005; 2007) and were based on the trust that was built between the retailer and consumer by building relationships and from the formal systems the retailers used to administer their stock.

The findings showed that the value regime for clothing resale has an object pathway in which clothing is divested from consumer wardrobes. This divestment forms part of a personal waste hierarchy developed by the consumers. The waste hierarchy concept maintains that there is preferred methods of disposal, with the ideal being prevention, then reuse, recycling, down to the least desirable method of disposal in landfill (Defra, 2011; Laitatla and Klepp, 2015; Ewijk, and Stegeman, 2016; Degenstein et al., 2021). The study found that resale is often near the top of the consumer's personal hierarchy. Although this reflects the preferred waste hierarchy (Gregson et al., 2013; Degenstein et al., 2021), often, there were barriers facing consumers that led to items travelling down the waste hierarchy to disposal. These barriers included the retailer's limits on what they would accept, including the age of stock and preferences of their buying consumers. Another barrier was brand, as retailers often did not accept high street brands for resale, so consumers placed them further down the waste hierarchy.

6.3.2 Values in clothing resale

In addressing the second objective, the study considered how values played a part in clothing resale. Previous literature discussed the impact of values on value, for example, values as a lens through which to view value (Press, 2007) and as a trade-off between value and values (Hillier and Woodall, 2019). Higher order values also formed part of the value regime of clothing resale mapped by this study (Gollnhofer et al., 2019). The findings revealed that sustainability was not the higher-order value that underpinned their behaviour in the context of clothing resale for many of the participants interviewed. The findings also showed that values underpinning clothing resale varied between the consumer and retailer participants. These findings allowed for the creation of a typology of the different participants and their values. The typology outlines that sustainability values weren't necessarily at the core of the clothing resale business model for retailers or consumers in this study. Many participants were motivated more by 'life priorities' (Gollnhofer et al., 2019), such as their love of style, needing an outlet for creativity or the relationship they had built up with the retailer. Other

values that consumers and retailers held included thrift, reuse, social novelty and a sense of community. The different values are reflected in the typology in Table 5.1. and Table 5.2.

The majority of clothing resale consumers and retailers in this study were not motivated by sustainability values. Therefore, focusing on the 'life priorities' outlined above may encourage more people to engage with the sustainable practice of clothing resale. These varying values made the typology developed in the findings essential in understanding the actors in clothing resale, which has previously been overlooked (Hobson and Lynch, 2016; Hobson, 2020; Camacho-Otero et al., 2020). This was important as promoting style and creativity as well as the experiential aspect of clothing resale may be an effective way to mainstream this sustainable practice in people whose higher-order values are not sustainability.

6.3.3 Exploring longevity and durability in clothing resale

In addressing the third objective, the study considered value beyond the static moment of transaction, instead looking at value as a dynamic and changing concept. Value longevity is keeping things in use for longer (Cooper, 2005; Fletcher, 2016). In this study, the findings revealed that in clothing resale, the meaning of longevity went further than long-term possession. This insight came from considering longevity by reframing value. The findings showed that reframing value happened in several ways in clothing resale. Firstly the consumers who sold their clothing through resale reframed possessions as stock, reframing them as valuable and realising their use value (Denigri-Knotts and Molesworth, 2009; Gregson et al., 2013). Another way value was reframed was when retailers came to be considered 'trusted brands' by their consumers. The retailer assumed specific standards for their stock in line with their 'brand' and created boundaries on what they would accept based on these standards. Viewing retailers as trusted brands led to a reframing of the consumer perception of the value of clothing. By sharing their expertise, advice and personality, retailers were able to create experiential value in their shops, making the clothing even more valuable to the consumer.

The findings also showed that products' durability did not always lead to longevity of value as this value depended on the interaction between products and the actors in resale. Limits were put on the longevity of items by retailers, where even if an item was durable in terms of quality, it might be rejected by the retailer. There was also a balance between physical and emotional durability, which had to be further balanced with hoarding. For example, in Section 5.4.1.1 when Isla kept her coat in use with the intention to use it until she was "an old lady", this emotional durability led to longevity in use. On the other hand, Ally kept her coats for sentimental reasons, but they didn't fit her, so the use value was lost as they hung unworn in her wardrobe. The longevity was prolonged when items

were resold, providing dynamic durability. Therefore, in this study, longevity and durability were not automatically linked as the literature suggests (Cooper, 2005; Fletcher, 2012; Niinimaki and Armstrong, 2013; Ertikin and Atik, 2015). Simply because an item is durable does not mean it will be kept in use for a long time.

6.3.4 Exploring value maintenance in clothing resale

The final objective was addressed through consideration of value maintenance in clothing resale, which was connected to the longevity and durability of value in clothing resale. In addressing the fourth objective, this study found that there were different experiences of value maintenance in clothing resale across the different types of consumers and retailers. Throughout the clothing resale value regime, the governance from retailers and consumer sellers and buyers caused value to be lost as items left clothing resale. The governance that determined value maintenance or loss included the retailers' parameters in deciding which stock to accept and which to refuse. The retailers found that they were inundated with prospective items and could not accept everything.

Value was also lost when longevity was not possible and items left clothing resale. The study identified the enablers of value maintenance and the disrupters that caused value loss and found that factors such as the retailers' reliance on mainstream market logic in running their business could cause the value to be lost from clothing resale. However, the experiential value created by clothing resale as an alternative market helped to maintain value by making resale more attractive to consumers seeking a shopping experience different from the high street. The influences from mainstream market logic, including a focus on novelty value, the influence of seasonal fashion trends and the impact of mainstream retailers' expectations of stock, caused value to be lost.

6.4 CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

In addressing the aims and objectives above, the study made a contribution to knowledge in three ways, outlined below.

6.4.1 Contribution One - Unpacking value in new materialism

The existing new materialism literature suggests that applying new materialism principles to consumption makes it more sustainable without the consumer perception that it is austere (Schor, 2010, 2013; Scott et al., 2014). The new materialism literature considers value as a focus on the material, underpinned by sustainability values. This research empirically explored Scott et al.'s (2014) suggestions and extended their thinking by discovering that the value underpinning resale went

beyond the material. This study found that value, including brand, social and experiential, was key to resale behaviours in a potentially circular and sustainable business model like clothing resale. Schor (2010, 2013) and Fletcher's (2016) assertion that sustainability can be achieved by focusing on material value alone may be limiting. Schor's materiality paradox (Schor, 2013) outlines how the unsustainable nature of the consumer's focus on symbolic and social value over material leads to overconsumption. Building on this, Schor (2013) and Fletcher (2016) both advocated for a shift from brand to material value as a focus for increased sustainability.

The findings on value outcomes of clothing resale paint a complex picture of brand value. This study found that different behaviours from consumers and retailers depend on the value and values that underpin their resale behaviours. The study created a model, Figure 5.1, to reflect the role of brand value in the sorting and sifting of clothing by retailers and consumers. The brand was also linked to other types of value in that consumers' associated the brand with functional value such as fit and quality and used this to determine items that they would purchase and resell.

Therefore, the study makes a contribution to knowledge as the findings of multiple value outcomes are contrary to new materialism's singular focus on material value (Schor, 2010; Scott et al., 2014; Fletcher, 2016). In the findings of this study, brand value emerged as closely interwoven with material, functional and aesthetic value. When retailers and consumers attributed value, they used brand as a determinant of material value. Also, the study found that material value was intertwined with the experiential value provided by consumers' interactions with retailers. By considering this holistic approach to understanding value, a more nuanced approach to understanding clothing resale was built. The typology of consumers and retailers in clothing resale in Table 5.1 and Table 5.2, helps to begin understanding some of these differences and how best to appeal to the various actors. Understanding the variety in behaviours of consumers and retailers is key to furthering the application of new materialism for sustainability beyond a 'one-size fits all' approach.

6.4.2 Contribution Two - Extending the value regime for sustainability

Gollnhofer et al. (2019) built on previous value literature to consider the three areas of a value regime: object pathways, governance, and higher order values. By mapping a value regime for clothing resale, findings emerged from this study that made a contribution to the sustainable consumption literature and value literature. (Cooper, 2005; Parsons, 2007; Schor, 2010; Fletcher 2016; Gollnhofer, 2019). This research extends the thinking on object pathways by considering sustainability and value in a value regime. While the value regime was a clear way to understand value in clothing resale, to understand value as it relates to sustainability within the framework of the value regime, it became apparent from

the findings that the study needed to consider the object pathways beyond the moments of transaction in resale (Gollnhofer et al., 2019).

The present study found that a value regime considered through a new materialism lens required an extended object pathway. Identifying this pathway meant looking beyond what happened within a certain context to consider where clothing comes from and, significantly, where it goes. The study found that in some cases, resale was used to allow more consumption. Although the resale object pathway could promote sustainability as it encouraged the reselling of used clothing, the object pathways connected to clothing resale may not be considered sustainable. If consumers were using resale to fuel overconsumption, resale became part of the problem rather than the solution. Thus, this study makes a contribution by proposing an extension to the value regime framework to better understand value and sustainability by considering the object pathways beyond the moment of transaction in resale. In doing so, the study also provides insight into how the sustainability of alternative business models in clothing consumption can be understood and builds on work from (Hvass, 2015; Pedersen, 2015; Bocken et al., 2016; Brydges, 2021).

6.4.3 Contribution Three - Disrupters and enablers of value in clothing resale

The study's final contribution is extending thinking around value maintenance and disruption in relation to sustainability through the circular economy (Schor, 2013; Fletcher, 2016; Erteksin et al., 2020). Existing literature often considers sustainable value as a proposition that can be added to a product or service (e.g., Lacoste 2016) rather than considering how value relates to increased sustainability. Through a new materialism lens, this study considered sustainable value as value maintenance within existing material resources. (Schor 2010, 2013; Fletcher, 2016). This approach is considered a non-linear and systems approach to achieving more sustainability (Davies et al., 2020), preserving value by keeping items in use for longer. Previous literature looks at value loss and value destruction from a service-dominant logic perspective, considering how interactions between actors can lead to loss of value for those actors (e.g. Echeverri and Skalen, 2011; Prior and Marco-Cuevas 2016; Tinson et al., 2021). This study considered value loss as, the loss of both an item's intrinsic value and the actors' perception of the value this item holds. This came from the combination of the new materialism lens, socio-cultural perspective and sustainability focus this study adopted (Scott et al., 2014; Gollnhofer et al., 2019; Davies et al., 2020). The findings make a contribution by revealing the enablers and disrupters that played a part in helping or hindering value maintenance and circularity.

The study showed that the reframing of value was key to its continued maintenance in clothing resale. The criteria used by consumers and retailers to 'govern the object pathway of resale' (Gollnhofer et

al., 2019) meant the consumers and retailers acted as both enablers and disrupters. The difference was determined by the underlying higher order values held by consumers and retailers (Gollenhofer et al., 2019). These values were reflected in consumer and retailer types summarised in the typology in section 5.2.1. These values affected whether items were reframed as having value or as 'rubbish' (Parsons, 2007; Thompson, 1979). The reframing took place in several ways; for the consumers, it was reframing their possessions as stock (Denigri-Knotts and Molesworth, 2009); if the consumer seller could reframe an item as having value as stock, it was resold, retaining the value. For the retailer it was reframed in line with the "brand" they created in their shop. That is the particular criteria they used to create experiential value (Boticello, 2013). As an enabler, the retailer became a trusted brand, and their expertise led to them seeing value and passing this onto the consumer (Parsons, 2007). It also acted as a disrupter where in order to create experiential value in line with their brand, items were reframed as not good enough, and the value was lost.

Existing literature asserts that consumers and retailers can keep things in use for a long time to preserve value through longevity (Cooper, 2005; Fletcher, 2016). This study built on this assertion with findings showing that durability needs to be dynamic to lead to longevity. This dynamism came from either long term use, where consumers kept things for a long time but wore them regularly or from reselling multiple times through resale, which kept the item in use through many different consumers. In contrast, if the retailer was unwilling to accept the item back for sale more than once, this dynamism couldn't occur and the value was disrupted. Additionally, if a consumer kept something but didn't wear it, again, the value was disrupted.

Additionally, maintenance became a disrupter and an enabler, depending on the retailer or consumer's type, as outlined in section 5.2.1. Maintenance is considered key to longevity in the literature (Cooper, 2005; Fletcher, 2012; Goworek et al., 2020). The study built on work by Hobson (2020, 2021) who considered that consumption work such as maintenance and repair may cause a barrier to the adoption of circular business models. This study found that consumption work could be an enabler or disrupter of value. This again depended on the retailer and consumer types and corresponding values. The findings showed a variety of consumption work occurring in clothing resale. Where consumers and retailers were prepared to undertake the consumption work, the value was maintained.

Finally, the findings showed that conflicting market logic of alternative and mainstream markets also created circumstances where value maintenance became lost. This builds on Erteksin et al. (2020) work on the conflicting logic of commerce and art versus the logic of sustainability in fashion. These disrupters included the conflicting market logic of alternative and mainstream retail. When

participants considered clothing resale as an alternative market, there were many ways in which alternative market logic added value for consumers and retailers. Many consumers cite the experiential value of the resale shop, different from the high street, as a primary reason to shop in resale. However, when the mainstream market logic prevailed, retailers were more likely to limit the value of the garments using parameters such as age, style and brand.

The study found value disruption more likely to occur when retailers were focused on novelty and providing something new for their consumers (Coskuner-Bali and Sandiki, 2014). This focus on novelty meant retailers did not keep items in the resale system by refusing to accept items they had previously sold. Coksunker-Bali and Sandiki (2014) assert that the item needs to be new to the consumer, not necessarily newly produced, for them to understand newness or novelty value. In bringing these understandings of newness and durability of value together in the context of clothing resale, longevity can come from an item being presented as something new to the consumer or retailer without the resource use required to produce new goods.

Therefore, this study extended the thinking on the longevity of value by demonstrating how an items' longevity is found in its continued use and resale. The study found that longevity was better understood as a dynamic concept. This understanding meant that the durability of an item was reliant on the item's movement to facilitate longevity. Disrupters and enablers were influenced by the different consumer and retailer types and affected by factors such as governance of the resale value regime and mainstream market logic of newness and fashion trends.

6.5 Implications and recommendations

The findings showed that the economic value that underpins resale and the non-reliance on investing in expensive stock makes it financially sustainable and a desirable business model. The financial benefits presented by clothing resale create an opportunity for the continued marketing of circular business models. Resale is an attractive prospect for retailers, and its proven success could be used to widen the acceptance of circular business models. Resale in the context of this study – traditional, in-person, small shop format – has been long established, so there is also an opportunity to learn from the practices of these models for new circular business models. These learnings include how resale retailers use experiential value to build consumer relationships and the skills that they hold in terms of valuing clothing. However, these skills might also be considered to have negative implications because attempts to scale up these retailers' models could prove challenging due to them being well established with a niche group of loyal customers. It may be difficult to transfer the skills and lessons that can be learnt from the existing retailers in order to successfully scale up.

Therefore, the findings of this study could be used to encourage those setting up in fashion business to consider the appeal of a circular business model, which would be positive for environmental sustainability and be appealing to retailers as a financially sustainable business model to set up or adopt. However, the skills and relationships that retailers build over time in the resale business need to be carefully considered, and a way to pass this knowledge on would need to be sought for new retailers.

The study found that brand was used to sort and decide not just the symbolic and social value of the item but also the functional and material value. The implication of this is that brand is used to communicate many different value types, some of which can be associated with longevity and durability. Therefore a focus on developing brands that will be perceived as viable in reuse, not just in its initial sale, is crucial for sustainability. Consumers could be encouraged to buy more high-quality, durable clothing, knowing that they can resell them in the future and get more from their investment. Considering brand for longevity when implementing circular business models in practice could raise quality and longevity in clothing. This could even be adopted into policy to ensure brands conform to certain quality standards to maximise reuse and gain for brands and ensure higher quality items enter circulation. Further, if retailers can establish themselves as strong brands, build up consumer trust and focus on high quality clothing, they can encourage more consumption from resale rather than from new.

In operationalising value in a circular system to mainstream sustainability, it is important to understand the consumer's role. Previous literature has overlooked the role of the consumer (Ghisellini et al., 2016; Hobson and Lynch, 2016). This study interrogated the role of the consumer and the retailer within a business model that has the potential to be circular. Systems thinking implies that changing the system will influence consumers to change their behaviour (Davies et al., 2020). The findings of this study, however, suggest that consumers behave in a range of different ways. The consumer and retailer typology created by this study, Table 5.1. and Table 5.2. highlighted these differences. This has implications when tailoring approaches to implement alternative business models for circularity. Understanding the different value types and values that underpin retailer and consumer behaviour could help successfully mainstream these behaviours to increase sustainable consumption by avoiding a one size fits all approach.

Although clothing resale was found to promote more sustainable behaviour, the findings highlighted how it could create the potential for overconsumption when resale is used as a disposal channel rather than a sustainable way to shop. The findings showed that the item's circulation doesn't necessarily lead to retention of value and the creation of longevity. Instead, the value maintenance was affected

by barriers such as newness, values the consumer and retailer both hold, which can create value disruption rather than value retention. This had implications for the mainstreaming of circular business models as the whole system needs to be considered, not just the behaviour of one part. Additionally, what is considered sustainable may be encouraging unsustainable behaviours in other connected systems. For example, consumers were buying new, knowing that they could use resale to recoup some value and dispose of their clothing guilt-free. Thus, they were feeding the mainstream fashion system rather than creating a more circular one. The threat of overconsumption needs to be considered when communicating the sustainability benefits of these business models to consumers. The business models are only circular if they are adopted solely and not used as a conduit for further consumption, which consumers may not be aware of.

The findings have implications for other circular business models in clothing consumption such as leasing, sharing, and renting, as the principles of value in an alternative business model for sustainability are similar across all these business models. They could also be fueling mainstream behaviour and overconsumption if they are not handled correctly. The retailer's behaviours in clothing resale played a part in disrupting value through mainstream market logic. This logic influenced the limitations that they put on the clothes they accepted. Work needs to be done to encourage retailers to take items back more than once and reuse them. Also, retailers' reluctance to engage in maintenance and up-cycling behaviours could be addressed to further promote sustainable behaviours. This could be approached by promoting novelty through the 'new to me' model rather than the current focus on items that had not been in the shop before. There is also an opportunity to promote additional services that could add value, such as repair. The findings showed that although many of the consumers lacked the skills to do this themselves, they were willing to maintain and repair their clothing for resale. On the other hand, some of the retailers were willing to do minor repairs and clean items before selling. Offering a repair and maintenance service presents an opportunity to add value to the business for the retailer as an additional revenue stream and to maintain value in the items as they are kept in use for longer once repaired.

Finally, as discussed in Chapter two, much of the progress in the circular economy comes from the policy. Therefore, the policy implications are wide-reaching. One such policy implication is the finding that the consumer sellers in the study had a personal waste hierarchy underpinned by their individual values. In some cases, this didn't match with the public waste hierarchy derived by policy (Defra, 2011; Laitatla and Klepp, 2015; Ewijk, and Stegeman, 2016; Degenstein et al., 2021). The implication from this is that in further waste hierarchy policy development, an awareness of the parallel consumer waste hierarchy needs to be considered. This hierarchy could include policy mandating that consumers

adhere to the public waste hierarchy guidance. This guidance would make it clear to consumers the preferred disposal routes for items, so they do not have to rely on their personal hierarchy when making decisions on how to dispose of items.

6.6 LIMITATIONS

By its exploratory nature, this study has its strengths but also certain limitations. The small sample size and purposive sampling criterion that was appropriate in addressing this study's aims limits its generalisability. This study was important in terms of exploring an under-researched context in depth. The study contributed insight into the clothing resale context, including consumer and retailer behaviours and the underpinning value and circularity. However, a large-scale study would be required to test the generalisability of this study's findings.

The study's consumer sampling criteria focused on those actively engaged in clothing resale. This was necessary to address the aims of the study and provided deep insight into those who engage in clothing resale. However, the resulting sample excluded those who do not engage in clothing resale, therefore limiting understanding of the barriers to engaging with clothing resale. Additionally, the findings showed that those who used the resale shops in the study and became part of the sample were from affluent backgrounds. This had limitations for understanding resale barriers for a more diverse audience across economic and social demographics.

While the study provided valuable in-depth insight into the context, approaching a context in-depth is time-constrained due to the large amount of data that it generates. As a result the study was limited to a window of time in order to meet the exploratory aims. This window, however, was a limitation of the study as it was not possible to reflect recent developments in the resale market. These developments include the continued growth of the clothing resale market year on year, with innovations in digital technology powering this growth and the popularity of circular business models.

6.7 FUTURE RESEARCH

The limitations present several opportunities for future research. This study discovered the object pathway of resale can appear sustainable but can be perpetuating excess consumption. This finding means there is scope to investigate any parallels on other resale platforms. The digital side of resale is emerging and growing. Platforms such as Depop, Vestiare and Thred-Up, which have vast numbers of users, would make a valuable context for a larger scale study focusing on those who engage with

the platforms. This would help to understand better resale considering the insights in this study's data, particularly in relation to perceptions of these platforms as an extension of fast fashion.

This research developed a typology of the different ways in which consumers and retailers engaged with clothing resale and the value types and values that underpinned their behaviour. It was discussed in this research that the typology was in no way definitive of all types of consumers and retailers; instead, it presented a snapshot of the variety of approaches to clothing resale. There is, therefore, an opportunity to build on this research to extend the typology of consumers and retailers across different circular business models. This could include non-ownership models such as leasing, clothing libraries, or sharing economy. This would offer an opportunity to further investigate how consumers' and retailers' roles help or hinder the implementation of a circular system that can promote more sustainable behaviours. This presents an opportunity to conduct a further empirical investigation into consumers in the circular economy; a body of literature this study identified has the potential to be extended.

Future research opportunities include exploring value maintenance and loss for sustainability in more depth. It would be particularly pertinent to continue to build a picture of value concerning circular business models such as resale and non-ownership models such as sharing and renting as the non-ownership dimension moves even further from traditional or mainstream retail. In resale, the consumer still owns the items. Therefore, a study to investigate how non-ownership would affect consumer and retailer understandings of value would be pertinent. This would be particularly interesting to understand in order to extend the reframing concept developed in this study. In non-ownership, there is a potential reframing of the consumer as a 'user' and the items from possession to use. Understanding these would contribute to extended thinking on circular business models for sustainability.

To conclude, this thesis has contributed to the work on circular business models for sustainability, value and new materialism. By investigating the growing clothing resale market, the study has contributed to knowledge on how value is understood in clothing consumption in relation to sustainability. There are many opportunities for these circular business models in clothing resale to continue to be researched in order to better understand how they can contribute to improved sustainability in consumption—a body of research that is vital for the future.

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Appendices

APPENDIX 1 ETHICAL APPROVAL

Application Approved

Ethics Committee for Non-Clinical Research Involving Human Subjects

Staff Research Ethics Application Postgraduate Student Research Ethics Application ☐x

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Application Details

Application Number: 400170218

Applicant's Name: Victoria McQuillan

Project Title: Clothing resale - Mainstreaming sustainable consumer and retailer behaviours

Application Status: **Approved**

Start Date of Approval: 24/08/2018

End Date of Approval of Research Project: 30/09/2021

Please retain this notification for future reference.

If you have any enquiries please email socsci-ethics@glasgow.ac.uk.

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APPENDIX 2 PARTICIPANT INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM

2.1 Retailer participant information

University of Glasgow

College of Social Sciences

Participant Information Sheet

Clothing resale - Mainstreaming sustainable consumer and retailer behaviour

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Thank you for reading this.

Victoria McQuillan PhD Researcher

About this study

This study is being conducted by Victoria McQuillan, a 2nd year PhD student at the University of Glasgow Adam Smith Business School. The study is part of the researcher's PhD dissertation, supervised by Prof. Deirdre Shaw and Dr Katherine Duffy.

The research is being conducted to explore clothing resale and sustainability. The study will consider both customer and retailer viewpoints to better understand how customers and retailers make decisions about which clothes to buy, sell and keep and how clothes are used and maintained as a result of these decisions. The study will consider how clothing resale behaviours may relate to the circular economy, i.e. keeping materials in use for longer through reuse, recycling and reselling.

Taking part

You are being asked to participate in an interview of around 60 minutes, a video recorded observation of your shop featuring your interaction with customers and day-to-day running of your shop, and a follow up 60 minute interview. You will also be asked to take notes of new stock coming in and customer purchases in between meeting with the researcher using the template provided. It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you decide to take part, you are still free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.

What will happen to the results of this study?

The results of the study will make up a part of the researcher's PhD dissertation. The video data collected in this study will be used to make a short film about clothing resale to accompany the

dissertation. The results may also be published in academic journals or conference papers, as well as presented at academic conferences.

Confidentiality

Confidentiality will be respected subject to legal constraints and professional guidelines. Interview transcripts will be anonymised using pseudonyms. Video footage will be available for you to watch and approve before it enters the public domain. Your personal details will be kept anonymous.

Data will be stored in a password protected computer during the research study and disposed of securely once the study is over. The anonymised transcripts may be used for future research studies, respecting the confidentiality of the initial study.

Please note that confidentiality will be maintained as far as it possible, unless during our conversation I hear anything which makes me worried that someone might be in danger of harm, I might have to inform relevant agencies of this.

Funding

This research project is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) through the Scottish Graduate School for Social Science.

Contact information

Thank you for taking part in this study.

If you require any further information please contact

Victoria McQuillan: (PhD Researcher) or

Prof Deirdre Shaw: Deirdre.Shaw@glasgow.ac.uk / Dr Katherine Duffy: Katherine.Duffy@glasgow.ac.uk (Supervisors)

This project has been considered and approved by the University of Glasgow, College of Social Sciences, Research Ethics Committee. For further information or to pursue any complaint: contact the College of Social Sciences Ethics Officer, Dr Muir Houston, email: Muir.Houston@glasgow.ac.uk

2.2 Consumer participant information

University of Glasgow

College of Social Sciences

Participant Information Sheet

Clothing resale - Mainstreaming sustainable consumer and retailer behaviour

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Thank you for reading this.

Victoria McQuillan PhD Researcher

About this study

This study is being conducted by Victoria McQuillan, a 2nd year PhD student at the University of Glasgow Adam Smith Business School. The study is part of the researcher's PhD dissertation, supervised by Prof. Deirdre Shaw and Dr Katherine Duffy.

The research is being conducted to explore clothing resale and sustainability. The study will consider both customer and retailer viewpoints to better understand how customers and retailers make decisions about which clothes to buy, sell and keep and how clothes are used and maintained as a result of these decisions

Taking part

You are being asked to participate in an interview of around 60 minutes including a video recorded observation of your clothing, a video observation of your interaction with a clothing resale retailer and a follow up 60 minute interview. You will also be asked to take notes of any clothing purchases you make in your own time in between meeting with the researcher using the template provided. It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.

What will happen to the results of this study?

The results of the study will make up a part of the researcher's PhD dissertation. The video data collected in this study will be used to make a short film about clothing resale to accompany the dissertation. The results may also be published in academic journals or conference papers, as well as presented at academic conferences.

Confidentiality

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Please note that confidentiality will be maintained as far as it possible, unless during our conversation I hear anything which makes me worried that someone might be in danger of harm, I might have to inform relevant agencies of this.

Funding

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Thank you for taking part in this study.
If you require any further information please contact
Victoria McQuillan: (PhD Researcher) or
Prof Deirdre Shaw: Deirdre.Shaw@glasgow.ac.uk / Dr Katherine Duffy: Katherine.Duffy@glasgow.ac.uk (Supervisors)

This project has been considered and approved by the University of Glasgow, College of Social Sciences, Research Ethics Committee. For further information or to pursue any complaint: contact the College of Social Sciences Ethics Officer, Dr Muir Houston, email: Muir.Houston@glasgow.ac.uk

2.3 Retailer and consumer participant consent form

University of Glasgow

College of Social Sciences

Consent Form

Title of Project: Clothing resale - Mainstreaming sustainable consumer and retailer behaviour

Name of Researcher: Victoria McQuillan

I confirm that I have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

I consent / do not consent (delete as applicable) to interviews being audio-recorded

I consent / do not consent (delete as applicable) to interviews being video-recorded

I acknowledge that participants will be referred to by pseudonym in any publications arising from the research.

I acknowledge that participants will be identified by name in any videos arising from the research.

- The material will be treated as confidential and kept in secure storage at all times.
- The material may be used in future publications, both print and online.
- I agree to waive my copyright to any data collected as part of this project.
- I understand that other authenticated researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.
- I understand that other authenticated researchers may use my words in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs, only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form

I agree / do not agree (delete as applicable) to take part in the above study.

Name of Participant …… Signature ……..

Date ……

Name of Researcher …… Signature ……..

Date ……

University of Glasgow

College of Social Sciences

Interview Guides

Title of Project: Clothing resale - Mainstreaming sustainable consumer and retailer behaviour

Name of Researcher: Victoria McQuillan

Retailer interviews

1 Initial interview:

Could you tell me a bit about the ethos of your business?

Can you tell me about starting the business?

Tell me about what you sell?

Can you explain to me how your resale business works?

Tell me about how you decide what you resell?

Tell me a bit about the customers who buy from you?

2 Observation questions:

Tell me what's happening here?

Tell me about these items X customer brought in?

Tell me about this dress/jacket/top, what was it that made you decide to sell it?

Tell me about this dress/jacket/top you decided not to sell?

Tell me about how you decided the price?

Tell me about what happened with these items when you put them out for sale?

Tell me about what this customer was looking for?

Why did you show them this dress/jacket/ top?

What did you tell them about this dress/jacket/ top to encourage them to buy it?

Will this come back for resale do you think?

Consumers

1 Initial interview (all consumer participants):

Tell me about where you get your clothes?

How often do you shop for clothes?

Do you clear out your wardrobe?

How do you decide what to keep and what to clear out?

What happens to the clothes that go?

2 Wardrobe audit

2.1 Consumer selling resale

Tell me about this dress/ top/ jacket

Tell me about where you got it?

Do you clear out your wardrobe?

How do you decide where things will go?

Why did you decide you're going to sell this dress/ jacket/ top?

Where will you sell it?

2.2 Consumer buying resale

Tell me about this dress/ top/ jacket

How long have you had it?

How often do you wear it?

Tell me about where your get your clothes from?

What is it about preowned clothes that makes you buy them?

Do you clear out your wardrobe?

How do you decide where things will go?

3 Follow up interview

Tell me about this dress/jacket/top you decided to buy?

What were you looking for?

Why did you try this dress/jacket/ top?

What was it about this dress/jacket/ top that appealed to you?

Tell me about this X you decided to sell?

What was it about this dress/jacket/ top that you decided to sell it?

Tell me about when you originally got it, why you liked it, bought it etc?

Tell me about the process of selling it through resale?

APPENDIX 4 DIARY INFORMATION AND TEMPLATE

University of Glasgow

College of Social Sciences

Title of Project: Clothing resale - Mainstreaming sustainable consumer and retailer behaviour

Name of Researcher: Victoria McQuillan

Participant Diary Instructions

Thank you for agreeing to complete this diary for my clothing resale study, it is very much appreciated.

As we have already discussed this research study aims to explore clothing resale and sustainability. The study will consider both customer and retailer viewpoints to better understand how customers and retailers make decisions about which clothes to buy, sell and keep and how clothes are used and maintained as a result of these decisions. The study will consider how clothing resale behaviours may relate to the circular economy, i.e., keeping materials in use for longer through reuse, recycling and reselling.

What do I have to do?

This part of the study is a diary in which to record your clothing purchases and sales during the project. I would like you to use the attached diary template to take a note any items of clothing you add to your wardrobe or clear out of your wardrobe during the course of the project.

What should I include?

Use the attached templates to record details about what the item is using the "What I bought" template for any clothing items you buy or acquire and "What I sold" template for any clothing items sold. It would be really helpful if you could reflect on why the item was chosen and your thoughts and feelings when buying or selling, there are prompts in the diary template to do so.

You could also include any corresponding artefacts e.g. receipts, images, to record your purchase/ sale. The diary can be completed electronically or in hard copy format, and receipts, images etc can be kept in hard copy or scanned in, whichever is easiest for you.

How do I send my diary to you?

You can email me your complete diary ensuring your name is clearly on each entry and any supporting attachments (photos or scans) or if you would prefer to complete as a paper copy, I can arrange to collect this from you when you have completed this to save you the cost of postage. If you should require any further materials (e.g. printing, scrapbook, glue etc.) please do let me know and I can arrange this for you.

Any questions?

If you do have any queries or concerns please do not hesitate to get in touch by email or phone.

Thanks again for your participation and I am very much looking forward to receiving your diary in the near future.

Victoria McQuillan

Email:

My clothing diary

What I bought	
Date	
Item (Dress/top/trousers/jacket)	
Description (e.g. style, colour, fabric, brand)	
Where purchased	
New or second hand	
Price paid	
Reason for purchase (please note your thoughts on why you choose to buy this item)	

What I sold	
Date	
Item (Dress/top/trousers/jacket)	
Description (e.g. style, colour, fabric, brand)	
Where sold	
Price paid originally	
Price sold	
Percentage split (retailer/ seller)	
Reason for sale (please note your thoughts on why you decided to sell this item)	

APPENDIX 5 SAMPLE TRANSCRIPT

Consumer Lyndsay, Interview and wardrobe audit

Interview location – Lyndsay's home

Date of interview – 06.08.19

Length – 1 hour 10 minutes.

Interviewer: So, I'm just going to start by asking you to tell me about where you get your clothes from.

Response: Usually a variety of different places. I like to get a bargain, I like to get something that is going to last, something classic. So, I go onto sites like Outnet, which is an offshoot of Net-a-Porter. I use Ukes.com, Farfetched.com, places like that. And when I go to the High Street just to get pieces that will tie in with everything that I've got, I go to Zara, sometimes Next, Topshop, although I'm getting a bit long in the tooth for that. But if I see a piece that I like, or used to see a piece that I liked, even if it was in a supermarket, I'm not really fussy because I tend to buy lots of designer accessories. My friend used to call it Gok Wan-ning things up. So, I'd use the designer accessories to tie in with the High Street stuff.

I: Okay. And would it be mostly that your clothes are High Street and your accessories designer, or is it a mixture?

R: It's a mixture, but I would say the clothes are mainly High Street, because I'm not that good at taking care of things, so I wouldn't like to spend an extortionate amount of money on something I'm going to spill my coffee down or get chocolate stains on.

I: Is shopping for clothes something you do quite regularly, or…?

R: It used to be. Probably on a weekly basis I would purchase something new. I also like TK Maxx as well, the gold section there. So, yeah, probably do it on a weekly basis.

I: And would it be all those outlets?

R: It would be a variety of different ones, but I used to be constantly online. Usually when sale times come around, putting bits and pieces that had been on my wish list hoping they'd go onto the sale, and then purchase them at sale times, from the mainstream stores like Net-a-Porter and Matches, and places like that.

I: And is that still something you're doing?

R: It's not something I'm doing just now because we're moving house and I have to basically just get down to like a capsule wardrobe. So, I'm looking through everything and eBaying it. Last year I sent a lot of stuff to [resale shop] and just tried to work my way through it, but I have so much stuff. Impulsive buys. Just now I'm only going to be buying things which I definitely need. Nobody in their right mind needs twenty pairs of trainers, so it'll be when the trainers are done that I'll replace them with a new pair. This is my new idea of thinking. When the coat's done, you replace it with something.

I: And is that something you've put into practice, or are working towards?

R: Well, I'm working towards it. It's not easy because I see things and I do want them. But I just try to remind myself of the things that I have, so many things. I really don't need another black jacket, I don't need another navy jacket. I have so much stuff.

I: And you were talking about doing a big clear-out. Were you doing clear-outs regularly before that? Or is it just this big thing?

R: I usually do clear-outs maybe once or twice a year, and anything that I hadn't worn for maybe a year, year and a half, I would consider selling. But there's lots of pieces that I wouldn't ever want to sell because they mean something.

I: Okay.

R: So, I try to hold onto them. But things that I've bought on a whim, like "why did I buy that?" They go onto eBay.

I: Okay. And would those be things that you hadn't worn? Or a mixture?

R: A mixture. Things I hadn't worn and things I had wore and were in good condition. Anything else, I'd give to charity.

I: Okay. And whenever you go into your wardrobe to do that clear-out, what kind of things? Can you give me some examples of what goes in which pile, and how you go about that process?

R: Yeah, I'd just go through it and think "right, that I'm never going to wear because I've had it for two years and it's never been on, still has the tags on, so you obviously didn't need it." Or it doesn't go with anything else, you've bought it on an impulse. So, that would go into the sale pile, probably. But things that have been well loved but still in good condition but I'm not going to wear them anymore because they're maybe out of style or they don't fit, with the weight fluctuations, they would go into the charity pile. And they're still sellable but not worth me selling.

I: And whenever you go to sell things, you mentioned [resale shop] and eBay, are they the two places?

R: They're the two places. And my children, both teenagers, use Depop, so I've done a bit of Depop for them.

I: For their clothes?

R: For their clothing, yeah. Just give the money back to them, they can get something with their money.

I: So, you've got your sale pile and two different outlets, what's the process of what goes where with that? Which pieces went to [resale shop] versus eBay?

R: The pieces that went to [resale shop] were the pieces that I thought were too bulky to send out in the post, and they're also pretty valuable. So, when you're asking a customer to pay for postage and insurance on top of that, it's quite a lot. Especially if it's an international customer. They maybe would be put off buying it, or you might get a lower price than [resale shop] would be able to obtain. Although their commission charges are

very high. So, it was ski jackets and things like that I put into her. Coats. Boots. Things like that that were heavy, bulky items.

I: So, it was more based on the item than what it was worth.

R: Yeah. It was easier at that time, I just thought I'd give it a try. But I think I might have been able to get more money for that if I'd done it myself on eBay. You can never tell on eBay; something that you think might sell, or that you think is really worth something, you can't tell from a picture. And I think people tend to be quite cautious when they bid. Whereas in [resale shop], people can walk in, they can try the garment on, they don't have to continually ask you for measurements. They can see if there's any wear and tear. And I think it gives them a better opportunity to get a better price.

I: So, tell me a bit about the process of when you take things in to [resale shop] then.

R: Very easy. Really nice girl that works in there, I think she's the owner. She just says "leave everything with me and I'll get back to you", and she goes through them and gives you a price that she thinks it's going to sell for, and you agree yes or no, and give her a bit of leeway. She'll say "what if it's been there for two months? Can we take it down by 10% and then 20%?" And then she'll phone me if she has an offer which is below that, "would you accept that?" and then you've got to make a decision. But I just found her commission really high; items under £1000 she takes 60%, which is pretty steep.

I: And did you find that the things you took to her sold through her?

R: Most of everything sold, yeah. She gave me a couple of things back which actually I was quite glad about. A particular bag by Dior which has come back in and relaunched, so I can probably get that sold now. But at that time it just wasn't a popular item.

I: And was that something that you then held onto?

R: I held onto it, yeah. I've got it upstairs still, yeah. I might just keep it for my daughters.

I: And was that something that you'd bought originally from…

R: It was actually the very first thing that my husband bought for me, so now I'm really glad that I got it back.

I: Right. And that was just the things that she didn't sell, she gave back.

R: Gave it back, yeah. And a lot of my shoes she didn't want to sell because I had had them half-soled. Just because when Christian Louboutin with the red sole, when you go out, the first time, the red sole comes off. So, I usually get a cobbler to put a thin red sole on the front of the shoe just to protect it. She said they won't sell. So, alterations as well, if you've altered garments, they're worth less because they're not a standard size anymore.

I: So, out of the stuff that you took, was there some stuff that didn't go to sell?

R: There was stuff that she said "no, I can't sell that. People won't buy that." So, she obviously has a much better idea of what people coming into her store are going to buy, are going to quibble with.

I: And what happened to those items, then?

R: They're still upstairs. [LAUGHS] In fact, I sold one pair of shoes, I think, on eBay.

I: And are those things that you think you'll keep, or try and sell again?

R: I might try and sell again. I'm not in a great frame of mind at the moment, so it's taking a long time to sell things, actually. I got rid of my husband's stuff first because it was just causing me a bit of concern every time I opened up the wardrobe, and he had lots of good quality stuff as well, so I started on that first of all. So, it's all gone now.

I: So, did you sell through…

R: Sold through eBay. All through eBay, actually.

I: And in terms of the things when you're going to [resale shop] and she's pricing things for you, was that a conversation or did she just give you the price?

R: She took everything and then she phoned and emailed, just said "what do you think about this, what do you think about that?" and then emailed an inventory of what she's decided

to keep, what kind of price she thinks you'll get for it, and what kind of reserve price you definitely wouldn't go under. And that's how she sets it up and you just agree with her the terms. And whenever an item sells, she'll tell you "this one sold", and at the end of the month you get your credit.

I: Right. And does that come as cash to you?

R: Straight bank transfer, uh huh.

I: Did you find that process…?

R: It's really easy. Much easier than doing it yourself. But she only takes really high quality designer things. So, if you wanted to sell your High Street stuff, definitely she wouldn't touch that, you would have to go to eBay to do that.

I: And that is what you've…

R: Well, depends, really. eBay is so unpredictable; people can be bidding over a Next pair of trousers and you get £20 back off them, and something else, a Next blouse, you'll get £1.20, and think "that really wasn't worth my while spending and photographing that and writing the description and taking the measurements. That should have just gone to charity." So, now I weigh up and try to decide in my head "is that going to fetch a decent price?" if not, just give it to charity, because they'll definitely be able to get a fiver for it, and it's going to a good cause.

I: And do you think that's something you've just learned from experience?

R: Just from experience, yeah, going "that's not going to sell." You can look at the pictures and think "they're not coming out right. They're not showing it off to the best of its ability."

I: So, there's things you've gone on to sell it and…

R: And things haven't sold, yeah. But you don't get charged. Just give it to charity. I often thought about buying a mannequin and putting it on that, but I just never got around to it.

I: So, you're just hanging them up.

R: Hanging them up on the back of the door on a hanger, and they're really not being shown to the best of their ability.

I: But is that mainly High Street things?

R: Mainly High Street things, yeah. I can show you what…

I: Yeah, we'll have a wee look at that in a minute.

R: …what I would class as going to charity. I've got a big charity bag there, and things that I would sell.

I: Brilliant. You were talking there about not buying designer clothes because of the maintenance and things like that; how do you look after your things? Or do you?

R: All my bags and accessories and shoes go back into dust bags and boxes. Clothes, no, not terribly great at keeping them. Try to put back coats and things into their suit bags and things like that. The rest of stuff is just hung up in a wardrobe, and it can get dusty.

I: And do you do things before they go to [resale shop]?

R: I think there's one thing she sent back and it had to be dry cleaned, and I dry cleaned it. But I think most of the stuff was in really good condition and she was happy to take it.

I: So, that was just from it being in your wardrobe?

R: Yeah, just being in my wardrobe. She took coats and things. But, to be honest, I hadn't had them that long, and there were things that I bought in Tenerife at a bargain, didn't actually fit, they were too big. So, I thought "right, just get rid of that."

I: So, they hadn't been worn.

R: They hadn't really been worn. Maybe once.

I: Okay. and in terms of any sewing or anything like that, do you do any maintenance?

R: I do that myself, put buttons back on things, but I wouldn't replace zips or anything. I can take up hems on trousers, skirt hems, but not anything more complicated than that.

I: And would you do that before you sell the stuff?

R: Yeah.

I: I think it might be easier to have a look at the clothes and chat about it from there. Yes, that's the other thing; do you ever buy from somewhere like [resale shop]?

R: Yeah, I bought a watch from her, actually. A nice Hermes watch which goes with my belt and my bangle. I bought that from her.

I: Was that…?

R: An impulse buy. But I went in to hand stuff over, it must have been. I spotted it in the window and went "oh, that goes with my belt and my bracelet, that will be nice to make the setup." And in actual fact, I don't think I've worn it that often. I get ideas in my head and go "that'll all go together nicely." Impulse buys are a bit of a problem.

I: But that's something that you…

R: Not doing any more. I've decided to say to myself I'm not buying anything for two years. Just make do with what I have.

I: I don't want to ask you awkward questions, but is that to…

R: It's just income. I don't have the income at the moment to splurge anymore.

I: Fair enough. Will we have a wee look at some of your clothes, if that's okay?

R: Yep. Charity bag.

I: Okay.

R: It's just old blouses and things which are a bit dated, and they're just from High Street shops, H&M. And Next trousers, Marks & Spencer trousers. Why I would want to buy two

pairs that look exactly the same, I don't know. Going to give that to charity because it shrunk in the wash, even though it is Misony. Absolutely tiny.

I: And was that from washing it a lot, or was it the first time you washed it?

R: No, I washed it a lot. It was a well-worn outfit. This dress, and…

I: And where had that come from originally?

R: I think I got that from the Outnet.

I: So, it's like a wee shoestring strap.

R: A shoestring strapped minidress with a cardigan. Now I'm looking at it, I'm thinking maybe my daughter would want to wear that. So, that might come back out, you never know. And lots of dresses that I just bought on impulse because they were 70% with an extra 20 with your Debenhams card. And I'm never going to wear it.

I: So, that's still got the tag on.

R: Yeah. But I wouldn't sell that on eBay because… well, I probably could, but I think charity would get more money for it than I would. I'm sure it costs about £7. That's old Karen Millen bits and bobs. It's just all Next stuff. So, things that I was planning to sell… I think they're getting kept for my daughter because she has big feet. This will probably all go to charity as well, but I'm still working my way through that.

I: So, do you just make a big pile of everything and then…

R: Just take everything out and then start sifting through it. But things I definitely was going to sell from here, Misony maxi skirt, which is far too big for me now, and too long, so I trip over it. So, that's for like a seven foot tall model. Those will probably go to charity because they're just Topshop. I was going to sell this dress, because it's Karen Millen at £199, still have the tag on. But, again, I bought that and it's far too big.

I: And was that something you bought for an occasion?

R: Yeah, I was going to wear it to a wedding. Usually Karen Millen sizes are quite small made, so I ordered the 12 and didn't try it on, and then the return date had expired, so I was left with it.

I: Right, so that was an online…

R: Yeah, it was massive. It was an online purchase. And it'll need to get an iron before it goes. What I usually do is just take a hanger and just hang it up and put it on the back of that door and take the photographs against the white background. And I take a photo from the front, photo from the back, photo of the tag with the price on it, the label with the size on it, and usually the washing instructions label as well.

I: And whenever you bought that online, was that a full price purchase?

R: I don't think it was. I think it might have been on the sale. But it still would have been a fair price.

I: And it's eBay you'll sell that on?

R: Yeah. This stuff I've still to go through, really. Misony bikini, I'd probably sell something like that in its pouch, just because it's a designer name, and I'm not sure charities appreciate that kind of stuff, they probably wouldn't realise its worth. I'd probably sell something like that on eBay.

I: So, the Misony bikini, would that go on eBay?

R: That'll go on eBay, yeah. Anything that's kind of designer will go on eBay first of all. And the High Street stuff I'd probably just send to the charity shop. I'm still to go through it. So, that's a blouse by Zimmerman which costs a lot of money but is really shapeless and doesn't do anything for me, so, again, I'd put that on eBay because people will know the label. And I was going to sell this one as well. This one, funnily enough, I picked up in a charity shop in Bearsden. It's a Max Mara new with tags blazer, and it's just too big. Tried it on thinking that would be nice oversized. It probably cost new a good few hundred Pounds, so I think I picked it up for £9.99, in Marie Curie.

I: And is charity shopping something you would do regularly, or…?

R: No, I just happened to be in Bearsden and killing time, and I went in.

I: And you haven't worn it at all.

R: I haven't worn it, no, it's just too big.

I: And are they all for eBay then?

R: Just the designer stuff. This blouse is probably going to go into charity, it's a Next blouse. But, as I say, I've still to go through it all. To go through all this stuff as well. And there's dresses here with the tags still on. Warehouse. I think I could probably sell that on eBay but I'd have to wait until winter.

I: Is that something you bought for going somewhere?

R: I bought for going somewhere and I don't think I've worn it. £65. So, as I say, that's a work in progress.

I: And is there anything there you'd take to [resale shop]?

R: No. No, I don't think so. I don't think it would be worth it.

I: Could you expand on that?

R: I don't know, I'm not sure she would accept stuff like that. She might. But I think my morals would get in the way of charging a lot of money for that because I only paid £10 for it. And it was from a charity shop, I wouldn't really want to exploit that. And, again, yeah, she might take these things but… that probably cost a few hundred Pounds, that blouse, but for what she would get for it and taking her 60% commission, it's not really worth doing, I don't think.

I: So, whenever you put something like that blazer on eBay, what kind of reserve would you put on it?

R: Just put it on with a starting bid of what I paid for it and just wait and see.

I: Right, okay.

R: And this is the charity. This is all definitely going to charity.

I: Is there anything else there you wanted to show me, any pieces that were of interest?

R: Not really. Just a lot of the kids' stuff here. I'm sure things like All Saints tops and things like that could definitely be sold on eBay, it's just whether… I don't know, it's a work in progress, I really need to think about that. Sometimes I think it might be easier just to give it all to charity. I forgot there's a shop in [Glasgow] that I went to, a resale shop, just under the bridge at the train station, can't for the life of me remember what it's called. But there is a piece that I bought, it's upstairs in my wardrobe, I can show you.

I: So, is it somewhere that you've just bought from rather than sold in?

R: Yeah. Never sold. I don't know if she actually takes stuff to sell. I'll take you upstairs to my wardrobe.

I: Yep.

R: This is my walk-in wardrobe. This is where I keep all of my shoes, mainly, boxed and in their dust bags. As you can see, I have rather a lot.

I: You talked about selling the Louboutins at [resale shop].

R: That's right, I did.

I: Are your shoes something you go through and…

R: She wouldn't accept them because they have been repaired.

I: And is that something you're able to get locally?

R: Yeah, the local cobbler does that for me. I have so much stuff. If I was wanting to get rid of them, I would possibly get rid of [resale shop] to sell because they are a top designer brand and they've not been worn, I don't think. Maybe once. They're in very good condition, they've not been altered or anything like that. So, that's something that definitely, if I wanted to get rid of that. I haven't even worn these this summer at all.

I: And where did they come from originally?

R: They came from Matches.com. I love these trainers but they're looking a bit worn, I don't know if [resale shop] would take them. See, they're a bit scuffed. She's a bit choosy about what she'll take. But these are now kind of out of season. She maybe wouldn't take something that has a lot of fakes as well, if an item has been copied a lot, she probably wouldn't consider taking that.

I: Right, even though they're in the box…

R: Even though they're in the box with the authenticity card, just because everyone's got a pair of these now. They were so popular, and probably just been mass produced and mass faked. So, she is quite choosy about what she'll take.

I: And is that something you've experienced? Her not taking things because of that reason?

R: Yep. That's right, definitely. This is the bag that I was telling you about. She must label all of the things with her labelling number. I would never wear that now because obviously it says… it's just too young for me. But in the '90s I loved that. And I'm just wondering whether my daughter would want to wear it.

I: So, that's something you've had for a long time, then.

R: I've had that since 1993, 1994. But Dior relaunched the bag this year or last year.

I: So, obviously you said for sentimental reasons you wouldn't get rid of it.

R: I think that now, yeah.

I: If you took that now, you think she'd…

R: I think she'd sell that now, yeah. I think things just come and go. Obviously she'll have a better idea of what she's going to get rid of. These, I'd definitely give these to her to sell because I bought these on a whim and they've never been worn. Wellington boots by Jimmy Choo.

I: And where did you get those from?

R: From the Outnet. Thinking I would do lots of walks in the park and things, and be super-stylish. But, yeah, they've just sat up there.

I: Was it just that you didn't do the walks?

R: I didn't do the walks. I just didn't.

I: That's fair enough; no judgement, just asking.

R: And I would probably give this… I've been thinking about getting rid of this. It's something I bought which was too small. That's a £400 hat. [resale shop] would probably take that and be able to get rid of that no problem.

I: Okay. So, tell me about where that came from.

R: This came from MyTheresa.com, which is a German online company. And I always wanted one, and I ordered the small, thinking that'd be fine. And it wasn't. It was too small.

I: And you didn't send it back.

R: Didn't send it back. So, now I'm stuck with it. So, this is where I was discussing downstairs about why I have to rein everything in and think very carefully now about what kind of pieces I'm going to buy; what's going to work with everything else in the wardrobe, and am I going to get wear, value from it? Because that was just a waste of £400.

I: So, that was the full price?

R: Full price, yep. And I have bought lots of pieces which I wear constantly. Yves St Laurent tote. It's just very simple, and things like that which are classic pieces which you're going to wear day in, day out. That's the kind of thing I would look to buy in the future.

I: And was that an online purchase?

R: That was bought from Flannels, actually, in Silverburn. It's the same company as Cruise, I think. I've got so many things, a Prada bag, Gucci bags, another Prada bag, Chloe bag. Four Balenciagas.

I: And are those all things you'll hold onto?

R: I'll definitely hold onto them because they're classic bags. Yeah, I'll definitely hold onto them. Don't want to get rid of that.

I: And what about clothes-wise? Are there any of your favourite pieces you'd like to…

R: Clothes-wise, I like these Moncler jackets. They're lightly padded, really good for the spring, but this one also has a hood, which is excellent for doing the school run in. And I tend to like coats by Max Mara. That camel coat I'll definitely keep, that's a classic.

I: And where did that come from?

R: I think it came from House of Fraser, actually. That's more Moncler there, a little cardigan. I've got my two leather jackets which I probably wouldn't get rid of. The beige one and the black classic biker jacket which I would definitely keep. Vivienne Westwood dress, I would keep that. All very classic. Yeah, but there's things here I'm not going to wear, so I probably need to do another look through, I think. I'll definitely keep the Burberry mac, because it's a classic piece. This is all my accessories, my scarves, hats, and things like that. Bits of fur, my stole. That's all of the scarves up there.

I: And is there any of the clothes there that you might take to [resale shop]?

R: If I was going to take anything, it would be these ones, probably. The Moncler ones.

I: And what is it about them that would make you take them to her, rather than…?

R: They're in demand at the moment, everyone wants to wear one of them. And I think she'd be able to get rid of them pretty easily. I've got a few more of them here. This was the shop in [Glasgow] I was talking about, this is what I bought from them. Just brand new with tags. And I paid £40 for it.

I: Is that a recent purchase?

R: It's a recent purchase. I'm actually not sure I'm going to ever wear it. I just liked it.

I: And what was it about it?

R: I just liked the fancy lining, I thought it was really quite smart looking, and the buttons. Kind of glittery fabric, thought it would be nice to wear on a night out. But that chance hasn't ever arisen yet.

I: And are you going to hold onto it until you have a chance?

R: I'm going to hold onto it just now, and if I haven't worn it in maybe about a year, year and a half, I'll get rid of it. And all my accessories I keep here in boxes. So, bangles and things like that. That goes with the piece I was talking about downstairs.

I: Oh, yeah.

R: It all goes together, and I have the belt that matches.

I: And would you wear those all together then?

R: I'd probably wear them all together. And I probably wouldn't sell them either. I do like accessories. But if I was going to sell them, I think I'd probably try through eBay first of all. I wouldn't go to [resale shop] because of the high commission. I'd probably try that first of all.

I: And have you sold accessories and things like that through eBay before?

R: Yeah, lots of times. Yep. And they're quite easy to post as well because they're just small items.

I: And the return that you get from eBay…

R: It's much, much better. You get to keep most of the money, it's just a very small percentage that they take. And a PayPal fee. Definitely much more in your pocket than going through a resale shop.

I: And in terms of the price that they achieve, does that sit okay with what you're looking for?

R: I'd probably put them on as a Buy It Now, and this is the price that I want. And I would look to see, and on eBay you can see what other sellers have achieved for the same item, like these classic items are all put on continually, so Ermes belts and things like that, you're

going to be able to tall what somebody else got for it last week and adjust your price accordingly. And put Buy It Now with maybe a button to accept an offer, and then you can decide once you get the offer in "will I, won't I?"

I: And do you base that price really on what people are paying, rather than what you have paid for it?

R: Yeah, uh huh. There would be no point putting something on and expecting the full money back for it. You're not going to get that. So, you have to really accept your loss, see what other people have got for it, and see "am I willing to part with it for that? Or do I think it would be better kept because I'm going to wear it?" So, that's the way my mind would work in that instance. And I think pieces like this, you're better holding onto it than trying to sell them.

I: Just because you'll wear them?

R: Because I'm going to wear them, yeah. And I know that I definitely will wear that. That's something that will be packed on holiday with me. I think I wore that every night on holiday. And I've got the belt that matches that would go over dresses and things like that.

I: Okay. And is there anything else you wanted to show me in here? You said you had a few locations.

R: I have. I keep all my sunglasses and everything in here, I've got loads and loads of sunglasses. I actually had a go at selling some of these on eBay last year and nobody would touch them. Which was a bit of a shame because some of them were very expensive and really, really nice pieces. But I think people want a bargain and I wasn't prepared to let it go for any less than… I think I wanted £90 for these, but they had cost about £300.

I: And were they things you got online?

R: No, I think I got these in the optician, actually. Some of them have been bought online, and some of them have come from TK Maxx. They've got really good bargain sunglasses there.

I: And what was it about them that you decided to have a go at selling them?

R: I just thought I've got too many, should have a clear-out. Because who needs all those sunglasses? And we don't really get the sun that often.

I: Yeah.

R: That's all my scarves and things, I just put away back in boxes. These ones obviously came boxed, so I've just kept them in the boxes. Yeah, they're all boxed scarves. And more sunglasses. So, I keep my winter coats somewhere else.

I: Alright.

R: Because they're bulky. All the winter coats in my bedroom. I tend to go for high quality coats that are going to last. So, again, Moncler label, Canada Goose. That I should probably put back in its dust bag. I was thinking of selling at [resale shop], perhaps, that is something she would definitely take. And the reason I was going to sell it is because it's too big and too long.

I: And is that something you've not worn?

R: I've worn it twice. And just never felt comfortable in it. Oh, there's money in there, great! Something like that I would consider sending to [resale shop] because it's a high value item, top designer. And I think she could achieve a much better price than I could on eBay. And it's also really bulky, if you were to send that through the post, that's going to cost a lot to post.

I: And where had that came from originally?

R: That came from Burberry online.

I: And was it just longer and bigger than you expected, then?

R: Yeah, it was bigger than I expected, and I just didn't send it back. Some coats and things in there, and more coats here. And I took out all my winter jumpers and sweaters and things for the summer and moved them into this closet for winter coats, and more jeans than I know what to do with.

I: And is that something you do, move the clothes about seasonally?

R: I move them about, yeah. Yep.

I: And with the jeans, are those jeans you're wearing at the moment, or what are…?

R: Well, I'm going go to through all those, this will be the next task, because I must have fifty pairs, I think. Yeah, so I'm going to go through those and see what still fits, what I'm actually going to wear, and what I'm not going to wear, and then I'll decide from there are they going to charity or can I put them onto eBay?

I: And are they a mixture of different places you've got them from?

R: Yeah. Some with tags on. I think these came from Ukes. And they're the same size that I always buy but for some reason they didn't go on, I didn't try them on, and kept them, and when I tried to put them on, they didn't go very far. [LAUGHS] So, they're relegated to the wardrobe at the moment.

I: And was it the same thing, it was then past the time you could send them back?

R: Exactly, yeah. Yep. So this goes back to what I was saying previously, that I need to be very careful about the pieces that I buy now, just with the change in income. I have to try it on now, make sure it fits, are you definitely going to wear this? Does it go with other things in your wardrobe? And just think about all the different criteria that need to be met. Is it going to significantly change your life? Are you going to wear it in the next six months or are you just buying it because you like the look of it? So, that's that. More here, actually. Yeah, not too much in there. All my summer clothes that I take on holiday with me are in cases, and when I'm going on holiday I just take them out, it's bikinis and things like that, they usually just get washed and put back into the case, and I just go through it and decide what I'm taking and what I'm not.

I: Right.

R: Sheepskin coat in there.

I: Is that something you have had for a while?

R: I've had that for a while, yeah. That was a really good buy, I've had lots of wear out of that one.

I: And where did that come from?

R: It came from Jigsaw actually. I don't really take care of this properly, that should really be set up so that it doesn't start curling and things like that. And, again, this one is full of holiday clothes, and a few suits of my husband's that I'll need to give to charity. That's my daughter's communion dress which I'll need to give to charity as well.

I: Right. And something like that will go to charity.

R: I'll give that all to charity, yeah.

I: I'll just check there's nothing else I wanted to ask you. You've showed me lots of your favourite things and things you might resell, and how you go about it. Just with that coat if you're going to sell that, it would just go as-is, you wouldn't do anything to it before it went?

R: I don't think I'd do anything to it, I think I'd just take the dog hair off it and do the buttons up properly and make it look more presentable.

I: That was it, I think. You showed me the watch you bought from [resale shop], and the jacket you bought from the other place.

R: Yeah, uh huh.

I: And that's really it for things you've bought from resale.

R: Yes.

I: Is there anything else you wanted to tell me about your clothes, or buying or selling, or anything that I haven't talked about with you?

R: It's a lot of effort goes into eBay, that's why I think resale shops are a good idea, because it takes the pressure off you and you can just hand them in and they do all the work for you. eBay is a lot of hassle. And then you also get customers who have changed their

mind and say “this is fake” or something, and they want to send it back, when you know fine well it’s not. But within the rules of the PayPal agreement you have to give them their money back. So, it can be a waste of time.

I: And is that something you’ve experienced?

R: Yes. More recently than previous years when I’ve done it. I think because PayPal have changed the way they compensate people, so it’s obviously in the buyer’s favour. Which is good if you’re buying something, it definitely covers you and would make you definitely purchase something more freely than you would in the past if you weren’t going to get your money back. But it doesn’t work in favour of the seller because it’s a lot of hassle.

I: And do you buy things on eBay ever, or are you always the seller?

R: Not often. Mostly the seller.

I: And in terms of recent press about sustainability and things like that, is that something that ever comes into your decision?

R: Yeah, now, more so than ever. We don’t need all this stuff. We don’t need so much. So, it would be about cutting back. Do you mean sustainability in terms of the way things are produced?

I: Well, anything at all.

R: Yeah, it would be more about saving money and making do with what you have.

I: Yeah. So, if there’s nothing else you want to tell me, I think that’s loads. Yeah, it’s great.

[END OF RECORDING]